

The  
Martineau  
Society

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Twenty-third Newsletter  
December 2007

# *The Martineau Society*

Newsletter No. 23

Fall 2007

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| President:         | Mrs. Sophia Hankinson |
| Vice-president:    | Prof. R. K. Webb      |
| Chairperson:       | Prof. Valerie Sanders |
| Secretary:         | Prof. Gaby Weiner     |
| Treasurer:         | Mr. Rob Watts         |
| Newsletter Editor: | Prof. Deborah Logan   |

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### Martineau Society Subscription Information:

2008 Subscriptions remain the same as last year and are due on January 1<sup>st</sup>.

\* UK: Individual members £15 // Concessionary rate £7.50 // Institutional membership £30

\* Overseas: Individual members \$30 // Concessionary rate \$20. This may be paid in dollars to Prof. Elisabeth Arbuckle, Condo. Montebello M526 Trujillo Alto PR00976 USA.

**Annual General Meeting, Manchester, 2008.** The 14<sup>th</sup> Martineau Society Conference will be held 17-20 July 2008 at the Luther King House, Rusholme, Manchester M14 5JP.

Luther King House (LKH) is located in a quiet tree-lined suburb, within easy reach of Manchester city centre by either private or public transport: Manchester City Centre - 2 Miles; Motorway Network - 3 Miles; Manchester Airport - 6 Miles; Piccadilly and Victoria Stations - 3 Miles; University Campus - 0.25 Miles; Christies, St Mary's, Manchester Royal Infirmary, and Alexandra Hospitals are all nearby. LKH also features ample free car-parking on site and secure Cycle Storage. There is a unique inner courtyard with water feature, seating and covered areas, where you can relax and unwind at any time of the day or evening. LKH has an excellent dining room which offers morning coffee, lunch, afternoon tea and evening meal, together with snacks and beverages during the day.

**Conference Costs:**

Conference fee: £50 (or £15 per day)

Residential delegates: £49.50 per delegate per night (including meals)

Residential costs for whole conference: £167 per person whether in single room or double room.

Total cost of conference per person: £217

Cost of day attendance: £28.50 (£15.00 registration fee plus £13.50 for meals & refreshments).

**Conference Registration**

To register (deadline 31 March 2007) please send booking form with cheque for accommodation plus a registration fee of £50 to: Rob Watts (email [ruth.watts2@binternet.com](mailto:ruth.watts2@binternet.com)), 26 Rosliston Road, Stapehill, Burton upon Trent, DE15 9RJ (Tel: 01283 568829).

For further information, see [www.lkh.co.uk](http://www.lkh.co.uk) or contact: Ann Peart, (email [ann.peart@lkh.co.uk](mailto:ann.peart@lkh.co.uk)), Luther King House, Brighton Grove, Rusholme, Manchester M14 5JP (tel: 0161 249 2531)

**Papers and AGM Matters:** Paper proposals (by 31 March 2008) and AGM matters should be addressed to: [gaby.weiner@btinternet.com](mailto:gaby.weiner@btinternet.com) or, by post, to: Gaby Weiner, 9 Ferry Orchard, Stirling FK9 5ND (Tel: 01786 462 915).

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***Greetings from the Editor: AGM Norwich, 2007***

The Martineau Society 2007 AGM was held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich July 19-22. The Program, entitled "A Fertile Soil," featured an eclectic and illuminating range of talks, trails, conference papers, and entertainments. The programme was launched by Emma Jarvis, Hospital Arts Coordinator at Norfolk & Norwich University Hospital, who offered an illustrated talk about Martineau family contributions to medical theory and practice. On Friday, July 20, participants enjoyed talks presented by Elisabeth Arbuckle, John Warren, and Sophia Hankinson; the afternoon trail in Norwich included such Martineau-related sites as Colegate and environs, the Octagon Chapel, Martineau Memorial Hall in Gurney Court (Harriet Martineau's birthplace), and the Martineau House (James Martineau's birthplace). Dinner was followed by "The First Martineau Pub Quiz," organised by Gaby Weiner, the text of which is herein offered for those interested in a truly challenging collection of Martineau minutiae. Saturday papers and talks included those by Will Frank (printed below), Valerie Doulton (whose grandmother, Vera Wheatley, was one of Harriet's biographers), Shu-Fang Lai, Ruth Watts, and Deborah Logan. Our afternoon trail included the Archive Centre at County Hall, Martineau Lane; The Forum; and The Library at Guildhall Hill, originally a library founded by Philip Meadows Martineau and now a trendy restaurant. Saturday evening's buffet Conference Dinner was enhanced by Bruce and Carol Chilton's "A Martineau Soiree," featuring Martineau-related readings and music, performed in Victorian costumes. On Sunday, Valerie Sanders's paper (printed below) was followed by the Annual General Meeting, Sunday lunch, and departures. In terms of talks, trails, and entertainments, the 2007 Norwich programme was especially lively and enlightening, and our special thanks are due to Iris and Rod Voegli, along with Sophia Hankinson, for all their hard work organizing this highly creative AGM.

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**Welcome to Norwich by Sophia Hankinson**

I want to emphasise the Martineau connection with Norwich and why this meeting is subtitled "Norwich: a Fertile Soil." You will have noticed that our lectures are as usual somewhat Harriet-centred (and this year, appropriately, several contain references to the slave trade and her work for its Abolition). But we shall also throw more light on her uncle Philip Meadows Martineau, for although HM is an inexhaustible source of academic study, she had left the city as a very young woman, and he was far more important in the history of Norwich.

Many of you know of the Huguenot origins of the Martineaus and that, like so many of their kind, they came to Norwich at the end of the 17th-century as apothecaries and surgeons. Subsequent generations of Martineaus diversified into the textile trades (closely allied with medicine through botany and dyeing), and later into branches of the Enlightenment as diverse as music and engineering, which had made 18th-century Norwich England's second city. Harriet's father, of the third native generation, was a textile merchant and also involved in the wine and brewing trades, and we shall see two of the places where he lived and worked, as well as the chapel the family had helped to found. I hope these together will give you some idea of the Norwich that produced the Martineaus. For those who wish to find out more, there is a recent publication *Norwich since 1550*, ed. Rawcliffe & Wilson (2004) which contains a chapter on the Enlightenment. See also Dr. Anthony Batty Shaw's excellent summary of Norfolk's medical history, and the article about PMM, the house he built and his connections with Wilkins and Repton.

Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* barely acknowledges PMM's existence – no doubt, being 12 years older than her father, he was somewhat remote, appearing only in her childhood years as the surgeon who amputated her little friend's leg and, later, to whom her beloved eldest brother Tom was apprenticed. But in the half-century before Harriet's birth, Philip Meadows Martineau was a founder of the first Norfolk & Norwich Hospital (1771), the Triennial Music Festival (to raise funds for the hospital), and the first subscription library. We have already heard from Emma Jarvis about the latest incarnation of his N&N hospital; we shall see his monument and that of his colleague and kinsman Henry Reeve at the Octagon; we shall visit County Hall which occupies the site of his fine Georgian mansion in what is still called Martineau Lane, and at the Forum we shall see Humphry Repton's Red Book for the grounds there, as well as the *Memoir* which includes a detailed description of the operation PMM perfected for the removal of bladder-stones, an affliction still known as "East Anglian disease" because of its inexplicable prevalence in this part of Great Britain.

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#### **"Harriet Martineau and the Arnolds" by Valerie Sanders**

"This evg I go to Fox How. Don't you envy me?" Harriet Martineau asked a friend in 1845, when she had decided to move to the Lake District to live.<sup>1</sup> Fox How was the home of Mary Arnold, widow of the famous Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who had died in 1842; she lived there with her

<sup>1</sup> *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, 5 vols, ed. Deborah Anna Logan (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2007), Vol 3, p. 3. All other references will be given in the text.



unmarried daughter Frances (Fan: b. 1833), but it was often visited by the other eight Arnold children, of whom the best known was the poet and essayist Matthew (b. 1822). Already presuming an intimacy, she told one of her American correspondents, Sarah Wetmore Story, she lived "opposite to Fox How, so that the Arnolds & I can telegraph each other" (Logan 3:38-9); later (1866) she claimed that she and Fan were "always as plainspoken as can be,"<sup>2</sup> and a year later that "The Arnolds are my most intimate friends here" (Logan 5:157). The aim of this paper is therefore initially to consider the nature of her relationship with the Arnolds as a family and with Matthew specifically, and then to examine the impact of this relationship on their work.

The Arnolds were themselves beginning life anew when Martineau first became friendly with them. Following the sudden death of Dr. Arnold in 1842 they had lost their powerful husband and father-figure, with the youngest child, Walter, only seven, while the eldest son, Matthew, was at Oxford. Martineau retained a great admiration and respect for Mary Arnold as a wife and mother, but speculating about what would happen to the children was one of her favourite subjects for letters. Perhaps Mary Arnold was the ideal mother-figure Martineau had lacked in her own mother, and perhaps this set of nine intelligent and ambitious children, religiously ill-assorted, reminded her of her own seven brothers and sisters. What intrigued her about them morally was their apparent candour, and the personal difficulties through which it had been developed. She thought that ever since Dr. Arnold's battles in the 1830s with the Tractarians, whose return to high church principles he strongly and publicly opposed, the whole family had lacked moral courage. Dr. Arnold had been a strong Broad Churchman, who was both liberal and intolerant (he opposed giving full civil rights to Jews, for example); his second son Tom wavered back and forth all his life between Anglicanism and Roman Catholicism, while "Matt," as Martineau always called him, quietly abandoned literal belief in the Gospels, while still attending church with his wife. In 1849 Martineau observed with some excitement how, religiously-speaking, the Arnolds were "parting off in the most remarkable manner" (Logan 3:148), their mother, and Jane, the eldest, stubbornly nestling "closer together under the priestly wing," while the rest went lurching off in all kinds of eccentric directions.

Their personal lives were just as interesting, especially the daughters' marriages. When the second daughter, Mary, took her third husband in 1868, Martineau's blunt response was: "How *can* she? – but she never was like the rest" (Arbuckle 292). Martineau had more respect for Jane, who after an abortive engagement to one of her father's Rugby school house-masters, George Cotton,

<sup>2</sup> *Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood*, ed. Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983), p. 265. Other references in the text.

married W.E Forster (of the 1870 Education Act). What particularly interested Martineau about the Arnolds was their educational connections: both through Forster, and Matthew, who was a schools inspector, as well as the legacy of Dr. Arnold, as Rugby headmaster, which in one way or another affected most of his children. Martineau dismissed Edward (the third son) and Susanna (the third daughter) as the least well endowed intellectually of the family, while the unmarried Fan was the one with whom she exchanged comments on new books and help with illnesses and visitors. Uniquely, perhaps, the Arnolds could be both looked up to and slightly condescended to. Martineau enjoyed the occasional lofty overview of their moral situation, while finding them perhaps her closest social and intellectual equals in the immediate locality.

So far as Matthew was concerned, Elisabeth Ar buckle has described the nature of his relationship with Martineau as "an armed truce" (xxiii), while the most recent editor of Arnold's letters, Cecil Lang comments that they "never really liked or approved of each other."<sup>3</sup> Arnold, for his part, told his sister Jane in 1854 that "Miss Martineau and her brother James and their hatreds, remind one of the family of Pelops" (Lang 1:295), alluding to the descendants of Agamemnon, which make up Aeschylus's tragic trilogy. Unlike her own family, the Arnold siblings remained firm friends with each other throughout their lives, whatever their ideological differences. My discussion focuses on three key moments in the relationship between Martineau and Arnold: the publication of his 1853 *Poems*; the "Haworth Churchyard" poem which featured both Martineau and Charlotte Brontë; and their dialogue on education in the 1860s. It should be said at the outset that while Martineau sometimes spoke condescendingly of "Matt," and he dismissively of "Miss Martineau," a dialogue of sorts remained open between them: not least perhaps because as a *Daily News* and *Edinburgh* reviewer Martineau had a certain influence and potential usefulness to him as a promoter of his ideas, both on poetry and education.

