

HARRIET MARTINEAU: THE ENTRANCE OF SOCIAL DOCTRINE  
INTO NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

---

A DISSERTATION  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE TEXAS STATE COLLEGE  
FOR WOMEN IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

BY

ANNA LENA WIRZ

---

DENTON, TEXAS

June, 1931

# TEXAS STATE COLLEGE FOR WOMEN

COLLEGE OF INDUSTRIAL ARTS

DENTON, TEXAS

June 20 1932

I hereby recommend that the thesis prepared  
under my supervision by Anna Lena Wirs  
entitled HARRIET MARTINEAU: THE ENTRANCE OF  
SOCIAL DOCTRINE INTO NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE  
be accepted as fulfilling this part of the requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts.

*L. M. Ellison*

In Charge of Thesis

*L. M. Ellison*

Director of Department

Accepted:

*W. J. Clark*

Chairman, Committee on Graduate Study



## PREFACE

The revolution of thought which accompanied the social and economic reorganization of the nineteenth century is strongly reflected in the literature of the period. Writers for the first time became imbued with the urge to instruct and to uplift the great, unleavened masses. Literature came, therefore, to have a conscious social purpose in its demand for justice for the oppressed members of society.

One of the earliest and one of the most independent thinkers whose works were permeated with this new sense of social responsibility was Miss Harriet Martineau. For this reason, I have chosen to examine the whole body of her writings with the object of determining what her contribution to the literature of social doctrine was. For a complete analysis of her treatment of sociological problems, I have attempted to show the significance of certain internal and external influences upon her thought. In order to evaluate her ideas as compared with contemporary philosophy, I have employed as a criterion the tenets of Auguste Comte's system of positive philosophy.

As a result of this study I have established that Miss Martineau deserves a high place among the writers who first incorporated social doctrine into literature. Besides being a pioneer woman in the whole field of literature, she made a new application of the novel through her introduction of political economy into fiction. I have, furthermore, presented

evidence to prove that Miss Martineau did not derive her views from Comte, as is commonly believed, but that she arrived at them through independent thought.

For assistance in the preparation of this thesis I express my gratitude, first of all, to Dr. L. M. Ellison. His recommendation secured for me the graduate fellowship of the Department of English granted by the Board of Regents of the College for 1930-32. For the suggestion of the subject and the patient direction of my thesis I also express my appreciation to him. Greatest of all has been the privilege of being guided in my studies by a man who is esteemed most highly by his students as both a scholar and an inspirational teacher.

To others I gladly make acknowledgments. To Dr. C. D. Judd I am indebted for my understanding of the principles of economics, which proved essential to the development of my thesis. The training given me by Dr. Constance Louise Beach in bibliography-making and note-taking greatly facilitated the collection of material for my thesis. Also, her gift of Household Education, now out of print and therefore unavailable, proved an invaluable aid. For the courtesy and helpfulness of Miss Mary S. Buffum and her library staff I am indeed grateful. To all others who assisted me in any way I express appreciation.

Anna Lena Wirz

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Chapter I. Introduction

#### I. Historical background of nineteenth century

literature..... 1-5

1. Purpose of the chapter ..... 1

2. Reasons for the origin of the Industrial  
Revolution in England and its effects.... 1-3

3. The birth of democracy in 1815..... 3

4. The years between 1832 and 1848 a period of  
reform..... 3-4

5. Material development and reforms after 1848 4-5

#### II. An analysis of Harriet Martineau's philosophy.. 5-18

6. Reason for tracing the development of Miss  
Martineau's philosophy..... 5-6

7. Her passage from Unitarianism to necessi-  
tarianism..... 6-7

8. Period of preparation for her change of views 7-8

9. Her renunciation of Unitarianism..... 8-9

10. Intellectual progress during a six-year ill-  
ness..... 9

11. The influence of travel upon Miss Martineau's  
views..... 9-10

12. Comparison of Miss Martineau's views on the  
progress of man with those of Comte's..... 10-11

13. Positivism the final stage of Miss Martineau's intellectual evolution.....	11-12
14. The range of her speculations.....	12
15. The translation of Comte's <u>Philosophie Positive</u> .....	12-13
16. The originality of Miss Martineau's positivism.....	13-14
17. The relation of Miss Martineau to H. G. Atkinson.....	14-15
18. The relation of Miss Martineau to Auguste Comte.....	15-16
19. The adequacy of Miss Martineau's philosophy for her needs.....	16-17
20. The influence of positivism upon Miss Martineau's investigation of social matters.	17-18
Chapter II. The Relation of Harriet Martineau to the Orthodox School of Political Economy	
I. The historical position of English industrialism.....	19-22
1. Social reorganization in England.....	19-20
2. A statement of the fundamental conceptions of Comte's positive philosophy.....	20-21
3. The application of Comte's law of three states to social phenomena.....	21-22

II.	The founding of political economy as a new science.....	22-24
4.	The importance of positivism to political economy.....	22
5.	The origin and character of political economy	22-23
6.	Miss Martineau's criticisms of political economy.....	23-24
III.	The theories of the orthodox school of political economy.....	24-29
7.	Adam Smith's indebtedness to French economists.....	24-25
8.	The economic theories of Adam Smith.....	25-26
9.	Bentham's utilitarian doctrine.....	26
10.	Malthus's theory of population.....	26-27
11.	David Ricardo a pure economist.....	27-28
12.	James Mill a disciple of Jeremy Bentham.....	28
13.	John Stuart Mill's utilitarian principles...	28-29
IV.	Political economy a subject of primary interest in the nineteenth century.....	29-31
14.	Popularity of the subject.....	29
15.	Harriet Martineau a literary exponent of political economy.....	29-30
16.	Comparison of Miss Martineau's and Mrs. Marcet's treatment of political economy.....	30
17.	Reason for the early neglect of political economy.....	31

V. Social aim of Miss Martineau's literary pro-	
ductions.....	31-32
18. Originality of Miss Martineau's method of	
treating political economy.....	31-32
19. The object of this study of Miss Martineau's	
works.....	32

### Chapter III. Miss Martineau's Exemplification of the Principles of Political Economy

I. Writing as Miss Martineau's life work.....	33-35
1. Circumstances of her choice of a literary	
career.....	33
2. Comtian spirit of Miss Martineau's aim in writ-	
ing.....	34
3. Early difficulties.....	34-35
II. Miss Martineau as a political economist.....	35-37
4. Miss Martineau's service to political economy	35
5. Exposition of the method of studying Miss	
Martineau's works in political economy.....	35-36
6. Her method of writing the political economy	
tales.....	36-37
7. Her order of exemplifying economic principles.	37
III. General character of Miss Martineau's work in the	
field of political economy.....	37-39
8. The purpose both moral and scientific.....	37-38

9. Limitations of the political economy tales..	38-39
IV. Miss Martineau's method of treating the principles of political economy.....	39-46
10. Illustration of labor as the first factor of production.....	39-40
11. Illustration of capital as the second factor of production.....	40-41
12. The service rendered by characters in the stories.....	41-42
13. Illustration of the advantages of large capital.....	42-43
14. Miss Martineau an exponent of <u>laissez-faire</u> doctrine.....	43
15. The groups of people concerned with distribution.....	43-44
16. Illustration of the law of diminishing returns	44-45
17. Literary qualities of "Ella of Carveloch"..	45
18. Illustration of the Malthusian theory of population.....	45-46
V. Criticism of Miss Martineau's treatment of political economy.....	46-47
19. Success of the didactic aim of writing.....	46-47
20. Miss Martineau a trustworthy exemplar of political economy.....	47
VI. Success of the political economy tales.....	47-50

21. The immediate popularity of the tales.....	47-48
22. Foreign criticism.....	48-49
23. Criticism at home.....	49
24. Evaluation of Miss Martineau's service to political economy.....	49-50

#### Chapter IV. Miss Martineau's Emphasis upon Education as a Remedy for Social Ills

I. The relation between orthodox political economy and education.....	51-52
1. A statement of the purpose of the chapter...	51
2. Application of the <u>laissez-faire</u> doctrine to education.....	51-52
II. Historical survey of man's intellectual progress	52-55
3. Relation between the growth of democracy and education.....	52
4. Intellectual development under fetichism.....	52-53
5. Intellectual development under polytheism.....	53
6. Intellectual development under monotheism.....	53-54
7. Intellectual development in the metaphysical stage .....	54
8. Intellectual development in the positive stage	55
III. An examination of Miss Martineau's views on education.....	55-71
9. Method of conducting the examination.....	55-56



10. The relation of the individual to society...	56
11. The economic significance of individual differences.....	57
12. The esthetic value of education to the individual.....	57-58
13. Purpose of <u>Household Education</u> .....	58
14. Miss Martineau's point of view in <u>Household Education</u> .....	58-59
15. Provision for moral and intellectual training	59
16. The difficulty of establishing the aim of education.....	59-60
17. The classes involved in household education..	60-61
18. The significance of a new baby to a home.....	61-62
19. The moral training of a child.....	62-63
20. The intellectual development of a child.....	63-65
21. The importance of habits.....	65
22. A consideration of family and personal habits	65-66
23. Miss Martineau's practice of the principles of household education.....	66-67
24. Miss Martineau's home conducive to esthetic development.....	67
25. Miss Martineau an advocate of state education	67-68
26. Revelation of the defects of private schools.	68-69
27. International understanding the goal of education.....	69-70

28. Her place in the field of education during her time.....	70-71
---	-------

Chapter V. Harriet Martineau's Views on How Woman  
Should Come into Her Own

I. The woman problem.....	72
1. An outline of the chapter.....	72
II. The position of women in the nineteenth century.	73-76
2. The working women.....	73-74
3. The idle women.....	74-75
4. Marriage woman's chief occupation.....	75-76
III. Woman's historical position, according to Comte's positive philosophy.....	76-79
5. The establishment of monogamy under polytheism	76-77
6. The strengthening of domestic morality under Catholicism.....	77-78
7. The corruption of domestic morality under Protestantism.....	78-79
8. The good effect of industrialism upon domestic life.....	79
IV. A comparison of Comte's and Miss Martineau's views on the woman question.....	79-83
9. Comte: Woman's place in the home.....	79-80
10. Miss Martineau: Woman's sphere unrestricted..	80-81
11. Their views on the education of women.....	81-82
12. Comte: The natural subordination of woman to man.....	82-83

V. Miss Martineau, a champion of woman's rights...	83-85
13. Condemnation of advocates with personal grievances.....	83-84
14. The qualifications of a proponent of woman's rights.....	84
15. The ultimate establishment of woman's place.	84-85
VI. Miss Martineau's criticism of the condition of American women.....	86-91
16. The violation of democratic standards.....	86
17. The condition of marriage.....	87-88
18. Occupations open to women.....	88
19. The condition of health very poor.....	88-89
20. Political non-existence.....	89-91
VII. Miss Martineau's views on the woman question....	91-92
21. A summary of her views.....	91-92
VIII. Women characters in Miss Martineau's literary works	92-96
22. General criticism.....	92
23. Women characters in <u>Daerbrook</u> .....	92-94
24. Women characters in <u>Illustrations of Politi-</u> cal Economy.....	94-96
IX. Woman's function in society.....	96-97
25. Estimate of Comte's and Miss Martineau's views.....	96-97
Chapter VI. Harriet Martineau's Crusade for the Abolition of Slavery	

I. Purpose of this and the following chapter.....	98-99
1. An inquiry into Miss Martineau's humanita- rian interests for the purpose of determin- ing woman's function.....	98-99
II. Miss Martineau's views on the aspects of slavery	99-108
2. An outline of her personal activities.....	99-100
3. Fallacies of the principles of slavery.....	101-102
4. Results of her personal investigation of the condition of slaves.....	102-103
5. The moral effects of slavery upon the individ- ual.....	103-105
6. The moral effects of slavery upon domestic life.....	105-106
7. Slavery an economic anomaly.....	106-107
8. Slave labor an ineffective factor of produc- tion.....	107-108
III. Literary exemplification of the principles of slavery.....	108-110
9. "Demerara" an illustration of the operation of the institution of slavery.....	108-110
10. Toussaint L'Ouverture the hero of <u>The Hour and</u> <u>the Nan</u> .....	110
Chapter VII. Miss Martineau's Work as a Philanthro- pist	

I. Miss Martineau as a domestic economist.....	111-113
1. The building of her home an attempt to discountenance long term credit.....	111-112
2. An experiment with small farming.....	112-113
3. The results of the experiment.....	113
II. Miss Martineau's work among the laborers at Ambleside.....	113-115
4. Presentation of a yearly course of lectures	113-114
5. The building of tenement houses through an organized Building Society.....	114-115
III. Miss Martineau and poor-law reform.....	115-122
6. The preparation of papers for the Poor-Law Commission.....	115-116
7. The success of her co-operation with the commission.....	116-117
8. The treatment of poor-law reform in the <u>Illustrations of Political Economy</u> .....	117
9. Poverty as a problem of distribution.....	118
10. Proposal of relief measures for poverty.....	118-119
11. The exemplification of real charity in "Cousin Marshall".....	119-120
12. A criticism of charitable institutions in "Cousin Marshall".....	120-121
13. Demonstration of the evils of the dole system in the same story.....	121

14. The economic basis of any solution to the problem of poverty.....	121-122
15. Legal provision for the execution of the proposed remedy.....	122
IV. Miss Martineau's attempts to aid sufferers of physical infirmities.....	122-125
16. A sympathetic attitude largely due to her own deficiencies.....	122-123
17. Suggestions for the treatment of sufferers.	123-124
18. The representation of this group of people in stories.....	124-125
V. Miss Martineau's endeavors to effect prison re- form.....	125-127
19. An exposition of her views on prison manage- ment.....	125-126
20. Exemplification of the crime problem in "Homes Abroad".....	126-127
VI. Results of the inquiry made in this and the preceding chapter.....	127-128
21. The agreement of Comte and Miss Martineau on woman's function.....	127-128
Chapter VIII. Conclusion: Miss Martineau's Place in the Literature of Social Doc- trine	
I. The purpose of the study restated.....	129-130

1. An exposition of the limitations estab-	
lished .....	129
2. An explanation of the point of view.....	129-130
II. A review of the evidence produced by the study	130-133
3. Miss Martineau's relation to the classical	
school of political economy.....	130-131
4. The influence of her views on political	
economy over her views on social problems	131-133
III. Miss Martineau's place in literature.....	133-137
5. Self-estimate.....	133
6. Mrs. Chapman's estimate.....	133-135
7. A criticism of one of Mrs. Chapman's state-	
ments.....	135-136
8. The reason for the decline of Miss Mar-	
tineau's popularity.....	136
9. Miss Martineau's place in literature.....	136-137
IV. Suggestions for further study of Miss Mar-	
tineau's works.....	138
10. Enumeration of possible subjects.....	138



The Harriet Martineau Statue  
by Anne Whitney, which for some years  
stood in College Hall, Wellesley College



# HARRIET MARTINEAU: THE ENTRANCE OF SOCIAL DOCTRINE INTO NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

## Chapter I

### Introduction

#### I. Historical Background of Nineteenth Century Literature

A knowledge of the period to which a writer belongs makes possible a more thorough understanding of the spirit of his work. Particularly is this true when the subject-matter of an author is inseparably linked with the period, as is the case with Harriet Martineau, the subject of the present study. It comes within the scope of this chapter to set forth briefly an account of the important movements in the political and social history of the nineteenth century and then to analyze Miss Martineau's philosophy in the light of the age in which she lived. In this way the foundation is laid for a critical examination of her social and economic theories and an appraisal of the means by which she sought to effect much-needed reforms. Such a procedure will make it possible to determine her rightful position in the history of English prose literature of the century.

The end of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century witnessed three great revolutions of far-reaching effect: the American Revolution, the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution. For several reasons the Industrial Revolution originated in England: England was rich in her deposits of coal and iron; she had accumu-

lated capital which was seeking investment; she possessed a large merchant marine for the transportation of goods; and, on account of the Agricultural Revolution, she had a large supply of cheap labor ready for employment. These things served to stimulate the inherently practical English mind, and the result was three great series of discoveries and inventions; namely, the power-loom, the steam engine, and the smelting of iron ore into metallic iron by coal in the form of coke, all of which transformed England from an agricultural to an industrial country. The Agricultural Revolution reformed agricultural methods and established a new system of land tenure, for land formerly cultivated under the "open-field" and the "three-field" systems became "enclosed". "Free-holders" and "copy-holders" became laborers on large estates of landed proprietors, or were ejected from the land which their forefathers had tilled for generations before them. The movement towards the industrial centers increased by leaps and bounds, the final outcome being the creation of a larger class of wage-earners. Out of these tremendous changes in agriculture and industry came a multitude of social problems. In contrast to the large numbers that were reduced to starvation levels was a new class of rich manufacturers. Complications likewise developed from forces outside the kingdom. The Duke of Wellington's victory at Waterloo brought the continental war

to a close but left England with the débris of war at her doorstep---an enormous debt, a small group of wealthy landowners and manufacturers, a huge mass of poverty-stricken farm laborers and factory-workers, and a large number of unemployed war veterans.

After 1815 democracy became a dominant fact in English life, although it was years before it gained full recognition. The champions of reform had been hammering away since the late years of the past century. Now their forces grew stronger as liberal-minded statesmen joined their ranks; middle-class employers and lower-class employees united in the agitation for change. The rich middle class of manufacturers and trades people was determined to edge its way into social and political prominence, to a degree equal to its economic strength. The upper class, with stolid self-complacency, hung on tenaciously to its hitherto impregnable position. The capitalists were quick to see that social reform must come through political reform; so they welcomed the strength of the masses in a crusade for an extension of suffrage and a reapportionment of parliamentary representation. At last the heavy atmosphere of political turmoil cleared with the passage of the great Reform Bill of 1832, which effected the transfer of supreme political power from the hands of the landed aristocracy to the upper middle class.

This ushered in a period of concentrated reform, which lasted from 1832 to 1848, during which time old abuses were swept away and changes were wrought in almost every field of human activity---political, social, economic, religious, and

educational. Industrial transformation made great headway. Science made rapid strides, especially in astronomy, physics, agricultural chemistry, and sanitation. Religious reforms modified the relation of the Church of England to the State. Social life took on a quiet respectability with the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837, after which time dueling disappeared; Sundays were strictly observed; morals and manners became characterized by a marked restraint; a decided reticence surrounded life problems; an overabundance of clothing indicated a prudishness in dress; homes were furnished with ugly, heavy, decorative things; prettiness became the chief objective in art; prejudiced tradition fought staunchly against innovations in philosophy, science, and religion; and an effort was made to accentuate social distinctions.

The constant hubbub of reform slackened after 1848, and England settled down to a period of unprecedented improvement. Between 1848 and 1865 England became the workshop of the world. Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859) stimulated popular thought to a controversy between the scientific theory of evolution through a "survival of the fittest" and the Bible. The twenty years between 1865 and 1885 are distinctive for their marked accretion of material prosperity. A high point in the history of democracy was the passage of the Reform Bill of 1867, which meant real democracy at last, because it enfranchised two-thirds of the male population. By the Elementary Education Act of 1870 public free schools were established for the first time. In response to public opinion parliament passed laws to benefit the working people. After 1874 a series of agricultural calam-

ities befell England. Farming was injured by a succession of cattle plagues; competition with American food stuffs caused a tremendous drop in prices; and these conditions were intensified by successive bad years. The final outcome was that England became more predominantly manufacturing and depended more than ever on foreign countries and colonies for food.<sup>1</sup>

## II. An Analysis of Harriet Martineau's Philosophy

Such was the age---an age of democracy and industrialism---in which Harriet Martineau lived. Since the history of thought has been strongly affected in every age by the accompanying political, social, and economic conditions, this seems to be the proper place to examine the philosophy which Miss Martineau came to hold the course of her life. Such an examination will make it possible to answer two all-important questions: What was the effect of the age upon Miss Martineau? What effect did she have upon the age? The question which first arises is, What is philosophy? For the purpose at hand it may be defined as a hypothetical interpretation of the relation of human experience in an effort to explain and co-ordinate the fundamental principles of life. "Specifically," according to Will Durant, "philosophy means and includes five fields of study and dis-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ralph Philip Boas and Barbara M. Hahn, Social Backgrounds of English Literature, pp. 191-244; John Buchan, Ed., A History of English Literature, pp. 415-417; William H. Crashaw, The Making of English Literature, Revised edition, pp. 328-336; William Vaughn Moody and Robert Morss Lovett, A History of English Literature, Revised edition, pp. 297-298, 341-342; George F. Reynolds, English Literature in Fact and Story, pp. 266-267; J. Salwyn Schapiro, Modern and Contemporary European History, pp. 25-88.

course: logic, esthetics, ethics, politics, and metaphysics."<sup>2</sup> It was in the spheres of politics and metaphysics that Harriet Martineau's chief interests lay. The purpose of this division of the chapter is to reveal the development of her metaphysical philosophy in order the better to understand the tenets of her political philosophy, which is to be examined in subsequent chapters.

Between the ages of seventeen and thirty (1819-1832)<sup>3</sup> Harriet Martineau came to regard her Unitarian belief in revelation and miracles as inconsistent with the philosophical doctrine of necessity, which held that human life was governed by the operation of law rather than by the caprice of a Divine Power. Up to the age of twenty the religion she depended on for her best resource was, in her own words, briefly this:

.....I believed in a God, milder and more beneficent and passionless than the God of the orthodox, ..... I believed in inestimable and eternal rewards of holiness; ..... My belief in Christ was that he was the purest of all things, under God; and his sufferings for the sake of mankind made him as sublime in my view and affections as any being could possibly be. The Holy Ghost was a mere fiction to me. I took all the miracles for facts ..... I believed in a future life as a continuation of the present, and not as a new method of existence. 4

<sup>2</sup> The Story of Philosophy, pp. 3-14.

<sup>3</sup> The source for the facts in the life of Harriet Martineau referred to throughout the thesis is her Autobiography with Memorials, Ed. by Maria Weston Chapman, London, 1877, Vols. I-III. Footnotes are generally used only in giving references for quoted material. The book will be referred to simply as Autobiography.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, 40.

