

The Martineau Society

Newsletter No. 30

Winter 2011

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Contents

	Page
<i>Editor's Note</i>	2
<i>"Harriet Martineau, the Unitarians and Education"</i> by Ruth Watts	3
<i>"Harriet Martineau Applies Sociology in the North"</i> by Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle	11
<i>"Harriet Martineau and Fatherhood"</i> by Valerie Sanders	18
<i>"Musings on the Martineau Society Conference at Tynemouth 7-10 July 2011"</i> by Barbara Todd	23
<i>"Harriet's Room with a View"</i> by Beth Torgerson	26
<i>Obituary for Will Frank</i> by Bruce and Carol Chilton	29
<i>List of Recent New Members</i>	31
<i>Martineau Society Contact Information</i>	31

Martineau Society Subscription Information:

Yearly subscriptions are due on January 1st.

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Editor's Note

This 30th edition of your Society's newsletter is a bumper issue. Its size must reflect the success of the Society's 2011 Conference at sunny (well, sometimes) at Tynemouth. Indeed, the articles for you to read were given at the Conference or arise directly from it in the form of Babs Todd's "Musings" and Beth Torgerson's "Harriet's Room with a View". Many Society members on that Friday "trail" pushed through Tynemouth's market on Front Street, into the Harriet Martineau Guest House and climbed the steep stairs. Which room did Harriet occupy during her years in Tynemouth? There was no conclusion at the time of our visit. The print of the view in the Autobiography suggests a lot of artistic licence was used by the draughtsman or woman.

Many thanks to all our contributors for this and the future issue of the newsletter. Your editor has had insufficient space for all the submissions and the next edition already looks healthy and full of interest. But do not let this discourage you from submitting a further article or an article for the first time. This edition of the newsletter has concentrated closely on Harriet. Articles about other characters from the Martineau 'circle' of family and friends or associated issues (which you may wish to interpret liberally) would be very welcome. As always, the errors in this edition of the newsletter are entirely the responsibility of your Editor.

The newsletter is not exclusively about Harriet Martineau. It includes an obituary for Will Frank of Norfolk, Virginia, a dear member of the Society. With further sadness, we must also record the death earlier in the year of another cherished member, Margaret Hamer of Cambridge.

Finally, you may wish to know that the Society's Conference for 2012 will be held at Bristol from Thursday, 12 July to Sunday, 15 July at the Ramada Bristol City Hotel which is three minutes walk from Temple Meads railway station. Details of the inclusive costs of the conference, food and accommodation, including day rates, will be sent to members and appear on the Society's website in January.

“Harriet Martineau, the Unitarians and Education”

Ruth Watts

Harriet Martineau was a leading British and international feminist intellectual of the nineteenth century, a primary Victorian cultural influence, upholding in a wide range of issues an unfailing optimism that if all were correctly educated necessary social change would take place. She constantly sought scientific answers to a range of questions while being reinvigorated herself by the beauties of nature. Time and again she shook Victorian complacency and subverted cherished assumptions even when representing contemporary viewpoints. Throughout all this, she had a lifelong commitment to education, all her voluminous writings being permeated by a fervent desire to educate everyone else.

Born in 1802, much of Harriet’s beliefs and attitudes stemmed from her Unitarian upbringing with its lively intellectual and cultural life. Briefly, the Unitarian educational ideas which most affected her were the Unitarians’ denial of original sin which fostered an optimistic belief in the goodness and potential possibilities of humanity, their fervent belief in the right of all individuals to free enquiry in religion, their search for moral order and perfection, their application of reason to all things and their hope of unravelling the laws of nature by reason, experience and experiment in all matters including education.ⁱ Their educational ideas were affected by many educational thinkers but their leading educationalist in the late eighteenth century and certainly the one who affected Harriet the most was Joseph Priestley. He, in turn, was deeply influenced by the full associationist psychology of David Hartley whose *Observations on Man* he reissued in a condensed edition. He omitted Hartley’s hypothesis that body and soul were bound together, although Priestley’s acceptance that all capacities were reducible to external impressions led him to believe that everything was part of a chain of cause and effect traceable to a first cause or God, a philosophy termed necessarianism. From Hartley he accepted that environment and circumstance, rather than innate character or divine intervention, formed children, and correct, interconnected intellectual, physical and moral education from birth, would lead people to boundless knowledge, happiness, love of God and perfect virtue. Thus all people, including women, needed such education both for their own moral development and to educate others.ⁱⁱ These arguments were reinforced by those of the Rational Dissenter Richard Price whose portrayal of a benevolent God who granted all human beings opportunities to attain true wisdom and reform society through use of their reason inspired women such as Mary Wollstonecraft and Mary Hays to

argue that women must have liberty, civil and political rights and knowledge in order to exercise their conscience and acquire virtue.ⁱⁱⁱ

Thus Priestley promoted a modern education based on freedom of inquiry, thinking for oneself, learning from experiment and experience and Hartleian psychology, optimistically expecting that this would produce liberal, humane, active, 'enlightened' citizens. Both males and females so educated would understand better their own times and society, the importance of freedom of speech, democracy, scientific and commercial improvements and the evils caused by superstition and slavery.^{iv}

Harriet imbibed these ideas, further influenced by Priestley's younger friend Anna Barbauld a renowned poet, essayist and educationalist. Barbauld and her brother, Dr John Aikin, wrote educational books for children infused by liberal and humane ideals, poetry, literature, science, technology and underpinned by the principles of association. Stressing humanity's dependence on the useful and practical arts of life, they encouraged observation and experiment and whole families learning together. Their joint venture *Evenings at Home* influenced generations of children in Britain and America including the young Harriet Martineau.^v

Yet another Unitarian educationalist particularly influential on Harriet Martineau was Lant Carpenter, whose *Principles of Education* (1820) expanded Priestley's ideas and whose school in Bristol exemplified the best in Unitarian education. Martineau attended this for fifteen months, 1818-19. Its modern curriculum included classics, mathematics, physical sciences, natural history, geography, and English literature, French and Italian, ethics, mental philosophy - especially Hartley - and discussions on the social, political and scientific issues of the day. From such Unitarian schools and homes emerged a disproportionate number of political, industrial, scientific, professional, business, social and educational leaders. Among the latter were women such as Carpenter's own daughter Mary (later more famous than him), and other women who fought for better education and greater rights for women. Incidentally, Mary was bridesmaid to Harriet's maid Martha when the latter married in Ambleside the master of Carpenter's ragged school.^{vi}

Harriet herself was largely educated at home, except for two years in a mixed school and her time at Carpenter's school. She became an omnivorous reader, 'a sort of walking Concordance of Milton and Shakespere [sic]', and also 'a political economist without knowing it' through reading the *Globe*. Yet even in her lively, educational household, an open display of such prodigious learning 'was not thought proper for young ladies'. Although, in her forties Harriet turned from Unitarianism to atheism, she retained a deep admiration of Priestley, but later she thought Carpenter 'narrow in his conceptions'. Nevertheless, the educational heritage she had imbibed affected her all her life, not least in her conviction that all

people, including women and the working classes, could and should be educated to think accurately and independently for themselves. Only thus, she was sure could people achieve virtue themselves and a better life for all.^{vii}

Encouraged by the liberal attitudes of the Unitarians, Harriet began publishing early. Her prize winning essays, written to reveal the truth of Unitarian Christianity to the Roman Catholics, Muslims and Jews respectively, were educational treatises in themselves, seeing the Bible as a text to be examined like any other text and in the light of its context, history and geography.^{viii} She wrote many articles for *The Monthly Repository*, a Unitarian journal, arguing, for example, for women to have equal education and using her internalisation of Hartley to teach the habits of accurate thought, convinced that slovenly thinking caused half the world's evils.^{ix} Martineau believed that she herself developed enormously intellectually through working with the editor of the *Monthly Repository*, the radical Unitarian minister William Johnson Fox.^x

It was only when her family's business failed, however, that Harriet was able to become an independent worker and turn to professional writing. Believing that nothing touched all people more than 'the way in which the necessaries and comforts of life may be best procured and enjoyed by all', 'yet the mass of people knew little about the 'truths', as she saw them, of political economy, she decided to end the monopoly of this all important science, as she then understood it to be, and open it up to all readers. Seeing it as a moral as well as political science and thus best conveyed by narrative, she deliberately used fictional methods to do this: 'not only because it is new, not only because it is entertaining, but because we think it the most fruitful and the most complete'.^{xi} Subsequently she became famous (infamous to some) for her twenty-five novelettes, *Illustrations of Political Economy*, published monthly 1832-4 with politicians, civil servants and society people queuing up to seek her advice and support on political, economic and social matters. She said that M.P.s sent so many blue books to Norwich, the postmaster could not deliver them unless in a barrow.^{xii}

Harriet received plaudits for her depictions of poverty and working-class life and, indeed, later pronounced 'the position of the well-conditioned artisan the most favourable that society affords' in her day for making the best of any human being^{xiii}, although she showed allegiance to much Unitarian and Utilitarian thinking in accepting hypotheses of capitalism as true. Throughout, her aim was to teach people how to live together in productive communities where everyone could make a fair living and receive a fulfilling education. In *Briery Creek*, for instance, she imagined an American settlement where the benevolent Dr Sneyd (modelled on Priestley), and his family ensured that both women and men of the community had flexible amenities usable for employment, education and leisure at various times. The schoolhouse, especially, was available as a museum, library and communal

leisure facility where all could share warmth and light in the evening and enjoy properly organised 'social mirth' rather than suffering loneliness, misery and vice.^{xiv} In the ensuing *Tales of Taxation*, Harriet demonstrated in *The Scholars of Arneside* how the Stamp Act exemplified the iniquities of indirect taxation since it deprived the illiterate people of Arneside of knowledge even when they sought it. Both illiterate and rich alike were kept from proper moral and intellectual development because they lacked useful, liberal, rational knowledge and thus they made terrible choices in life. In telling the tale, Harriet raged against both unsound taxes and the privileged who wanted to keep knowledge to themselves: God 'did not make his beautiful world that one might walk abroad on it, while a thousand are shut into a dark dungeon. ...Does the sun shine more brightly when a man thinks he has it all to himself?' Mechanics Institutes, with all their deficiencies, she added, did more for the mass of people than the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.^{xv}