**1853 *Poems* and *Merope*.** On the whole, Martineau thought Arnold was a good poet who was not sufficiently appreciated either by his mother, or by the wider reading public. The family's disapproval she traced back to the forbidding presence of Dr. Arnold, who had actually "expressed 'contempt' for the 'character of mind' of his eldest son, who has turned out so gloriously" (Logan 4:31). Perhaps because of this Martineau was determined to stand by him, but her behaviour towards him as a professional critic was at the very least inconsistent. By letter she enthused about his 1853 *Poems*, and said she wanted to send copies to all the "subjective" novelists who were too

<sup>3</sup> *The Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Cecil T. Lang, Vol I (Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1996) pp. 95-6.



inwardly focused on their own feelings (3:267), but she was not sure his poems entirely fulfilled the expectations of his "Preface." When she came to review them for the *Daily News* she complained bluntly: "Theory and practice, in this respect, more utterly at variance, could not, it seems to us, be found anywhere."<sup>4</sup> There was far too much static mental distress and belief in blind fate. Indeed, when it came to it, she disliked both his classical models and his diction, complaining of "trite phrases and illustrations" (Dawson 134). Given her eager response to the volume in her direct dealings with Arnold, her about-turn in a public review must have shocked him, especially her concluding dismissal that "with all his cleverness and his scholarship... although he has written no common verses... he was not born a poet, and therefore can not be one" (Dawson 136-7). This seems extraordinary in light of a comment she made in an 1859 letter to Henry Bright: "I like Matt. Arnold exceedingly, & he is a very kind friend of mine. He *is* a poet" (Logan 4:194).

Was he or wasn't he? She seems to have liked his Sophoclean verse-drama, *Merope* (1858)- or at least *not* liked the way the *Westminster Review* was disrespectful of it, for which she took the periodical's editor, John Chapman, to task: "I don't want the reviewer to like 'Merope' if he can't: but I do protest against his flippant treatment of one of the greatest literary men of our time" (4:78) she complained. In 1869 Arnold noted that she had sprung to his defence again with the *Daily News* editor. Perhaps ultimately it was the principle of fairness which concerned her more than whether or not the poetry was particularly good. This meant that the reviewer must be objective, but not sneering or underhand in any way.

**"Haworth Churchyard."** Arnold, in turn, was inconsistent in his treatment of Martineau in the poem "Haworth Churchyard" (1855) which paid tribute jointly to her with Charlotte Brontë. When the famous novelist stayed with Martineau at the Knoll in December 1850, visits were exchanged with the Arnolds, and Matthew was dragged into seeing her miniature farm; when Brontë died in 1855, Arnold wrote a poem recording "the meeting of two/Gifted women" – the younger, "Brilliant with recent renown," the elder, "maturer in fame," having begun with fiction and then "Widen'd her sweep, and surveyed/History, politics, mind." The gist of the poem is that in 1850 they both had hopeful prospects; now, in 1855, one was dead, and the other "Lies expecting from death,/ In mortal weakness a last/Summons!" The section specifically on Martineau salutes her courage and independence of mind – qualities for which Arnold consistently admired her: "Hail to the spirit which dared / Trust its own thoughts, before yet / Echoed her back by the crowd."

<sup>4</sup> *Matthew Arnold: The Poetry: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Carl Dawson (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1973), p. 136.



In 1877, after her death, however, he claimed to have forgotten the poem. He had already (1875) taken out three stanzas about her, and how her death would spare her from seeing any more of her country's decline; he now told a correspondent that he did not want to "overpraise a personage so antipathetic to me as H.M. My first impression of her is, in spite of her undeniable talent, energy, and merit – what an unpleasant life and unpleasant nature!" (4:360).

**Education.** Nevertheless, he continued to seek her views, and in 1860 exchanged detailed letters with her on his report, *The Popular Education of France* (1861). Her side of the correspondence has been lost, but his letters were collected in 1972 for an article by E. E. Rea in the *Yearbook of English Studies* where they were reprinted, but not discussed in any detail.<sup>5</sup> What they show essentially is that Arnold went to some lengths to explain why he thought the French education system produced better results for the middle classes than the equivalent system in England. Arnold disliked the narrow-mindedness of the so-called "Revised Code" introduced by Robert Lowe, which proposed the controversial idea of "payment by results" of school tests, whereas Martineau welcomed it. Another cause for disagreement was the contribution of nonconformists and dissenters to the education system, of which Arnold was consistently critical. What we can infer from his half of the correspondence is that Arnold sent Martineau his draft report on the French education system in the summer of 1860, and Martineau responded with what he politely called "perfect frankness": "though it pains me, of course, that one whom I so much admire and respect should judge me so unfavourably."<sup>6</sup> He patiently explains in his first letter (24 July 1860) that if he was harsh on the nonconformists, it was because, unlike the French, they obstructed the development of what he calls "intelligence" in children (something like scientific passion, according to Rea).

A week later Arnold replied to another letter from Martineau, promising to "strike out anything which may be considered offensive" (30 July 1860) but again politely reminding her that times were changing, and the state needed to educate a broader social mix for the responsibilities of democracy. Judging by his preface to the report, separately printed as an essay called "Democracy," he must have changed very little, as he still criticizes the "social action of Protestant Dissent" for its largely negative effect on the middle classes: teaching them to be "able to think as you like," but not

<sup>5</sup> E. E. Rea, 'Matthew Arnold on Education: Unpublished Letters to Harriet Martineau,' *Yearbook of English Studies* 2 (1972), pp. 181-191.

<sup>6</sup> *The Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Cecil T. Lang, Vol 2 (Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1997), p. 12.

to develop “a high reason and a fine culture.”<sup>7</sup> Martineau would doubtless have said freedom of thought was hardly something to be undervalued.