From this orthodox faith Miss Martineau turned ultimately to the doctrine of pure necessity:

..... all the world is practically Necessarian. All human action proceeds on the supposition that all the workings of the universe are governed by laws which cannot be broken by human will. In fact, the mistake of the majority in this matter is usually in supposing an interference between the will and the action of Man. The very smallest amount of science is enough to enable any rational person to see that the constitution and action of the human faculty of Will are determined by influences beyond the control of the possessor of the faculty. 5

This radical change in Miss Martineau's views was the culmination of years of thinking. As a very young girl she wondered that so vast a majority of the people of Norwich could not see through the error of uniting the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. But most astonishing of all, to her, was the superficial scholarship of the Unitarians which made it possible to accept or reject any part of the Scriptures, which they professed to receive, as a church or individually, without perceiving that such a procedure was entirely incompatible with the conception that the Scriptures were a record of divine revelation. At sixteen she became a religious fanatic in her hero-worship of Dr. Lant Carpenter, a dissenting Unitarian minister. His influence is reflected in her two early works, Devotional Exercises (1823) and Traditions of Palestine (1830). Through him Miss Martineau was first introduced to philosophy and to the philosophy of the Locke and Hartley school. This acquaintance with philosophy led her to engage in a broad and concentrated study of the works of many American, German, and English philosophical writers. She

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 110-111.

found, however, that she entirely disagreed with their "vague metaphysical imagination", which they termed "'spiritual philosophy'".<sup>6</sup>

About this time, too, Miss Martineau felt the need of being able to distinguish between the knowable and the unknowable, but for the most part she went on "floating and floundering among metaphysical imaginations".<sup>7</sup> Her brother James brought the whole matter to a climax when she, at the age of twenty, questioned him about the doctrine of necessity, only to be advised to find it out for herself. She did so. Realizing her inclination to sympathize unduly with the views of whatever author she happened to be reading, she resolved to read nothing until she had thought out the problem herself. Then she read every available book on the subject of the Will, and her views on necessity became fully confirmed. As to the effect of necessitarianism on her belief in Christianity, Miss Martineau says that it did not prevent her holding on to a pseudo-acceptance of religion for a long while. "But at length," she declared, "I recognized the monstrous superstition in its true character of a great fact in the history of the race, and found myself, with the last link of my chain snapped,---a free rover on the broad, bright breezy common of the universe."<sup>8</sup> By 1832 Miss Martineau, perceiving nothing at all in common between Unitarian theology and necessitarian philosophy, had disclaimed the theology "in toto".<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., I, 105.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., I, 107.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., I, 116.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., I, 158.



This renunciation was the occasion of much criticism, coming as it did shortly after she had been awarded prizes for three essays which she had entered in a contest conducted by the Unitarian Society in 1830-1832. The purpose of the essays was to present Unitarianism to Catholics, Jews, and Mohammedans.<sup>10</sup>

During a six-year illness (1838-1844) Miss Martineau probed further into philosophy, with the result that she became "intellectually capable of a wider philosophical survey",<sup>11</sup> as is reflected in her Life in the Sick-Room. After much speculation on the old issue of the injustice and cruelty of the scheme of things under "divine government", she arrived at the simple conclusion that human beings with their limited faculties could not understand the fact of the universe. She also gained strength of conviction on the subject of future life, having long since "perceived that the doctrines of the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body were incompatible".<sup>12</sup>

During the ten-year interval (1844-1854) following her recovery by means of mesmerism, Harriet Martineau arrived

---

<sup>10</sup> Titles of essays: "The Essential Faith of the Universal Church"---to Catholics, "The Faith as Unfolded by Many Prophets"---to Mohammedans, and "The Faith as Manifested through Israel"---to Jews.

<sup>11</sup> Op. cit., II, 182.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., II, 186.

at the final stage of her philosophy. Also, during this time she published her own chief philosophical works and translated another of great importance. How certain obscurities became clarified during her Eastern travels (November, 1846, to June, 1847) is best told in her own words:

.....Step by step as we proceeded, evidence arose of the true character of the faiths which ruled the world; ..... The result of the whole, when reconsidered in the quiet of my study, was that I obtained clearness as to the historical nature and moral value of all theology whatever, ..... It was evident to me, .....that a passage through these latter faiths is as natural to men, and was as necessary in those former periods of human progress, as fetishism is to the infant nations, and individuals, .....Every child, and every childish tribe of people, transfers its own consciousness, ..... to all external objects, so as to conclude them all to be alive like itself, and passes through this stage of belief to a more reasonable view; and, in like manner, more advanced nations and individuals suppose a whole pantheon of Gods first, --- and then a trinity, .....then a single deity; all the divine beings being exaggerated men,..... .....In proportion as this stage is passed through, the conceptions of deity and divine government become abstract and indefinite, till the indistinguishable line is reached which is supposed, and not seen, to separate the highest order of Christian philosopher from the philosophical atheist. 13

As a result of her speculations upon the intellectual evolution of man, Miss Martineau wrote Eastern Life, Present and Past (1848) to illustrate the genealogy and relation of the old faiths --- the Egyptian, the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan.

Miss Martineau's survey of the progress of man is closely akin to Comte's fundamental law of human development, known as the law of three states:

..... There are but three phases of intellectual evolution---for the individual as well as for the mass---the Theo-

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., II, 278-280.

logical (Supernatural), the Metaphysical, and the Positive.

.....In the Supernatural phase the mind seeks causes; it aspires to know the essences of things, and How and Why of their operation. It regards all effects as the productions of supernatural agents.....In the Metaphysical phase, a modification takes place; the supernatural agents are set aside for abstract forces or Entities supposed to inhere in various substances, and capable of engendering phenomena. In the Positive phase, the mind, convinced of the futility of all inquiry into causes and essences, restricts itself to the observation and classification of phenomena, and to the discovery of the invariable relations of succession and similitude which things bear to each other: in a word, to the discovery of the laws of phenomena. 14

It was not until the publication of the Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development (1851), which consisted of a correspondence conducted between Miss Martineau and Mr. H. G. Atkinson on philosophical matters, that the full extent of Miss Martineau's philosophical speculations and her complete separation from all theology became well known. In the course of the correspondence Miss Martineau's views became crystallized. Just what this new development was is best related in her own words:

..... I had learned that, to form any true notion whatever of any of the affairs of the universe, we must take our stand in the external world, ---regarding man as one of the products and subjects of the everlasting laws of the universe, and not as the favorite of its Maker; ..... I had learned that men judge from an inverted image of external things within themselves when they insist upon the Design argument,..... I had learned that whatever conception is transferred by 'instinct' or supposition from the human mind to the universe cannot possibly be the true solution, as the action of any product of the general laws of the universe cannot possibly be the original principle of those laws. Hence it followed that the conceptions of a God with any human attributes whatever, of a principle or practice of Design, of an administration of life according to human wishes, or the affairs of the

---

<sup>14</sup>Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, Trans. by G. H. Lewes, I, 10-11.

world by the principles of human morals, must be mere visions, ..... I had learned, above all, that only by a study of the external and internal world in conjunction can we gather such wisdom as we are qualified to attain; and that this study must be bonâ fide, --- personal and diligent. 15

Miss Martineau claims to have felt a great joy when she had at last escaped from the superstition of Christian mythology and had reached the stage of positive philosophy.

In the light of Comte's explanation of the opposite starting points in philosophy, Miss Martineau had begun her speculations at one end and arrived at the opposite end.

The study of the external world and of Man is the external business of philosophy; and there are two methods of proceeding; by passing from the study of Man to that of external nature, or from the study of external nature to that of Man. Whenever philosophy shall be perfect, the two methods will be reconciled: meantime, the contrast of the two distinguishes the opposite philosophies, --- the theological and the positive. ....all theological and metaphysical philosophy proceeds to explain the phenomena of the external world from the starting-point of our consciousness of human phenomena; whereas, the positive philosophy subordinates the conception of Man to that of the eternal world. 16

But what was perhaps Miss Martineau's greatest service of all was in the field of speculative thought was her admirable condensed translation of Auguste Comte's Philosophie Positive, published in 1853, which she referred to as "the greatest literary engagement of [her] life".<sup>17</sup> Comte (1797-1857), whom George Henry Lewes called "the greatest thinker of modern times,---the man whose doctrine is to the nineteenth century

---

<sup>15</sup>Op. cit., II, 333-334.

<sup>16</sup>The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte, Trans. and condensed by Harriet Martineau, II, I.

<sup>17</sup>Autobiography, II, 389.

something more than that which Bacon's was to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", <sup>18</sup> was the founder of sociology, the founder of a new religion---the religion of Humanity,--and the founder of positive philosophy,--so important to modern scientific development. Miss Martineau says that she "became 'strengthened, established, settled' on many a great point" <sup>19</sup> during her translation of Comte.

This analysis of the periods of development which Miss Martineau passed through in her progress from metaphysics and theology to philosophy establishes the fact that, contrary to unfounded assertion, <sup>20</sup> her philosophy was original, that is, that she arrived at positivism through independent thought insofar as it is possible for anyone with social contacts to do so. Two factors were at the root of Harriet Martineau's effort to find a satisfactory perspective in which to regard life. One was purely personal. She had a strong natural inclination towards religion, to which she turned for resource during her early years of physical and mental suffering. Her religion failed to sustain her when she became aware of inconsistencies in theological doctrines. The other influence was external. Harriet Martineau was born and reared

---

<sup>18</sup> Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Autobiography, II, 391.

<sup>20</sup> R. Brimley Johnson (Henry Craik, Ed., English Prose, V, 462) states that Harriet Martineau became a disciple of positivism through Mr. Atkinson, whose philosophy was much influenced by that of Comte.

John Morley (Critical Miscellanies, p.360) asserts that "it was Mr. Atkinson who finally provided her with a positive substitute for her older beliefs".

something more than that which Bacon's was to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", <sup>18</sup> was the founder of sociology, the founder of a new religion---the religion of Humanity,--and the founder of positive philosophy,--so important to modern scientific development. Miss Martineau says that she "became 'strengthened, stablished, settled' on many a great point" <sup>19</sup> during her translation of Comte.

This analysis of the periods of development which Miss Martineau passed through in her progress from metaphysics and theology to philosophy establishes the fact that, contrary to unfounded assertion, <sup>20</sup> her philosophy was original, that is, that she arrived at positivism through independent thought insofar as it is possible for anyone with social contacts to do so. Two factors were at the root of Harriet Martineau's effort to find a satisfactory perspective in which to regard life. One was purely personal. She had a strong natural inclination towards religion, to which she turned for resource during her early years of physical and mental suffering. Her religion failed to sustain her when she became aware of inconsistencies in theological doctrines. The other influence was external. Harriet Martineau was born and reared

---

<sup>18</sup> Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 1.

<sup>19</sup> Autobiography, II, 391.

<sup>20</sup> R. Brimley Johnson (Harry Craik, Ed., English Prose, V, 462) states that Harriet Martineau became a disciple of positivism through Mr. Atkinson, whose philosophy was much influenced by that of Comte.

John Morley (Critical Miscellanies, p.360) asserts that "it was Mr. Atkinson who finally provided her with a positive substitute for her older beliefs".

in Norwich, where there was a constant struggle for supremacy<sup>21</sup> between literature and industry. Miss Martineau herself came of the industrial class, her father being a Norwich manufacturer and her mother the daughter of a sugar-refiner at Newcastle-on-Tyne. With a quality of mind termed by critics masculine, Harriet Martineau could not reconcile herself to an environment that smacked of sham and pretense. In an effort to adjust herself socially, she "plunged fairly into the spirit of her time, --- that of self-analysis, pathetic self-pity,<sup>22</sup> typical interpretation of objective matters, and scheme-making, in the name of God and Man".<sup>23</sup> It can hardly be overemphasized that the modifications in Miss Martineau's religion were "necessary in their day",<sup>23</sup> which was an age of skepticism. The final outcome was that, with the aid of books, the exchange of ideas with friends, the influence of her brother James, a long period of illness, and wide travel, Miss Martineau became a thoroughly-grounded positivist.

There is need to be explicit upon two points: and those are the relation of Miss Martineau to H. G. Atkinson and the degree of her dependence upon Auguste Comte, from whom it has been said she adopted her philosophy. Although she had never seen Mr. Atkinson till May, 1845, she owed to him her recovery from her six-year illness, for he had given counsel

---

<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Walker, The Literature of the Victorian Age, p. 182.

<sup>22</sup> Autobiography, I, 157.

<sup>23</sup> Morley, Critical Miscellanies, p. 360.

to the sonmambulist who had mesmerised her. She is careful to point out that he did not mesmerise her at Tynemouth because, she says, "Many persons who think it necessary to assign some marvellous reason for my present philosophical views, and who are unwilling to admit that I could have arrived at them by my own means and in my own way, have asserted that Mr. Atkinson was my mesmeriser, and that he infused into me his own views by the power he thus gained over my brain".<sup>24</sup> She further explains: "I certainly knew nothing of his philosophical opinions when we met at Lenton, and it was not till the close of 1847, when, on settling about my book on Egypt, I wrote him an account of my opinions, and how I came by them, and he replied by a somewhat similar confidence, that I had any clear knowledge what his views were,"<sup>25</sup> He himself expresses his influence over her in this manner: "I only helped you to do in a fortnight what you would have done for yourself in six weeks. ....I found you out of the old ways, and I showed you the shortest way round the corner---"<sup>26</sup> that's all."

As for Auguste Comte, the only direct knowledge Miss Martineau had of him came after the publication of the Letters, when, before beginning to translate the Positive Philosophy, she "looked ~~ed~~ at Lewes's chapter on Comte in Mr. Knight's Weekly Volume, and at Littré's epitome".<sup>27</sup> Outside of this meager acquaint-

---

<sup>24</sup> Autobiography, II, 214.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., II, 215.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., II, 214-215.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., II, 371.



ance she had got a "clear preparatory view, at second hand,  
 from a friend, ..... in 1850".<sup>28</sup> The only other way that she  
 could have known Comte was through Mr. Atkinson. In a letter  
 to Miss Martineau after the publication of the Letters he says:  
 "There does not seem to be any chance of my having got at  
 Comte's ideas through any indirect channel, and I know nothing  
 of him directly. Knight's volume by Lewes is the whole of my  
 acquaintance with him!"<sup>29</sup> This evidence disproves any state-  
 ment to the effect that Harriet Martineau adopted her philosophy  
 from either Comte or Atkinson, or that Atkinson got his phil-  
 osophy from Comte.

It is beside the present purpose to criticise Miss Marti-  
 neau's philosophy. It undoubtedly compels respect for its abun-  
 dance of substantial thought and admiration for its independ-  
 ence. The only test which can justly be applied to her doctrine  
 is, How adequately did it serve her? In an answer one must see  
 Harriet Martineau in her last years. Pronounced by physicians  
 at the age of fifty-three to be fatally ill of an incurable  
 disease of the heart and liable to die at any time, Miss Marti-  
 neau, failed to experience any dread or fear of death and felt no  
 reluctance at the prospect of passing into nothingness upon her  
 departure. She comes out boldly in a statement of her attitude  
 even at this time:

..... The objective and disinterested contemplation of  
 eternity is, in my apprehension, the sublimest pleasure that  
 human faculties are capable of.....

..... If I am mistaken in supposing that I am now vacating

---

<sup>28</sup>Loc. cit.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., II, 366.

my place in the universe, which is to be filled by another,--- if I find myself conscious after the lapse of life,--- it will be all right, of course; but, as I have said, the supposition appears to me absurd. 30

It remains to determine how positivism fitted Miss Martineau for examining social matters. Primarily, it gave her a scientific point of view, which enabled her to pursue investigations in an objective, disinterested way. Her sane rationalism, coupled with her broad experience, placed her far in advance of most contemporary women. Cognizant of the operation of inviolable laws, she proceeded to analyze the causes for social evils before attempting to proffer remedies for them. As exhibited in her endeavor to reach a satisfactory solution of the ultimate questions of human life, Miss Martineau was an independent thinker, and not likely to be easily influenced by opinion. She possessed a deep womanly sympathy and was imbued with a strong desire to better the conditions of those oppressed without indulging in a morbid sentimentalism of which women social workers are often accused. At the same time Harriet Martineau never once fell into the method of reforming through preaching a moral, as most of her contemporaries did. She only hoped to show the way by presenting facts for her readers to think over. She was wise in pursuing such a course, for with democracy and education gaining headway, the people could demand what they wanted when public opinion became strong enough. Harriet Martineau could perceive the impossibility of thrusting reform upon people, and, as a

result, she wielded a greater influence than she would have otherwise, for moral reformers are seldom appreciated. Miss Martineau's interest in <sup>the</sup> progress of science was manifested by two acts; namely, the publication of the Letters on Mesmerism to refute absurd claims of ignorant medical men, and the willing of her head in the interest of phrenology.

## Chapter II

### The Relation of Harriet Martineau to the Orthodox School of Political Economy

A degree of industrialism hitherto unknown in history prevailed throughout the nineteenth century in England. The causes and effects of the Industrial Revolution have been pointed out in the preceding chapter in an effort to show that the era of industrialism was the culmination of forces which had been at work for a long period of time. The vast changes wrought by the Agricultural Revolution have likewise been dealt with. It remains to explain the condition of affairs previous to the social reorganization. Under the "domestic system", which terminated with the invention of machinery and the establishment of the factory system, spinning and weaving were done in the home of a master artisan, who was assisted by a few helpers and members of the family. The only equipment was a simple spinning-wheel for the making of thread and a hand-loom for the weaving of cloth. The system of land tenure was substantially the same as it had been since the Middle Ages. Under the "open-field" system communities worked land together, the cultivated land being known as "common rights" and the fuel and pasture land as "waste". Contemporary with this system was the antiquated "three-field" system, which required that a third of the land lie fallow each year to preserve fertility. Each farming village was independent, as there were no transportation facilities to permit an exchange of products. Vast improvements in

the farming industry changed farming from a community enterprise to a business which operated on a profit and loss basis. With the improvement of roads it became profitable to sell food products in the rapidly expanding industrial centers. Thus, England was changed from a land of isolated farming villages to a land of busy industrial centers, which were brought close together by means of improved transportation and communication facilities.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of Comte's law of the three states, what historical position in the development of human progress can be assigned to the industrial regime of the nineteenth century? This question cannot be answered without considering the fundamentals of Comte's system of philosophy, which, in its scheme of systematic classification, typifies the snug, secure character of the age.<sup>2</sup> One of the initial conceptions of positive philosophy was "that beautiful classification of the sciences co-ordinated by the luminous principle of commencing with the study of the simplest (most general) phenomena, and proceeding successively to the most complex and particular; thus arranging the sciences according to their dependence on each other".<sup>3</sup> The sciences Comte named ~~in the~~

---

<sup>1</sup> Boas and Hahn, Social Backgrounds of English Literature, pp. 191-196.

<sup>2</sup> T. A. Hedley, Some Influences in Modern Philosophic Thought, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 11.

in the following order: astronomy, physics, chemistry, physiology, and sociology.<sup>4</sup> Underlying this classification was another fundamental conception, that is, "the conception of all the sciences---physical and social---as branches of one Science, to be investigated on one and the same method".<sup>5</sup> In classifying sociology as a science, Comte was purely an innovator. "Before him no one had ever schemed a Social Science. That the phenomena of society---of men aggregated in masses---were governed by laws as absolute and rigorous as those governing cosmical phenomena, was barely suspected; and nothing had been done toward their systematic co-ordination."<sup>6</sup>

The application of the preponderant principle of the law of the three states disclosed the development of social progress through militaristic, juristic, and industrial periods, corresponding to theological, metaphysical, and positive stages of intellectual evolution. According to Comte, there was an affinity between the theological and military regime, and between the positive and industrial order. The intermediate stage revealed a relation of spiritual and temporal power.<sup>7</sup> By reason of the interconnection of positivism and industrialism, Comte saw in the nineteenth century the time for the definite formation of social sciences.<sup>8</sup> To him there were two indications of a felt need for submitting the study of social phenomena to positive methods: first, a marked interest

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., I, 46.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 9-10.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., I, 233.

<sup>7</sup> Comte's Positive Philosophy, II, 299-333.

<sup>8</sup> Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 246.

in political economy; and, second, an inclination towards historical studies.<sup>9</sup>

The predilection which the nineteenth century manifested for political economy is the matter of immediate concern. What fundamental bases of guidance did positive philosophy have to offer political economy? "Positive philosophy recognizes but one object of inquiry---that of laws."<sup>10</sup> In other words, it maintained that the effects of the social situation were in harmony with causes, as affirmed by investigation conducted by the methods of observation, experiment, and comparison.<sup>11</sup> Positivism rendered relative ideas which at first seemed absolute. It distinguished between "the study of the conditions whereby sociology existed, and that of the laws of its continuous movement."<sup>12</sup> Positive philosophy rejected any notion of the effectiveness of the arbitrary action of man upon the external world, except through an understanding of the operation of inevitable natural laws. Without such knowledge, there could be no alternative but to wait for successive modifications to occur as a result of the natural order of progress.<sup>13</sup>

Nineteenth century political philosophers, when they attempted to diagnose the ills of English national economy, were strongly conscious of these scientific truths of positivism.

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., I, 248.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., I, 215.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., I, 245.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., I, 250-251.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., I, 245-251; Comte's Positive Philosophy, II, 210-237.

England had fallen heir to a whole mass of cumbersome seventeenth and eighteenth century economic policies, and for the first several decades of the nineteenth century industrial and commercial progress was firmly held in check at every turn by legislative anachronisms. The investigation of political philosophers resulted in the founding of a new science--political economy, which consisted of scientific formulas. The one word which describes the political economy of this time is laissez-faire, the "doctrine which demands the minimum interference by government in economic and political affairs", commonly designated as the "Let alone" policy. The principle arose in France during the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries in an effort to counteract excessive government regulation of industry. Back of the theory lay the idea that, if let alone, each man would be stimulated to increase the fruits of his labors. By adding to the aggregate of products placed upon the market for exchange, he added to his own and other men's pleasures, thereby contributing to the advancement of the world.<sup>14</sup>

Such was the general origin and nature of the classical or orthodox school of political economy. Of this school Harriet Martineau became a pioneer literary exponent by incorporating the principles propounded by the members of this group into entertaining little stories. She makes a criticism of contemporary economy which shows that she did not conceive of this

---

<sup>14</sup> The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Fourteenth edition, XIII, 598.



department of knowledge as finished, complete for all time;

..... Then, there was the orderly comprehension of what I took to be the science of Political Economy, as elaborated by the Economists of our time: but I believe I should not have been greatly surprised or displeased to have perceived, even then, that the pretended science is no science at all, strictly speaking; and that so many of its parts must undergo essential change, that it may be a question whether future generation will owe much more to it than the benefit (inestimable, to be sure) of establishing the grand truth that social affairs proceed according to great general laws, no less than natural phenomena of every kind. Such as Political Economy was, however, I know what it meant and what it comprehended. 15

Before investigating further Miss Martineau's relation to the classical school of economic thought, it becomes necessary to see who the members of this body were and what principles they enunciated in the establishment of a new science. The personnel consisted of Adam Smith (1723-1790), Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), David Ricardo (1772-1823), James Mill (1773-1836), and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873). Adam Smith is generally credited with the creation of the laissez-faire doctrine, and, in fact, the founding of the science of political economy is often attributed to him. His Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776) embodies the doctrine in an elaborate classical treatment, but, strictly speaking, Smith made his study at a time when political economy was at a comparatively advanced stage of development. His treatise of the whole gamut of economic theory is such a masterful performance, however, that it com-

---

15 Autobiography, II, 244-245.

pletely obscured the importance of the works of his predecessors.<sup>16</sup> He was deeply indebted to the French Physiocrats, who were pioneers in political economy, for he incorporated the good elements of their doctrine into his great work.<sup>17</sup> Physiocratic theory, applied to the economic sphere, meant the right of the individual to get what he could by labor, freedom of exchange, and unrestrained competition, and no monopolies or privileges.

Specifically, what theories did Adam Smith enounce? He departed from the Physiocrats in making labor instead of nature the source of supply of economic goods,<sup>18</sup> although he admitted that labor was not the only factor in production. He held that division of labor enhanced the productiveness of labor. With division of labor, exchange became imperative; hence money came into use as a standard of value. Smith maintained that labor was the real measure of exchange value because labor never varied, but money was used in men's transactions as the vehicle of exchange. Price became complex in its later stages and consisted of three elements: wages, the reward of labor; profits, the share of capital; and rent, the recompense from land. He classified capital into two kinds: that used for immediate consumption and that used to yield revenue, the latter being again subdivided into fixed and circulating capital. Fixed capital included machines, buildings, agricultural improvements, and talents of the individual. Circulating capital included money, provisions in the hands of dealers, materials, and completed work in the hands of the manufacturer or merchant. Labor was designated as productive and

---

<sup>16</sup> The Encyclopaedia Britannica, XX, 825.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., XVII, 885-886.