There were stories however, which upset some of her middle-class readers: for example, *Demerara* astutely opposed slavery as economically unsound and unproductive, corrupting everyone in the system; her Malthusian over-population themes scandalized many particularly because she was a young woman. She was, after all a woman speaking on 'masculine' topics and she refused to 'simply endorse patriarchal ideologies' or methods. Thus she became both celebrated and controversial a feature intensified on further writings attacking slavery after her long tour to America, including her historical novel *The Hour and the Man: A Historical Romance*. This argued that, if given the right education and opportunities, black people, even slaves, could obviate their vicious upbringings and equal the potential of Europeans to be intelligent, virtuous and humane. Conversely, the unjust, brutality of a slave state could corrupt Europeans.^{xvi} Harriet was a leading opponent of slavery but the assumptions of 'superior' western culture which she shared with others,^{xvii} pervaded her writings, especially those on India, despite her concern for the disadvantaged, her understanding of the double standards of colonials and of differences between cultures and her desire to observe and study societies objectively.^{xviii}

Even Harriet's novel *Deerbrook* was didactic in the way it illustrated the difficulties the growing number of professional medical practitioners had with an ignorant populace when they tried to prevent epidemics with scientific knowledge and public hygiene. The book upset some because it concerned a middle-class apothecary, a telling reminder of the class prejudices of the age.^{xix} Harriet not only thought it imperative to think for herself but also that she should then speak out, provided she had evidence to prove her points. This was illustrated by her public detailing of her loss of faith and cure through mesmerism and her challenging of ecclesiastical authority and doctrine in *Eastern Life, Present and Past*, a popular travel book. As a historian, in *History of the Peace* she used a very wide range of sources, sought to untangle myth and historical truth and insisted on including literature, history and

biography, educational, industrial and scientific developments as essential to the overall understanding of history.^{xx} Trying to educate people in ideas which caught her interest, she was a significant figure in social science and the translator and purveyor of Comte's ideas to both Britain and then back to France.^{xxi} She wanted education for liberal, humane and active citizenship and this for all people, supporting the growth of national education and better and higher education for women.

An unstinting supporter of education for all, Martineau consistently argued for national education, despairing of tardy governments and quarrelling Dissenters and the Church alike in preventing the growth of a good national education for everyone. She welcomed Robert Lowe's Revised Code of 1861 which tied grants to examination results and wanted education for democracy, scolding the otherwise laudable Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge for not publishing books to convince the populace of correct political economy beliefs, such as the need for 'free labour'.^{xxii} Her stridency against trade unionism as tyrannically preventing individuals negotiating their own terms of employment was demonstrated sharply when she published 'Secret Organisation of Trade Unions' in the *Edinburgh Review*, October 1859, when an extension of the vote to working men was being debated. She fulminated against the leaders of unions as self-interested men who should not be given the vote because they promoted false economic arguments, forcing the most 'intelligent' and 'independent' working men whom she did want enfranchised, into union action. Her article won brief fame but lost the argument to those who looked at both sides of the question.^{xxiii}

Martineau, however, did want everyone to have access to stimulating educative resources. She was delighted equally by Hullah's stimulus to the popularisation of good music; foreign immigration for improving popular taste; the 'virtual education' of museums, art galleries and exhibitions in large towns; greater humanity in education and Mechanics Institutes. At the same time she argued for professional training for elementary school-teachers and particularly governesses who needed 'honour and independence'.^{xxiv}

Harriet, indeed, wanted all women to receive the best education possible. Always glad she had been taught early in household cares and thus was 'saved from being a literary lady who could not sew',^{xxv} she saw no conflict between a full education in both literary and practical education. She said roundly in *Household Education*, 'I must declare that on no subject is more nonsense talked ... than on that of female education, when restriction is advocated'. It was ridiculous to forbid females the dead languages because they did not need them for a profession when, at the same time, it was argued that boys needed such subjects 'to improve the quality of their minds'. Similarly, when it was argued that females were incapable of abstract thought, she could cite good female mathematical and classical scholars to show

that this was not true. If women could learn French and arithmetic, they could learn Latin and mathematics. If they were called light-minded and frivolous, then they needed graver studies.^{xxvi} Although her support for a full, enriching education for females was strong, however, she also made clear that such would not detract from developing womanly women. Well-educated women, after all, would never neglect their *proper* occupations, indeed, would perform them better:

“Men do not attend the less to their professional business, their counting-house or their shop, for having their minds enlarged and enriched and their faculties strengthened by sound and various knowledge; nor do women on that account neglect the work-basket, the market, the dairy and the kitchen. If it be true that women are made for these domestic occupations then of course they will be fond of them. ... For my part, I have no hesitation in saying that the most ignorant women I have known have been the worst housekeepers; and that the most learned women I have known have been among the best, - whenever they have been early taught and trained to household business, as every woman ought to be.”^{xxvii}

Citing the renowned scientific writer Mary Somerville as a prime example of this,^{xxviii} Martineau argued that well educated women became the best wives, mothers and teachers of the young. In her work *Household Education*, she stressed that home was the place where the majority of people received their real moral and intellectual education, as a family cooperating together in lifelong learning. Since the mother was the central resource in the domestic economy and the latter should be the basis of political economy, women were given agency.^{xxix}

Harriet was well aware that many women had to be self-supporting so was pleased that the skills of sewing, nursing and running a home were becoming ones which could be turned to individual and national profit. She welcomed the advent of the sewing machine as freeing women up for less exhausting and nerve-racking work, those ‘occupations now kept from them by men’.^{xxx} A lifelong supporter of the importance of hygiene and of education in it, she became a collaborator by post of Florence Nightingale (also with Unitarian connections) who enlisted her to ‘popularise’ the significance of her findings on poor sanitation in the military. Harriet became an enthusiastic promoter of Nightingale’s nursing reforms and of the scientific, practical and moral education women needed to become professional nurses: ‘there is as much trouble with floating saints and virgins on the one hand, as with grovelling mercenaries on the other’ she crisply remarked.^{xxxi} This would allow fit and able women to leave ‘overstocked’ female industries but proper schools and ‘a new department in children’s schools’ were needed to educate and train them.^{xxxii}

Similarly she supported the advent of women doctors and education for them, all part of consistent support for better education and employment for girls and

women of all classes.^{xxxiii} This education should be more than to fit women to be 'companions to men' and 'mothers of heroes'. The best example of womanhood was one like Anna Barbauld, whom Harriet had known, who was a brilliant writer and had a beautiful 'womanly' moral character, proving that, unlike such women as Mary Wollstonecraft, a well-educated, intellectual, rational woman could still be a virtuous and moral role model.^{xxxiv} But Harriet supported women's rights and legislation which began slowly to support these and was an ardent campaigner against the Contagious Diseases Acts of the 1860s. She welcomed the Women's Movement of the 1850s and '60s and those who fought for the Married Women's Property Acts, reform of women's education and other causes and was constantly canvassed for her support.^{xxxv}

This reflects the whole of Harriet Martineau's life – an influential writer and journalist, succeeding in a patriarchal intellectual context,^{xxxvi} embedded in the culture of her day yet subversive. She was popular and successful and so influential in her time, yet largely forgotten afterwards. Practical in local life and health reforms, she was, above all, a public educator who published over 70 volumes, dozens of articles and nearly 2,000 newspaper leaders and letters.^{xxxvii} She ardently desired to educate all in what she saw as clear, rational ideas so that they could participate creatively in the liberal, humane, representative democracy she believed in. In conveying significant ideas of the day to as many people as possible, she set herself as a national educator.

ⁱ Ruth Watts R, 'Rational Dissenting women and the travel of ideas', *Enlightenment and Dissent*, (2010) 26, 13-14

ⁱⁱ J.T. Rutt (ed) *The Theological and Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Priestley* 25 vols. (1817-1831, printed by private subscription; hereafter referred to as Priestley), III *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit*; *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated* (1782; 1st ed. 1777), 221-49, 454-535; *Introductory Essays to Hartley's Theory of the Human Mind Works* (1790); XXV, *An essay on a course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life; A Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on the Study of History*; *The Plan of the Course of Lectures on the History of England* (published with *Miscellaneous Observations relating to Education* (1780; 1st ed. 1765), 137-8; XXII, *An Essay on the First Principles of Government*, (1771), 40-54

ⁱⁱⁱ Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975; 1st ed. 1792); Watts, 'Rational Dissenting women', 15-16, 26-7

^{iv} Priestley, 'Essay'; XXIV, *Lectures on History and General Policy* (1803, 1st ed. 1788); XXV, *The History and Present State of Electricity, with original experiments*, (1767), 341-5

^v John Aikin J. & Anna Laetitia Barbauld, *Evenings at Home* (London: Joseph Johnson, 1793); Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography* 3 Vols. (London: Virago, 1983 from the 3rd ed. 1877 London, Smith, Elder & Co with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman), I, 302-3

^{vi} Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England, 1760-1860* (London, Longman, 1998), 42, 134-5, 210, passim

^{vii} Harriet Martineau, *Autobiography*, I, 70-2, 100, passim; *Retrospect of Western Travel* 3 vols. (New York, Greenwood Press, 1969, 1st ed. 1838), I, 175-98