But this wasn't the end of it: their dialogue on educational matters re-opened in July 1864, when Arnold put to her a model of arriving at the truth by means of debate and adjustment with other people: he was himself no longer keen to stand out in sharp opposition to those with intelligent ideas. This lengthy letter (7 July 1864) discusses a possible system for organizing schools in England, especially what would be best for the middle classes. It's possible to infer from Arnold's comments that Martineau was defending the middle-class contribution to the country, whereas Arnold was again criticizing its lack of ingrained culture. His letter is sprinkled with repetitions of the phrase “as you say” (four on one page), as if he was anxious not to antagonize her, while insisting on his own position: “Do you see what I mean here, as to culture?” (Lang 2:324). Still doubtful of whether she has understood his concerns about the more commercial end of the middle classes, he suggests that the French have “an electric current of mind and soul” lacking in their British counterparts. He ends by urging her “Do what you can to enlarge and liberalise our middle class spirit.”

This exchange seems to have been highly useful to them both. It helped Arnold explain ideas that would resurface in *Culture and Anarchy* (1869) as well as his articles on education, and it prompted Martineau to write on “Middle Class Education” for the *Cornhill Magazine* in 1864. Her comments in this article (according to her) provided a butt for his satire in “My Countrymen” (1866), which she called “Matt's bit of sauciness” (Arbuckle: 265). In effect, their mutual argumentativeness was useful to both. Whatever he said on other occasions, Arnold thought Martineau was worth trying to win over to his own position. He adopts a distinctly painstaking and careful way of writing to her, as if genuinely anxious to persuade her, and in the process softens his own antagonistic edge. In 1868 he passed a message to his sister Fan, about what would be *Culture and Anarchy*: “Let her say to H.M. from me that I hope she will like the conclusion I have given to my series of papers. They will be reprinted as a book, and I will send it to her.”<sup>8</sup> She responded by thinking *Culture and Anarchy* “must rank with the national *events* of the time” (Logan 5:223), and that he “must be destined to influence largely the mind of his time” (224).

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<sup>7</sup> “Democracy” (1879), in *Matthew Arnold* (Oxford Authors series), ed. Miriam Allott and Robert H. Super (Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 312.

<sup>8</sup> *The Letters of Matthew Arnold*, ed. Cecil T. Lang, Vol 3 (Charlottesville and London: The University Press of Virginia, 1998), p. 274



After her death, Arnold's opinion of her evidently hardened, but while she lived, her good opinion mattered to him, and it *was* mostly a *good* opinion. Though she treated him very much as a rising star of the next generation, and he treated her as something of a neighbourhood "character," nevertheless they avoided falling out, and each stimulated the other to further efforts. For both of them, this meant the effort of further refining the expression of their opinions for a representative intelligent middle-class readership. Beneath all the condescension and banter was a cautious underlying respect.

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### ***1<sup>st</sup> Martineau Society Pub Quiz***

This took place on Friday 20th July 2007 as part of the Martineau Society annual meeting in Norwich and aroused much interest and hilarity. It was agreed that the quiz would be published in the newsletter and also that the winning team (led by Valerie Sanders) would have responsibility for organising the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pub Quiz in Manchester in 2008!

#### ***Categories:***

##### ***Martineau Society***

1. How many members of the society currently according to secretary's records? a) 64, b) 69, c) 71, d) 74
2. How many countries are represented in the Martineau Society, taking the UK as single entity? a) Four, b) Six, c) Eight, d) Ten
3. Which of the following countries is not represented: a) Canada, b) Puerto Rico, c) Germany, d) Norway
4. Under which prime minister was the membership fee last raised? a) Thatcher, b) Major, c) Blair, d) Brown
5. How many official Martineau Society posts has Sophia Hankinson held? a) Three, b) Four, c) Five, d) Six

##### ***Harriet***

6. Which of these shared the same year of birth as Harriet? a) Benjamin Disraeli, b) Sarah Coleridge, c) Lord Brougham, d) Florence Nightingale
7. Who of the following was Harriet engaged to? a) Henry Atkinson, b) John Hugh Worthington, c) Frederick Charrington, d) Peter Guinness
8. Whom did Harriet harass about improving the postal service to Ambleside? a) Benny Hill, b) Jimmy Hill, c) Roland Hill, d) Michael Hill



9. Which of these was not a character in Harriet's novels? a) Maria Young, b) Toussaint d'Ouverture, c) Erica Erlingsen, d) Derek Ibbotson
10. Who was not a correspondent of Harriet's? a) Fanny Burney, b) Fanny Wedgewood, c) Fan Arnold, d) Fanny Higginson
11. What was the name of Harriet's travel companion in the US? a) Louisa Jeffrey, b) Sarah Flowers, c) Maria Weston Chapman, d) Maria Carey
12. Whom did Harriet refer to as "glorious" in 1837? a) The new Queen at her coronation, b) Jane Carlyle's dress, c) Brother James, d) Fanny Wedgewood's baby
13. What cured Harriet at Tynemouth? a) Rice pudding, b) Fresh air, c) Henry Atkinson, d) Mesmerism
14. Where is Harriet buried? a) London, b) Norwich, c) Lake District, d) Birmingham

**James**

15. What was James' first choice of career? a) Commerce, b) Engineering, c) Family business, d) Journalism
16. In relation to James, which is the odd one out? a) Paradise Street Chapel, b) Octagon Chapel, c) Manchester New College, d) Eustace Street, Dublin
17. What was the title of James' chair at Manchester New College? a) Prof. of Mental and Moral Philosophy, b) Prof. of Theology and Ethics, c) Prof. of Logic and Learning, d) Prof. of Religion and Rationality
18. Which one of the following was not a book written by James? a) The Rationale of Religious Enquiry, b) A Study of Religion, c) Types of Ethical Theory, d) The Future of Unitarianism as a Faith.
19. Which one of the following did James not take up seriously? a) Fatherhood, b) Philosophising, c) Fishing, d) Holding religious services
20. Which of these shared the same year of birth as James? a) Ellen Tree, b) Percy Bysshe Shelley, c) Mary Shelley, d) Erasmus Darwin
21. Where is James buried? a) London, b) Liverpool, c) Manchester, d) Birmingham