<sup>18</sup> Jessie Mae Ownsby, Carlyle's Relation to the Economic Thought of His Time (Unpublished thesis), C.I.A., 1930, p. 14.

unproductive, the former being employed out of capital and the latter maintained by revenue. Smith advocated free trade and denounced the mercantile system of protection. He took a stand against government protection of industry. But he was less absolute in his doctrine of non-interference by the government in the matter of national expenses.<sup>19</sup>

The chief exponent of laissez-faire in the political field was Jeremy Bentham, who early revealed his discipleship of Adam Smith. Bentham's great work was his Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation (1789), wherein he defined the principle of utility in terms of hedonistic mathematical ratios, the component terms of which were the subjective elements of pain and pleasure. Legislation, accordingly, must operate for the "greatest happiness of the greatest number", now a stock phrase. "Benthamism" and "utilitarianism" have since become synonymous terms.<sup>20</sup>

A work which had a very considerable bearing on the science of economics during the nineteenth century was An Essay on the Principle of Population as it affects the Future Improvement of Society, by Thomas Robert Malthus, published in 1798. It set forth a purely original view: "that population, when unchecked, increases in a geometrical ratio while subsistence only increases in an arithmetical ratio". This opinion cast a heavy, possi-

---

<sup>19</sup> The Encyclopaedia Britannica, XX, 824-827.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., III, 416-418.

mistic aspect over political economy, because Malthus asserted as a fact that population always increased up to the limits of the means of subsistence, the only positive checks to this increase being those of war, famine, and pestilence, and the degenerating influence of misery and vice; furthermore, he had little faith in the capacity of the human race to exercise restraint and thereby better its condition. In later editions of the essay he permitted the strictly mathematical part of his theory to fall into the background, but he produced statistics to substantiate it in general. He likewise made an important change by recognizing that, in addition to the positive checks on population already enumerated, a preventive check which he termed "'moral restraint'" existed, by which he meant the postponement of marriage accompanied by strict adherence to the moral standard. Malthus also first formulated the law of diminishing returns in agriculture, although he did not term it thus or understand its real significance.<sup>21</sup>

David Ricardo, who was indebted to Smith to some extent, was purely an economist. He had no sympathy with the working classes, and regarded labor as an instrument at the hands of capital. Ricardo's chief work is the Principles of Political Economy and Taxation (1817). The essential propositions of the Ricardian system are "that an increase of wages does not raise prices; that the profits can be raised only by a fall in wages and diminished only by a rise in wages; and that profits, in

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., XIV, 744-745.

the whole progress of society, are determined by the cost of production of the food which is raised at the greatest expense". He set forth the doctrine that "exchange value is determined by the labour expended in production". He considered taxation a part of the problem of distribution. Some of Ricardo's best works are in the field of banking and currency and are based on invariable mercantile principles. <sup>22</sup>

James Mill, the disciple of Jeremy Bentham, who did more to propagate Benthamism than anyone else, wrote his Elements of Political Economy as a text-book. His chief principles may be thus summarized: First, "the chief problem of practical reformers is <sup>to</sup> limit the increase of population". Second, "the value of a thing depends entirely on the quantity of labour put into it". Third, "'unearned increment' of land is a proper object for taxation". <sup>23</sup>

John Stuart Mill built upon the foundations of Ricardo, Malthus, and Bentham. His chief work consisted of systematizing and expounding the utilitarianism of his father and Bentham. The social ideas of Comte and the St. Simonians greatly influenced him, with the result that traditional utilitarianism became humanized. Mill regarded the Malthusian doctrine in its application not as a barrier to progress but as a means for the improvement of the social conditions of the working classes, whose

---

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., XIX, 281-282.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., XV, 490.

only chance of elevating their social position lay in restricting their numbers. Mill was never entirely satisfied with the "economic man", never contented with regarding the accumulation of wealth as the one end of human existence.<sup>24</sup>

As already intimated, political economy was a subject of primary importance during the greater part of the nineteenth century. It was popular as a topic of conversation. Liberal parsons, radical reformers, and propagandist newspapers took up the cause of the working classes. As the subject was added to the curriculum of the schools, teachers of political economy were in great demand. Text-books were written so that children could be taught the fundamentals of the science, an example being MacWicker's First Lessons in Political Economy for the Use of Elementary Schools.<sup>25</sup>

Harriet Martineau became an outstanding leader in this new movement when she hit upon the possibility of teaching the principles of the whole science of political economy, "not by being smothered up in a story, but by being exhibited in their natural workings in selected passages of social life". The inspiration for the plan grew out of her reading Mrs. Marcet's Conversations on Political Economy, which she had read "chiefly to see what

---

<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., XV, 490-493; Walker, The Literature of the Victorian Age, pp. 168-169; Dictionary of National Biography, XIII, 390-399.

<sup>25</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Helen A. Bonser, "Illustrations of Political Economy: An Early Example of the Case Method", Social Service Review, III, (Jan., 1929), 243.

26

Political Economy precisely was". Jane Marcet's book "attempted to simplify the language of political economy by conversations between the governess, Mrs. B, and her brilliant pupil, young Caroline". It is a mistake, however, to assume that Harriet Martineau was entirely indebted to Mrs. Marcet for her idea, for Miss Martineau, previous to her reading of the Conversations, had written and published some little stories on machinery and wages, when [she] had not the remotest idea that [she] was meditating writing on Political Economy, the very name of which was then either unknown to [her], or conveyed no meaning". She was surprised to find that she had been teaching political economy in her stories. Her interest in the subject had probably developed from her constant reading of the Globe newspaper since the Napoleonic Wars.

There is one outstanding difference between Mrs. Marcet's and Harriet Martineau's treatment of political economy. Mrs. Marcet wrote chiefly for the upper classes, whereas Miss Martineau wrote for all. In the Preface to the first volume of her Illustrations of Political Economy, Miss Martineau dedicates the series of stories not to one class but to all, because of the limited acquaintance with the subject everywhere.

.....Political Economy has been less studied than perhaps any other science whatever, and not at all by those whom it most concerns,---the mass of people. This must be because its nature and its relation to other studies are not understood. It would not be put away as dull, abstract and disagreeable. 29

---

26 Autobiography, I, 138.

27 Bonser, op., cit., 243.

28 Autobiography, I, 135.

29 Op., cit., pp. iv-v.

There were, of course, reasons for the general neglect of systematic study of political economy until after the first decades of the nineteenth century. Most of the economists had been legists and literary men who had not learned "that habitual spirit of positive rationality".<sup>30</sup> From this criticism Comte exempted Adam Smith, who, he said, made no pretense of founding a new special science.<sup>31</sup> According to Miss Martineau, the complaint of the people was that those who had written on political economy had written for the learned, a fault which Smith's Wealth of Nations bore. Furthermore, the followers of a leader in the field of economics frequently disagreed; so the people became bored in their theories of the operation of economic law.<sup>32</sup>

It was in an effort to remedy this defect in the treatment of political economy that Harriet Martineau was determined to present the subject in a new way, although she emphatically denied any attempt to decoy idle readers by her way of presenting economic theories by means of fiction. Of her method of teaching principles by pictures, she says:

.....This method of teaching Political Economy has never yet been tried, except in the instance of a short story or separate passage here and there. 33

---

30

Comte's Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 248.

31 Comte's Positive Philosophy, II, 204.

32 Preface, Illustrations of Political Economy, I, ix-x.

33 Ibid., I, xiii.



For the existence of social ills Miss Martineau said that the people had only themselves to blame:

..... Unless the people will take the pains to learn what it is that goes wrong, and how it should be rectified, they cannot petition intelligently or effectually, and government will regard their complaints as unreasonable and their affliction as past help. <sup>34</sup>

The aim underlying Miss Martineau's treatment of the many social difficulties of her time was the same as that which motivated her treatment of political economy. In the next chapter her method of exemplifying the principles of political economy as set forth by the members of the orthodox school of political economy will be investigated. The object of subsequent chapters will be to examine Miss Martineau's interpretation of the issues involved in the pertinent problems of education, slavery, the care of state dependents, domestic economy, and the position of woman, as revealed through her literary works. In this way it will be possible to determine her place in the literature of social doctrine.

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., I viii-ix.

### Chapter III

#### Miss Martineau's Exemplification of the Principles of Political Economy

Since Miss Martineau's little tales illustrative of political economy were her first successful attempt at writing on other than religious subjects, it seems fitting to relate just how she happened to enter into the field of literature of social doctrine. When her father died in 1826, during a time when "the banks were crashing down all over England",<sup>1</sup> his manufactory was facing a financial crisis. The contemplated disaster occurred in 1829, leaving Mrs. Martineau and her daughters without an income. At one stroke the family lost its gentility, a matter which none of them regretted as they were then freed from the social conventions of the gentry class. Harriet Martineau herself was for the first time at liberty to work at her writings openly. The question of her future, however, was not easy to settle on account of the handicap of deafness, which rendered her turning to music impossible. Her deafness likewise prevented her from becoming a teacher. The winter of 1829-30 was a period of preparation for her future work;

..... During the daylight hours of that winter, I was poring over fine fancy-work, by which alone I earned any money; and after tea, I went upstairs to my room, for my day's literary labour..... Every night that winter..... I was writing till two, or even three in the morning,---obeying always the rule of the house,---of being present at the breakfast table as the clock struck eight.&

---

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography, I, 129.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., I, 146-147.

In spite of these hardships, Miss Martineau was happy, for she determined once for all what her future should be. "After long and mature consideration," she wrote, at the age of twenty-seven, "I have determined that my chief subordinate object in life shall be the cultivation of my intellectual powers, with a view to the instruction of others by my writing."<sup>3</sup> In these words she expressed the spirit of Comtian religion, the unselfish, altruistic desire to live for others. The circumstances of her decision to embody the principles of political economy in didactic fiction have already been related. It must be remembered, too, that at this time she was developing intellectually toward the doctrine of necessity, which was to assist her in maintaining a purely objective attitude toward matters of science.

But the writing of books and articles and finding publishers for them are two different matters. Publishers refused the tales "on the ground of the disturbed state of the public mind, which afforded no encouragement to put out new books".<sup>4</sup> Three things caused this state of unrest: the failure of the Reform Bill, an epidemic of cholera, and a new Order in Council. However, it was Miss Martineau's steady conviction that her work was wanted; so she was determined that the public should have it. She was at last compelled to make a most unfavorable contract with Charles Fox

---

<sup>3</sup> Craik, English Prose, V, 461-462.

<sup>4</sup> Autobiography, I, 162.

for publication by subscription, the stories to be published monthly.

As was stated in the preceding chapter, Miss Martineau's service in the field of economics consisted of exemplifying the theories of the orthodox school of political economy in story form, thereby making the principles and the laws of their operation so simple that they could be readily understood by people of all classes, by old and young alike. Thus it is clear from the outset that Miss Martineau did not propose to be an innovator in the realm of economics, that it was never her aim to set forth new theories. Her originality lay in her way of treating contemporary economic doctrine, which has since proved to be a most significant contribution to literature. This being true, the interest of the present investigation centers in the literary treatment of economic principles rather than in an analysis of the theories themselves, although, of course, the subject-matter and the manner of treatment are by nature inseparable.

It is beside the purpose to examine all of the economic principles that Miss Martineau dealt with. The study will be confined to an exposition of her method of procedure in writing the political economy tales, the general plan of her work, and her manner of incorporating economic principles into stories. Insofar as it is compatible with the objective thus stated, an effort will be made to point out Miss Martineau's relation to members of the classical school of economics. It is impossible to know definitely, however, just how far Miss Martineau was

indebted to individuals of the group. That she was obligated to them all in some measure is implied in her acknowledgment of acquaintance with all of the best contemporary works on political economy. In concluding the chapter, an attempt will be made to state how the Illustrations of Political Economy was received and what influence the series had upon Miss Martineau's contemporaries.

In her method of writing the political economy tales, Miss Martineau was thoroughly systematic. She first of all "made a skeleton plan of the course, comprehending the four divisions, Production, Distribution, Exchange, and Consumption", and provided herself with all of the standard works on the science. Having set down subdivisions of topics and gone over her own ideas, she read the treatment of the particular topic in all of the books, and made notes. The next process, the most laborious but most valuable of all, was making the "Summary of Principles" found at the end of each story. By this time it was possible to perceive "in what part of the world, and among what sort of people, the principles of her number appeared to operate the most manifestly". "The next process was to embody each leading principle in a character: and the mutual operation of these embodied principles supplied the action of the story." If the scene was foreign or involved a section of England with which she was not familiar, Miss Martineau studied books of travel or topography, or depended upon information supplied her by traveled friends. Then, having reduced her material to chapters and made a copious table of contents for each, she paged her paper

and wrote the story like a letter, "never altering the expression as it came fresh from her brain".<sup>5</sup>

The order in which the principles of political economy should be exemplified seemed to Miss Martineau to determine itself, as she explains in the first "Preface" to the Illustrations of Political Economy:

As the necessaries and comforts of life must be produced before they can be distributed, and must be distributed before they can be consumed, the order of subjects seems to be determined by their nature.

We propose to show what Labour can effect and how it is to be encouraged and economized and rewarded; to treat of Capital, its nature and operation, and the proportions of its increase; and to exhibit the union of these two mighty agents of Production. Under the second head, Distribution, occur the great questions of Rent, Profits, Wages, and Population, the various modes of Interchange at home and abroad, including the consideration of all Monopolies, domestic and foreign. Under the third head, Consumption, are considered the modes of Supply and Demand. All these and many more will be exemplified in sketches of society, in narratives of those who labour and earn and spend, who are happy or otherwise, according as the institutions under which they live are good or bad. 6

Underlying Miss Martineau's scheme of illustrating political economy in story form was the spirit of positivism, which embraced both a scientific and a moral purpose:

..... I take my stand upon Science. Whether the truths attempted to be illustrated by me on this ground be Tory, Whig, or Radical, is a question to be determined ..... It comes within the scope of my object to illustrate certain principles of Social Morals, as well as of Political Economy; but it is altogether foreign to my purpose to determine by what political party those principles are the most satisfactorily recognized. 7

Thus Miss Martineau was, like Adam Smith and Malthus, a social philosopher rather than a pure economist like Ricardo. Her deep

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., I, 193-195.

<sup>6</sup> I, xvii-xviii.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., VII, vii.

sympathy caused her to look upon man, not as the "economic man" of Ricardo's creation, but as a social being with human desires and feelings.

It was this understanding of humanity which enabled Miss Martineau, in the process of exemplifying the principles of political economy, to write stories of sufficient interest to hold the reader's attention throughout. Although the inherent nature of the subject-matter did not lend itself to the fashioning of first-class fiction, it is only fair to credit Miss Martineau with considerable skill in handling the tales of political economy. The didactic purpose was not permitted to develop to the point of being offensive; yet she endeavored never to lose sight of her object in telling each story. In this aim Miss Martineau succeeded very well, with perhaps one or two exceptions, when her interest in the story surmounted the didactic purpose. The whole scheme of the stories afforded considerable variety. In all there were twenty-four tales, each complete within itself, and in most instances with different characters and setting. Miss Martineau was aware of the range which this plan gave her tales:

.....There can be no lack of subjects for such tales in our own country, where the pauper and the prince, the beneficent landlord and the unreasonable tenant, the dissolute grandee and the industrious artizan, are to be found in the near neighborhood of each other. If we look farther abroad into lands where different institutions vary the interests of individuals, we are furnished with rich illustrations of every truth our science can furnish. 8

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., I, xvii-xviii.

The places chosen for the setting of different stories were sometimes at home, in England, Wales, or Ireland; or, again, they were in foreign lands, including France, Holland, Siberia, India, Africa, and the West Indies. Each story was followed by a "Summary of Principles" to assist the reader in understanding the fundamentals of economics.

The first tale of the series, written to illustrate labor as a factor of production, has its setting in a British colony located in the region of the Cape of Good Hope, in South Africa. The opening of "Life in the Wilds" discloses a small colony of people the morning after an attack by savage natives, who had carried away everything and had left the settlers with only the raw materials of nature and the labor of their hands to earn a living. Under the leadership of Captain Adams and Mr. and Mrs. Stone, the inhabitants willingly set to work to re-establish themselves. Each man was assigned the task for which his training best fitted him, and when possible the men worked co-operatively in groups, because it was believed that "many hands make quick work".<sup>9</sup> With the supply of human labor and natural materials inexhaustible, the settlers not only regained their former state of civilization but added improvements for their comfort. The two classes of labor, productive and unproductive, Mr. Stone explained in this manner: "'There is labour of the head as well as of the hands,..... Any man who does anything is a labourer, as far as his exertion goes.'<sup>10</sup>" Mrs. Stone

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., I, 70.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., I, 47.



enlarged upon the idea by remarking that in this sense the King of England was a laborer even though he did nothing more than sign the acts of parliament. Labor ill-directed, Mr. Stone pointed out by way of moral, was of no value, as, for instance, the walnut-shell boats which the young boy George made in Africa were useless there, but would have been of value in England.

Capital as the second factor in production is illustrated in "The Hill and the Valley", which is a story of an iron-work factory in the wild district of South Wales. With the object of showing the interrelation of labor and capital, Miss Martineau traced the development of the factory from the time of its erection to a period of high prosperity and from thence to ruin. From an infant industry with three hundred workmen in its employ, the factory expanded until it required the labor of eleven hundred men. The laborers wrongly interpreted a reduction of wages to cut operating expenses as being due to the instalment of machinery, although actually foreign competition and wars had caused a general slump in wages. When, therefore, a boy was killed by the machinery, the workmen seized upon the accident as a pretext for making unreasonable demands of Mr. Wallace, the manager. Excitement ran high. The weeping mother of the dead boy could not be consoled. When Mrs. Wallace first appeared before the workmen in an effort to explain that the accident had been due to the boy's carelessness, the people railed at her. Then, convinced of her sincerity and sympathy, they quieted down. But

the people were changeable, as crowds always are. They again pressed Mr. Wallace with demands. His refusal to comply led to a mob demonstration and to so much destruction in the factory that it had to be closed. In the end the workmen suffered most because many were thrown out of work, whereas the entrepreneurs lost little because the county paid them for the damages.

Various characters in the story explain the principles by which labor and capital operate. Capital is defined by Mr. Hollins as that "which is produced with a view to further production"<sup>11</sup>. Mr. Wallace further explains, "As there must be labour before capital, there must be capital before division of labour."<sup>12</sup> Division of labor likewise assists the increase of capital. Fixed capital is defined as "money laid out in land, buildings, machinery and tools. Circulating capital is the wealth laid out with an immediate view to further production."<sup>13</sup> For this reason it is better called reproducible capital. Through the character Paul, a laborer in the factory but a clear thinker, Miss Martineau teaches a social lesson:

"Every man in society ought to belong to one class of producers or the other, or to stimulate production by useful though unproductive labour." <sup>14</sup>

It is Paul, too, who explains why the interests of the laborer and the capitalist, instead of being opposed to each other, are mutual:

---

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., I, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., I, 30.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., I, 51.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., I, 77-78.

"They [labor and capital] play into one another's hands. Labour makes capital; capital urges to a division of labour; and a division of labour makes capital grow. When the people we are talking of are all supplied with tools,..... they begin to traffic with the next district, bartering their manufacture for whatever productions they may agree to take in exchange. As their manufacturing improves, they get more wealth, and then again, as they get more wealth, their manufacture improves; they find new devices for shortening their labour; they make machines which do their work better than their own hands could do it, till an iron-work becomes what we see it here,---a busy scene where man directs the engines whose labour he once performed; where earth and air and fire and water are used for his purposes as his will directs; and a hundred dwellings are filled with plenty where for want of capital, men once wrapped themselves in skins to sleep on the bare ground, and cut up their food with flints." 15

Similarly, Miss Martineau could see no reason for antagonism between the interests of the manufacturing and the agricultural classes, whose interests were closely united, since the increase of agricultural capital made possible further employment of manufacturing and commercial, as well as agricultural labor. 16

Miss Martineau allied herself with the utilitarians when she took the view that capital and labor should be so employed as to secure the largest production. She considered large units of capital preferable to equal aggregate amounts of small units of capital. She admitted, however, that capital could become too large, and that it was so when it outgrew its managing power. 17 The advantages of large capital are illustrated in a story of land enclosures, "Brooke and Brooke Farm". The story runs as follows: After accepting an enclosure offer,

---

15 Ibid., I, 23-30.

16 "Brooke and Brooke Farm", Illustrations of Political Economy, I, 146-147.

17 Loc. cit.

George Gray became comfortably established. On the other hand, Gray's friend Norton kept his farm and grew steadily poorer; while old man Williams, once fairly well off, became destitute. In his extreme want the old man turned to sheep stealing, for which he was convicted. His wife and children were thrown upon the parish for a living. As Norton and others recognized the prudence of enclosures and sold their land to Mr. Malthon, a large proprietor, prosperity and happiness came to Brooke, and education came with the other good things. Miss Martineau recognized the human element in the matter of the ownership of land, as shown in a speech by Mr. Malthon to Sir Henry: "It is natural enough that men should like being proprietors better than being labourers."<sup>18</sup>

Miss Martineau acceded to the laissez-faire tradition of economics as applied to the factors of production.

Labour should be protected by securing its natural liberty; that is---by showing no partiality, and by removing the effects of former partiality. 19

The interest of capitalists best determines the extent of the capital; and any interference of the law is therefore unnecessary.

The interference of the law is injurious; as may be seen by the tendency of the law of Succession in France to divide properties too far, and of the law of Primogeniture in England to consolidate them too extensively. 20

In her treatment of the subject of distribution, which is the next large division of the series, Miss Martineau was again concerned with laborers and capitalists. Like Adam

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., I, 31.

<sup>19</sup> "Summary of Principles Illustrated", Illustrations of Political Economy, I, xix-xx.

<sup>20</sup> "Brooke and Brooke Farm", Illustrations of Political Economy, I, 147.

Smith, she divided capitalists into two groups: "those who hold in possession the natural agents of production, as Land-owners; and those who employ these natural agents, as Farmers, or others who applied capital to land or water".<sup>21</sup> In the distribution of wealth, landowners received their share in rent, capitalists in profits, and laborers in wages.

In the Ella of Garveloch tales, which come under the subject of distribution, Miss Martineau revealed the real significance of Malthus's statement of the law of diminishing returns in agriculture as it was related to the population question. These are among her most powerful stories. The setting is the Islands of Garveloch, near Scotland. After the death of her father, Ella, a girl of twenty-five, was permitted by the laird to live with her three brothers on a most undesirable plot of ground, which would not have provided even a bare subsistence except for the expenditure of much labor and the exercise of good managerial practices. For about the first year the land did not yield any rent, but by utilizing every natural resource it was made to produce some rent thereafter. In contrast to the industry of Ella's little family were their relatives, the Murdochs, who lived on a very desirable farm. Through pure shiftlessness they fell into such hopeless straits that they could not meet their payments. Furthermore they brought sickness upon themselves by not

---

<sup>21</sup> "Ella of Garveloch", Illustrations of Political Economy, II, 142-143.

keeping their home sanitary, and even lost a child as a result.