^{viii} Harriet Martineau, *Devotional Exercises and a Guide to the Study of Scriptures*. (1832, 1st ed. 1823); *The Essential Faith of the Universal Church deduced from the Sacred Records* (London, Printed for the Unitarian Association, 1831); *Autobiography*, I, 150-9

- ix Harriet Martineau, 'On Female Education', *Monthly Repository*, XVIII (1823), 77-101; 'Essays on the Art of Thinking', XXIX (1829), 521-6, 599-606, 707-12, 745-57, 817-21
- x Martineau, *Autobiography*, I, 140, 147
- xi Harriet Martineau, *Illustrations of Political Economy* 25 vols (London, Charles Fox, 1832-4, obtainable in Google Books, 1832-4), no. I, iii-xiii
- xii Martineau, *Autobiography*, 179
- xiii Harriet Martineau, *Household Education* (London, Edward Moxon; available online at http://essays.quotidiana.org/Martineau/household_education/ 1849), 45-6
- xiv Martineau, *Briery Creek Illustrations* No. 22 (1834; available at <http://books.google.co.uk/books?id=AUPQAAAAMAAJ...>)
- xv Harriet Martineau, *The Scholars of Arneside, Illustrations of Taxation* No. 5 (London, Charles Fox, 1834), 110-13, 129, passim
- xvi Martineau, *Demerara Illustrations* No.4 (1833) in D. Logan (ed.), *Harriet Martineau's Writing on the British Empire* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2004), vol.I ; *The Hour and the Man: A Historical Romance* 3 vols. (London, Edward Moxon, 1841), I, 68, 90, 120-1, 123 III, 247-304
- xvii See e.g. Lauren M E Goodlad 'Imperial woman: Harriet Martineau, geopolitics and the romance of improvement' in Ella Dzelzainis and Cora Kaplan C. (eds) *Harriet Martineau: Authorship, Society and Empire* (Manchester UP, 2010), 197-213
- xviii Deborah A Logan (ed) *Harriet Martineau's Writing on the British Empire* (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2004), passim; Martineau, *Autobiography*, 1, 5, 61-5, 69, 93; *Society in America* 3 vols. (London, Saunders and Otley, 1837); Susan Hoecker-Drysdale, *Harriet Martineau: First Woman Sociologist* (Oxford, New York, Berg, 1992), 50-2
- xix Harriet Martineau, *Deerbrook* (London, Virago 1983a, 1st ed. 1839); Caroline Roberts *The Woman and the Hour. Harriet Martineau and Victorian Ideologies* (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 52-67, 75
- xx Harriet Martineau *History of the Peace: Being a History of England from 1816-1854 with an Introduction from 1800-1815* (1864 1st ed. 1849) in Deborah. A. Logan (ed), *Harriet Martineau's Writing on British History and Military Reform* 6 vols. (London, Pickering and Chatto, 2005), I, xv-xxv
- xxi Lesa Scholl, 'Provocative agendas: Martineau's translation of Comte' in Dzelzainis and Kaplan, 88-99
- xxii Logan, *Martineau History*, I, 358-9; II, 58, 89-92, 252-4; III, 171-3, 183, 193, 284-5, 386-7; IV, 58-62; V, 61, 100-2, 127-8
- xxiii Mark Curthoys, "'Secret organisation of trades": HM and "free labour"' in Dzelzainis and Kaplan, *Harriet Martineau*, 2010, 140-50; University of Birmingham Cadbury Research Library MSS 3/i HM on strikes 1859 HM 1321-37
- xxiv Logan, *Martineau History*, IV, 316-18; Valerie Sanders, (ed.) *Harriet Martineau Selected Letters* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990), 75-6, 80, 148, 200, 227, 243, 255, 259
- xxv Martineau, *Autobiography*, 1, 27
- xxvi Martineau, *Household Education*, 221
- xxvii *Ibid.*, 222
- xxviii *Ibid.*, 223-4; *Autobiography*, 356-8
- xxix Martineau, *Household Education*, passim
- xxx *Ibid.*, 224-6, 283-7
- xxxi Logan, *Martineau History*, VI, 164
- xxxii *Ibid.* 163, 169
- xxxiii *Ibid.* 161-202, 241-2, 258-91, 301-5 ff.; III, 162-3; V, 105-6
- xxxiv Gayle Graham Yates, (ed) *Harriet Martineau on Women* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1985), 103
- xxxv *Ibid.*, passim
- xxxvi Hoecker-Drysdale, *Harriet Martineau*, 1
- xxxvii Hoecker-Drysdale, *Harriet Martineau*, 1-2, 7

Harriet Martineau Applies Sociology in the North

Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle

Following her two years of social investigation in America, Harriet Martineau sailed safely into Liverpool harbor in late August 1836. Soon she was committed to writing a three-volume account of her findings, using the notes she had taken as she traveled based on the principles she had listed on the voyage out. Those principles were to be published in *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, a ground breaking sociological primer. In that work she outlined her commonsense approach to the study of a society by a "study of *things*, using the *discourse of persons* as a commentary upon them."¹

In a fast forwarding to 1839, Martineau returned from her ill-fated Continental trip to her "mother's couch" (as she tells in her autobiography) and was taken to Newcastle to stay with her sister Lissey. There she was under the care of Lissey's husband, Thomas Michael Greenhow.

In *How to Observe*, Martineau directs readers to identify the condition and scope of the *moral* underpinnings of a society under study. In Newcastle, she soon undertook a writing assignment, "the *Dress-maker* for [Charles] Knight's series," a guide for young women contemplating life as a seamstress. Technical details were furnished "by a professional person," but Martineau deemed "the morals of needle-women" a subject of "immense importance." She also wrote up "scraps of notes for Knight's Pictorial Shakspeare,--the Shrew, Merchant, and Othello, pretty work, which steeped me in Italy for the hour."² The notes came straight from her observations during the recent stay in Italy. At the Greenhow's, meanwhile, Christmas brought happy diversions. Martineau practiced quadrilles for the children's dance in the evening, labeling the new "gallopade step in a country dance . . . a great improvement on the old jigging step."³ Though she delighted in Lissy's children, Martineau wished for her own accommodations, and by March she had moved into a first floor room at 12 Front Street in Tynemouth. From her bed/sitting room window she could see the sea and the mouth of the Tyne, while the stark Northumbrian coast offered spectacular scenery as well as a variety of human interest. Front Street, lined by brick row houses on either side, ran slightly downhill to the north towards the military castle and ruins of an ancient priory. Martineau's landlady, Mrs. Halliday, let out at least two other rooms-with-board, assisted by her sickly niece from South Shields across the river.

Meanwhile, Martineau's presence in Newcastle was not forgotten, and a series of six articles she had penned on local city improvements soon appeared in the *Penny Magazine*. Martineau's articles described the work of architect Richard Grainger who designed classical style brick buildings reminiscent of Vicenza, Regent Street in London, and Edinburgh. Through vision and enterprise, he bought old buildings from the city corporation, and then sold his *new* buildings to the city. Martineau explained how Grainger tore down and remade whole streets,

even resettling families within a few hours without harm. Sometimes Grainger moved before news of his agreements with the city could reach London, and he outwitted strikers by hiring apprentices. Her only criticism of his work was the unsuitability of the plate glass windows in a row of shops on Grey Street, but she conceded that they *were* necessary for business.⁴

In April, Martineau told her companion on the American journey, Louisa Jeffery, that she had begun a book and could lie on the sofa and read, "without the effort of *listening*," which was a fatigue. Her aunts and sister and brother-in-law often looked in on her for an hour, and the landlady was "on the watch to send for them, in case of the seizure w^h must happen, sooner or later." Yet today she was going to walk to the end of the street, "the first attempt since October to set foot out of doors," but now the "green downs, the larks, primroses, sunshine & blue sea" allured her.⁵

In June, Martineau wrote to her American friends the William Wares, announcing "*No more Fludyer S^t*." There the houses were being "pulled down," and her mother would "remove to Liverpool." At Tynemouth, she was free to work, away from the "letters, parcels, foreigners, public objects &c," of London, with an "exquisite view" overlooking the sea, "an old ruined Priory, & green down." A train of her friends were expected, "stretching from May to Christmas," coming 300 miles to see her. She was working on her historical romance about the Haitian patriot Toussaint L'Ouverture, *The Hour and the Man* (published at the beginning of 1841).⁶

In late September, still wishing to earn money by writing, Martineau had begun to look ahead to *The Playfellow*, "the light and easy work," for which she felt she was "now fit." Despite Moxon's gloom over sales of *The Hour and the Man*, he agreed to publish four children's tales, on the first of February, May, August and November 1841.