**Martineau family**

22. Among Harriet and James' relations, one was a well-known expert on renal failure. Was it: a) Robson Green? b) Hugh Paddick? c) Frank Field? d) Philip Meadows?
23. Who of the following member of the family was not a surgeon? a) Gaston Martineau, b) David Martineau, c) Alfred Higginson, d) Thomas Martineau
24. There were eight children in James and Harriet's immediate family. Were there, a) five boys and three girls, b) three boys and five girls, c) two boys and six girls, d) four boys and four girls

25. How many years spanned the birth of the oldest (Elizabeth) and youngest (Ellen) child? a) 20, b) 15, c) 17, d) 22
26. Who of the following tutored Harriet and James? a) Lance Armstrong, b) Lenny Henry, c) Lant Carpenter, d) Leonard Bernstein

***Place and Space***

27. In what year did both Harriet and James attend Carpenter's school in Bristol? a) 1818, b) 1819, c) 1820, d) 1821
28. The James' family holiday home was near to one of the following towns: a) St Andrews, b) Tillicoultry, c) Pitlochry, d) Aviemore
29. After who was Martineau Lane in Norwich named? a) Thomas Martineau, b) William Martineau, c) Philip Meadows Martineau, d) Gaston Martineau
30. Which of the following places did Harriet not live in at some time in her life? a) Tynemouth, b) Ambleside, c) Norwich, d) Liverpool
31. Which of the following places did James not live in at some time in his life? a) London, b) Dublin, c) Liverpool, d) Birmingham
32. When did Harriet's book on the English Lakes come out? a) 1854, b) 1858, c) 1862, d) 1864
33. How many miles did James and Harriet cover in their Scottish walking tour of 1824? a) 300, b) 400, c) 500, d) 600
34. Was the 1665 act forbidding nonconformist or unlicensed preachers to come within a certain distance of the parish where they had been incumbent or of any city or town entitled a) 600 Yard Act, b) Two Mile Act, c) Five Mile Act, d) Seven Mile Act
35. Where was Whitney's statue of Harriet installed, before it was destroyed by fire in 1914? a) Wellesley College, b) Priestley College, c) Manchester New College, e) Girton College

***Religion & Philosophy***

36. Approximately how many Unitarians nationally were there in 1851? a) 25,000, b) 50,000, c) 75,000, d) 100,000
37. Which of the following involves rejection of the belief in the divinity of Jesus? a) Necessarianism, b) Theism, c) Socinianism, d) Altruism
38. Which of the following were members of a Protestant sect? a) Centurions, b) Moravians, c) Arthurians, d) Malvenians
39. Which acts excluded dissenters from taking up public and municipal office? a) Examination and Exclusion Acts, b) Union and Corporate Acts, c) Test and Corporations Acts, d) Sensible and Rational Acts



40. Which of the following was an English high church movement? a) Diocesian, b) Necessarian, c) Independent Illiberal, d) Tractarian
41. What philosophy was Jeremy Bentham associated with? a) Unitarianism, b) Utilitarianism, c) Unnecessarianism, d) Unmentionable-ism
42. Which of the following was a founding father of Unitarianism? a) J.B. Priestley, b) John Prescott, c) Joseph Priestley, d) Elvis Priestley
43. What was the followers of Auguste Comte called? a) Agnostics, b) Positivists, c) Poststructuralists, d) Unmentionables

**General questions**

44. Who described Harriet as a "brown faced woman"? a) Sara Bernhardt, b) William Charles Macready, c) Babs Todd, d) Barbara Windsor
45. How much younger in years was Harriet than Wordsworth? a) 12 years, b) 22 years, c) 32 years, d) 42 years
46. Which of the following described Harriet Martineau as England's first woman journalist? a) George Sand, b) George Eliot, c) George Bernard Shaw, d) George Michael

**Conundrums**

47. Harriet is to Sociology as James is to: a) Botany, b) Anthropology, c) Theology, d) Ethics
48. James is to Unitarianism as Harriet is to a) Feminism, b) Embroidery, c) Socialising, d) Farming
49. Gertrude is to painting as Harriet is to: a) Farming, b) Building, c) Cooking, d) Dancing
50. What have Elizabeth (begetter of James and Harriet) and Ian (begetter of the detective Rebus) have in common? a) Birthplace, b) Religion, c) Partiality to rice pudding, d) Surname

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**"Harriet Martineau in Virginia, 1835: The Theory and the Practice" by Willard C. Frank, Jr.**

This essay explores the intersection of Harriet Martineau, Unitarianism, and Slavery, with a special focus on her experiences in Virginia during her American travels, in February and March 1835. Harriet Martineau was a staunch anti-slavery crusader, whose goal was to reconcile the practice of inequality and bondage with the theory of a free republican society. Slavery was a moral evil as well as economically impractical and corrupting, a position she had developed at length in *Demerara* (1832).

With these imperatives in mind, she voyaged to America, 1834-36, where she identified herself as Unitarian, associated with Unitarians, and in her travels was passed from one Unitarian host to another. After spending some time in the Middle Atlantic states, she began her travels through the South starting with Virginia in February 1835. Virginia had given America



extraordinary leaders and high ideals enshrined in the constitution. Yet the eastern half of Virginia was home to vast numbers of chattel slaves, 35 to over 50% of the total population. Could these two Virginias be reconciled?

Harriet Martineau and her travelling companion, Louisa Jeffrey, made their first pilgrimage stop in Virginia at Mount Vernon, where Harriet paid homage to the paragon of the American republican ideal, George Washington. They then traveled by coach to central Virginia to visit the elderly James Madison, fourth president of the United States and author of the American Bill of Rights, in retirement in his home at Montpelier. Here was her first opportunity to talk at length with a thoughtful experienced Virginian in his own native South. Madison paid homage to the co-architect of American liberties, Thomas Jefferson, whose "Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom" (1785) was a foundation for Madison's Bill of Rights. Madison had "inexhaustible faith" in the American experiment, except over one subject, slavery. Here, he admitted, he was almost in despair. He talked on this topic more than any other, without limit or hesitation, acknowledging all its evils. The whole Bible condemns slavery, Madison admitted, "but the clergy do not preach this, and the people do not see it."