Aside from the exemplification of economic and social principles, "Ella of Garveloch" possesses qualities of a more strictly literary nature. Ella is a heroine of strong and admirable traits of character. Her unfaltering devotion to her little idiot brother Archie is touchingly tender. The return of Ella's sweetheart, Angus, after an absence of five years, introduces the element of love. After a time, when they are financially able to do so, Ella and Angus marry. On the day first set for the wedding little Archie drowns, after having saved one of his brothers from the same fate.

In "Weal and Woe in Garveloch" Miss Martineau became a fearless exponent of the Malthusian theory of population. A period of some years has elapsed since the marriage of Ella and Angus. Times have completely changed in Garveloch. A town has sprung up at the very place where Ella once lived with her brothers. Numerous fishing stations have been established under a company. Ella and Angus have become the parents of a large family, but they are very comfortably established in a home of their own and have a steady income, so that every member of the family is well provided for. Times are indeed prosperous in Garveloch. "It would have amused an attentive observer to see how a distinction of ranks was already growing up in the little society of Garveloch, where none had originally brought wealth enough to authorize such

distinction."<sup>22</sup> Then came dreary days of want and actual famine, followed by the plague and the consequent horrors of misery and vice. Ella becomes the spokesman for Miss Martineau. She says that no child should be brought into the world unless it can be provided for and will not become dependent upon society for support. She takes a firm stand in favor of postponed marriage, which Malthus had emphasized in revised editions of his famous work. She and the Widow Cuthbert condemn the practice of infanticide in China and India. Miss Martineau revealed a greater optimism than Malthus, however, in what Angus says to Captain Forbes: "There is hope that the poor will in time be more eager to maintain<sup>23</sup> than to multiply their families!"

The foregoing discussion of Miss Martineau's tales of political economy affords a sufficiently broad survey for an understanding of her treatment of economic doctrine. Although she consistently keeps the didactic element in the foreground, as was her purpose, she manages to tell a fairly interesting story in every instance. "Half the world," writes Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman,<sup>24</sup> "read these books merely as novels." Each story has at least the semblance of a plot, with a definite beginning, a middle, and an end, but in some stories this element is decidedly stronger than in others. Miss Martineau made no pretense of having mastered the art of plot-making in

---

<sup>22</sup> Illustrations of Political Economy, II, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., I, 136.

<sup>24</sup> Autobiography, III, 60.

fiction, but says that she recognized her "incapacity in this direction" and "that she always worked under a sense of despair about it".<sup>25</sup> However, in writing tales of this kind, the lack of plot was not a deficiency, because it admittedly was not of primary importance. In fact, the "Edinburgh Review" charged Miss Martineau with relaxing her Political Economy for the sake of fiction<sup>26</sup> in "The Charmed Sea".

It has been shown that Miss Martineau was a trustworthy exemplar of the principles of economics because she mastered them thoroughly herself before attempting to embody them in her writing. She never deviates from the tenets of the liberal school of political economy. In the progress of her stories she illustrates them all: the strictly economic theories of Adam Smith and Ricardo, the theory of population as set forth by Malthus, the utilitarianism of Bentham and his followers, the fundamental doctrine of laissez-faire,<sup>27</sup> the principle of free trade advocated by Adam Smith, and also his argument for the advantages of education in promoting happiness for individuals and peace for nations. This last topic has been reserved for a whole chapter on the subject of education as treated by Miss Martineau.

The popularity of the Illustration of Political Economy was instantaneous, as Miss Martineau records with justifiable

---

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., I, 239.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., I, 235.

<sup>27</sup> "Dawn Island", a tale not included in the Illustrations, was published for the Anti-Corn-law League in 1845, and advocates free trade, as do some of the tales in the series.



pride in her Autobiography:

The entire periodical press, daily, weekly, and as soon as possible, monthly, came out in my favour; and I was overwhelmed with newspapers and letters, containing every sort of flattery. The Diffusion Society wanted to have the Series now; and Mr. Hume offered, on behalf of a new society of which he was the head, any price I would name for the purchase of the whole. ....Half of the hobbies of the House of Commons, and numberless notions of individuals, .....were commended to me for treatment in my Series,.....<sup>28</sup>

In short, every effort was made to "lionize" the author. The Princess Victoria read each number of the series with delight,<sup>29</sup> her favorite being "Ella of Garveloch". Mr. James Mill frankly admitted that he was in error when he told Mr. Fox "that political economy could not be conveyed in fiction, and that the public would not receive it in any but the didactic form".<sup>30</sup> The publisher informed Miss Martineau that the bookseller need not have been afraid of the Reform Bill or the cholera, as her books grew in demand in spite of them.<sup>31</sup> An effort of Messrs. Lockhart and Croker to "'destroy" her "'by tomahawking her in the quarterly" only served to stimulate public interest.<sup>32</sup>

But Miss Martineau's success was not without the adverse criticism which always comes to a public leader. Louis Philippe of France had ordered a copy of the Series for each member of his family and requested M. Guizot, the minister of education, "to introduce a translation of it into the national schools". The Czar of Russia had ordered copies for his family

---

28

I, 178-179.

29

Ibid., III, 80-81.

30

Ibid., II, 1.

31

Ibid., I, 216.

32

Ibid., I, 205-206.

and purchased a large number of the French translation for his schools. But by the time the twelfth and thirteenth numbers were out, Miss Martineau was personally excluded from Russia and Austria and was regarded with disfavor in France.

Not all of the criticism heaped upon Miss Martineau came from abroad, however. She was bitterly assailed for her firm stand on the population question by some people who professed to be shocked at her indelicate treatment of the subject. Others dreaded to see the breaking up of the feudal system by a development of the common people through education. Mr. Lockhart wound up <sup>a</sup>scurrilous attack thus:

..... "Such a character [referring to a picture] is nothing to a female Malthusian; a woman who thinks child-bearing a crime against society; an unmarried woman who declaims against marriage; (!!!) a young woman who deprecates charity and a provision for the poor. (!!!)" 35

In attempting to evaluate the service which political economists rendered to their age, Miss Martineau deserves her dues. Comte observed

..... that revolutionary action of the Economists consisted in the proof that they offered to rulers themselves that governments cannot direct industrial progress.....36

<sup>33</sup> "French Wines and Politics" (No. 12) contained criticism of the French régime previous to the Revolution. "The Charmed Sea" (No. 13) related the sufferings of Russian prisoners whom the Czar had sentenced to Siberia.

<sup>34</sup> Autobiography, I, 234-237.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., III, 74.

<sup>36</sup> Positive Philosophy, III, 196.

This is the embodiment of the laissez-faire doctrine, which, as was pointed out in the preceding chapter, was the fundamental principle of the orthodox school of political economy. Thus Harriet Martineau did her share towards perpetuating the doctrine in the nineteenth century, which in England was an age of industrialism.

## Chapter IV

### Miss Martineau's Emphasis upon Education as a Remedy for Social Ills

In two respects Harriet Martineau deviated from the political economists: first, in her method of exemplifying economic principles through fiction and, second, in her emphasis upon education as a solution of the ills of industrial England. In the previous chapter her manner of presenting economic theory by means of simple, entertaining stories in a way that all classes of people might be taught the fundamentals of economics has been examined. The purpose of the present chapter is to make a study of Miss Martineau's views on the subject of education. As employed in this chapter, the term "education" is used in its broad rather than in its restricted sense; that is, it may be defined as the general training which fits an individual to to meet his responsibilities as a member of society rather than the formal training which he receives by attending school.

Actually, the orthodox school of economists was less absolute in the application of laissez-faire doctrine to the political theory of government as it affected education than in other respects. In his consideration of the expenses of a nation, Adam Smith recognized the erection and maintenance of public institutions and public works as a function of the state. He justified them on the grounds that they were

advantageous to society and could therefore, not be supported by individuals or small groups of individuals. He went so far as to propose that society make elementary education compulsory for everyone.<sup>1</sup> Miss Martineau's treatment of the subject of education may, therefore, be regarded as an attempt to amplify one of the social aspects of contemporary political economy.

Although the matter of education was not a problem hitherto unheard of, it is undoubtedly true that never before had it occupied such a position of prominence in man's thought. The problems peculiar to nineteenth-century education were actually an outgrowth of social reorganization which had been taking place since the fourteenth century and which had culminated in an unprecedented industrial régime. This social transformation had its political and economic aspects. With the attainment of his freedom, the common man asserted his political rights until, by degrees, he shared with the upper classes the power to govern. Political gains slowly removed barriers which had curtailed man's economic freedom. Miss Martineau realized that if democracy was to promote the general welfare of society, education must be within the reach of all.

Positive philosophy reveals a historical relation between man's intellectual progress and the development of his personal and collective liberty. One of Comte's initial conceptions was three stages of intellectual evolution for both the individual and the mass: the theological, the metaphysical, and

---

<sup>1</sup>

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, XX, 826.

2

the positive. Fetichism, the first theological phase, had little social significance because "the fetich gods had little power to unite men, or to govern them".<sup>3</sup> Moreover, it obstructed all advance in knowledge by the opposition of the religious to the scientific spirit.<sup>4</sup>

Polytheism substituted "a great number of gods.....<sup>5</sup> for a great variety of objects". It marked the birth of intellectual life;

..... When all bodies were no longer supposed to be divine in their nature, the secondary details of phenomena were set free for observation, without theological intermixture; and the religious conception related to beings distinct from the body, and residing elsewhere. The general conception of destiny or fate, introduced by polytheism, was also a substantial primitive ground for the principle of the invariableness of natural laws.<sup>6</sup>

Following polytheism came monotheism. Catholicism was the form of monotheism which fulfilled the needs of Western Europe.<sup>7</sup> The great problem was to effect a permanent reconciliation between the men of action and the men of thought.<sup>8</sup> This difficulty was, according to Comte, "admirably surmounted by means of that fundamental division between the spiritual and temporal authority....."<sup>9</sup> By this division the

---

<sup>2</sup> Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Comte's Positive Philosophy, III, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., III, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., III, 30-31.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., III, 33.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., III, 82.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., III, 87.

<sup>9</sup> Loc. cit.

function of spiritual power related to education and that  
 10  
 of the temporal power to action. Comte gave Catholicism  
 much credit for the spread of education;

..... The polytheistic regime doomed the mass of society to brutish stupidity; not only slaves but the majority of free men being deprived of all regular instruction..... Vast, then, was the elementary progress when Catholicism imposed on every disciple the strict duty of receiving, and as far as possible, of procuring that religious instruction which, taking possession of the individual from his earliest days, and preparing him for his social duties, followed him through life, keeping him up to his principles by an admirable combination of exhortations, of exercises, and of material signs, all converging towards unity of impression. 11

The provisional philosophy of the transitional or metaphysical stage intervening between polytheism and positivism was called Protestantism. The intellectual influence of Pro-

testantism was to encourage a spirit of emancipation through

12

free inquiry. The new critical doctrine insisted upon the

moral prerogatives of those who had been passively submissive to the teachings of Catholicism; namely, the liberty of conscience, the sovereignty of the people, equality, and national

13

independence. The evils concomitant with the revolutionary doctrine were, first, the subjection of spiritual to political power, thereby destroying the valuable Catholic principle of the separation of the two powers, and, second, the impairment

14

of domestic and social morals.

---

10 Ibid., III, 89.

11 Ibid., III, 99-100.

12 Ibid., III, 167-170.

13 Ibid., III, 172.

14 Ibid., III, 176-180.

The co-ordination of social elements in the positive stage, which Comte believed man was about to enter upon, must be "first intellectual, then moral, and finally political".<sup>15</sup> In what class the future spiritual power was to reside Comte was unable to predict, but its function would be to direct education, omitting the religious element. This education must be intellectual and moral, and for all classes.<sup>16</sup> Such must be the case because

..... The positive philosophy teaches us the invariable homogeneousness of the human mind, not only among various social ranks, but as regards individuals; and it therefore shows us that no differences are possible but those of degree.<sup>17</sup>

Comte foresaw a reconstruction of the system of education in the future which would be in harmony with the positive spirit of modern civilization. He believed that the sciences, instead of being taught in a detailed manner and without being correlated to each other, should be studied so as to give the student "an ensemble of positive conceptions upon all the great elements of natural phenomena".<sup>18</sup>

This exposition of Comte's historical survey of man's intellectual progress has been given for the purpose of establishing a perspective for examining Miss Martineau's views on the subject of education, thereby making it possible to ascertain

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., III, 311.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., III, 313-319.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., III, 320.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., III, 16-17.



her position in the field of education. Her recognition of "the invariable homogeneousness of the human mind" of Comte's positive philosophy was the principle underlying her conception of the pressing social problem of education. In the investigation of her views on education, Comte's method of studying social phenomena will be adhered to;

Every sociological analysis supposes three classes of considerations, each more complex than the preceding: viz., the conditions of social existence of the individual, the family, and society; the last comprehending, in a scientific sense, the whole of the human species..... 19

Miss Martineau was fully cognizant of the imperative need of taking individual differences into account in any consideration of the problem of education. She regarded the retention of the unenlightened, Old World idea of making the individual useful for society a pernicious defect of the American system of government. Her opinion was

..... that facilities ought to be afforded for every one becoming whatsoever his Maker has fitted him to be, so long as it appears that the noblest men by whom the earth has been graced, have been considered in their own time the very reverse of "useful and respectable members of society." 20

Comte likewise found a correlation between the idea of society and the idea of government:

..... social organization tends to repose on an appreciation of individual differences, by distributing employments in such a manner as to place each in the position he can best fill, .... 21

---

19 Ibid., II, 275.

20 Society in America, II, 151.

21 Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 264.

Individual differences, Miss Martineau perceived, had an economic significance. This fact is clearly brought out in a conversation between Letitia and Mrs. White, two unusually well-informed women in "For Each and For All": Letitia says, "If it was as easy to be a physician as a ploughboy; and if a diamond necklace required no more capital and skill than a bunch of asparagus, there would be as many jewellers as green-grocers; and then physicians and jewellers would be paid no more than ploughmen and green-grocers." Mrs. White remarks that not so many physicians as ploughmen are needed. Letitia replies, "True; and it is therefore a very happy thing that fewer can be the one than the other. If we leave rewards of labour to take their natural course, we shall find that there always turns up a larger quantity of the sort we want more, and a lesser quantity of the sort we want least."<sup>22</sup> Joe Harper, a young man in "Brooke and Brooke Farm" attacked the law of primogeniture on the principle of individual differences; that is, he did not think farms should be legally divided because it would be very unusual if all the members of a family wanted to farm.<sup>23</sup> Individual differences, therefore, were at the root of the division of labor, which, according to Conte, made for social solidarity.<sup>24</sup>

Again, Miss Martineau recognized the ultra-economic or esthetic value of higher education to the individual. Letitia,

---

<sup>22</sup>

Illustrations of Political Economy, IV, 67.

<sup>23</sup>

Ibid., I, 135-139.

<sup>24</sup>

Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 264.

herself an actress of unusual ability, spoke of the effect of the fine arts; "They who perceive not that the fine arts are the fittest embodiments of truth and beauty are unconscious of the vastness of the depth in which they would have men remain unserved."<sup>25</sup>

Paul, a young man in another one of the political economy tales, said, "Whatever helps to inform the mind and to improve the taste is a proper object of pursuit to those who can afford it."<sup>26</sup>

If it can be said with propriety that Miss Martineau proposed a system of education, it is to be found in Household Education (1848), a book written "for the secularist order of parents".<sup>27</sup> Just how inadequate Miss Martineau felt her treatment of the subject of domestic education must be, and what her purpose was, are expressly signified in the beginning:

Household education is a subject so important in its bearings on every one's happiness, and so inexhaustible in itself, that I do not see how any person whatever can undertake to lecture upon it authoritatively as if it was a matter completely known and entirely settled..... I propose to say, in a series of chapters, what I have observed and thought on the subject of LIFE AT HOME, during upwards of twenty years' study of domestic life in great variety. 28

An outline of the contents of the book will reveal some of Miss Martineau's principles for the conduct of domestic education. To obtain an appreciative understanding of Household Education, the reader must have Miss Martineau's point

---

<sup>25</sup> "For Each and For All", Illustrations of Political Economy, IV, 34.

<sup>26</sup> "Life in the Wilds", Illustrations of Political Economy, I, 80.

<sup>27</sup> Autobiography, II, 293.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit., p. 9.

of view:

.....I consider all the members of a household to be going through a process of education together.....Every member of the household,---children, servants, apprentices,---every member of the dwelling, must have a share in the family plan,

.....If the family plan, therefore, be the grand comprehensive plan which is alone worthy of people who care about education at all,---a plan to do the best that is possible by each other for the improvement of all,---every member of the family above the yearling infant must be a member of the domestic school of mutual instruction, and must know that he is so. 29

In her scheme of household education Miss Martineau provided for both intellectual and moral development. "To grow wiser and better every day" was the aim she set for education. She did not attempt to answer what wisdom and goodness consisted of nor to fix the aim by any single example---not even Christ Himself, since it could not be established "what Christ was, the images of him in different minds varying so endlessly as they certainly do". 30 To accomplish the objective of growing wiser and better every day, the individual should ".....bring out, and strengthen and exercise all the powers". 31

A serious question confronting all parents, Miss Martineau wrote, was what they would have their children be. She found that "in all states of society, the generality of parents have wished that their children should turn out such as the opinion of their own time and country should approve". 32 Aside from the high regard for this law of opinion, everyone agreed "from end

---

29 Ibid., pp. 90-91.

30 Ibid., p. 28.

31 Ibid., p. 29.

32 Ibid., p. 43.

to end of society that truthfulness, integrity, courage, purity, industry, benevolence, and a spirit of reverence for sacred things<sup>33</sup> are inexpressibly desirable and excellent....." Miss

Martineau was remindful, however, that even a person possessing all of these qualities could not get along in existing society without coming into contact with the law of opinion, with the result that "the perplexity to many thoughtful parents is<sup>34</sup> what to wish and aim at". She felt that prevalent opinion

had its origin in nature. Believing in the guidance of nature, she concluded, therefore, "that parents must be safe in aiming at thoroughly exercising and training all the powers of the<sup>35</sup> child".

Another difficulty confronting any treatment of the subject of household education was its wide range, since domestic life comprehended "the loftiest and the lowliest, the purest<sup>36</sup> and the most criminal, the wisest and the most ignorant". At the top was the royal child, whose contacts with life were so restricted that he lived and died a lonely child. At the other extreme of the scale was the pauper child, who fared no better and probably no worse. The condition about midway between these two extremes, "the position of the well-conditioned<sup>37</sup> artisan", seemed to Miss Martineau the most favorable in

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

all society, because that station in life "[appeared to her] to be the meeting-point of the greatest number of good influences":<sup>38</sup>

.....Everything serves,---the daily handicraft, intercourse with the neighbors, rumors from the world without, homely duties, books, worship, the face of the country, or the action of the town..... After having come to this conclusion, it is no small satisfaction to remember that the most favored classes are the most numerous. So great a multitude is included in the middle classes, compared with the high-born and the degraded, that if they who have the best chance for wisdom will but use their privilege, the highest hopes for society are the most reasonable. <sup>39</sup>

This statement strikes a cheerful note of optimism which Malthus felt conditions did not warrant.

The coming of an infant Miss Martineau regarded as a great event in the education of the whole household:

.....If the parents have been guilty of no fault towards their unborn child; if the child can be the offspring of healthful and virtuous parents; and if they are calmly resolved to do all in their power for its good,---they have as good a right to rejoice in the prospect of its birth as anybody in the world. <sup>40</sup>

Should there be other children in the family, the occasion should afford an opportunity for teaching them a great lesson.

The addition of a child to the family circle is an event too solemn to be deformed by any falsehood. But few parents have the courage to be truthful with their children as to how an infant comes,---a question which their natural curiosity always prompts. ....It is an abominable practice to tell children that the doctor brought the baby, and the like. It is abominable as a lie, and it is worse than useless..... The natural question once truthfully answered, the little mind is at rest, and free for the much stronger interests which are passing before its eyes. <sup>41</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 64.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 68-69.

The members of the household, disposed as they are "to bear and do everything cheerfully for the sake of the new blessing",<sup>42</sup> experience "a season of great moral enjoyment".

So much for the influence of the infant upon others. Miss Martineau devoted the largest part of Household Education to an exposition of her views on the care and training of the child. After a consideration of such things as food, air, light, warmth, exercise, sleep, and cleanliness, she turned to a consideration of the natural powers. She regarded either the indulgence or the breaking of the child's will as bad, and believed the "true and natural method"<sup>43</sup> was to control it. The power of hope must be "cherished without ceasing",<sup>44</sup> but the objects of hope must be directed into proper channels. Parents should watch "carefully and silently", for any secret fear in the child, "and having found it out, let them lead the child on to conquest, both by reason and by bringing such courage as he has to bear on the weak point".<sup>45</sup> It should be the mother's duty to teach the child patience by example, beginning "before the little creature is capable of voluntary effort",<sup>46</sup> Miss Martineau looked upon the indulgence of the child deficient in any of the natural powers as the worst thing for the child, because,

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 123.

The members of the household, disposed as they are "to bear and do everything cheerfully for the sake of the new blessing", experience "a season of great moral enjoyment".<sup>42</sup>

So much for the influence of the infant upon others. Miss Martineau devoted the largest part of Household Education to an exposition of her views on the care and training of the child. After a consideration of such things as food, air, light, warmth, exercise, sleep, and cleanliness, she turned to a consideration of the natural powers. She regarded either the indulgence or the breaking of the child's will as bad, and believed the "true and natural method"<sup>43</sup> was to control it. The power of hope must be "cherished without ceasing",<sup>44</sup> but the objects of hope must be directed into proper channels. Parents should watch "carefully and silently", for any secret fear in the child, "and having found it out, let them lead the child on to conquest, both by reason and by bringing such courage as he has to bear on the weak point".<sup>45</sup> It should be the mother's duty to teach the child patience by example, beginning "before the little creature is capable of voluntary effort",<sup>46</sup> Miss Martineau looked upon the indulgence of the child deficient in any of the natural powers as the worst thing for the child, because,

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 123.



she said, a human being always has some faculties, and whatever they are, they should be properly developed. As to the training of the affections of their children, parents should understand "the difference between the several kinds of love which their children should experience".<sup>47</sup> Two things must be heeded in regard to the "universal power of veneration":<sup>48</sup> "first, to take care that the power neither runs riot nor is neglected; and next, to direct it to its proper objects".<sup>49</sup> Truthfulness, "a moral quality whose importance cannot be over-rated",<sup>50</sup> must be taught, just "as the speech which is to convey it has to be taught, by helping the child to the use of his natural powers".<sup>51</sup> Conscientiousness, "the greatest and noblest of the moral powers of man",<sup>52</sup> must be fostered and guided understandingly.