In addition to "authorship," Martineau spent hours on her window seat gazing out the window. Beyond the grassy down dotted with cows, she sometimes watched less pleasant scenes. Grim shipwrecks led to "the plundering by wreckers," and she described "the ominous rush of men and boys to the rocks and the ridge," the launching of lifeboats and the crew "taken from the rigging," followed by "the destruction of the vessel." Then ensued parties of "women, boys, and men, passing along the ridge or the sands with the spoils; bundles of sailcloth, armsful of spars, shoulder-loads of planks." (Scavenging was defended as a right by coastal dwellers who at times opposed safety measures such as lighthouses.)⁷

More intimately, Martineau told the child of a friend about "the little maid Jane, who waits upon me here." This was Jane Arrowsmith, "a sickly-looking, untidy little orphan girl of fourteen," whose character, "was easily known." Jane's mother was dead, she had a "wicked father" and she lived with her aunt in a cottage at the bottom of the garden.⁸

Though Martineau no longer went out, she was gratified in January to be made an honorary member of the Tynemouth Literary and Philosophical Institution. Most

cheering of all, Rowland Hill's penny post act was a boon for *her* as well as for soldiers in the castle barracks. Evidence showed, she briefed an American friend, "that the morals of a regiment depend mainly on the readiness of the commanding officer in franking the soldiers' family letters," now unnecessary. "We are all putting up our letter boxes on our hall doors with great glee," she went on. She hoped for "a line or two almost every day" from her brothers and sisters, and to save the postman's time, well-wishers to the system had put "slips in the doors." Humble people *did* write letters, and the stimulus to trade would be "prodigious."⁹

Martineau's first *Playfellow*, *The Settlers at Home*, came out in February as planned. Set in sixteenth-century Lincolnshire on the Isle of Axelholme, "a piece of land hilly in the middle, and surrounded by rivers," the story turned on the settlement in the fens of Norfolk and Lincolnshire of Huguenots, similar to Martineau's ancestors. Realistic details, such as the Dutch settlers' loss of their farm and gypsum mine (used for fertilizer) when resentful local people open a sluice gate, resembled those of Martineau's political economy tales. In the story, two Dutch (Huguenot) children, a servant and a local rogue boy save themselves by quickness and enterprise, becoming close friends in the process--a moral tale depending on close observation of concrete truths.¹⁰

Martineau's second *Playfellow*, *The Peasant and the Prince*, opens with Marie Antoinette's artless generosity, as she passes through a village on her way to wed the future Louis XVI, which enables a young peasant to marry his sweetheart. Colorful details of the dress, jewelry and manners of the court enliven the story, but it failed, Martineau noted, "except among poor people, who read it with wonderful eagerness."¹¹

In August, *Feats on the Fiord*, the third *Playfellow* appeared. From narrative accounts of "the state of Norway while connected to Denmark" Martineau had absorbed details of scenery and customs. The story tells of a young female servant on a farm north of the arctic circle. Although betrothed to a stalwart youth, the girl suffers from fear of the evil spirits she believes caused her mother's death. Deftly interweaving details of folk customs, unusual foods, colorful clothing and vivid topography, Martineau heightens the contrasting warmth and gaiety of the couple's betrothal party to the snowy landscape outside. Pirates then appear in the fiord (changing the narrative to a boys' suspense story), but the young fiancé contrives to terrorize the pirates, who believe he is a spirit. Finally farmers capture the pirates in a dramatic ambush, and the story ends with a wedding and religious message.¹²

In the fourth *Playfellow* tale, *The Crofton Boys*, touches of humor and details from Martineau's childhood enliven the history of an eight-and-a-half-year-old boy. He dreams of adventure and longs to go to the Crofton Boys' school with his elder brother. As their stern and protective mother presides over the family dinner table, Martineau adroitly details the courses, the actions of the servants and the children's behavior. Tragically, the story ends with the amputation of the boy's foot after an accident (a semi-portrait of Martineau's crippled childhood friend).¹³

In July 1842, Martineau's friend, the genial Henry Crabb Robinson made a journey to Tynemouth to see her. By chance, he travelled in the company of their fellow Unitarian, Elisabeth Reid. To divert Martineau, Reid had planned "to reside a few weeks" at the elegant Bath Hotel, a few doors along Front Street from Mrs. Halliday's house, and she obligingly got rooms for Robinson there too. They breakfasted together, walked till 4:00, dined together and at 6:30 went to Martineau's room for tea and to chat till 10:00. While he stayed in Tynemouth, Robinson visited the iron bridge Martineau had seen during her stay in Newcastle for the 1838 meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, when the *height* of the bridge excited her "wonder and admiration." Robinson also read through Martineau's *Playfellow* stories, liking *The Crofton Boys* for the "perfect truth of the narrative" and judging it "wise and highly moral." *The Settlers at Home* seemed affecting, but he objected to the "wilful cutting of the dykes." Finally, *Feats on the Fiord* he thought "the most picturesque and agreeable by far."¹⁴

In October, Martineau boasted to Robinson of her "rapid & constant succession of visitors." And nothing in her surroundings escaped her attention. One spring night, in "too much pain to keep still," she'd wandered into her sitting room to see the sun just rising and details of the life outside, even "M^{rs} Turnbull's brisk walk down to her pig sty, looking complacently on her cabbages by the way."¹⁵

By November, Martineau's satisfaction at a plan to enlarge her rented room by knocking down a wall into the next house, and the continuing sale of her books, may have spurred her to take on a new scheme of public benefit. The *well* in the garden, which she had already had dug, saved the maids from carrying water on their heads from two streets away, and now she now wished to secure better drains for Front Street and its surroundings. To the public health reformer Edwin Chadwick, who had forwarded his "excessively interesting . . . Sanitary Report," she reported the sufferings, owing to "ignorance or folly," of three families she could see from her window. Even her landlady, "a good-hearted but uncommonly silly woman," had moaned over the idea of a sink in the kitchen,

"as if it were a horrible evil; & meantime, every pail of washings & boilings is thrown down in the garden,--w^h *slopes* regularly to a cottage, in w^h from 9 to 14 persons live!"¹⁶

Martineau's next object was writing "to M. P's and others" about Sir James Graham's bill to set up schools for factory children under Church management--of which she approved as better than nothing. She told her MP friend, Richard Monckton Milnes, she would do "any thing whatever for these poor children;--killing myself for them, if I only knew how to work." (This campaign was not aimed specifically at the "North," nor did it qualify strictly as "sociology," but it illustrated her readiness to jump into any scheme for social betterment.)¹⁷

In 1843, after she had accepted a large "testimonial" fund gathered by her friends, Martineau quickly produced the self-help treatise, *Life in the Sick Room*. Its surprising success led to her being called on to help with a scheme to keep disgruntled coal miners of the northeast from striking. "I have just had a visit from

M^r Tremenheere," she wrote to Lord Howick. Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, commissioner for inquiring into the state of the population in mining districts had stopped to see her, making "*confidential* disclosures" about political feeling in the region that were "unspeakably fearful." She and Tremenhere agreed that their "aim must be the comfort of the mass of the people, & the education of the children." Newspapers such as the *Northern Star* must be "neutralized" and a way found to teach the "truths of doctrine & of fact about Wages." Would Howick help them in trying "to meet the minds of the discontented?" If the present danger could be averted, a "vast & energetic" population might surge up in "a new consciousness of needs & rights," which would at the same time open "a noble field for future statesmen." When Tremenheere left, Martineau longed for "a conversation with any chief [Corn Law] Leaguer," for the miners believed that "Corn-law repeal [was meant] to reduce Wages." To her surprise on 23 January 1844, "a handsome fraction of the 'Great Fact', in the shape of M^r Cobden, M^r Moore & Co^l Thompson" called and promised to help if she saw she could spread "knowledge about Wages" in the region. To the miners, homely details were sure to appeal. Did Howick think the men "w^d be entertained with a short series of Letters as from a Pennysl^a Miner?" Having "traversed the State twice, & [seen] the Alleghany Miners," she could use details from her "Amerⁿ journal"--which she had with her. Whatever she produced, she would need practical men to correct facts "& even verbal style," but she would not agree to any "hardening & sharpening" of her words, for her sympathies lay with "the ignorant & misled." Although the employers abominated expressions like "Union is strength," she would adopt and enforce them to show "that 'union' to set one element against another is truly 'division;'" she merely awaited the Mines and Collieries Report. Though her "Polit^l Econ^y library" was locked up in London, she had doctrine enough in her head for her purpose.

Tremenheere made "three proposals--three temptations to me to exert myself," she went on to Howick. First would be a fortnightly series modelled on the miners' own newspapers, which could be distributed by sending men into the pits, "who will do the thing cleverly, & are not likely to be suspected." She had been surprised to find the writers of the "bad [miners'] papers" were familiar with Channing and with her "brother James, most ingeniously detached, so as to minister to the readers' hatred of the clergy & 'easy classes.'" A second proposal to keep the miners from striking was for a cheap books club--which was fated to absorb all her energy in the spring.¹⁸

By February, Martineau was evidently receiving lists of possible sponsors for the cheap books club and promising to forward the packets to Howick. "Our collier population," she told another correspondent, "is in *no* distress . . . but they are in a dreadful temper, & the prey of the very worst so-called Chartist emissaries." Her correspondent's testimony in favor of fiction for the miners pleased her, James Mill having wrongly assured her in the past that "they much preferred didactic writings." If Mess^{rs} Chambers issued a "New Journal, in a most popular style . . . enlivened by the stories I dream of doing," would the new journal be circulated? The "Mess^{rs} Chambers," she believed would take on secretarial details.¹⁹

Tremenheere had clearly been sent to her, she told another friend, and now she was part of a band that included "Co^l Grey & L^y M Lambton, the Lambton agent, Mess^{rs} Chambers of Edinbro' & D^r Chalmers as approver" (Martineau had met Lady Mary Lambton, eldest daughter of Lord Durham, in 1832). Somewhat to Martineau's relief, other faithful friends Elisabeth Reid and Elizabeth Ker, rescued her from taking on more than "the light work first proposed by the Commis^r." Yet it was a trial that "the most important & useful idea" of her life must "stand over." Surprisingly, Greenhow encouraged her--to Lissey's dismay--"but *he* never was ill, & has not the remotest conception of the wear & tear of intellectual labour."²⁰

Haranguing Milnes on *politics* in April, Martineau begged him to support her plan to make "*sound & elevated literature*" available to working people, specifically, the proposed weekly volume of 300 pages:

"books being also wanted for Prisons, Ships, Barracks, Police & Coast Guard stations, work-houses, rail-road stations, palace & mansion libraries, pit & factory villages & c."