Harriet in her contact with Blacks in America saw their character as generous, patient, and hopeful. Madison, however, was certain that blacks could not stay in America, and when emancipated had to go somewhere else. The widespread assumption in the United States was that the cultural level of blacks and whites was so divergent, even if one admitted that both were human beings, that they could never live together in one society. Further, the slave population was rising at about the same rate as the population as a whole. With slave girls expected to be mothers by the time they were fifteen, on Madison's lands slaves under five-years-old were a third of the population. Madison despaired that the Americas shut them out. His only solution was colonization in Africa, but the American Colonization Society had resettled only a few of the scores of thousands of slave infants born each year. Madison felt deeply that slaves could not be trusted, that vicious free blacks lurked around, and that both slaves and free blacks kept whites "in a state of perpetual suspicion, fear, and anger." Slavery troubled Madison deeply. He longed to get rid of it but did not know how. He felt helpless, "cursed with a servile population in conflict with a people wholly free." Yet, during their conversations, slaves with big bunches of keys, on one errand or another, were constantly coming and going. This ambivalence was just as marked in Thomas Jefferson, who had died nine years before.

Harriet and Madison spoke of freedom of religion. Madison, although raised in the Anglican

faith, had developed his own private brand of Christianity. He talked of philosophical necessity and his attraction for Joseph Priestley, whom he had met in Philadelphia, which resonated well with Harriet's own developing personal faith. He was publicly and totally committed to a complete separation of church and state for the good of both and for the religious welfare of the people.

Harriet and the former president parted, with deep mutual respect. Harriet remarked on his cheerful enduring faith "in the people's power of wise self-government." Yet slavery, which both knew was morally wrong and politically corrupting, kept the theory and the practice far apart. As the Martineau carriage drove away from Montpelier, the two political and religious liberals hoped to continue the conversation on a future occasion. It was not to be, and Madison died just fifteen months later.

After a journey of thirty-five miles, on a February Sunday afternoon, Harriet arrived at Charlottesville, the seat of Thomas Jefferson's University of Virginia. Totally designed by Jefferson himself, the university opened for students in the year of Jefferson's death, 1826. It is laid out as an "academical village," with student rooms and apartments of the faculty surrounding the Lawn, where all could be in easy reach of one other and professors could host the students for dinner and conversation in their apartments, as was expected. Looking down on the scene is Jefferson's hill-top home, Monticello, from which vantage point Jefferson in his last months could see the last construction completed and his dream fulfilled.

The professors, their wives, and invited students welcomed Harriet warmly, engaged with her in conversations on a variety of topics from the properties of heat to contemporary English writers (whom Harriet noted that her American hosts knew very well), to comparisons between Greek and German literature. On slavery, and with domestic slaves constantly in evidence, the faculty wives agreed that their servants were happy, and looked to Harriet for approval of their "peculiar institution." "Their husbands used a very different tone," wrote Harriet, "observing, with gloom, that it was a dark question every way." The subject of slavery could quickly turn a light-hearted conversation into a most foreboding direction.

They all knew the argument in *Demerara* and tried to persuade Harriet of its errors. "I made it a rule, she wrote, "to allow others to introduce the subject of slavery, knowing that they would not fail to do so, and that I might learn as much from their method of approaching the topic as from anything they could say upon it. Before half an hour had passed, every man, woman, or child I might be conversing with had entered upon the question. As it was likewise a rule with me never to conceal or soften my own opinions, and never to allow myself to be irritated by what I heard (for it



is too serious a subject to indulge frailties with), the best understanding existed between slaveholders and myself. We never quarrelled, while, I believe, we never failed to perceive the extent of the difference of opinion and feeling between us. I met with much more cause for admiration in their frankness than reason to complain of illiberality."

The culture of Virginia curtailed the hospitality to religious diversity the state's founders espoused. Harriet arrived in the town in time to attend the services of a visiting Unitarian minister held in the courthouse. There was no Unitarian church yet in the vicinity, despite Jefferson's unanswered pleas that Joseph Priestley or some other Unitarian minister resettle in Charlottesville and establish a Unitarian church there. Harriet learned that "one of the professor's ladies could not sleep at night before from the idea of a Unitarian being so near." In fact, the orthodox Board of Visitors refused to hire Jefferson's candidate, Thomas Cooper, as professor of natural philosophy, because he was a heretic, a Unitarian. Yet the university followed Jefferson's plan, much to the consternation of some but the delight of Harriet, to have no professor of theology, but only of ethics. "While theological instruction has been obtainable elsewhere" from the clergy of the diverse churches, as Harriet noted, "a greater number and variety of young men, of different religious persuasions, have been educated at this institution than would have been likely to resort to it if it had, but the choice of a theological professor, identified itself with any single denomination." "The attendance upon public worship is purely voluntary," Harriet observed, "and as a consequence, it is regular and complete."

In late February, Harriet and Louisa set out from Charlottesville across central Virginia to Richmond, the state capital. She observed country life along the way, including the degradation of apprehensive rural slaves, whom she tried to engage in conversation; the ease of plantation ladies at tea with slaves fanning away flies; and the fears by gentlemen of Abolitionists sneaking into the neighborhood, against whom their Vigilance Committees would give any Northern intruders summary justice.