Although Miss Martineau emphasized the importance of giving moral instruction in the home, it was her conviction that "no children, in any rank of life, can acquire so much book knowledge at home as at a good school, or have their intellectual faculties so well roused and trained".<sup>53</sup> The fundamental differ-

---

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., p. 158.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., p. 196.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., p. 214.

ence between school and home was that "at school everything is done by rule,.....whereas, at home the government is not one of law,..... but of love".<sup>54</sup> Miss Martineau classified the intellectual faculties, in the order of their development, as follows: perceptive, conceptive, reasoning, and imaginative. According to her, the perceptive faculty dominated approximately the first seven years of a child's life. It was then that the child easily mastered facts of number and quantity, and learned by rote. For these reasons, "whatever depends mainly on eye, ear, and memory should be taught early, when the learning causes the most gratification and the least pain".<sup>55</sup> Miss Martineau was very much opposed to the practice of sending children to school before their conceptive faculties had come into activity, because she felt that the children missed the natural training which they should receive at home and that "whatever is unnatural is always radically bad".<sup>56</sup> The development of the conceptive faculties meant that the child would no longer be so strongly impressed by material objects but would become capable of thinking in terms of things not actually seen. The parents' chief duty was to provide plenty of good literature for him to read. The maturing of the reasoning faculties should enable a child to think in terms of abstractions. Parents should feel responsible for assisting the child to reason well. The child

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 215.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 239.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., p. 242.

before long should find himself possessed of another faculty--- imagination, which is "the highest of human faculties" <sup>57</sup> because it is the one which enables man to create things. Parents should therefore be very hopeful of their child's future success when he showed an unusual imaginative faculty.

Following her discussion of moral and intellectual education Miss Martineau dealt with the subject of habit. In spite of all that had been said on the subject, she doubted if many had penetrated into the heart of the matter:

.....Everybody sees and everybody has felt the difficulty of breaking bad habits, and that there is no security to virtue so strong as long-formed good habits; but my observation compels me to think that scarcely anybody is aware of the whole truth,---that every human being (except such as are born defective) might be made perfectly good if his parents were wise enough to do all that might be done by the power of habit. <sup>58</sup>

The only rule Miss Martineau offered was "'What you wish a child to be, be that to the child'". <sup>59</sup>

Miss Martineau attempted to distinguish between personal and family habits, although she admitted the difficulty of employing any satisfactory method of classification. In her discussion of personal habits such as industry, cleanliness, promptness, and manners, she made suggestions for their proper guidance by reference to individual cases which had come under her observation. Of the family habits, the first great point

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 278.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 303.

considered was economy of time, because she felt that no one ever had too much time.

.....In households where punctuality is really a principle, it should be a truth ever before all eyes that whatever each individual is about is of less importance than respect to the whole family. 60

Miss Martineau believed that each member of a household, even in wealthy homes, should be assigned special duties and held responsible for their performance.

Miss Martineau's practice of the principles of household education in her own home was entirely consistent with the theories she set forth in her book on the subject. She considered her servants a part of the family plan, and, as a result, they were all very fond of her, as she was of them. Frequently, if the daily paper contained news of special interest, she called in her maids after tea and together they read and discussed the news. She benevolently took the girl Jane who had been mesmerised with her at Tynemouth under her protection. The girl became a capable servant in Miss Martineau's home and later emigrated to Australia as an efficient serving-girl. Another servant was married to the Master of the Ragged School at Bristol in Miss Martineau's home, the wedding being a festive occasion and one in which Miss Martineau took such an interest that she herself took charge of setting the table for the wedding breakfast. She made a great point of punctuality in the management of her home. She issued her household orders to the servants

---

60 Ibid., p. 340.

early each morning and was ready for her own work shortly after eight.

"The Knoll", as Miss Martineau's home was called, was conducive to the development of the esthetic side of life, which she considered so essential. Flowers and shrubs grew in profusion in the yard. In the garden stood the gray granite sun-dial, "fashioned like a Gothic font", inscribed with Miss Martineau's own "apostrophe to intellectual illumination" <sup>61</sup> ---  
<sup>62</sup> "'Come, Light! visit me!'" The house was beautifully and tastefully furnished. Many of the decorative accessories---rugs, pictures, statuary, and other articles---were gifts of literary and political friends or relatives, which fact added to their intrinsic value. Her library consisted of two to three thousand carefully selected books on every subject, and was, Mrs. Chapman believed, "the best woman's library extant".

Miss Martineau was a strong advocate of state education. She believed that the enlightenment of the great unleavened masses would remove the cause for social evils such as strikes, vice, and pauperism, and thereby eliminate them. For this reason, she recommended the expenditure of national funds for educational purposes. Her personal feeling in the matter is revealed in a vehement indictment of those who were responsible

---

<sup>61</sup> Autobiography, III, 264.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., II, 266. Mrs. Chapman carelessly gives the motto as "'Light, come visit me!'" (III, 264). In various details she cannot be relied upon for entire accuracy.

for the financial administration of the state;

If education were what it ought to be,---the breath of the life of the community,---there would be an end of this childish and degrading badging.....Till the state can show how every parent may afford his children a good education, the state is bound to provide the means for it; and to enforce the use of those means by making a certain degree of intellectual competency a condition of the enjoyment of the benefits of society.

.....There is an enormous waste of educational resources already, from the absence of system and co-operation. Lords and ladies, squires and dames, farmers' wives, merchants' daughters, and clergymen's sisters, have their schools, benevolently set on foot, and indefatigably kept up, in defiance of the evils of insulation and diversity of plan. Let these be put under the workings of a well-planned system, and there will be a prodigious saving of effort and of cost.....

So we, a most Christian nation, with abundance of Christian prelates, and a church which is to watch over the state with apostolic care,---we, strenuous professors of a religion of peace and enlightenment,---spend 8,000,000's and a quarter on Defence, and---how much on popular Education? I suppose the latter forms some little item in one of the smaller accounts, for I can nowhere see it. Eight millions and a quarter on Defence, and three quarters on Law and Justice! Eight and a quarter on Defence, and one on Government and Legislation! Eight and a quarter on Defence, and a million on Public Works! O, monstrous! ---too monstrous a sin to be charged on any ruler, or body of rulers!

What glory in that day, to reverse the order of expenditure! Education, Public Works, Government and Legislation, Law and Justice, Diplomacy, Defence, Dignity of the Sovereign. 63

But Miss Martineau placed the whole responsibility for the present administration of affairs upon the people:

What a blessed thing it is that as soon as the people do not choose to pay for pomp, pomp will be done away! 64

In two of her works Miss Martineau reveals the condition of education in England previous to the Elementary Education Bill of 1870. These books are Deerbrook and The Crofton Boys.

63 "The Three Ages", Illustrations of Political Economy, VIII, 100-115.

64 Ibid., p. 116.

Although Miss Martineau had no intention of spreading propaganda through them, they serve to point out some of the defects of private schools. Deerbrook, a novel which provides an extensive study of the social conditions of nineteenth-century England, conveys an excellent revelation of the operation of the private family schools. The school in this instance was taught by a fine, highly-educated woman, Maria Young, but its progress was constantly hampered by family quarrels between Mrs. Grey and Mrs. Rowland, whose children attended the school. The Crofton Boys, which was one of the Playfellow series, is the story of Hugh Proctor's life in a private boys' school. Although the story "successfully insists on homeliness as an element in the life of both school and family",<sup>65</sup> it reveals the fact that the tender feeling of many young boys were deeply hurt by the harsh treatment accorded them by their upper classmen. Furthermore, they were sometimes physically injured by the cruel punishment inflicted upon them by instructors who were primarily disciplinarians and who proposed to break the will of their pupils.

Comte perceived an affinity between positivism as the final stage of man's intellectual evolution and international understanding, because he discerned "a superior reconciling quality in a doctrine which connected all human situations with the

---

<sup>65</sup> The Cambridge History of English Literature, XIII, 380 n.

same fundamental evolution".<sup>66</sup> Although he was entirely too optimistic in his prediction that "the great wars were no doubt over",<sup>67</sup> it seems entirely logical to suppose that a high intellectual development should bring man to an understanding of his moral duties to others. Like Comte, Miss Martineau looked forward to a time when war should cease and the barriers to peace among nations should be destroyed. In several of the political economy tales she expressed, through characters in the stories, the hope for international harmony and spoke of the waste of war.<sup>68</sup> Education, as she viewed the situation, was the sole means of arriving at the positive stage of civilization.

This concludes the investigation of Miss Martineau's views on the subject of education, following Comte's divisions of the subject into its three social aspects: personal, domestic, and social. Miss Martineau believed that the full development of the natural powers of the normal individual should make him a well-rounded person, both morally and intellectually. She had little patience with the view that man's natural inclinations are wholly bad. It was her strong conviction that immorality was the result of the over-development of some powers and the

---

<sup>66</sup> Positive Philosophy, III, 323.

<sup>67</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>68</sup> "Briery Creek", VIII, 87; "Brooke and Brooke Farm", I, 82; "The Three Ages", VIII, 124-125, 58ff.; "Weal and Woe in Garveloch", II, 135-136.



66

same fundamental evolution". Although he was entirely too optimistic in his prediction that "the great wars were no

67

doubt over", it seems entirely logical to suppose that a high intellectual development should bring man to an understanding of his moral duties to others. Like Comte, Miss Martineau looked forward to a time when war should cease and the barriers to peace among nations should be destroyed. In several of the political economy tales she expressed, through characters in the stories, the hope for international harmony

68

and spoke of the waste of war. Education, as she viewed the situation, was the sole means of arriving at the positive stage of civilization.

This concludes the investigation of Miss Martineau's views on the subject of education, following Comte's divisions of the subject into its three social aspects: personal, domestic, and social. Miss Martineau believed that the full development of the natural powers of the normal individual should make him a well-rounded person, both morally and intellectually. She had little patience with the view that man's natural inclinations are wholly bad. It was her strong conviction that immorality was the result of the over-development of some powers and the

66

Positive Philosophy, III, 323.

67

Loc. cit.

68

"Briery Creek", VIII, 87; "Brooke and Brooke Farm", I, 82; "The Three Ages", VIII, 124-125, 58ff.; "Weal and Woe in Garveloch", II, 135-136.

neglect of others. She believed that greater emphasis needed to be given to the matter of household education, in order that the affective side of life might receive more attention and the family ties strengthened. Ultimately, Miss Martineau hoped that the people of the world would attain that high degree of intellectualism which would free them from international disagreements growing out of petty misunderstandings. It is evident that Miss Martineau was, according to Comtian philosophy, which was established as the criterion for judgment at the beginning of the chapter, among the most advanced thinkers of her time on the subject of education.

## Chapter V

### Harriet Martineau's Views on How Woman Should Come into Her Own

No phase of social life escaped the tremendous economic changes produced by the industrial régime of the nineteenth century. The status of women became so altered as to challenge some of the most serious thought of the day. The problem owed its peculiar complexity to the union of social and economic elements. Miss Martineau was among the first to perceive the dual nature of the problem. In her method of treating the matter which seemed so pertinent to her as a woman, she stands apart. Her cool rationalism never permitted her to sink to mawkish sentimentalism or to indulge in feverish radicalism. The object of this chapter is to discover what her views on the various aspects of the woman question were and what recommendations she offered for a satisfactory adjustment. That portion of Comte's positive philosophy which deals with the position of woman is established as the standard for evaluating her views, so that, wherever possible, comparisons may be made and differences pointed out. The inquiry will be concluded by a study of some of Miss Martineau's representative women characters, with the object of determining the relation between her views and the kind of women selected for her stories. Before entering into a study of her interpretation of the woman question, it is necessary to understand what the position of woman actually was during the nineteenth century.

The women of this period fall naturally into two groups; the working women and the idle women. Although a number of working women, "a few of them vividly unforgettable figures", had appeared in literary history from the time of Chaucer, it was for the Victorians to discover in the working woman an object worthy of sympathy. "In the literature of the early nineteenth century one first finds her portrayed as a victim of long hours, unfavourable conditions, and general injustice, for whom something ought to be done." It was not just the working women who were a problem. All women became a problem because there was a redundancy of them. There were no husbands for many of them. Only a small part of the disproportion was due to the Napoleonic Wars; ordinary soldiers were not generally regarded as matrimonial material anyway. The great demand for civil service men and the emigration of young men to new lands presented a far greater disrupting factor. Census figures showed, however, that a superabundance of women was only apparent, that the real reason for the increasing number of spinsters was men's avoidance of the responsibilities of marriage. This evasion could be attributed to the unstable economic situation following the Napoleonic Wars. Men had either to marry rich girls or remain single. Consequently large numbers of women were forced to become self-supporting. The new machinery of the Industrial Revolution demanded just such work as women and girls could do; so they left their homes to engage in industry. This shifting of woman's

work from the domestic to the industrial realm was at the root of the problem surrounding women of the nineteenth century, for "women as workers did not harmonize with the philosophy of the Victorians, the deification of the home".<sup>1</sup>

All women were regarded in the first half of the nineteenth century solely as potential mothers. The worker with her own earnings was, accordingly, an affront against nature and the protective instincts of man. That the family was affected by the labour of girls and women in the mills was a consideration that roused general concern. The question of the health of human beings who were entrusted with the responsibility of the next generation, the conflict of factory work and long hours with domestic life and with a mother's care of her home and her children, the moral and spiritual degradation which might result from the employment of females outside their homes--with all this most of the literature dealing with the new industrial age was primarily concerned.<sup>2</sup>

Under the factory system the break-up of the home seemed inevitable, because the home was little more than a shelter for members of the family.

In the second group of women were the idle women of the moneyed classes. How the idle class of women had developed can be shown by a brief historical survey. During the days of Chaucer, of Queen Elizabeth, and of Cromwell, the women of the manor-houses found their time occupied with the management of their establishments while husbands engaged in war, or were at Court, or were called upon to fulfil their judicial duties. Following the Restoration, women gave more time than ever to fashionable society. At first the life of leisure was confined

---

<sup>1</sup> Wanda Fraiken Neff, Victorian Working Women, pp. 1-14 .

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

to women near the Court, but with the improvement of roads, country-women became more accustomed to visiting London and the baths, so that they, too, imitated the fashions of the great. As time went on, the number of society ladies increased, until, "by the eighteenth century the triumph of the useless woman was complete". Upon the rise of a wealthy class of manufacturers and bankers in the nineteenth century the circle of idle women became still larger. The men of the rich middle class, in imitation of their aristocratic superiors and as a mark of their own success in the world, kept their women-folk in ease and luxury. <sup>3</sup>

Marriage was the one goal established for girls of wealthy families. The sole aim of their education was to prepare them for the marriage-market; everything else was subsidiary to the business of marriage. As the century advanced, the fields of activity open to women became broader; marriage became less and less the one object in life. Financial ruin sent many girls of wealthy families out of comfortable homes to earn a living. <sup>4</sup> The case of Harriet Martineau, previously referred to, was only one of the many instances in which girls were compelled to become wage-earners. <sup>5</sup> But in spite of statistics which showed that many women would be neither wives nor mothers, "girls continued

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 186-189.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 13, 187, 189-200.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 13; Autobiography, I, 141-142.

to be educated for functions they would never perform".<sup>6</sup> Perceiving the incongruity of the situation, Miss Martineau advocated that women receive the kind of education that they needed:

.....In former times, it was understood that every woman, except domestic servants, was maintained by her father, brother, or husband; but it is not so now. The footing of woman is changed, and it will change more. Formerly, every woman was destined to be married, and it was almost a matter of course that she would be, so that the only occupation thought of for a woman was keeping her husband's house, and being a wife and mother. It is not so now. From a variety of causes, there is less and less marriage among the middle classes of our country, and much of the marriage that there is does not take place till middle life. A multitude of women have to maintain themselves who would never have dreamed of such a thing a hundred years ago. ....While so many women are no longer sheltered and protected and supported, in safety from the world (as people used to say), every woman ought to be fitted to take care of herself.<sup>7</sup>

This completes the exposition of the position of woman during the nineteenth century. Before examining further into Miss Martineau's views on the woman question, it becomes necessary to look into another topic, that is, the historical position of woman in the progress of civilization, according to Comte's positive philosophy. In assigning woman her place in the three stages of human development, Comte always considered her as a member of the family because he regarded the family and not the individual as the real social unit.<sup>8</sup> It was during the second theological phase, or the reign of polytheism, that domestic morality was first effected and that the state of monogamy, "the most favourable to the development of the best qualities of human nature,

---

<sup>6</sup> Neff, op. cit., p. 189.

<sup>7</sup> Household Education, pp. 275-276.

<sup>8</sup> Positive Philosophy, II, 281.

in both sexes", replaced polygamy. Although there were successive improvements in the conjugal relation, "the social character of Woman was far from being duly ascertained, while her unavoidable dependence on Man encouraged too much of his primitive rudeness". During this stage women participated in sacerdotal authority, which function was prohibited to them by monotheism. It is not to be presumed, however, that woman's position was lowered in the later period. "There is, in fact," Comte affirmed, "abundant proof that the social state of Woman was radically inferior under the polytheistic régime to what it became in the reign of Christianity." <sup>9</sup>

Catholicism, which represented the third or monotheistic phase of theological development, Comte emphatically held, strengthened domestic morality <sup>10</sup> and raised the position of women to a corresponding degree. Comte pointed out that the improvement of the social condition of women under Catholicism was generally recognized but that the restrictions placed upon them were seldom mentioned. Actually Catholicism deprived women of their sacerdotal functions and denied them hereditary succession to royalty in all countries where it exercised enough political influence. "The benefit bestowed on women by Catholicism consisted in rendering their lives essentially domestic, in securing

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., III, 59-61.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., III, 60-61, 120, 179, 213; Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 295-296.



the due liberty of their interior existence, and in establishing their position by sanctifying the indissolubleness of marriage.....<sup>11</sup>

The moral evils accompanying Protestantism, which exemplifies the transitional or metaphysical state of human development, extended to family life. Comte believed that the moral dissolution engendered by the critical doctrine impaired the position of women insofar as the domestic ties were corrupted:

.....I need point out only the permission of divorce, the relaxation of rules about the marriage of relations; and, as a decisive instance, the disgraceful dogmatic consultation by which the chiefs of Protestantism, with Luther at their head, solemnly authorized bigamy in the case of a German prince; and again, the accommodating temper of the founders of the English Church towards the shocking weaknesses of their strange national pope.<sup>12</sup>

The extension of family life to the numerous class<sup>13</sup> upon the industrial reorganization which took place at the opening of the fourteenth century<sup>14</sup> had a good effect upon domestic morality, according to Comte.

.....the two great family relations were improved by the change which brought the occupations, and therefore the manners, of the two sexes into more resemblance,..... And if there seemed reason to apprehend that the subordination of the female sex would suffer by the independence obtainable by women under the industrial system, the danger was fully compensated for by men having engrossed various occupations that before belonged to women, and thus consigned the feebler sex to that domestic destination to which alone it is completely adapted.<sup>15</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Positive Philosophy, III, 120-121.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., III, 178-180.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., III, 206-213.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., III, 199.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., III, 213.

With each stage of human development, therefore, woman came a little nearer assuming her rightful position in the organization of society.

What this rightful position was intended to be Comte stated in no uncertain terms. As to how it should be achieved he also offered a theory. He assigned to woman a place subordinate to that of man because of her natural inferiority. Any presumption of woman's equality or superiority was contrary to natural law and presupposed a modification of the cerebral organism. <sup>16</sup> George Henry Lewes's statement of Comte's conception of woman's special function in the economy of the family is here given:

.....Considering "woman's mission" to be strictly and simply the office of Sentiment, in tempering, refining, and rendering more social essential practical Activity of man--viewing woman as the symbol of Affection, as man is of Force, he holds that, so far from women performing the same work as men, they ought not to work at all, except in their domestic sphere. The man is bound to work for the woman's support; and she, in return, is bound to obey him implicitly. <sup>17</sup>

Comte held that, by adjusting the family relationships on the basis of natural law, the proper position of woman would be ultimately established.

.....When the positive philosophy shall have established the subordination of the sexes, and in that, the principle of

---

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., II, 285.

Comte advanced an elaborate cerebral theory in which he denominated Personality and Sociality (Egoism and Altruism) as the two factors of emotional life, and conception and expression as the two factors of intellectual life. These were each subdivided and classified. The intellectual faculties were assigned ed functional centers in the brain. See Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 213-232.

<sup>17</sup> Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 344. Cf. Positive Philosophy, II, 284.

marriage and of the family, it will take its stand on an exact knowledge of human nature, followed by an appreciation of social development as a whole,.....

What the ultimate conditions of marriage will be, we cannot know yet;..... It is enough to be assured that they will be consonant with the fundamental principle of the institution,--the natural subordination of the woman,.....

.....Thus, the economy of the human family could never be inverted without an entire change in our cerebral organism, and the only possible result of a resistance to natural laws would be to deprive Woman of the enjoyment of her proper welfare by disturbing the family and society. <sup>18</sup>

Thus, woman's place, according to positive philosophy, was in the home.

Miss Martineau, on the other hand, did not restrict woman's work to the domestic sphere. She believed that women should do the work that they were suited to, even though it carried them outside the home. She felt that she herself could never have achieved happiness through marriage because of the serious evils attendant upon the institution at her time. In fact, she regarded her escape from married life as fortunate. <sup>19</sup> Free of its responsibilities, she had been happily successful in her career as a writer. Her own testimony follows:

.....I have ever been thankful to be alone. My strong will, combined with anxiety of conscience, makes me fit only to live alone; and my taste and liking are for living alone..... I am provided with what it is the bane of single life in ordinary cases to want,--substantial, laborious and serious occupation. My business in life has been to think and learn, and to speak out with absolute freedom what I have thought and learned.....

---

<sup>18</sup> Positive Philosophy, II, 283-285. Cf. Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 252-253.

<sup>19</sup> She was once engaged to a young man who died of insanity. See Autobiography, I, 130-131.

My work and I have been fitted to each other, as is proved by the success of my work and my own happiness in it..... I long ago came to the conclusion that,..... I am the happiest single woman in England. <sup>20</sup>

Miss Martineau contended that "where all women have only one serious object, many of them will be unfit for that object". <sup>21</sup> This view is entirely in harmony with the Comtian doctrine of individual differences and with Miss Martineau's theory of the basic reason for the division of labor in the field of economics.

Both Comte and Miss Martineau desired to see the position of woman elevated through education. It was only in the sphere of woman's work and in regard to her ability that they disagreed. Comte believed that the organic inferiority of woman was incontestable, that she was entirely unfit "for the requisite continuousness and intensity of mental labour, either from the intrinsic weakness of her reason or from her more lively moral and physical sensibility,....." <sup>22</sup> Miss Martineau assailed the contemporary practice of excluding girls from the pursuit of studies set aside for the masculine mind. She believed that the object of education should be the complete improvement of all the faculties of every human being. She denied that "the female brain is incapable of studies of an abstract nature",

---

<sup>20</sup> Autobiography, I, 133.

<sup>21</sup> Society in America, II, 245.

<sup>22</sup> Positive Philosophy, II, 285.

because she knew of women who had mastered mathematics and the classics. She maintained that the brain which could learn French could learn Greek; that the brain which enjoyed arithmetic was capable of mathematics. In answer to objections to the removal of restrictions placed upon female education, she said:

If it is said that women are light-minded and superficial, the obvious answer is that their minds should be the more carefully sobered by grave studies and the acquisition of exact knowledge. If it is said that their vocation in life does not require these kinds of knowledge, that is giving up the main plea for the pursuit of them by boys,--that it improves the quality of their minds. If it is said that such studies unfit women for their proper occupations, that again is untrue.