Names of buyers should be sent to her: i.e., "chieftans"(sic.) and humbler folk who could form book clubs for their neighbors. "When L^y Mary Lambton opened her first [book club] at the castle, 100 crowded in immediately." Her own *Traditions of Palestine* went off fast--but the report that Milnes would review it seemed "too good to be true."²¹

The fate of a newspaper for disgruntled miners is not known, but even slight acquaintances like Lord Morpeth (later 7th Earl of Carlisle) were solicited to help with the cheap books scheme. As a friend of the "workies," Martineau had been asked for "lists of books fit for popular libraries," and had found those "most in favor with the members of cheap book clubs . . . so few & so *odd*," that clearly the "requisite literature is . . . yet uncreated." Now she dreamt of a league of "a few large landed proprietors, colliery owners, & extensive manufactures" to guarantee publication of a supply of worthy and appealing books that commercial publishers could not take on, to work on minds "excited, without due intellectual employment." Her coadjutor Lady Mary Lambton thought the Duke of Sutherland and others would help, so Martineau had consulted "the author & publisher" Knight, "one of the greatest men I have ever had the honour of knowing." Knight had enlisted "the J^{as} Marshalls at Leeds, & several gentlemen at Manchester," and a circular was being printed today. Besides bringing out all available literature that was suitable, Knight wished to create a "new body" of literature and to issue a weekly volume "of about 300 pages" at 1^s. For the first project, they now planned 200 volumes. "We humble folk" could offer to open book-clubs, "20 members at 1^s/ a quarter wd/ do it." Would Morpeth help to publicize the scheme? Circulars could be had at Knight's, 22 Ludgate Street. They would respect copyrights and keep "our hands from picking & stealing." Knight was excited at having bought the copyright of "Miss Lamb's Tales," while she had given others besides *Traditions of Palestine*.²²

As we know, Martineau's attention was soon diverted by her experiments with mesmerism, followed by her "cure" and the move away from the North. In his introduction to a recent reissuing of *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, Michael

Hill affirms that

“Martineau undertook pioneering studies--substantive, theoretical, and methodological studies--in what is now called sociology. The fact of her early sociological contribution is obscured in part by the multifaceted character of her many activities during an era when "sociology" was yet to become a recognized word, let alone a discipline.”

Martineau's activities in the North seem often to fall within the category of benevolence. Nevertheless, they were based on the original principles she had so cleverly set down (her sociological primer), as she sailed out to investigate social conditions in a new society.²³

¹ Harriet Martineau [henceforth HM], *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1838) 73.

² *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, with Memorials by Maria Weston Chapman* (London: Smith, Elder 1877) 2: 146 [henceforth *Auto.*]; Harriet Martineau to Fanny Wedgwood, 27 October 1839, *Harriet Martineau's Letters to Fanny Wedgwood* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1983) 18-21 [henceforth *FW* and *HM/FW*].

³ *Auto.* 3 227-31

⁴ "The Newcastle Improvements," *Penny Magazine*, 7 March; 11, 18, 25 April; 2 and 9 May 1840: 99, 137-38, 148-49, 157-58, 169-70, 177-78.

⁵ HM to Louisa Jeffery, 18 April 1840, John Rylands University Library of Manchester, Unitarian College Archives, Cupboard [Packet] B1²⁴.

⁶ HM to William Ware, 21 June [1840], *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau*, ed. Deborah Anna Logan (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2007) 2: 56-57 [henceforth *CL*]; *The Hour and the Man* (London: Edward Moxon, 1841).

⁷ *Life in the Sick-Room* (London: Edward Moxon, 1844) 45-46 (for opposition to the building of lighthouses, cf. Bella Bathurst, *The Lighthouse Stevensons* [London: Harper Collins, 1999] and see "Tynemouth Bar, Northumberland," *Penny Magazine*, 22 August 1840, 388 [on tides, shallow crossing, three lighthouses]).

⁸ HM to Snow Wedgwood, 30 September 1840, *HM/FW*, 35-37.

⁹ HM to the Committee of the Tynemouth Literary and Philosophical Institution, 11 January 1841, Bancroft Library MSS 92/754 z Box 1:58, "Extract from a Letter from Harriet Martineau" (probably to Maria Weston Chapman), *Auto.* 3: 249-50 (the "slips" must have listed the residents in a house).

¹⁰ *The Playfellow. The Settlers at Home* (London: Charles Knight, 1841) 1.

¹¹ *The Peasant and the Prince. A Story of the French Revolution* (London: Moxon, 1841); *Auto.* 2: 160-61, 167.

¹² *Feats on the Fjord* (London: Moxon, 1841); *Auto.* 2: 168-69; for background details Martineau used: Samuel Laing, *Journal of a Residence in Norway, during the years 1834, 1835, & 1836; made with a View to Inquire into the Moral and Political Economy of that Country, and the Condition of its Inhabitants* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1836) and Henry David Inglis, *A Personal Narrative of a Journey through Norway, Part of Sweden and the Islands and States of Denmark* (Edinburgh: Constable, 1829).

¹³ *The Crofton Boys* (London: Moxon, 1841); Martineau's second use of amputation in a story for children (as in *Principle and Practice*) seems related to her current sense of incapacity as well as to her early masochistic fantasies.

¹⁴ Henry Crabb Robinson to Thomas Robinson, 15 July 1842, Dr. Williams Library, Henry Crabb Robinson correspondence, 1841-42 172b; *Henry Crabb Robinson on Books and their Writers*, ed. Edith J. Morley (London: J. M. Dent, 1938) [diary entries for 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12 July 1842] 2: 619-21; Robinson's judgment was confirmed: over thirty editions of *Feats on the Fjord* had appeared in English by 1947 as well as translations into Dutch, French, German and possibly other languages.

¹⁵ HM to Robinson, 29 October 1842, *CL* 2: 133-36

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- 16 HM to Edwin Chadwick, n. d. [November 1842], 27 November [1842], 25 December [1843], *CL* 2: 137, 141-42, 142-43.
- 17 HM to FW, *HM/FW* 55-56; HM to Richard Monckton Milnes, 28, 31 May [1843], *CL* 2: 171-74, 174; Graham was home secretary.
- 18 HM to Lord Howick (later 3rd Earl Grey), 19 and 26 January 1844, *CL* 2: 223-25, 227-30; HM to Hugh Seymour Tremenheere, 25 January 1844, *CL* 2: 225-27.
- 19 HM to "Anne," 23 February [1844], *CL* 2: 251-252 [the first sheet features an engraving of Tynemouth Priory].
- 20 HM to FW, Saturday [late February or March 1844], *HM/FW* 74-78.
- 21 HM to Milnes, 21 April 1844, *CL* 2: 280-84; *Traditions of Palestine*, Second Edition (London, Charles Fox, 1843); the *Weekly Volume* (later the *Monthly Volume*) was published by Knight beginning 29 June 1844.
22. HM to Lord Morpeth, 19, 26 April [1844], *CL* 2: 277-79, 286-87.
- 23 *How to Observe Morals and Manners. With an Introduction and Analytical Index* by Michael R. Hill (New Brunswick [U. S. A.] and Oxford: Transaction Publishers, 1989) xxii.

Harriet Martineau and Fatherhood

Valerie Sanders

Perhaps the most memorable part of Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* is her outspoken comments on her mother, which shocked so many of her contemporaries. The least memorable is probably the part relating to her father, who occupies only a few paragraphs. But what were her views on fatherhood in the family and its relationship to paternalism in society? She was writing at a period when attitudes to fatherhood were changing, and the question of paternal authority within the family being increasingly questioned. Beginning with an overview of her personal experiences, this paper will consider some examples of her fictional writing about fatherhood in the context of her theory of the family in her *Autobiography* (1877) and *Household Words* (1849).

Martineau's family

Harriet's father Thomas Martineau (1764-1826) features very briefly in the *Autobiography*, and not at all in the bad dreams and hallucinations recounted at the start of the memoir: instead he makes his first appearance coming in from the counting house in 1805 to announce the death of Nelson. Soon afterwards she talks to him about Napoleon Bonaparte, about whom he reassures her:

'My father called me to him, and took me on his knee, and I said 'But papa, what will you do if Boney comes?' 'What will I do?' said he, cheerfully, 'Why, I will ask him to take a glass of Port with me,'- helping himself to a glass as he spoke. That wise reply was of immense service to me. From the moment I knew that 'Boney' was a creature who could take a glass of wine, I dreaded him no more.' (Peterson, ed. *Autobiography*, pp. 48-9).

Her father, as she indicates here, not only soothes her anxieties (unlike her

mother, who heightens them), but also inducts her, as she says, 'into the department of foreign affairs.' Her father is thus outward-facing, in keeping with the nineteenth-century notion of 'separate spheres', while her mother is inward-facing, concerning herself with the emotional life of the family. Men, as represented in the *Autobiography*, on the whole, tell her things and extend the boundaries of her knowledge, while women are more anxious to control her waywardness and discipline her. Her father then largely disappears from the narrative until the bank crises of the early 1820s, when again it is his activity outside the family home that impacts on his daughter's development. His business fluctuated during this time, but she firmly absolves him from any blame for its eventual collapse: 'My father never speculated; but he was well nigh ruined during that calamitous season by the deterioration in value of his stock' (p.117). When he became terminally ill with liver disease he did what he could to put his affairs in order, and then told the family he was abandoning the struggle. Towards the end of June 1826 he 'died quietly, with all his family round his bed' – having taken 'an affectionate pleasure' in Harriet's book, *Addresses, Prayers and Hymns*. There is perhaps something slightly jarring about Harriet's self-absorption at this point: the delight in his support mingling with self-recrimination at her failure to nurse him and tell him 'what was in my heart about him and my feelings towards him' (p. 118). James also describes their father's death very differently, as caused much more by business anxieties, though his summing up of his father's virtues broadly conforms with his sister's:

'Transparently ingenuous, faithful, honourable, and gracious, he never had an enemy, except the spies and informers of the Liverpool administration: and if he left his affairs in an entangled condition, the blameless disaster fell little in his creditors, mainly on his family.' (MSS 'Biographical Memoranda' p. 9)

Thomas Martineau was by no means a perfect father, but there is something reassuring about his quiet presence in his children's lives, even if his ultimate failure to provide for them threw his daughters upon their own resources. In reality, while her father spoke calmly about crises he was beaten by them in his own affairs, while her mother, who seems so highly strung until a real calamity strikes, rises to the occasion in a way that could not have been predicted. Perhaps we see some of this in *Deerbrook*, when the threats to Mr Hope's medical practice bring out the best in his wife and sister-in-law.