All of Richmond, it seemed, wanted to honor the distinguished lady from England. That early March on Sunday, she received cordial invitations to attend one or another of the main churches of the town. She preferred, however, to attend the Unitarian church. The Unitarian-Universalist Church, founded only in 1830, was the first and in 1835 still the only established Unitarian house of worship in the state. Unitarians were to be found in most regions and all the major towns of Virginia, but outside of Richmond had to rely for spiritual sustenance on traveling ministers and subscriptions to Unitarian newspapers. The brick hillside church on Mayo Street had



just been completed two years before. Although distinguished members of Richmond society were members, and with the legislature then in session came attendees from the Atlantic to the Ohio River, there was enough fear and prejudice against liberal Christianity that church leaders formally changed its name to "The First Independent Christian Church," to disguise its Unitarian and Universalist affiliation and, it was hoped, to lessen the opprobrium of what many took to be a heretical sect.<sup>9</sup>

The Rev. Charles Briggs, interim minister of the church, had followed Harriet's travels and was expecting her. "I waited on Miss Martineau to my church," Briggs wrote in a letter to the Unitarian headquarters in Boston, "and her presence gave me an overflowing house. This aided our cause some. The orthodox pressed her to attend church with them, but she was very decided and independent on that subject."<sup>10</sup>

The records do not detail conversations on slavery between Harriet and members of the congregation, but the issue surely arose. Southerners knew her views; they had read *Demerara*. Briggs, from the North, considered her "a truly wonderful woman! I was delighted with her."<sup>11</sup> Yet the church was divided. Her presence in the church could only increase fears among the congregation that the larger community might conclude that the church was harboring feared Abolitionists.

Later that year, a visiting Unitarian minister from the North, the Rev. Charles A. Farley, delivered a sermon admitting that slavery was an abstract evil but arguing that it was a practical necessity, which the South knew best how to manage without the interference of Northern agitators. Do not panic or grow excited, Farley counseled his hearers, but be calm as patriots and as Christians. This was just what many church leaders wanted to hear. They rushed the sermon into print and had it widely distributed. Twenty years later, however, the congregation invited a native Virginian and most outspoken Abolitionist Unitarian clergyman, the Rev. Moncure Daniel Conway, to become its minister. Conway considered the position, from which he might "grapple with the dark and evil powers steadily taking possession of my State." He nevertheless declined the offer, for fear of inciting violence against the church and divisions in the congregation.

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<sup>9</sup> See George H. Gibson, "The Unitarian-Universalist Church of Richmond," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, vol 74, no. 3 (July 1966), 321-335. This was the first church in the United States to bear the names of what were until 1961 separate denominations.

<sup>10</sup> Briggs to Whitman, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1835, AUA Letter Books, UUA Archives.

<sup>11</sup> HM, *Retrospect*, 1:226; Briggs to Whitman, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1835, AUA Letter Books, UUA Archives.

Harriet was spared the Farley sermon, but not the entreaties of every slaveholder she met. She respected their forthright honesty, and they respected her calm civility. "In the drawing-room of the boarding-house at Richmond, Virginia," she wrote, "three gentlemen, two of whom were entire strangers, attacked me in the presence of a pretty large company one afternoon. This was a direct challenge, which I did not think fit to decline, and we had it all out. They were irritable at first, but softened as they went on; and when, at the end of three hours, we had exhausted the subject, we were better friends than when we began."

Harriet and Louisa continued their journey through the Southeast, the Mississippi-Ohio Valley and New England. Everywhere the issue of slavery arose, reaching its most passionate and threatening level in Boston. She saw this to be a stage that called forth martyrs on the way to the fulfillment of Harriet's hopes that America might draw theory and practice together, of which she wrote in "The Martyr Age of the United States" (1838). She had to note, however, that although many of her closest American partners in the struggle against slavery were Unitarians, most at that time tried uncomfortably to sidestep the issue as too divisive.

From this experience one may draw several conclusions. Harriet Martineau was a singular person with her intelligence, focus, analytical ability, calm methods of getting honest truth from her interlocutors, and her ability to convey her experiences and judgments in print. That she was an Englishwoman helped her own moral and investigative approach and concentration, as well as the ease of her discussants. Her Unitarian upbringing and orientation informed her intellectual breadth, marked individualism, moral courage, and ethical center, and so did much to lead her to a strong and consistent anti-slavery stance. Her Unitarian contacts guided her itinerary throughout her travels in America, from host to host, discussant to discussant, and therefore extensively shaped the content of her journey.

In conversation and in print, Harriet Martineau held up for all to see the American dilemma of a widening gap between the theory of the prized American experiment in an open, free republicanism, upon which Americans based their identity and hopes, and the practice of slavery and racial (and other) division. For most of those of European descent, both North and South, their pride in and hopes for America were accompanied by foreboding fears, an uneasy accommodation, and no sense of a way out. Her solution, both moral and practical, was step by step to join theory and practice in a new order for America, a society where, in an atmosphere of respect and accommodation, blacks and whites, female and male, could find ways to give fuller meaning to the promise of the American experiment. Liberty and equality, perhaps, were mutually dependent.



Today, 173 years after Harriet Martineau's American journey, her dream for America is still an agenda unfinished.

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**"What sort of person was James Martineau?" by Bruce Chilton**

How can you paint a picture of a man who lived so boldly and strongly to the age of 95? James Martineau didn't make an attractive start. His first recollection at the age of four in 1809 was the misery and sickness of a coach journey from Norwich to Newcastle to visit his aunt. There, he and his sister, Harriet, were falsely accused of stealing fruit and banned from the garden. He wrote later – "the first burning sense of injustice, I suppose, is never forgotten."<sup>1</sup>

A friend of the Martineau family described the child James as thin and sallow, timid and even nervous, "an irritable child." James was to say later that his childhood was not happy. He put it down to well-meant but persecuting sport by his older brothers and to his rough treatment at Norwich Cathedral School.<sup>2</sup> But there may have been indications of great things to come from this unattractive schoolboy. There are several reports of a family story involving young James. One Sunday, he was found reading a large Bible. When asked what he had read that afternoon, he said he had read from Genesis to Isaiah, some 23 whole books, "skipping the nonsense, you know, Mamma."<sup>3</sup>

As a young man James had a way with words. During their childhood, Harriet looked to him as her authority in most, if not all things. Harriet wrote – "I mentioned my notion (of writing stories to illustrate Political Economy), one bright afternoon at home. Brother James nodded assent; my mother said 'do it'; and we went to tea, unconscious what a great thing we had done since dinner."<sup>4</sup> But James had the advantage of being male. He got his father to pay for his engineering apprenticeship and lost the hefty premium when he failed at it. Then his father, although not a wealthy man, paid for James to go to Manchester College at York to study for the ministry and, to fill his leisure time, bought him a sailboat! James appears to have had a persuasive personality as well as persuasive oratory. They worked on his parents as well as Harriet.