Education, Miss Martineau asserted, enabled a woman to become a more efficient home-maker, if that should be her calling: "A woman of superior mind knows better than an ignorant one what to require of her servants, how to deal with tradespeople, and how to economize time; she is more clear-sighted about the best ways of doing things; has a richer mind with which to animate all about her, and to solace her own spirit in the midst of her labors." With the vast changes in the economic order, woman was actually compelled to qualify herself to engage in occupation outside the home. "Let us hear nothing of her being shut out," Miss Martineau wrote, "because she is a woman, from any study that she is capable of pursuing." <sup>23</sup>

It is evident that Miss Martineau regarded woman as man's equal, whereas Comte's philosophy denied the existence of any

---

<sup>23</sup> Household Education, pp. 271-277.

such equality. Comte declared that

.....A just biological philosophy is beginning to discredit those chimerical revolutionary declamations on the pretended equality of the two sexes, by directly demonstrating, either by anatomical investigation or physiological observation, the radical differences, both physical and moral, which, in all the animal species and the human race more especially, so distinctly demarcate them, notwithstanding the preponderance of the specific type. <sup>24</sup>

He further announced his belief that the natural subordination of woman would be recognized in the social organization;

.....Sociology will prove that the equality of the sexes, of which so much is said, is incompatible with all social existence, by showing that each sex has special and permanent functions which it must fulfil in the natural economy of the human family,..... <sup>25</sup>

Although Miss Martineau was an advocate of woman's rights, she did not ally herself with that order of women who denounced the wrongs of their sex because of personal grievances. "Nobody," she said, "can be further than I am from being satisfied with the condition of my own sex, under the law and custom of my own country; but I decline fellowship and co-operation with women of genius or otherwise favourable position, who injure the cause by their personal tendencies." Such women, instead of assisting the cause, actually injured it because they lacked self-discipline. Miss Martineau did not admire Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin because she was, "with all her powers, a poor victim of passion, with no control over her own peace, and

---

<sup>24</sup> Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 261.

<sup>25</sup> Positive Philosophy, II, 284.

no calmness or content except when the needs of her individual nature were satisfied". 26

What kind of women, then, did Miss Martineau believe were the best proponents of woman's rights? She described them as "not only affectionate and devoted, but rational and dispassionate, with the devotedness of benevolence, and not merely of personal love". They must be morally and intellectually courageous women who "speak from conviction of the truth, and not from personal unhappiness". From what social groups did the women who met these qualifications come? Miss Martineau said:

.....The best friends of the cause are the happy wives and the busy, cheerful, satisfied single women, who have no injuries of their own to avenge, and no painful vacuity or mortification to relieve. The best advocates are yet to come,--in the persons of women who are obtaining access to real social business,--the female physicians and other professors in America, the women of business and the female artists of France; and the hospital administrators, the nurses, the educators and substantially successful authors of our own country. 27

Miss Martineau attempted to answer another significant question, How was woman to come into her own? She declared that women would be permitted to enter any field of activity for which they showed themselves fit.

.....Whatever a woman proves herself able to do, society will be thankful to see her do,--just as if she were a man. If she is scientific, science will welcome her, as it has welcomed every woman so qualified. I believe no scientific woman

---

26 Autobiography, I, 399-401.

27 Ibid., I, 400-401.

no calmness or content except when the needs of her individual nature were satisfied".<sup>26</sup>

What kind of women, then, did Miss Martineau believe were the best proponents of woman's rights? She described them as "not only affectionate and devoted, but rational and dispassionate, with the devotedness of benevolence, and not merely of personal love". They must be morally and intellectually courageous women who "speak from conviction of the truth, and not from personal unhappiness". From what social groups did the women who met these qualifications come? Miss Martineau said:

.....The best friends of the cause are the happy wives and the busy, cheerful, satisfied single women, who have no injuries of their own to avenge, and no painful vacuity or mortification to relieve. The best advocates are yet to come,--in the persons of women who are obtaining access to real social business,--the female physicians and other professors in America, the women of business and the female artists of France; and the hospital administrators, the nurses, the educators and substantially successful authors of our own country.<sup>27</sup>

Miss Martineau attempted to answer another significant question, How was woman to come into her own? She declared that women would be permitted to enter any field of activity for which they showed themselves fit.

.....Whatever a woman proves herself able to do, society will be thankful to see her do,--just as if she were a man. If she is scientific, science will welcome her, as it has welcomed every woman so qualified. I believe no scientific woman

---

<sup>26</sup> Autobiography, I, 399-401.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., I, 400-401.



complains of wrongs. If capable of political thought and action, women will obtain even that. I judge by my own case. The time has not come which certainly will come, when women who are practically concerned in political life will have a voice in making the laws which they have to obey;..... 28

She strongly emphasized the importance of individual effort in the exposure of injustices suffered by women on account of the subordination of their sex:

.....The progression or emancipation of any class usually, if not always, takes place through the efforts of individuals of that class; and so it must be here. All women should inform themselves of the condition of their sex, and of their own position. It must necessarily follow that the noblest of them will, sooner or later, put forth a moral power which shall prostrate cant, and burst asunder the bonds, (silken to some, but cold iron to others,) of feudal prejudices and usages. 29

It was Miss Martineau's belief that the home woman could contribute to the advancement of her sex by teaching her children the principles of social rights and duties. Change brought about in this manner would, of course, be very gradual, but it would have a sound basis. In the following suggestion Miss Martineau expressed an earnestness closely akin to Carlyle's doctrine of work: "I think the better way [than to make personal complaints] is for us all to learn and to try to the utmost what we can do, and thus win for ourselves the consideration which alone can secure us rational treatment." 30

---

28 Ibid., I, 401-402. Cf. Autobiography, III, 139.

29 Society in America, II, 259.

30 Autobiography, I, 402.

Miss Martineau's lengthiest treatment of the woman question is to be found in her Society in America, in which she criticised the condition of women in the United States, as she found it during her visit (1834-1836). Her observations frequently reflect upon the condition of women in England. She found that Americans, in their treatment of women, not only fell far short of their own democratic standards but also of the practice of some parts of the Old World. In the following statement she summed up the bad features of the American woman's situation: "..... her intellect is confined, her morals crushed, her health ruined, her weaknesses encouraged, and her strength punished...." As a substitute for justice, she was indulged, so that her case differed only slightly from that of the slave, the difference being in the manner of indulgence and not at all in principle. The pedantry of a large proportion of the women was indicative of confined intellects, the result of a system of female education similar to that in England. The virtual prohibition of the exercise of reason and conscience resulted in moral oppression. Northern women were "deterred by intimidation from using their right of speech and of the press" in behalf of slavery. Furthermore, there existed a double standard for men and women: the hardy virtues were deemed appropriate to the men, and the gentler ones to the women. Men were, consequently, overbearing and tyrannical; women, "weak, ignorant and subservient". <sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> II, 226-236. Cf. Retrospect of Western Travel, III, 207.

Although the condition of marriage in America was in some respects better than that found in England, Miss Martineau regarded it as highly unsatisfactory:

.....Marriage is in America more nearly universal, more safe, more tranquil, more fortunate than in England; but it is still subject to the troubles which arise from the inequality of the parties in mind and in occupation..... it is still the imperfect institution which it must remain while women continue to be ill-educated, passive, and subservient; or well-educated, vigorous, and free only upon sufferance.

American women enjoyed more extensive property rights than did English women, on account of more liberal legal provisions. Again, divorce was more easily obtained in the United States than in England. On this point Miss Martineau criticised her country most severely. The English practice of permitting divorce only to the rich she condemned as a barbarous custom.

.....It will be seen at a glance how such an arrangement tends to vitiate marriage; how it offers impunity to adventurers, and encouragement to every kind of mercenary marriages; how absolute is its oppression of the injured party; and how, by vitiating marriage, it originates and aggravates licentiousness to an incalculable extent.

The less rigid interpretation of divorce laws in America, in her opinion, meant that marriage could be entered into with fewer risks and that the interests of both parties were more nearly equally protected. Divorces were, therefore, almost unheard of. This view is expressly opposite to Comte's opinion that the relaxation of divorce laws under Protestantism had resulted in the moral degeneration of domestic life. Miss Martineau regretted that America was too soon following in the footsteps of the Old World in the matter of mercenary marriages,

with the result that the sanctity of marriage was being seriously impaired. <sup>32</sup>

Occupations open to American women were so limited that if they did not have homes, they had nothing. Religion was the only alternative, and a very poor one at that, since American women did not possess the requisite for the study of theology. The natural consequence of restriction to one occupation was that many married women were "no more fit to be wives and mothers than to be statesmen and generals". Too many women shirked their household responsibilities by taking refuge in boarding-houses, which were far from conducive to the establishment of a home. To fill up their leisure time, women engaged in charities, attended religious services, and visited the poor. The "chivalry" of the country made it difficult if not impossible for women to earn their living:

.....Where it is the boast that women do not labour, the encouragement and rewards of labour are not provided. It is so in America. In some parts, there are now so many women dependent on their own exertions for a maintenance, that the evil will give way before the force of circumstances. In the meantime, the lot of poor women is sad. Before the opening of the factories, there were but three resources; teaching, needle-work, and keeping boarding-houses or hotels. Now there are the mills; and women are employed in printing-offices; as compositors, as well as folders and stitchers. <sup>33</sup>

Miss Martineau found the condition of American women's health

---

<sup>32</sup> Society in America, II, 236-244.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., II, 245-259.

to be generally very poor. The treatment of health subjects by several writers had served to enlighten the public on health matters, but there was much room for improvement. Private houses, steam-boats, and hotels had very limited accommodations for personal cleanliness. Most women had too little exercise and lived in poorly ventilated, overheated houses. Deficient exercise resulted in "spare forms and pallid complexions" and weak spines. The feeling of actually vigorous health was practically unknown. Invalids uncomplainingly acquiesced to their chronic poor health. Miss Martineau recommended "a well-principled reform in diet....., with a view to the improvement of the general health". She deplored the lack of intellectual training because of its bad effect upon health:

The vacuity of mind of many women is, I conclude, the cause of a vice which it is painful to allude to; but which cannot honestly be passed over, in the consideration of the morals and the health of American women. It is no secret on the spot, that the habit of intemperance is not infrequent among women of station and education in the most enlightened parts of the country.<sup>34</sup>

Politically, American women did not exist, in spite of the principle announced in the Declaration of Independence "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed". They had no share in the government; yet there were laws affecting them. Miss Martineau reviewed the injustices of the system: Women paid taxes on their property. They could be fined, imprisoned, and executed for certain offences. Some were

---

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., II, 260-267.

enslaved; others could be punished for inhumane treatment of slaves. Legal provisions disposed of women's property. Miss Martineau asked how women could be required to obey laws when they had not, "either actually or virtually, given assent to any law". Even "the most principled democratic writers on government" had disgracefully sunk into fallacies on this point, Jefferson and James Mill among them. Miss Martineau had no sympathy with those who would concede certain political rights to women and withhold others. In answer to those who desired to see women share equal property rights with men but opposed granting them representation "on the ground that political duties would be incompatible with the other duties which women have to discharge", she said: "God has given time and power for the discharge of all duties; and, if he had not, it would be for women to decide which they would leave." <sup>35</sup> In expressing this view, Miss Martineau entirely disagreed with Comte's statement that "the radical inaptitude of the female sex" entirely disqualified them "for any function of government". <sup>36</sup> In answer to the plea that women acquiesced to the decision of men, Miss Martineau said that acquiescence must be complete, if the excuse was to have strength. For herself she said, "I for one, do not acquiesce. I declare that whatever obedience

---

<sup>35</sup> Society in America, I, 148-151.

<sup>36</sup> Positive Philosophy, II, 285.

I yield to the laws of the society in which I live is a matter between, not the community and myself, but my judgment and my will." Again, she objected to the plea that "by enjoying the protection of some laws" women gave "their assent to all". She said, "A boon of any sort is no compensation for the privation of something else; nor can the enjoyment of it bind to the performance of anything to which it bears no relation." The most general plea of all, that women virtually ruled men through the heart, and therefore actually exercised their rights, Miss Martineau regarded as sheer nonsense. <sup>37</sup>

Briefly stated, Miss Martineau's views on the women question were as follows: The origin of the problem lay in the changing social structure; the solution in discovering woman's proper place in the economic reorganization. She regarded the subordination of women a violation of social justice. She had reason to resent personally the discriminations made against her sex; yet her hard intellectualism prevented her from joining the radical feminists of the Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin order. Instead, she inquired into the grounds for the narrow prejudices which so hindered women's progress. She perceived that the root of the injustice lay in the commonly accepted belief in women's natural inferiority. The results of the inadequate training given to women had strengthened this opinion. Miss Martineau knew well enough that radicalism, too often the expression of

---

<sup>37</sup> Society in America, I, 151-154.

personal grievance, would only breed antagonism against any movement for the emancipation of women. She knew, too, that if the condition of women was to be improved that women must take the initiative. Only by proving their ability equal to that of men could they expect to achieve recognition as man's equal. Lastly, women must exercise patience and judgment; they must feel their individual responsibility in the spread of enlightened ideas.

This examination of Miss Martineau's views on the position of woman leads naturally to another subject of significance, of a more strictly literary nature; namely, the women characters in her novel Deerbrook and in her stories. It is in her women characters that Miss Martineau excels. Through them she not only reflects the condition of women during the nineteenth century but also exemplifies, consciously or unconsciously, her interpretation of woman's function in the social organization. Her women characters are drawn from every rank of society. Those of the middle and lower classes, however, far outnumber those of the highest station. They are also more skilfully delineated and prove more essential to the progress of the story in which they appear. Pairing off women characters in several instances afforded opportunity for contrast, thereby re-enforcing characteristic traits. Where characters are at all developed, they are generally very realistic.

A few examples will serve to support these observations on



Miss Martineau's women characters. There are several women in Deerbrook worthy of study. The governess, Maria Young, is, like many others of her class, the daughter of a ruined gentleman.<sup>38</sup> Her strong character and superior learning, coupled with her unselfish service to those about her, seem all the more remarkable in face of the fact that she is a frail little cripple. Of the two sisters in the novel, Margaret and Hester Ibbotson, Margaret is by far the more forceful personality. Hester's finer traits remain undeveloped until tested by trials and hardships which compelled her to overcome a strong tendency to selfishness. Dominated by a fine altruism, Margaret compels admiration for the many noble qualities of her character. When her sister and her husband undergo financial misfortunes, she takes on many of the household responsibilities and insists that they share her income. During a terrible epidemic of fever in the village of Deerbrook, she unselfishly gives her full time to the care of the sick, many of them so ignorant that they little appreciate her kind labors. Surely, she lived as she once told Maria Young that she did: "I have a plan of life,..... It is to do the duty that lies nearest at hand is, to keep you up to yours."<sup>39</sup> Through her Miss Martineau expressed some of her own beliefs. On the subject of marriage Margaret once said that courtship should be treated seriously, that instead of being spoiled by

---

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Neff, Victorian Working Women, p. 155.

<sup>39</sup> p. 364.

artifice, it should be regarded with that seriousness and sincerity which are so essential in marriage.<sup>40</sup> Mrs. Grey and Mrs. Rowland, both typical Victorian matrons, in several respects stand in contrast to each other. Both are very much concerned with the responsibility of getting their daughters married off, but Mrs. Grey is by far the more sensible of the two. She is more intellectual, and less prone to do things for the sake of appearance than her neighbor is. Mrs. Rowland makes herself thoroughly disliked by everyone because of her deceitfulness. As the story advances, she more and more incurs the hatred of the reader because of the exhibition of actually mean traits. Her proud soul is humbled at last when her oldest daughter dies because she refuses, from pettiness and spite, to call in Dr. Hope.

The political economy tales also contribute several women characters worthy of attention. Fanny and Melea Berkeley are only two of the many young women of the wealthy families of England who were compelled, by financial reverses, to earn their own living. And, like many others of their class, they welcomed the opportunity. Fanny confided to her sister, shortly after the news of the failure of their father's bank reached them: "Now, Melea, now the time is come that we have talked of so often. Now is the time for you and me to try to achieve a truer

---

<sup>40</sup> p. 63.

independence than we have lost.'" <sup>41</sup> In the same story appears Mrs. Cavendish, whose sole interest is in making a grand impression in the social circle of Haleham. She is shallow and pedantic. She spends money extravagantly on clothes, so that her children look like decorated dolls; yet she does not even provide them with nourishing food to eat. Ella of Garveloch, an humble Scotch peasant girl, is to be remembered for her indefatigable industry and unusual managerial efficiency. As the head of a household previous to her marriage, she is successful in conducting a small fishing business. Although her responsibilities were heavy, she never neglected her duty as both sister and mother to her three younger brothers. Later, in her own home, she is equally as capable of performing her manifold duties. <sup>42</sup> Cousin Marshall and Mrs. Bell are vividly contrasted throughout another of the political economy tales. Cousin Marshall is a kindly soul with a generosity of heart that knew no bounds. Already the mother of five children, she takes two orphans into her home and takes an active interest in their brother and sister. Mrs. Bell, the children's maternal aunt and a woman of comfortable means, shows no interest in the welfare of the orphans. <sup>43</sup> Letitia is a highly educated, artistic

---

<sup>41</sup> "Berkeley the Banker, Part I", Illustrations of Political Economy, V, 150-151.

<sup>42</sup> "Ella of Garveloch" (Parts I and II), Illustrations of Political Economy, Vol. II.

<sup>43</sup> "Cousin Marshall", Illustrations of Political Economy, Vol. III.

person who has married into the English nobility. Accustomed as she has been to a busy life as an actress before her marriage, she continues to keep her time well occupied with useful things, and thereby escapes the boredom which most women of her position experienced. She concerns herself with her husband's business and wields a great influence over his services as a statesman. <sup>44</sup> Mary Kay is a pathetic woman, who had seen better days. Under the hardships of poverty, she takes to drinking and at last dies a wretched drunkard. But Miss Martineau makes it clear that the woman was a poor victim of circumstances; so the reader never once condemns her. <sup>45</sup>

In conclusion, it is only fitting to ask if, after all, Miss Martineau and Comte differed so widely in the matter of woman's function in society as their theories would seem to imply. The answer is, No. Comte maintained that woman's special function in the social organization was essentially the "office of Sentiment", by which he meant that woman's mission was to exercise a refining influence upon the cold, rough reason of man. This is the same service which, judging from her women characters, Miss Martineau would have woman render society, because the ones who fall short of performing this duty are made to appear as failures. Her most admirable characters are those who were capable of performing their practical duties without

---

<sup>44</sup> "For Each and for All", Illustrations of Political Economy, Vol. IV.

<sup>45</sup> "Sowers not Reapers", Illustrations of Political Economy, Vol. VII.

neglecting their more tender offices. It is in the sphere of woman's activities that Miss Martineau and Comte held divergent views. Miss Martineau would not limit woman's work to the domestic realm; Comte emphatically declared that the home should be woman's sphere. In the two following chapters Miss Martineau's own work as a woman will be examined with the object of establishing more definitely that, so far as woman's function was concerned, Comte's and Miss Martineau's views were essentially the same.

## Chapter VI

### Harriet Martineau's Crusade for the Abolition of Slavery

In substance Miss Martineau's message to her sex was, "Serve your fellowman, and in turn you will elevate your own position." The object of this and the following chapter is to answer the question, To what extent was she herself actuated by this rule? It must be remembered that Miss Martineau lived in a century in which many branches of thought, philanthropy among them, were in their infancy.<sup>1</sup> It must likewise be remembered that she was dominated by a philosophy whose "insistence upon unity in the world and in human nature" made service to humanity a duty.<sup>2</sup> It was thus natural for Miss Martineau to render what service she could in behalf of justice for the oppressed members of society. "The real and justifiable and honourable subject of interest to human beings, living and dying," she wrote, "is the welfare of their fellows, surrounding them, or surviving them."<sup>3</sup> Her humanitarian interests led her into the treatment of such a variety of subjects in her works that it is not possible, within the scope of two chapters, to make an inquiry into all of her contributions in behalf of justice or to accomplish an exhaustive study of any of them. The study will be restricted to the following topics, in

---

<sup>1</sup> Craik, English Prose, p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> Walker, The Literature of the Victorian Era, pp. 182-183.

<sup>3</sup> Autobiography, II, 439.

the order given: slavery; domestic economy; the care of sufferers such as lunatics, the deaf, the dumb, and the blind; and penal reform. It can hardly be overemphasized that Miss Martineau consistently approached these subjects from the standpoint of political economy because she regarded the injustices involved as due to economic maladjustments.

Miss Martineau was an ardent abolitionist. Her visit to America at the beginning of the "reign of terror", as she referred to the period preceding the Civil War, only strengthened her convictions against slavery. She made every effort to inform herself on the actual condition of slavery: She attended colonization and also abolition meetings. She also spent some months in the South, where she witnessed personally the workings of the institution of slavery. "To see slaves is not to be reconciled to slavery," she declared.<sup>4</sup> The colonizationists she came to regard as "simply a selection from the Pro-slavery multitude, who did the Slave States the service of ridding them of clever and dangerous slaves, and throwing a tub to the whale of adverse opinion, and easing lazy or weak consciences, by professing to deal, in a safe and beneficial manner, with the otherwise hopeless difficulty".<sup>5</sup> At her first attendance of an abolitionist meeting in Cambridge (November, 1835), Miss Martineau, upon Mr. Loring's request

---

<sup>4</sup> Retrospect of Western Travel, I, 233.

<sup>5</sup> Autobiography, II, 13.

for a word upon the subject of slavery, declared herself wholly in sympathy with the principles of abolition. The expression of this conviction was fraught with danger, for a mob was at that time threatening outside the house. All leading newspapers came out strongly against Miss Martineau. Their criticism so prejudiced the public that for a time she was socially ostracized. <sup>6</sup> That Miss Martineau was deeply concerned over the problem of abolition is evidenced by her wishing that she could have died in Lovejoy's place, because "the murder of an English traveller would have settled the business of American Slavery ..... more speedily than perhaps any other incident". <sup>7</sup> For some years she seriously considered returning to America to devote her life to the cause which to her seemed "the greatest pending in the world". <sup>8</sup> She actually contributed a substantial sum to the abolition fund through the sale of her fancy work. <sup>9</sup> In 1838, in recognition of her work for the freedom of slaves, she received a certificate of membership from the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society of Lynn. <sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., II, 25-40.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., II, 56.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., II, 84.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., III, 233, 332.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., III, 223.



Theoretically, Miss Martineau found the institution of slavery based on fallacious principles. No one could be blamed ~~ed~~ for the origin of slavery. It had always existed wherever large new tracts of land had been brought into cultivation. Negro slavery had, by economic necessity, been inadvertently introduced into the American colonies from the West Indies. The system had, however, outgrown its usefulness.<sup>11</sup> Legally, the holding of slaves as property could not be justified, because "property is held by conventional, not natural right". Since there had never been a conventional agreement between the parties concerned, men had no right to hold other men as property.<sup>12</sup> Many who perceived the anomaly between the custom and the law, however, preferred to keep quiet rather than endanger the union. This attitude Miss Martineau condemned as a "compound fallacy". To her there was no connection between slavery and the union. If there were, then the union must fall because slavery was wrong. "I regard it as a false and mischievous assumption," she declared, "that slavery is bound up with the Union: but if I believed the dictum, I should not be for 'putting off the evil day.'" <sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Society in America, I, 341, 356, 394.