Of Harriet's four brothers, three became fathers, and she had the opportunity to witness how Robert and James performed this role with their children. About Robert's 'young people' she always sounds positive. Theirs was a happy and nurturing home in which Robert in every sense played the traditional patriarch, becoming Lord Mayor of Birmingham from 1846-7, and inaugurating a five-generational father-to-son performance of this office. James as a father was a more complicated proposition. Dearly loved by his children, he initially seemed to be improved by fatherhood. Subsequently, however, he seemed to have more problems with his children than any of Martineau's other married siblings, whether it was the deaths of two in childhood, the risks of taking them to Germany in 1848, the year of revolutions, Isabella's hysteria, or her fear of Russell's sinking into 'a dirty, bookish old philologist' (Arbuckle Letters, p. 181).

Martineau was of course surrounded all her life by other families, whom she had the opportunity to watch – the relatively privileged middle and educated classes, the new friends she met in America, and her working-class neighbours in Ambleside. She keenly observed family dynamics, especially the relationship between parents and children, and her letters show her expressing heartfelt condolences to fathers on the loss of children, or concern about those who were ill or disabled. Extreme examples of parenting that she witnessed with her own eyes included the Arnolds of Fox How and the Wordsworths. The evidence from her letters suggests that Martineau did not believe in fathers being over-directive with their children; indeed any kind of overbearing or irrational behaviour in fathers disturbed her.

Illustrations of Political Economy

Martineau's stories for the *Illustrations* include a number of father-figures who play different roles depending to some extent on their class status. In *Household Education* (1849), she insists that 'the poorest man can be as conscientious a father as the richest,' and often talks generically in that book about the importance of fathers spending time outside work with their children. Within any one story we sometimes see different kinds of fathering implicitly compared and contrasted, as in *Brooke and Brooke Farm* (1833), whose narrator, Lucy, refers throughout to 'My father,' without giving him any other name. Lucy's father is clearly the wise man of the village, a justice of the peace, who advises the hard-working labourer of the tale, George Gray, himself the father of eight children whom he is struggling to clothe, and feed adequately. Martineau likes to show in her stories how good habits spread downwards from parents to the children, so that Gray's children, who share his work on the land, adopt industrious habits. This is something she later recommends in *Household Education*: 'The father takes the lead,' as she puts it (p. 72), '– as he ought to do in all good things. His children see in him, from year to year, an example of patient toil – patient and cheerful toil – whether he be statesman, merchant, farmer, shopkeeper, artisan or labourer.' As so often in Martineau's tales Gray's upward trajectory is contrasted with a neighbour's downward spiral – Hal Williams, thanks to whose extravagant tastes and injudicious early marriage (a theme that pervades many of Martineau's stories, not just the notorious 'Ella of Garveloch'), his old father ends up being maintained by 'the parish.' Martineau shows how society is made up of families, and families take their tone and direction from the leadership of the father.

A similar pattern occurs in *A Manchester Strike* (1832), which begins with the well-intentioned trade unionist, William Allen, walking to meet his disabled eight-year-old daughter Martha, who works in a factory. His decency as a man is largely indicated by his care for this girl, and by introducing him as a father, Martineau is foregrounding his role at the heart of working-class culture. Allen is shown not only managing family problems – his own and his neighbours', the Fields, - but is also looked up to by his fellow union colleagues: 'All seemed anxious to know what Allen had to relate or advise' (p. 140). His foil as a father is Mr Bray, former factory worker and travelling musician, whose relationship with his daughter Hannah parallels Allen's with Martha. Bray's unreliable behaviour as a proscribed, or

blacklisted activist, is reflected in his domestic instability. He has no home as such, and because he has to seek shelter in public houses, he has a weakness for drink. The story is more problematic than *Brooke and Brooke Farm*, however, in that the good fathers are not rewarded in the same way as they are in the later story. Allen never ceases to care for Martha, but falling foul both of the union and the employers, the story ends with him sweeping the streets while his children work in the factories.

Meanwhile in her presentation of relations between the factory owners and the unions, Martineau combines a commitment to *laissez-faire* marketplace economics with a paternalistic localism. The good employer Mr Wentworth, talks to the union representatives as if they are children, illustrating economic principles via the story of Adam in the Garden of Eden:

‘Come, Clack, tell us, (for who knows if you don’t?) tell us what wages Adam gave his under gardeners. You can’t say? Why, I thought you knew all that the masters did at the beginning of the world. Well, when Adam was some hundred years old, (you may trust me, for I am descended from him in a straight line,)’ (p. 159).

Towards the end of the story, he urges them to consider the economic situation in terms of protecting their families from the fluctuations of trade: ‘You must place your children out to different occupations, choosing those which are least likely to be overstocked.’ (p. 197). Martineau therefore clearly positions fathers and fatherhood right at the centre of her economic and social theory. While mothers also have an important role to play in their families, the decisions made by fathers have the most far reaching repercussions on family fortunes.

Deerbrook (1839)

Martineau’s only full-length domestic novel maintains this interest in fathers both as material and moral leaders of their families. The plot is in fact precipitated by the death of a father – Hester and Margaret’s – which means their affairs and their future are in abeyance until the legalities have been sorted out. In effect as Mr Grey becomes their surrogate father until Hester is married, much hinges on his reliability and the soundness of his judgement. He is generally presented as a calm and sensible man, albeit dominated by his wife and elder daughter, much as Mr Rowland is by his wife. Less detached than Jane Austen’s Mr Bennet, Mr Grey shares his dry sense of humour, often at their family’s expense, and is similarly their means of being introduced to eligible young men. Like Mr Bennet, Mr Grey pretends not to be aware of his wife’s match-making ambitions: so when she says: ‘Do not you think Mr Hope thinks Hester very handsome, Mr Grey?’ he replies: ‘I really know nothing about it, my dear’ (Sanders 2004:p. 18).

In the second half of the book we see him move out of his largely domestic role to become more involved in the life of the community, though he declares at the newly-married Hopes’ first dinner party that he has no intention of voting in the coming election, and nor should Hope. While this might seem to show a surprising disengagement from his community responsibilities his comment, ‘One gets

nothing but ill-will and trouble by meddling,' is in some ways the novel's most important moral message, and it seems to be easier for him to follow it than it is for the women.

When Hope himself becomes a father towards the end of the novel, he is presented as keen to be actively involved in looking after him. 'Where is my boy? I have not seen him for hours,' he asked on return from work. 'Why do you put him out of his father's way?' (p. 497). Their maid Morris comments (p. 498): 'Fathers cannot be so taken with a very young baby as the mothers are and it is mortifying to feel themselves neglected for a new-comer. I have often seen that, my dears; but I shall never see it here, I find.' Family attitudes are as closely intertwined with political and social issues in this novel as in the political economy tales. Mr Grey, for example, abandons his opposition to the rival doctor Mr Walcot when it becomes clear that he would be a good husband for his daughter Sophia.

Similarly, in *The Hour and the Man* (1841) Martineau's hero Toussaint L'Ouverture, is presented as a father-figure first - both to his children and to the nation at large - and secondly as a military leader. We first meet him at home in his cottage, talking to his youngest son Denis about his choice of reading: an area in which Martineau believed the father could set a meaningful example to his children. Moreover, the language of fatherhood pervades his analysis of political affairs. In Chapter 5 of *The Hour*, when Toussaint galvanises his sons into joining the armed struggle, he describes Haiti as 'orphaned' because the French King has been executed, and believes it is his duty to train his sons to arms. Throughout the novel Martineau traces the emotional and personal lives of Toussaint's family, who are always implicated in his activities as a leader. His two daughters, Aimee and Genifrède, deal differently with his rise to leadership, Genifrède rejecting many of his views, and opting to stay with her uncle Paul, father of Moyse, her executed cousin, while Aimée gives up her treacherous lover Vincent for him, saying: 'I loved you always; but I thought I loved others more.' Martineau shows how the children of powerful fathers can become 'collateral damage': by putting the personal life back into history she complicates the moral choices that men of the past have needed to make.

Household Education (1849), a mixture of autobiography and advice manual, summarises much of Martineau's position on fatherhood, often drawing on anecdotes and examples from her own experience. Though she sees the whole family as working together as an active and mutually supportive unit, with each member playing their part, she often adopts a hierarchical model with the father as the moral leader who gives to the family a flavour of his own values. Where possible, she advises, every family should have a rising bell to get them out of bed for work: 'If the father himself rings the family up in the mornings, it is a fine thing for every body' (p. 182). Later in the day, 'The washed faces, and the cloth on the table, the hot dinner should all be in readiness when the father appears' (p. 190). The father is by no means treated as a special guest in the home: Martineau recommends that he spend what we would now call 'quality time' with his children, given that in the evening they will be in bed, or 'too sleepy for fun' as she puts it. The father may have some special privileges in the home, but he is expected to

work for them.