We know James Martineau as a great orator and writer in the field of theology. Styles and tastes in writing have changed and theology is not the popular subject it was in the nineteenth

<sup>1</sup> Drummond & Upton – *Life and Letters of James Martineau* I, p.10.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* p.9.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography* I, p.139.

century. But James' books are such heavy going. One can see the erudition. One can see the intellect. Reading his books is like looking over an ocean. They are very deep and stretch away for ever and, unless one is a theologian, one cannot see very far into it! But occasionally a big idea rises to the surface like a great whale. For a few seconds, it is breathtaking!

For example: "There are men of whom you cannot speak as being conspicuously religious .... but whose cheek burns at a tale of injustice; who turn away with loathing from meanness and cruelty.... Are these men then without religion? Deficient as their creed may be, and little as they may kindle at the name of God, they too are not without their worship, though you may deny it the name and they themselves would be the last to call it so."<sup>5</sup>

Or how about this? – "Petitions for purely physical events – e.g. for the arrest of a heavenly body, the diverting of a storm .... must be condemned as at variance with the known method of providential rule. But a large proportion of temporal events are not like these,... they come to us with a mixed origin, from the natural world indeed, yet through lines of human life and as affected by the human will... Wherever these elements of character enter the result, so that it will differ according to the moral agent's attitude of mind, it is plainly not beyond the reach of a purely spiritual influence to modify a temporal event... The prayer of Cromwell's troopers kneeling on the field could not lessen the numbers or blunt the weapons of the cavaliers; but might give such fire of zeal and coolness of thought as to turn each man into an organ of almighty justice and carry the victory which he implored."<sup>6</sup>

What is the dour theologian doing writing like this? Isn't it full of emotion? Is this a key to the character of James Martineau? Imagine how these words would have sounded in the mouth of a majestic orator? James Martineau is remembered amongst Unitarians for having pushed them towards "spirituality." Isn't that another word for "emotion"?

For all his intellect, there is evidence James Martineau could be silly or worse. At his worst, he set up a "Free Christian Union" in opposition to a proposed Unitarian Association to give the independent chapels and churches calling themselves Unitarian and Free Christian a national focus and organisation. The Free Christian Union flopped but Martineau's hostility delayed the Unitarian Association for many decades.<sup>7</sup>

By the time of his death in 1901, James Martineau's powerful influence as both a speaker and writer were waning. It is hardly surprising that, at his age of 97, the memory of his

<sup>5</sup> Hall – "James Martineau – Selections", p.70.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.* p.71.

<sup>7</sup> Drum. I, p.436.



achievements in his long life should be slipping away. One of his many obituaries, quoted by Alan Ruston in "A James Martineau Miscellany," stated – "It will be the business of posterity to determine Dr. Martineau's place among philosophers... But the difficulty is to lay one's finger on any one point in which Dr. Martineau advanced human thought a stage further... This however is an incomplete and partial view of him; he had a magnetic personality and won himself more devoutly attached disciples among able men than any other minister of his time."

The central point about James Martineau's contribution must be highly arguable. His book "The Seat of Authority in Religion" argued that every person's authority for religious belief or disbelief is his or her conscience guided by reason. This argument has since become an almost universal belief among Christians, Unitarians and others.

So what about this dour, brilliant theologian with a magnetic personality and not a little liking, if you see his portraits, for fancy ties? What about the man? In his late 30s he could be found jumping into ad hoc games of football – "We found Mr Martineau, with many other gentlemen, playing at football... as if all the concentrated energy of his body were brought out in every blow... with his coat and hat off, and his hair flying wild, dashing about in all directions, as lightly and nimbly as if he had been a boy."<sup>8</sup> He wept profusely and openly in grief at the deaths of his friends. By his great age, James Martineau must have attended a large number. Throughout his long life, he loved jokes and, especially, irony. "And now the evening shadows were plainly lengthening. The erect figure was slightly stooped and shrunk; the mass of dark had become silvered... But he still spent the mornings sitting upright at his desk... clad in a long dressing-gown... when he was able to see a friend for a short time, he received him with all the old warmth of affection... he would refer with some amusement to the superannuation of his son Russell, who was compelled to retire... from the British Museum at the age of sixty-five."<sup>9</sup>

It's not a surprise to find that this complex, emotional and sensitive man loved music all his life, starting in Norwich – "Mrs. Martineau loved music; and Dr. Martineau, who may have attended the Gate-House Concerts at Norwich, and who once gave utterance to the rather hard saying that no one should be a minister who was not musical, might be seen, up to his latest years, in the full enjoyment of concerts in London."<sup>10</sup> We can bet he adored Schubert!

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<sup>8</sup>       ibid. p.73.  
<sup>9</sup>       Drum. II, p.203.  
<sup>10</sup>       Drum. I, p.14.

**Answers to Pub Quiz**

1 (b), 2 (b), 3 (d), 4 (c), 5 (b) - acting newsletter editor, acting secretary, chairman, president, 6 (b), 7 (b), 8 (c), 9(d), 10 (a), 11(a), 12 (c), 13 (d), 14 (d), 15 (b), 16 (b) - he was not a minister at the Octagon, 17 (a), 18 (d), 19 (c), 20 (a), 21 (a), 22 (d), 23 (d), 24 (d), 25 (c), 26 (c), 27 (b), 28 (d), 29 (c), 30 (d), 31(d), 32 (b), 33(c), 34 (c), 35 (a), 36 (b), 37(c), 38 (b), 39 (c), 40 (d), 41 (b), 42 (c), 43 (b), 44 (b), 45 (c), 46 (b), 47 (c), 48 (a), 49 (a), 50 (d)

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