<sup>12</sup> Summary of Principles, "Demerara", Illustrations of Political Economy, II, 141-143.

<sup>13</sup> Society in America, I, 134-135.

The fundamental discrepancy in the whole system lay in the utter disregard of human rights. <sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the political discrimination against the colored citizens of the United States was a violation of the republican principles announced in the constitution. <sup>15</sup> The indulgence of slaves as a compensation for their condition of servitude Miss Martineau considered another practice contrary to all laws. She said, "I was heart-sick of being told of the ingratitude of slaves, and weary of explaining that indulgence can never atone for injury: that the extremest pampering, for a life-time, is no equivalent for rights withheld, no reparation for irreparable injustice." <sup>16</sup>

In general, Miss Martineau found the condition of slaves exceedingly bad. Although she found large numbers of them well treated, she could never become reconciled to the fact that they were not free. Any attempt to describe in so limited a space the condition of slaves as Miss Martineau found it may easily result in a distortion of the facts because of the difficulty of citing observations which represent her general impression. Of slavery in the different sections of the country she said:

Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, present the extreme

---

<sup>14</sup> Society in America, II, 129.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., I, 144-148; II, 106-107.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., II, 110.

case of the fertility of the soil, the prosperity of proprietors, and the woes of slaves. I found the Virginians spoke with sorrow and contempt of the treatment of slaves in North and South Carolina; South Carolina and Georgia, of the treatment of slaves in the richer states to the west; and, in these last, I found the case too bad to admit of aggravation..... As I went further north again, I found an improvement. 17

Miss Martineau commented upon the servile countenances of some of the most degraded negroes in a company of slaves traveling west:

.....It is usual to call the most depressed of them brutish in appearance. In some sense they are so; but I never saw in any brute an expression of countenance so low, so lost, as in the most degraded class of negroes. There is some life and intelligence in the countenance of every animal; even in that of "the silly sheep," nothing so dead as the vacant, unheeding look of the depressed slave is to be seen. 18

A visit to the negro quarter on a large plantation filled Miss Martineau with disgust, because she found that the economic status of negro slaves imposed a low standard of living upon them. The following quotation is an excerpt from her record of what she saw in the slave quarter:

.....It is something between a haunt of monkeys and a dwelling-place of human beings. The natural good taste, so remarkable in free negroes, is here extinguished. Their small, dingy, untidy houses, their cribs, the children crouching round the fire, the animal deportment of the grown-up, the brutish chagrins and enjoyments of the old, were all loathesome..... a walk through a lunatic asylum is far less painful than a visit to the slave quarter of an estate. 19

To be sure, this standard of living had its evil social effects. The morals of slaves, both individual and domestic, were

---

17 Ibid., I, 304.

18 Ibid., I, 216.

19 Ibid., I, 224.

seriously impaired. The effects upon the individual will be first examined. Natural law, declared Miss Martineau, permitted a person to develop both his mental and his physical powers.

.....it is a law of every man's physical nature that he could work with the limbs; of every man's moral nature, that he should know; and knowledge is to be had only by one method; by bringing the ideal and the actual world into contact, and proving each by the other, with one's own brain and hands for instruments, and not another's.

Miss Martineau very probably owed something to Carlyle for her conviction that there exists a relation between happiness and work, that anyone deprived of work is thereby deprived of happiness. In her opinion the slave did not have too much work; it was work unbalanced by too much of the actual and too little of the ideal which barred him from happiness. Although he knew the hardships of physical labor, he suffered most from the vacuity and hopelessness of idleness.

.....He has neither the privilege of the brute, to exercise himself vigorously upon instinct, for an immediate object, to be gained and forgotten; nor the privilege of the man, to toil, by moral necessity, with some pain, for results which yield an evergrowing pleasure. It is not work which is the curse of the slave: he is rarely so blessed as to know what it is.

Miss Martineau discussed life in the slave states in respect to work from the standpoint of two classes; the servile and the imperious. The slaves passed their lives wretchedly "between an utter debasement of the will, and a conflict of the will with external force".<sup>20</sup> They were "more or less degraded by slavery

---

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., II, 94-106.

in proportion to their original strength of character, or educational discipline of mind".<sup>21</sup> The circumstances of members of the other class were hardly less favorable, as their minds were early tainted with the idea that labor was disgraceful.<sup>22</sup> Personal happiness, therefore, was, under the system of slavery, prohibited to the great majority of both races.

The moral evils of slavery Miss Martineau regarded as no less pernicious to the individual than to the family. She spoke out boldly on the corruption of domestic morals under the institution of slavery. On this subject she and Comte fully agreed. Comte said that the facility which slavery afforded libertinism made monogamy little more than a profession.<sup>23</sup> Domestic fidelity, Miss Martineau found, was the exception rather than the rule in slave states, because only a few resisted the contagion of vice. Custom permitted plantation owners to have their harems. The degradation of women, both white and black, and the suffering of children, as related by Miss Martineau, are too painful to recount. The positive licentiousness of the South was nowhere more prominent than in New Orleans, where quadroon connections were all but universal and were oftentimes continued after marriage. Miss Martineau looked upon the whole situation as a very melancholy one indeed.

---

<sup>21</sup> Retrospect of Western Travel, II, 98.

<sup>22</sup> Society in America, II, 102-103.

<sup>23</sup> Philosophy of the Sciences, I, 285; Positive Philosophy, III, 55-56.

What security for purity and peace there can be where every man has had two connexions, one of which must be concealed; and two families, whose existence must not be known to each other; where the conjugal relation begins in treachery, and must be carried on with a heavy secret in the husband's breast, no words are needed to explain.

The domestic life of the negroes was, if possible, even less satisfactory than that of their superiors. Negroes were paired and parted like brutes at their master's will; members of a family were frequently sold into a distant section of the country.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, intermarriage between whites and blacks became very common.<sup>25</sup>

The economic aspects of slavery, according to Miss Martineau, were fully as complex as were the moral phases. The shifting of slavery from one section of the United States to another was the natural outcome of changes in the economic structure. Abolition of slavery in the north had followed the displacement of agriculture by manufacturing and commercial interests and the discovery that agricultural labor could be carried on by the whites. Slavery, Miss Martineau held, was appropriate only in new unsettled land. It had been a political anomaly at the time of the Revolution; it had now become an economic one also. It actually impoverished some of the older states whose lands had deteriorated. These states, in turn, sold their surplus slaves to the states to the west. Thus, slavery was ultimately destined to

---

<sup>24</sup> Society in America, II, 106-140.

<sup>25</sup> Retrospect of Western Travel, I, 229.

arrive at a natural termination. In an effort to hasten the end of slavery two schemes had been proposed: colonization and abolition. Miss Martineau said that anyone who thought at all could see the economic impossibility of transporting the entire slave population, then above two millions and a half, to Africa. In the twenty years that the Colonisation Society had been functioning, it had sent between two and three thousand negroes to Africa, while the annual increase of the slave population was, approximately, sixty thousand. The number of free blacks was about three hundred and sixty-two thousand. On the face of these figures abolition seemed far more effective than colonization for a solution to the slavery problem. But Miss Martineau perceived the danger of freeing the negroes without some legal provisions.

.....The one thing necessary, in the economical view of the case, is that efficient measures should be taken to prevent an unwise dispersion of these labourers: measures, I mean, which should in no way interfere with their personal liberty, but which should secure to them generally greater advantages on the spot than they could obtain by roaming.<sup>26</sup>

As a factor of production Miss Martineau regarded slave labor as very ineffective. "Human labour," she said, "is more valuable than brute labour, only because actuated by reason; for human strength is inferior to brute strength." She advanced the theory that labor originates in the will. Since slaves had little opportunity to exercise either reason or

---

<sup>26</sup> Society in America, I, 345-395.

will and since their strength was inferior to that of brutes, their labor was, therefore, of less value. In comparison to free labor Miss Martineau held that slave labor offered no advantages to the capitalist. He owned free and slave labor equally. Herein lay the disadvantage: "Where the labourer is held as capital, the capitalist not only pays a much higher price for an equal quantity of labour, but also for waste, negligence, and theft, on the part of the labourer." <sup>27</sup> Mr. Wallace, the manager of an iron-work factory in one of Miss Martineau's stories stated this economic principle in another way:

.....there is no bond of mutual interest between master and slave, as there is between the capitalist and free labourer. It matters nothing to the slave whether his master employs his capital actively or profitably or not; while this is the all-important consideration between the free labourer and his employer. <sup>28</sup>

In one number of the political economy series Miss Martineau skilfully incorporated and illustrated in story form all of the aspects of slavery just discussed. The story referred to is "Demerara", which is the one story which Americans knew if they knew anything at all about Miss Martineau before she visited America. A summary of the story will illustrate her method of dealing with the social, moral, and economic phases

---

<sup>27</sup> Summary of Principles, "Demerara", Illustrations of Political Economy, II, 141-143.

<sup>28</sup> "The Hill and the Valley", Illustrations of Political Economy, I, 39.



of slavery. The place of the story is a plantation in Demerara, in British Guiana. At the opening of the story Alfred and Mary Bruce returned from England, where they had been for fourteen years to get their education. Everything seemed altered since their childhood days; the plantation no longer had a prosperous appearance. The children found their mother in chronic poor health and their father not doing so well financially. Mr. Bruce attributed his difficulties to several things: the oppression of the mother country, foreign competition, hurricanes, and mortality and insurrection among his slaves. Alfred declared that the institution of slavery was entirely responsible. He believed that slavery had originated for the general good and would, in the near future, be abolished for the same reason. It made his heart sick to witness the listlessness of the slaves at work. He made friends with one of the slaves, Cassius. Alfred encouraged him to work hard so he could pay out a ransom and go to Liberia. The wretched condition of domestic life among the slaves is brought out through a conversation among members of old Mark's family. The young people could not remember the time when there had been a marriage on their own plantation. There was no incentive for slaves to marry and establish homes. Slaves' wives could be beaten by their masters before their husbands, who were helpless because their duties as slaves came before their duties as husbands. Furthermore, there was the constant danger of separation. An exciting

point in the story is the coming of a hurricane, which simply ruined Mr. Bruce. The slaves rejoiced at the drowning of their cruel slavedriver, Mr. Horner, during the storm. Mr. Bruce was then compelled to sell his slaves. Alfred was instrumental in freeing Cassius so that he could go to Liberia.<sup>29</sup>

The Hour and the Man, a historical romance, is another of Miss Martineau's works dealing with the subject of slavery. The novel traces the character and fortunes of Toussaint L'Ouverture. Miss Martineau's purpose in writing it was "to present that genuine hero with his actual sayings and doings (as far as they were extant) to the world".<sup>30</sup> The novel has been called "the most important work of fiction among Harriet Martineau's writings" and also "a vivid page of history". The story begins with the insurrection of the negro slaves in St. Domingo in August, 1791. Toussaint, a slave on the Breda plantation, after a struggle between loyalty to the royalist cause and duty to his race, rose to the leadership of his fellowmen. The story terminates with the hero's pathetic end.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>29</sup> Illustrations of Political Economy, Vol. II.

<sup>30</sup> Autobiography, II, 156.

<sup>31</sup> Helen Rex Keller, The Reader's Digest of Books, p. 408.

## Chapter VII

### Miss Martineau's Work as a Philanthropist

As intimated at the opening of the preceding chapter, this chapter is a continuation of the activities which Miss Martineau engaged in for the uplifting of society. The following quotation from her Autobiography needs no annotation to explain why her work as a domestic economist is worthy of study:

.....No true woman, married or single, can be happy without some sort of domestic life;--without having somebody's happiness dependent on her; and my own ideal of an innocent and happy life was a house of my own among poor improvable neighbours, with young servants whom I might train and attach to myself;...  
.....

Actuated by this desire, Miss Martineau, in the winter of 1845-1846, erected a home of her own in the famous Lake District near the little village of Ambleside. As she explained in the story of her life, she borrowed money to enable her to build on a cash basis in order to set an example to the people of the district:

.....It is the pernicious custom of the district to give very long credit, even in the case of workmen's wages. One of my intentions in becoming a housekeeper was to discountenance this, and to break through the custom in my own person. I told all the tradesmen that I would not deal with them on any other terms than ready money payments, alleging the inconvenience to persons of small income of having all their bills pouring in at Candlemas. At first I was grumbled at for the "inconvenience;" but, before I had lived here two years, I was supplicated for my custom, my reputation being that of being "the best paymaster in the neighborhood." <sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> II, 225.

<sup>2</sup> II, 231.

The truth of this last statement is corroborated by the fact that when Mrs. Chapman set about to compile Miss Martineau's memoirs, she found among the labeled packages which Miss Martineau had left, "two cardboards tied together with tape, inscribed 'Unpaid Bills.'" But Mrs. Chapman found no papers between the cardboards and learned that there never had been any. <sup>3</sup>

The establishment of her home soon offered another means to Miss Martineau of serving her neighbors. She found it difficult, on account of the large number of tourists in the summer, to procure such staple foods as meat, eggs, cream, butter, and vegetables. Thus it was that in 1848 she began an experiment of small farming which soon became an affair of general interest. Her own housekeeping difficulty was not the only factor which prompted her to experiment with farming. "A more serious consideration," she said, "was the bad method of farming in the Lake District, which seemed to need an example of better management, on however humble a scale. My neighbors insisted on it that cows require three acres of land apiece; whereas I believed that, without emulating Cobbett, I could do better than that." Miss Martineau procured the service of a sympathetic laborer, whom she provided a house to the back of her home, and, in spite of ridicule and criticism, the ex-

---

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., III, 270.

periment proved successful.

The result was that, with a half acre of rented land, Miss Martineau kept about a cow and a half (that is, she bought some feed) on her little farm, and enjoyed the luxury of having her own meat, vegetables, eggs, and dairy products. At the end of the first year of experiment Miss Martineau, by request, wrote an assistant poor-law commissioner about the results. Soon after, the letter came out in the Times. The reprinting of this letter in other papers led to a second letter at the end of the following year, both of which were later published in pamphlet form.<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Chapman spoke of the wide circulation which these letters enjoyed:

.....As mistress of a family and as a domestic economist, one may know some of the particulars by referring to her [Miss Martineau's] little book, "Our Farm of Two Acres," which is so constantly in circulation, and reprinted in America, "in the conviction," say the publishers, "that the local character of the experiences will not affect their value to American readers." This agricultural experiment of hers was so successful as to attract a great deal of notice, and influenced some proceedings in the neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup>

Of all the attempts indicative of Miss Martineau's genuine interest in raising the social standard of living, none is so exemplary as her work with the working people of Ambleside. Beginning in 1848 and continuing until her health failed her, Miss Martineau delivered "a yearly course of lectures to the mechanics of Ambleside and their families", which had developed

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., II, 340-342.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., III, 271.

out of the interest of the adults in her travel lectures to the school children. Her object in giving the lectures was "to give rational amusement to men whom all circumstances seemed to conspire to drive to the public-house, and to interest them in matters which might lead them to books, or at least give them something to think about". The courses included informational subjects such as sanitation, the history of England, the history of America, and Australia. <sup>6</sup>

The course of lectures on sanitation proved, Miss Martineau said, "an effectual preparation for [her] scheme of instituting a Building Society". The conditions of the working people were very bad. Although they earned high wages, they paid excessive rent for cottages which provided inadequate housing accommodations, so that as a result their morals degenerated. Miss Martineau's comment follows:

.....When the people are compelled to sleep, ten, twelve, or fourteen in two rooms, there can be little hope for their morals or manners; and one of the causes of the excessive intemperance of the population is well known to be the discomfort of the crowded dwellings.

Miss Martineau hoped "to cut off the sources of disease, sin and misery by a purer method of living". She gave an account of how she attempted to accomplish this high aim:

.....My recourse was to the "workies" themselves, in that set of lectures; in which I endeavoured to show them that all the means of healthy and virtuous living were around them,--in a wide space of country, slopes for drainage, floods of

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., II, 301-309.

gushing water, and the wholesomest air imaginable. I showed them how they were paying away in rent, money enough to provide every head of a household with a cottage of his own in a few years; and I explained to them the principle of such a Building Society as we might have.....<sup>7</sup>

The meeting to form the Building Society was held in Miss Martineau's own home. The result was the building of a range of substantial tenement cottages. Years later an American woman travelling in England visited the Lake District and saw these cottages. Her statement appeared in a newspaper account of the placing of a Harriet Martineau statue in College Hall at Wellesley College:

.....I visited the model cottages erected by Miss Martineau, when model tenements were little thought of, and found on conversation with the inmates that the memory of the benefactor was fragrant. <sup>8</sup>

Mrs. Chapman said: "The 'Harriet Martineau Cottages,' at Ambleside, stand as a monument of the movement she initiated for the creation of comfortable, economical homes and the lowering of rents." <sup>9</sup>

Another highly significant chapter in Miss Martineau's philanthropic work deals with her relation to the poor-law reform in England. She was persuaded by Lord Brougham, after he had read the first five numbers of the Illustrations of Political

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., II, 306-307.

<sup>8</sup> Sarah F. Whiting, "The Harriet Martineau and Other Works of Anna Whitney", The Wellesley College News, Vol. XXI, No. 15 (January 23, 1913), pp. 1-2.

<sup>9</sup> Autobiography, III, 331.

Economy, to write four tales to illustrate the poor-laws to assist the Poor-Law Commission in its investigations. Already overworked, Miss Martineau consented to accept the invitation to further labors only because of the urgency of the situation. She recorded in her Autobiography: "It was the extreme need and difficulty of poor-law reform that won me to the additional task. I had for many years been in a state of despair about national affairs,....." Miss Martineau said that she never wrote anything with more glee than she did "The Hamlets", the tale written to exemplify the proposed reform. The stories were all published by the Diffusion Society. The Poor-Law Commission furnished the information gathered by its inquiries into the operation of the poor-laws. Miss Martineau herself supplied many suggestions in her exposure of the evils of the old system and the portrayal of features of the proposed new law.

The poor-law tales, by bringing about a uniformity of opinion among those intent on finding a remedy for the care of the poor, were largely instrumental in hastening the reform of the poor-law system. She was deeply gratified that the features of her document on the subject were identical with those of the government plan, as she related in the account of her life:

.....My document actually crossed in the street one sent me by a Member of the government detailing the heads of the new Bill. I sat down to read it with no little emotion, and some apprehension; and the moment when, arriving at the end, I found that the government scheme and my own were identical,



point by point, was not one to be easily forgotten.

Although these tales met with success, Miss Martineau believed that her connection with the government was a handicap to their usefulness:

I do not repent doing those tales, because I hope and believe they were useful at a special crisis: but they never succeeded to any thing like the extent of my own Series; and it certainly appeared that all connexion with the Diffusion Society, and Lord Brougham, and the Whig government, was so much mere detriment to my usefulness and my influence. <sup>10</sup>

These poor-law tales were, however, not Miss Martineau's chief contribution to the poor-law problem. Previous to Lord Brougham's proposal that she illustrate the operation of the poor-laws, she had sent "Cousin Marshall", which treats of the poor-laws, to the press. Consecutive issues of the Illustrations of Political Economy were "Ireland" and "Homes Abroad", which were further exemplifications of the ineffectiveness of the poor-laws.<sup>11</sup> Miss Martineau also touched upon the pauper problem in two other tales of the series, "Sowers not Reapers" and "A Tale of the Tyne". Through these stories she hoped to disseminate information on three matters: the cause of pauperism and poverty from the standpoint of economics, the operation and effects of the poor-law system, and ways of remedying the evils of the system. Once the public was enlightened, reform would be quick in coming.

---

<sup>10</sup> Autobiography, I, 218-222.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., I, 218.

Poverty Miss Martineau regarded as a problem of economics and more specifically of distribution. In any society, she said, there was a gradation of ranks, the lowest having only a subsistence. Suspension of the means of subsistence for any cause, such as disaster, sickness, or infirmity, converted the poor into the indigent. Indigence, in turn, bred misery and vice, which became a social problem. Charity, public and private, or the distribution of a dole only encouraged shiftlessness and its attendant evils. Consumption was thereby rendered unproductive. The principle underlying any remedy, whatever the method might be, must be economically sound; that is, it must allow labor and capital to take their natural course. <sup>12</sup>

Just what measures she regarded as consistent with the principles of economics Miss Martineau did not hesitate to say. Charity, instead of seeking to relieve bodily wants, must be directed to the enlightenment of the mind. In order to eliminate the disproportion between the number of consumers and the means of subsistence, the increase of population must be discouraged. <sup>13</sup> Permanent reduction of the population would come only by educating the people until they were "qualified for the guardianship of their own interests". <sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Summary of Principles, "Cousin Marshall", Illustrations of Political Economy, III, 130-132.

<sup>13</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>14</sup> Summary of Principles, "Ireland", Illustrations of Political Economy, III, 136.

For temporary relief of the evils due to overpopulation Miss Martineau advocated colonization. Two kinds had been adopted by the British Empire: foreign colonization and home colonization. Foreign colonization included voluntary emigration and penal colonization. State-directed voluntary emigration undertook to do three things: to improve the condition of the emigrants, to better the condition of those who remained at home, and to aid in the development of a new region. The objects of penal colonization were: "the security of society by the removal of the offender". Miss Martineau warned against the combination of penal with voluntary emigration. Such a procedure, she said, tended to defeat the purposes of both kinds of emigration because of the bad influence of convicts upon a normal community. Home colonization, although better than charity, Miss Martineau considered inferior to foreign colonization because it alienated capital from its natural channels and encouraged an increase of population. 15

Miss Martineau's literary exemplification of her theories of the problem of poverty, which, as has been said, she regarded as a phase of distribution, is most convincing. An analysis of only one of her stories dealing with the subject will suffice to evaluate the truth of this statement. In "Cousin Marshall" the death of an impoverished mother left four children destitute and dependent upon society. This situation afforded an opportunity to

---

15 Summary of Principles, "Homes Abroad", Illustrations of Political Economy, IV, 126-128.

show the difference between public and private charity, and between ineffective and effective charity. The two oldest children were sent to the workhouse, while Mrs. Marshall, a maternal aunt, took the other two. Her method of charity represents the kind which Miss Martineau approved of. Mrs. Marshall taught little Sally, who was quickly growing blind, how to knit and to do other useful things with her hands. Then, when she knew that the child must be sent to the Blind Asylum before she became totally blind, she very tactfully acquainted Sally with the customs, employments, and advantages of the institution so that the child would be able to adjust herself more easily to her new surroundings. She also encouraged the little girl to cultivate a cheerful attitude in spite of her handicap. Thus, when Sally entered the Blind Asylum, she felt grateful for the many opportunities it had to offer. This, however, is only one example of Mrs. Marshall's many charities.