Conclusion

Martineau clearly regards the father as the figure from whom the home most directly takes its moral atmosphere. The majority of her father-figures are more rational than their wives, whom they often struggle to manage. This raises the question of how we reconcile this position with Martineau's supposed feminism, itself by no means certain or easy to define. While she is alert to the needs of women throughout her writing career, especially their freedom to support themselves as independent earners, she assumes that most women want a domestic life which they are most likely to find with a husband and children. In many of her texts fathers are shown interacting with daughters, which seems to have interested Martineau more than fathers' relationships with sons, judging by the frequency with which it appears in her fiction. With the political economy tales, the emphasis is on the learning process with daughters, and the fathers' role in protecting their safety and enhancing their opportunities to learn (and earn); in the novels, the educational role is still there, along with their function as guardian in the marriage market.

In all these texts but 'Brooke Farm', however, the child is at a further disadvantage, whether as a slave (or ex-slave), an orphan, a millworker, or because they are ill and disabled, and the father himself may also be unemployed, poor, an outsider, or rejected by his neighbours and work colleagues. In other words, while Martineau's fathers are mostly wise and calm guides, they are not presented in the oversimplified didactic mode of advice books, but as rounded human beings with a troubled inner life beyond both family and workplace. More than anything, Martineau stresses, the moral atmosphere of a home needs a calm and reliable father, and all else follows from that.

Musings on the Martineau Society Conference at Tynemouth 7-10 July 2011

Barbara Todd

We left our home, Harriet Martineau's beloved 'Knoll', in the pouring rain on the morning of Thursday 7th July, bemoaning the fact that the weather this year didn't promise to be better for the Annual Conference than it proved for the last at Ambleside...However, we were glad to be driving off in our reliable little Mini-Cooper, with a Sat-Nav to guide us, having survived the truly awful winter and the various ailments which tend to beleaguer the elderly in our later years! We were greatly looking forward to seeing our old friends again and to explore Tynemouth, which neither of us had visited before.

In spite of the fact that our usually well-mannered Sat-Nav seemed frequently determined to make us turn round and go home again (its system becoming hopelessly confused by the new road systems running eastward to the Northumbrian coast from Carlisle), we eventually made it, after several stops for map referrals and much shouting at the unfortunate female satellite voice. The route passing alongside Hadrian's Wall and through the open rolling countryside, now cheerfully lit by an intermittent watery sun, was spectacularly beautiful.

Having duly parked outside the Park Hotel in the drizzly rain, we were greatly reassured, on entering the sea-facing sitting room, to find the Society's founder and President, Sophia Hankinson, who had sensibly taken the long train journey from Norwich a day earlier, comfortably ensconced on a sofa and predictably reading "The Times". Gradually other old friends in the Martineau Soc's 'family' began excitedly milling round the Registration desk, capably welcomed by our new Hon Sec and Conference organizer, Jane Bancroft. Here were Ruth and Rob Watts; Gaby Weiner and her husband David Hamilton; Iris and Rod Voegeli; Bruce and Carol Chilton (seemingly none the worse for wear after their long and miserably damp motor-cycle journey from East Anglia); former Chairpersons Valerie Sanders and Elisabeth Arbuckle; a real family member, Victorine Martineau; Geraldine Locise; Lorraine Birch; Shu Fang Lai, valiantly with us again from Taiwan; the brave Keiko Funaki, having blessedly survived the horrors of the earthquake in Tokyo and John Vint, Emeritus Professor of Political Economy at Manchester Metropolitan University, with us for the first time last year and now, I'm glad to say, securely 'hooked'. Also there were two new enthusiastic Members from American Universities, we were very pleased to welcome, Beth Torgerson, Associate Professor of English at Eastern Washington and Iain Crawford (an expat Brit), also an Associate Professor of English, from the University of Delaware.

Sadly, the Soc's first, long-serving and ever-reliable Secretary, Alan Middleton, had had to cancel at the last minute, since his wife, Janet, was not well. (Their gentle and unassuming presence was much missed).

After a chatty lunch, provided by the Park Hotel's kind and accommodating staff, we began to settle down, unpack, sort our papers and generally prepare ourselves for the rigorous few days ahead. The Exec Committee assembled at 5 pm., where we officially learnt that, although Gaby Weiner would be standing down as Hon Sec, we were not going to lose her altogether, since she would be taking over as Treasurer from Rob Watts and that she and David would be helping Jane Bancroft to update and run the website, which has proved, since they created it, to be a tremendous success. After an early dinner, we assembled for the opening lecture by Professor Valerie Sanders and we were all happy to greet the attendance of last year's opening speaker, Pamela Woof, President of the Wordsworth Trust, who remained as a day visitor throughout the Conference.

Hopefully, this and our subsequent Newsletter will contain condensed versions of all the fascinating and varied papers presented, so I shall only include my very brief and far from adequate notes on them here... Valerie's lecture on "Harriet Martineau and Fatherhood" was original and engrossing and made one want to

rush off and read, or re-read all the references she cited, beginning with the charming domestic scene from the first Volume of Harriet's Autobiography where she describes how, as a young child, "twitching my pinafore with terror", she listened to her parents anxiously discussing the preparations for the expected invasion of French forces being made all along the Norfolk coast.- "My father called me to him and took me on his knee, and I said "But, Papa what will you do if Boney comes?" "What will I do?" said he, cheerfully, "Why, I will ask him to take a glass of port with me" - helping himself to a glass as he spoke. This wise reply was of immense service to me. From the moment I knew that Boney was a creature who could take a glass of wine, I dreaded him no more". There could not have been a better beginning.

The next morning we were treated to two excellently researched papers, both referring to Harriet's experiences during her four and a half years incarceration within two rooms at Mrs Halliday's boarding house at 57 Front St., Tynemouth. With a large body of work already behind her and still only 37 yrs old, famous both in England and America, she had left England for the Continent in 1839, intending to research material for a pictorial edition of Shakespeare. But, on reaching Venice, she had suddenly collapsed and, suffering from severe pain and frequent haemorrhages, was rushed back to London and on to Newcastle, to be cared for by her eldest sister, Elizabeth and her surgeon husband Thomas Greenhow, who diagnosed a prolapsed uterus and abdominal tumour, for which he prescribed opiates. Harriet was moved into the Tynemouth lodging, close to the sea and away from the bustle of Newcastle in March 1840 and now, barely able to walk but still, somehow, able to write.

Shu Fang Lai's paper was on "Life in the Sickroom", Harriet's series of essays, dedicated to Elisabeth Barrett, another chronic invalid and published anonymously in 1844. Shu Fang described the essays as "the swan song of Harriet's Unitarian Orthodoxy". Beth Torgerson's "Harriet Martineau, Mesmerism and the Maids", contained much fascinating new research on the subject, following Harriet's miraculous meeting and treatment by the peripatetic mesmerist, Spencer T. Hall, assisted by her maids, Margaret Bell and Jane Arrowsmith. (By October of the same year Hall, obliged to move on to fulfil further engagements, had received a letter from the delighted and rapidly improving Harriet saying that "she could not feel sufficiently thankful for such a resurrection". She had now not only discontinued opiates but could "walk three miles with a relish". By December, he received news that she felt "completely restored").

On Friday afternoon we visited 57 Front St, now a well appointed but a little claustrophobic Guest House (I felt), called "The Martineau House", where Harriet is daily and somewhat ironically commemorated by "Martineau sausages" being served for breakfast! We were disappointingly unable to visit the nearby ancient Priory and Castle as planned, since our weekend visit unfortunately clashed with "The Mouth of The Tyne" noisy pop music festival, which had commandeered the grounds. We further lowered the tone that evening - at least I did - since Bruce and Carol had somehow persuaded me to open their annual after dinner entertainment with a very croaky rendering of "Harriet Martineau had a Farm" (to

the tune of “Old Macdonald”), lustily accompanied by all our usually sedate and scholarly members turning into a chorus of chickens, ducks, geese, cows and pigs.

Sanity and sobriety were duly restored the next morning by three more presentations: Elisabeth Arbuckle’s “Harriet Martineau applies Sociology to the North 1839-1844” - where we learnt how Harriet had become involved in the plight of the local poor, the wages of miners and Book Clubs for workers; Keiko Funaki’s “Harriet Martineau and India” and John Vint’s “Harriet Martineau and Industrial Strife: from Theory into Fiction into Melodrama”. So fascinated was I by the latter, I spent the afternoon reading it (John having thoughtfully distributed copies). So I’m afraid that I bunked off that afternoon’s trail - (by bus, in the streaming rain, into Newcastle) - where our more stalwart members went looking for the site of the Greenhow’s house and to see the Art Deco Unitarian chapel, now, with its membership greatly diminished, sadly up for sale.

All reassembled that Saturday evening, however, for our cheerful Annual Dinner, spirits if not bodies undampened, and faithfully returned on Sunday morning to hear three more papers - all of an incredibly high standard - Iain Crawford’s “What I dread is being silenced: Martineau and Dickens revisited”: Ruth Watts on “Harriet Martineau, the Unitarians and Education” and lastly, our President and Materfamilias Sophia Hankinson’s “A Brother Lost and Found: the tale of Edward Taggart, Charles Dickens, Beatrix Potter and Transylvania”.

So, after coffee, a Panel Discussion chaired by Jane Bancroft and a quick lunch, we all went our separate ways again...And Maureen and I, happy to have renewed acquaintanceships with old friends and to have met such interesting new ones, returned to Ambleside and ‘The Knoll’, tired, but filled with a much deeper understanding of the liberation Harriet felt in finding, here, her hard-won freedom and independence, at last.

Harriet’s Room with a View

Beth Torgerson

Before the commencement of the 2011 Martineau Society Conference, while I was staying at the Harriet Martineau Guest House in Tynemouth, Sally Craigen, the proprietor, informed me of the ongoing debate about which of the rooms—the Collingwood View or the Priory View—was the room where Harriet Martineau had stayed during her sojourn at Tynemouth from March 1839 to January 1845. She explained that the debate centered around the Priory View Room, with its top floor view and its bay window, offering a better view than the Collingwood View Room (located directly below it) and around the issue that in Victorian England, as earlier, servants’ quarters were located at the top of the house. Those visitors who defended the first position felt that the better view supported Martineau’s

description of viewing events at a distance; those visitors defending the second position felt that the tradition surrounding the servants' quarters being located at the top of the house would mean that the Priory View Room would have occupied by Harriet Martineau's maid, Margaret Bell. Since Sally Craigen did not have historical documentation of when the bay window had been installed in the Priory View room, whether before Martineau's stay or after, the bay window seemed to complicate the issue for many visitors, even if Martineau herself had never documented that her view was thanks to a bay window. Because Sally Craigen had a framed copy of the print of the view from Martineau's sickroom window that Martineau had provided in her *Autobiography*, we looked at it together. After pondering the framed print, we agreed that the angle of the perspective in such a print was inconclusive and that the answer had to be found in Martineau's writings.

I told Sally Craigen that I felt sure I had read something that had indicated to me that Martineau had stayed in what is now the Collingwood Room, which is why I had originally booked that room (although once Sally offered to let me have the room with the better view, I had opted for the Priory View Room). Since I had packed both Broadview editions of Martineau's *Life in the Sick-Room*.¹ and *Autobiography* as well as my notes from many of Martineau's unpublished letters, I told her that I would consult these texts and get back to her if I found anything. The next morning at breakfast, we discussed my reading.

Beyond the lovely description of nature viewed from her sickroom window found in Martineau's *Life in the Sick-Room* towards the beginning of Chapter Three (pages 67-69), which was read so well by Gaby Weiner during the Martineau Society conference, *Life in the Sickroom* does not provide any definitive clues to solve the debate. At most, *Life in the Sickroom* indicates that, whatever room it was, Martineau probably had to open the window fully in order to view the Priory as well as she records. Martineau's *Autobiography* gives a bit more since it provides the information, "I had two rooms on the first floor in this house of my honest hostess, Mrs. Halliday" (436). Since the street-level rooms are considered the ground floor rooms, the "first floor" description seemed to indicate the Collingwood View Room as well as a second adjacent room, which, Sally Craigen remarked, would have belonged to the house next door. Later, during the conference visit to the Martineau Guest House arranged by Gaby Weiner and made possible, in part, by John Vint, who, with his wife, had booked the Collingwood View Room for the duration of the conference, Elisabeth Arbuckle clarified that when Martineau first arrived in 1839, she only had one room, but when money became available to her, she had paid to have the house alteration done that allowed her two rooms, both facing the River Tyne and the coastline. Elisabeth Arbuckle also indicated that in a letter to Jane Carlyle, now located in the Birmingham Library, Emily Taylor, during her visit to Martineau, had sketched a drawing of Martineau's two rooms that shows the two windows. Many of us during the conference visit went outside to the back of the house to see what, if anything, we could distinguish about the location of the two windows.

That morning, after Sally Craigen and I discussed the published texts, I told Sally about the two unpublished letters I found from Martineau to her friend Richard

Monckton Milnes, which seemed especially helpful.² Both letters are now part of the collection at Trinity College Cambridge. The two letters are simply dated as being written on Sundays, probably a week (or perhaps two) apart, and although no specific date is assigned to either, scholars have assigned the year 1844 to them based on their content.³ In the first letter, within a longer description of her maid's mesmerizing Martineau and the positive health benefits that have resulted to Martineau from this practice, Martineau writes of her desire to see the maid's room, which she indicates is "one flight up" to "plan a cupboard" for the maid (Houghton Papers 16/73 [1]). Martineau notes the maid's objection to her proposal and her own acquiescence to this objection at that time. In the follow-up letter, also dated simply Sunday [1844], Martineau writes, "I went upstairs on Thurs., and paid nothing worse than aches & pains for it,--and so shall go again,--being enchanted with the wider view" (Houghton Papers 16/74 [1]).

While the mystery of not knowing which exact room was Martineau's may be part of the charm for guests at the Harriet Martineau Guest House, for me, the debate is over. Even though I originally booked Harriet's room, I stayed in the maid Margaret's room at the top of the house. Given my paper contribution at this year's Martineau Society conference was focused largely on the role Martineau's maids played in Martineau's writing about mesmerism, I think my room choice was perfect for this particular visit. However, on my next visit, I will stay in the Collingwood View Room, so I too can experience Harriet's *Room with a View*.

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1 The Broadview edition of Martineau's *Life in the Sickroom* adds a hyphen, making the title *Life in the Sick-Room*. I've only used the modernized title for specific references to the edition I had with me for the conference.

2 Neither of these two letters appears in the five-volume edition of Deborah Anna Logan's *The Collected Letters of Harriet Martineau* (Pickering and Chatto, 2007). Because Logan's *Harriet Martineau: Further Letters* will be released by Lexington Press later this month, it may be that the two letters, or at least selected parts of them, may be included there.

3 The dates of these letters must be between 22 June 1844 when Spencer T. Hall is known to have first mesmerized Martineau (*Autobiography*, 478) and early September 1844 when Mrs. Wynyard arrived at Tynemouth to become Martineau's mesmerist.

Please insert here best of two prints (both attached) from Beth Torgerson's "*Harriet's Room with a View*".

Obituary for Will Frank

On a Sunday morning, about a decade ago, Will Frank came to see the Octagon Unitarian Chapel in Norwich whilst on a visit to carry out research in archives and libraries at Cambridge and around East Anglia. He told us of his Unitarian community in Norfolk, Virginia and the many connections there had been and still were between the two Norfolks on either side of the Atlantic. By the time he left us that Sunday on his way to Spain, we had made a good friend.

Each Spring Will came to the Octagon Chapel bringing greetings from the Unitarian meeting in Virginia. For several years he carried backwards and forwards not only greetings but often pictures and drawings between the groups of children at the two meetinghouses.

Will was a delightfully easy man to meet and get to like. He had an ability to relate to every sort of person, adult and child. He was a very learned man but wore his intelligence and knowledge very easily and shared them in the most comfortable way. He never talked at, let alone, down to anyone. Will would need some prodding before he would talk about himself. It was a while before we discovered each other's similar naval service and sharing sailors' stories drew us closer.

Will was already an enthusiastic member of the Martineau Society and coming to the UK for the annual conferences at which he gave papers when Carol and I

retired and found the time to join. Will could be very subtle. He was keen to attract the Martineau Society for an annual conference in New England, with its endless attractions for followers of Harriet's adventures in America as well as for the Unitarian members. The Society's 2008 annual general meeting at Unitarian College, Manchester had almost voted in favour of the return of the next conference to Oxford when Will quietly proposed the conference go to Boston, Massachusetts! While everyone gulped, he outlined a few major attractions like holding the conference in the UUA headquarters in Beacon – free of charge. Will had lined up his supporters carefully. It was an overwhelming decision that it was to Boston USA the Martineau Society would go in 2009!

We saw in 2008 the first effects of Will's cancer. He was tiring, effort became difficult but his enthusiasm for his interests never dimmed. Iris Voegeli, the Society's first secretary, and Rod, her husband, went to meet Will in Virginia and Massachusetts and together they planned the future conference and its 'trails' – visits to important sites around Boston. They reported back to Will's friends in Norwich on his increasing illness and the treatments he was enduring. Iris and Rod warned us that Will may not be able to welcome the Society to Boston. Will did not look well when he greeted Society members from across the world. He apologised for his appearance and his need to rest repeatedly but his illness could not diminish his determination to take his visitors to every monument, house, library, college, church and chapel in the programme. As the days of the conference slipped by, Will seemed to get stronger! By the closing dinner, Will was positively acclaimed by the Society members. "His" Martineau Society conference had been a magnificent success!

Carol and I visited New Hampshire in 2010. When Will heard, he invited us for a stay at his woodland cabin near York in Maine. He flew up from Virginia to meet us and whilst Will was very weak, we enjoyed a very happy and relaxed time together.

It was sadness for Will that he could not make it to the Martineau Society conferences in Ambleside in 2010 and Tynemouth in 2011. Despite his illness, Will's papers for the Society Newsletter continued to appear. His last contribution in January, 2011, a paper called "Trans-Atlantic Influences: James Martineau and American Religious Thought" was both as erudite and readable as ever.

It has been a privilege to have known Will and a big privilege to have known him as a good friend. We shall miss Will greatly.

Bruce and Carol Chilton.

List of Recent New Members
(based in UK unless otherwise stated)

Barbara Andrews, Michael Jackson, Keiko Funaki (Japan), Geraldine Locise, Joss Laverack , Clover Colquhoun, Beth Torgerson (Washington, USA), Joan Wilkinson, Thomas Dixon, Edna Garlick, John Vint, Lorraine Birch, Penny Bradshaw, Howard Hague, Imogen Martineau, Leigh Engeham, Ian Crawford (Delaware, USA), John Lund, A M Allday.

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“Some men are eminent for what they possess: some, for what they achieve: others for what they are... In every society, and especially in a country like our own, there are those who derive their chief characteristic from what they have; who are always spoken of in terms of revenue... History is constructed by a second and nobler class – those who prove themselves to be here, not that they may have, but that they may do, to whom life is a glorious labour; and who are seen not to work that they may rest, but only to rest that they may work.

But there is a life higher than either of these. The saintly is beyond the heroic mind. To get good, is animal; to do good is human: to be good is divine. The true use of a man's possessions is to help his work: and the best end of all his work is to show us what he is.” James Martineau, Endeavours, II, IX.