The story dwells at length upon the operation of the various institutions of charity, thereby exposing the numerous evils attending the poor-law system then in use. Only a few of these evils can be mentioned in the allotted space. Jane, Sally's oldest sister, fell into bad company at the workhouse and became lax morally. Consequently, she met her downfall soon after she obtained a service on a farm. The careless management of the Foundling Hospital was demonstrated by the death of a baby whose identification later became a matter of doubt. In a conversation with his sister, Mr. Burke, a medical officer, told her

that he was seriously thinking of resigning his post, as he had come to believe that he was actually doing more harm than good by officiating at the Dispensary and Lying-in Hospital. It seemed clear to him that the absence of these institutions would rid society of an evil. The one had fostered the increase of population until it was impossible to care for all applicants; the other was consequently compelled to take care of an alarmingly large number of people suffering from the diseases due to indigence. Mr. Burke had his own ideas about other institutions, too. He would abolish the almshouses for the aged and the workhouses, but he would keep the Blind Asylum and the Casualty Hospital.

The evils attending the promiscuous distribution of a subsistence-fund at the workhouse on pay day are also exposed in a vivid chapter in the story. Some of the claimants received money from several sources of charity, all because no effort was made on the part of those in charge to investigate applications. Many of the paupers were exceedingly clever. They secured assistance for members of the family long since deceased; they assumed all manner of deformities in order to arouse sympathy; they concocted lies about their actual condition. Begging proved ~~as~~ such a lucrative occupation that the beggars organized a fraternity.

In this same story, which treats of the operation of the poor-law system then in practice, certain remedies are proposed for the elimination of the evils. Mr. Burke's solution, which is

based on principles of economics, is undoubtedly Miss Martineau's own. He said:

"I would aim at two objects: increasing the fund on which labourers subsist, and proportioning their numbers to this fund.-- For the first of these purposes, not only should the usual means of increasing capital be actively plied, but the immense amount which is now unproductively consumed by the indigent should be applied to purposes of production. This cannot be done suddenly; but it should be done intrepidly, steadily, and at a gradually increasing rate. This would have the effect, at the same time, of fulfilling the other important object,--that of limiting the number of consumers to a due proportion to the fund on which they subsist." 16

Towards the end of the story Miss Martineau arranged an opportunity to explain more specifically how these two objects should be accomplished. Mr. Burke and his friend Mr. Effingham discussed various proposals which had been recommended to the government to relieve the rate-payers by abolishing the poor-law tax. In answer to the question as to what was the best time to abolish the rate, Mr. Burke replied, "The best plan, in my opinion, yet proposed, is this:--to enact that no child born from any marriage taking place within a year from the date of the law, and no illegitimate child born within two years from the same date, shall ever be entitled to parish assistance." 17 Once passed, the law should be explained to the people in public gatherings so as to ward off violence and to prevent distress.

Miss Martineau's endeavors to reform the pauper situation by

---

16 "Cousin Marshall", Illustrations of Political Economy, III, 40.

17 Ibid., III, 119.

doing what she could through the diffusion of information on the subject composed only a small part of her untiring efforts to improve the condition of social dependents, particularly those who suffered from personal infirmities. She visited every kind of eleemosynary institution in both England and America. Thus Miss Martineau wrote largely from her own observation and did not dwell on abstractions. She herself was deficient in three senses: hearing, taste, and smell. She knew personally of the many hardships which a person deficient in the senses must endure, as she related in her Autobiography. She not only had to become reconciled to her handicaps but she also had to learn to control an ungovernable temper which had developed in her largely because her case was misunderstood by her own family. She at last came to believe that her deficiencies were actually an asset:

.....The lot did indeed seem at times too hard to be borne. Yet here am I now, on the borders of the grave, at the end of a very busy life, confident that this same deafness is about the best thing that ever happened to me;--the best, in a selfish view, as the grandest impulse to self-mastery; and the best in a higher view, as my most peculiar opportunity of helping others, who suffer the same misfortune without equal stimulus to surmount the false shame, and other unspeakable miseries which attend it. 18

Wherever Miss Martineau alluded to the treatment of sufferers of personal infirmities, she insisted that they not be indulged. They should be treated with sympathy and compassion,

---

18 Autobiography, I, 72-78.

but not coddled. And never should any amount of indulgence be considered as compensation for the handicaps suffered. Pampering, she maintained, only developed a morbid temperament and made the deficient person feel helpless. Instead, he should be encouraged to learn some occupation from which his handicaps did not bar him.

These principles Miss Martineau expressed in numerous instances and exemplified in some of her little stories. During 1854 she wrote a series of articles for "Household Words" on the treatment of personal infirmities, such as blindness, deafness, idiocy, and others.<sup>19</sup> Although she did not devote whole stories to the subject in the Illustrations of Political Economy, she did not omit this group of people in her representation of society. Mention has elsewhere been made of little Archie, the idiot in "Ella of Garveloch", and of Sally, the blind child in "Cousin Marshall". Little Tim is a pathetic blind boy in "A Tale of the Tyne". The small crippled boy Heins in "Vanderput and Snoek" is another character who evokes sympathy. In "Cousin Marshall" Mr. Burke and his sister discussed at considerable length the advantages and disadvantages of various institutions for the care of sufferers. Miss Martineau recorded in detail her observations of similar institutions in America in her

---

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., II, 417.



Society in America and her Retrospect of Western Travel.<sup>20</sup> She also criticised certain practices and offered recommendations for improvement.

The reform of the prison system was another philanthropic project which Miss Martineau entered into with her usual vigor. During her Scotch travel in 1838 she was persuaded by Lord Murray to write a series of papers on prison management for "Chambers's Journal", "for the purpose of familiarising the Scotch with the principle of punishment, and the attendant facts of American imprisonment".<sup>21</sup> Her views on the subject were already pretty well known through her two books on America. Although she did not find the American system of punishment perfect, she praised it very highly. "In the treatment of the guilty," she said, "America is beyond the rest of the world, exactly in proportion to the superiority of her political principles."<sup>22</sup> Of all the penitentiaries which she visited she considered the Auburn Prison in Philadelphia best because the officials treated the prisoners with respect and because solitary confinement with labor was provided. She emphasized the importance of treating criminals like members

---

<sup>20</sup> See chapter entitled "Sufferers" in Society in America, II, 281-299. In Retrospect of Western Travel see II, 81-83; and the chapter entitled "Mutes and Blinds", III, 92-139.

<sup>21</sup> Autobiography, II, 139-140.

<sup>22</sup> Society in America, II, 282.

of society:

..... The first principle in the management of the guilty seems to me to be to treat them as men and women; which they were before they were guilty, and will be when they are no longer so; and which they are in the midst of it all. Their humanity is the principal thing about them; their guilt is a temporary state.

The advantages of solitary confinement were: first, the opportunity of guardians to influence the prisoner's mind and, second, the escape from the evil influences of wicked companionship. By permission of the prison board Miss Martineau was allowed to visit the prisoners alone whenever she wished.<sup>23</sup> In a letter to her family she said, ".....I have been shut up with murderers, burglars, forgers, and others, listening to their eager and full confidences about their crimes and their miseries."<sup>24</sup> As a result, she determined the cause of crime to be domestic unhappiness.<sup>25</sup> The two features of the Auburn Prison which she particularly condemned were the spy system and the construction of the night cells, the poor ventilation of which caused the prisoners to be pale and haggard.<sup>26</sup>

Throughout the Illustrations of Political Economy Miss

<sup>23</sup> Retrospect of Western Travel, I, 199-227.

<sup>24</sup> Autobiography, III, 123.

<sup>25</sup> Society in America, II, 285.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., II, 285-286; Retrospect of Western Travel, I, 199-201.

Martineau pictures poverty as the cause of crime and vice. <sup>27</sup> It has already been shown that Miss Martineau believed that the only permanent cure for poverty lay in a proper adjustment of economic factors. The removal of poverty, therefore, would practically abolish crime and, in turn, the necessity of punishing the guilty. In other words, the remedies for poverty and crime were identical. In "Homes Abroad", written to demonstrate colonization as a temporary solution to the problem of poverty, Miss Martineau deals with the subject of crime and punishment. The story centers about the family of a Mr. Castle who had at one time been well-to-do. After his second marriage to a frivolous and shiftless woman, he suffered a financial decline from which he never recovered. He disowned his two sons Bob and Jerry for getting into some pranks. They went from bad to worse, were convicted of stealing, and were then sent to a penal colony in Van Diemen's Land. Upon his release Robert Castle joined a colony of immigrants and lived an exemplary life. His brother Jerry, however, became an enemy to society by making himself head of a tribe of natives who endangered the lives of the colonists. In this manner Miss Martineau showed the danger of combining penal and voluntary colonization.

As established at the outset, the purpose of these two

---

<sup>27</sup> "Brooke and Brooke Farm", Vol. I; "Weal and Woe in Garveloch", Vol. II; "Cousin Marshall", Vol. III; "Ireland", Vol. III; "Homes Abroad", Vol. IV; "Sowers not Reapers", Vol. VIII.

chapters was to determine by way of exemplification from her own life what Miss Martineau regarded as woman's rightful function. That she was consistent in her theories and practice cannot be denied. The evidence produced by this inquiry bears out the statement that after all Miss Martineau differed from Comte only in the sphere of woman's activities. To both of them it seemed that woman's special function was to elevate mankind through the refinement of human feelings and sympathy.

## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion: Miss Martineau's Place in the Literature of Social Doctrine

This study of the works of Miss Harriet Martineau has been governed by one single object: to investigate her treatment of the outstanding social problems of the nineteenth century in order to evaluate her contribution to the literature of social doctrine. The aim has been still further limited by an endeavor to reveal Miss Martineau's interpretation of social ills in the light of the new science of political economy. By this statement is meant that in determining the cause of or advancing a remedy for a social problem Miss Martineau turned to the laws of economics. This aim does not, however, signify a narrow point of view; in fact, the method of approach is consistent with the broadest principles of criticism. Insofar as possible an effort has been made to construe Miss Martineau's views on the subjects investigated from a three-fold point of view: the age itself, her own life and philosophy, and Comte's system of positive philosophy.

Only a summary explanation is needed to point out the significance of these three aspects. The nineteenth century was confronted with a multitude of social problems growing out of a general reorganization of society which could be largely attributed to the Industrial Revolution. The subject-matter of most of Miss Martineau's works, and of all the works examined herein, is thus

inseparable from the age in which she lived. The somewhat lengthy analysis, in the opening chapter, of the development of Miss Martineau's philosophy, can be justified only on the grounds that an understanding of her philosophical views is imperative for an understanding of her disinterested, rational method of approaching any problem. The injustices which she herself suffered, especially during her early life, help to explain her deep sympathy for the less fortunate members of society. The rather elaborate correlation of Miss Martineau's with Comte's views is warranted, not because Comte influenced Miss Martineau, but because his positive philosophy represents the first organized system of sociology presented philosophically. It is, therefore, most enlightening to compare the views of two people who dealt with the same subject.

A brief review of the evidence presented by this study will facilitate the endeavor to establish Miss Martineau's proper place in the literature of social doctrine. A study of her relation to the political economists of her time showed that she was not an innovator in any sense of the word, that she was the literary exemplar of a new science advanced by certain of her immediate predecessors and contemporaries, among whom were such men as Adam Smith, Bentham, Malthus, Ricardo, and James and John Stuart Mill. In the field of political economy, therefore, Miss Martineau represented the classical or orthodox school, which, although it emphasized utilitarianism, did not fail to recognize

the more purely social side of economics. It was through her stories written to illustrate for the public the principles of political economy as it was then known that Miss Martineau first gained fame as a writer. Her immediate popularity and wide acclaim can be attributed to the fact that she presented in a simple manner information on a subject of interest to all classes, thereby giving the masses easy access to a study hitherto reserved ~~ed~~ for the upper classes. Thus, it is hardly surprising, even in view of the comparatively small number of readers at the time, that the Illustrations of Political Economy, which <sup>was</sup> both didactic and scientific in purpose, reached a circulation of ten thousand within a few years <sup>1</sup> and was translated into many languages.

Her study of political economy colored Miss Martineau's views on the many social problems of her time. Throughout her works she emphasized the relation between intellectual enlightenment and high standards of living, made possible, of course, by prosperous economic conditions. Miss Martineau, therefore, advocated the government maintenance of a system of public free schools with attendance made compulsory within a specified age limit. She pointed out that there need be no fear of educating too many people to engage in certain occupations, as individual differences and inclinations would dispose of that phase of the problem. She likewise emphasized the significance of domestic education to both sexes. Furthermore, she believed that women should be given educational advantages equal to those of men. In fact, she maintained

---

<sup>1</sup> Autobiography, III, 461.

that women would, by demonstrating their ability, one day be permitted to enter occupations then restricted to men. This, then, was her sole solution of the woman problem. It was her belief that women had been seriously handicapped by the inferior quality of training they had received in comparison to that of men. The removal of restrictions surrounding women, which, of course, must come gradually through their own efforts, would allow them a greater opportunity to perform the special function assigned them by nature; namely, the diffusion of knowledge and thereby the elevation of their fellowman. Women were, Miss Martineau pointed out, being forced, by the economic reorganization of the nineteenth century, to leave their homes in search of a livelihood. An investigation of Miss Martineau's own efforts to secure relief for the oppressed members of society proved conclusively by example what it was possible for a woman to do towards the betterment of social conditions even during the nineteenth century when women were not encouraged to participate in activities outside the home. A little anecdote illustrates the success of her numerous philanthropic activities. One day Miss Martineau received a letter addressed to "The Queen of Modern Philanthropists". In one corner of the envelop the post-master had written the words "Try Miss Martineau". This seems a fitting tribute to her who valued "recognitions of her character as a labourer for the welfare of society" more "than testimonies of mere literary estimation".<sup>2</sup> As Charlotte Brontë said, "She is not a person to be judged by her writings alone,

---

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., III, 62-63.



but rather by her own deeds and life, than which nothing can be more exemplary or noble." 3

This review of Miss Martineau's views has prepared the way for an attempt to state definitely what position should be assigned her in literary history. In an autobiographic memoir which Miss Martineau probably meant should be published anonymously after her death as one of her fifty biographical sketches, she gave a very modest estimate of her literary worth:

.....The artistic aim and qualifications were absent; she had no power of dramatic construction; nor the poetic inspiration on the one hand, nor critical cultivation on the other, without which no work of the imagination can be worthy to live. Two or three of her Political Economy Tales are, perhaps, her best achievement in fiction,--- her doctrine furnishing the plot which she was unable to create, and the brevity of space duly restricting the indulgence in detail which injured her longer narratives, and at last warned her to leave off writing them. It was fortunate for her that her own condemnation anticipated that of the public.

.....Her original power was nothing more than was due to earnestness and intellectual clearness within a certain range. With small imaginative and suggestive powers, and therefore nothing approaching to genius, she could see clearly what she did see, and give a clear expression to what she had to say. In short, she could popularize, while she could neither discover nor invent. She could sympathize in other people's views, and was too facile in doing so; and she could obtain and keep a firm grasp of her own, and, moreover, she could make them understood. The function of her life was to do this, and, in as far as it was done diligently and honestly, her life was of use, however far its achievements may have fallen short of expectations less moderate than her own. 4

Although for the most part Mrs. Chapman's opinion of Miss Martineau as a writer is not trustworthy because it is too

---

3 Morley, Critical Miscellanies, p. 339.

4 Autobiography, III, 462-470.

strongly colored by her personal admiration of the author, credit must be given her for advancing some views which prove very helpful in assigning Miss Martineau her place in literature. In two respects, Mrs. Chapman pointed out, Miss Martineau's stories and novels were a real contribution to English literature. First, they represented a new method of approach to sociological subjects:

It was not merely the actual merit nor the positive utility of these publications that gave them a world-wide celebrity; neither was it their exquisite adaptation to the wants of England at that time; nor the novelty in execution, or originality in design; although the idea of conveying the facts of moral science by this method was so little familiar to the public mind that multitudes supposed all science might be taught in a similar manner,.....They needed to have it explained to them that the evil institutions that wring the human heart are the only subjects of a nature to permit a scientific demonstration in the form of fiction; that although an imperfect smelting apparatus may be as fatal to the purity of gold as mistaken methods of government are to national virtue, yet fiction cannot be made the vehicle of metallurgy; nor the miseries of mistaken legislation be gaily set forth in a story of happy conclusion. There had been tales before these, awakening sympathy with suffering; but tales showing the causes of suffering in the neglect of those principles of government which men in given circumstances must adopt in order to be happy were a new thing under the sun. To this especial originality of purpose they owed a part of their unprecedented popular success.

Second, they promoted the revolt against the untruthful representation of life in literature:

A feeling of resistance had long been gathering in Harriet Martineau's mind against that law of the kingdoms of poetry and romance,..... till a reproach from the majority of middle-aged readers had gone forth against novels and poetry as untrue to any life that came within the observation of whole-minded human beings then living. Going to the root of the matter, she found them untrue, by reason of their one-sided partialities and aristocratic prejudices. Now, as on so many subsequent occasions, she showed the genius that directs public thought and feeling; pointing out in advance the way in which she took the lead, and

proving while proclaiming the power of fiction as the agent of morals and philosophy,---the servant of the poor and the lowly.<sup>5</sup>

For these reasons Mrs. Chapman regarded the little stories which preceded the Illustrations of Political Economy as a new development of the novel. What she said of them is equally true of all of Miss Martineau's stories:

.....They are the first examples of a new application of the modern novel. To the biographical and the philosophical novel, the descriptive and the ~~historical~~ novel, the romantic and the domestic novel, the fashionable and the religious novel, and the novel of society, was now to be added the humanitarian or novel of social reform. These tales are the pioneers, not only of the thirty-four monthly volumes of her Illustrations of Political Economy, but of the multitudes of social-reform novels that have since followed, up to the time of Mrs. Gaskell and Mrs. Stowe.<sup>6</sup>

Thus far Mrs. Chapman's views seem entirely accurate. The following statement, which attributes the neglect of Miss Martineau's work to her polygraphic writings, is hardly correct, although it cannot be entirely discredited:

Had Harriet Martineau been only a reviewer or essayist,---only a great religious, political, or philosophical writer,---only a novelist, traveller, or historian,---she would have necessarily seemed greater as an author to the generality of readers.<sup>7</sup>

It might be added that had Miss Martineau devoted her efforts to one field of study she would probably have attained greater prom-

---

5 Ibid., III, 65-66.

6 Ibid., III, 32. In stating that there were thirty-four numbers of the Illustrations of Political Economy, Mrs. Chapman is including the Illustrations of Taxation brought out in 1834.

7 Ibid., III, 77.

inence in literature, but not for the reason Mrs. Chapman implies. The real reason is that had she concentrated on one type of work she could have done that one thing well and thereby achieved permanent fame in at least one of the various types of literary composition.

The truth of the matter is that actually Miss Martineau's literary powers were largely journalistic; that is, as she herself said, she could popularize thought, although she lacked originality of invention. This, then, meant temporary and not permanent fame. As Richard Brimley Johnson said, "Her gift to literature was for her own generation. She is the exponent of the infant century in many branches of thought;---its eager and sanguine philanthropy, its awakening interest in history and science, its rigid and prosaic philosophy."<sup>8</sup> This observation explains why Miss Martineau's fame has declined, why her works are not widely read at present. But it does not suggest what place is due her in the history of literature.

To render a final estimate of Miss Martineau's worth, one must return to Mrs. Chapman's verdict: She is important for having made a new application of the modern novel in its treatment of sociological problems. She was actually the first, except for Mrs. Marcet, to treat political economy in fiction. Yet even here she deserves credit for being the very first to

---

<sup>8</sup> Craik, English Prose, p. 463.

interpret political economy in fiction is such a simple way that the new science reached the masses. Mrs. Marcet had written chiefly for the educated classes. Furthermore, she did not devote her life to literature as did Miss Martineau. Her literary works faded into insignificance because they were both ephemeral and few in number. It has already been shown in the third chapter that Miss Martineau's only debt to Mrs. Marcet was the inspiration for the general plan of her Illustrations, that actually she had written tales to illustrate political economy before her acquaintance with Mrs. Marcet. Again, Mrs. Marcet never in any way indicated that she felt that Miss Martineau was indebted to her; in fact, she watched the younger writer's rise to sudden popularity with the greatest admiration and gave her every personal encouragement possible. Lastly, Miss Martineau not only deserves credit for the emphasis placed upon political economy in the literature of social doctrine but she is due an important position as a woman pioneer in the field of literature. Her difficulty in surmounting the restrictions placed upon the woman of the nineteenth century was hardly greater than her admirable struggle to overcome the personal handicaps of poor health and deficient senses. Truly, her brother Thomas exhibited excellent judgment when he advised his sister to "'leave it to other women to make shirts and darn stockings'" so that she could devote her life to literature. <sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> Autobiography, III, 21.

Only a few suggestions concerning opportunities for further study of Miss Martineau's works, and this examination of her contribution to the literature of social doctrine is concluded. The comparison made between Comte and Miss Martineau in the present study is not in any way complete. Miss Martineau's stories for children are no inconsiderable contribution to the field of children's literature. These stories would lend themselves most admirably to art illustration by a person with training in art. A large mass of Miss Martineau's work belongs to pamphleteering and journalism, which has, no doubt, made its contribution to the history of journalism. Miss Martineau was, in fact, one of two women who achieved especially high eminence in the field of journalism during the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Miss Martineau's work as a biographer should prove an interesting study. These suggestions are made with the hope that someone may be stimulated to continue the investigation of Miss Martineau's literary works, to which study, perhaps, the present one may render a small assistance.

---

<sup>10</sup> The Cambridge History of English Literature, XIV, 209.

## APPENDIX A

### The Presentation of the Harriet Martineau Statue to Wellesley College

[Below is an exact copy of a clipping found in an early scrap-book of the Wellesley College Library from an issue of the Boston Journal, the date of which is probably May, 1886. According to a letter from Lilla Weed, associate librarian at the college, the Harriet Martineau statue was destroyed when College Hall burned on March 17, 1914.]

The following is an account of the recent gift to the Art Department of Wellesley College, as it appeared in the Boston Journal: On the day after Christmas, 1883, there was unveiled in the Old South church the magnificent portrait statue of Harriet Martineau, by Miss Anne Whitney. The scene on that day was a memorable one. Mrs. Mary A. Livermore presided. There were present the sculptor of the statue, Miss Whitney; Wendell Phillips, whose speech on this occasion was the last public one of his life; the sons of Garrison, Mr. James Jackson Jarves; Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, and others whose names are eminent in literature and art.

Since that time the statue has remained in the Old South, where it has been the object of many an artistic pilgrimage. It may fitly be characterized as one of the great works of modern art. The figure is of heroic size and represents Miss Martineau as seated in a garden chair. In its modeling and its breadth of treatment it ranks as one of the finest productions of American sculpture. The work was conceived and projected by Miss Martineau's friend and biographer, Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, at a cost of \$15,000; but the artist, in consideration of the subject and the public object of Mrs. Chapman in desiring this permanent memorial of a woman so distinguished for philanthropy, and by her devotion to humanity, contributed her work. To the deep interest of Mrs. Chapman, assisted by a few friends in sympathy with her, is due the origin of this statue. Mrs. Chapman truly held that while the written records of lives perish, or are lost in the obscurity of library shelves, the stone, which bears the memorial impress of features, will perhaps survive the chances of time and stand as inspiration and incentive living to the generations which in long procession pass it by. It is needless to say that it was the desire to perpetuate in the world the example of a life consecrated to all useful work, rather than that of glorifying a great intellectual power, which stirred the hearts of Harriet Martineau's friends to building her monument. In order that this memorial should be permanently placed accordingly to her wishes, Mrs. Chapman formally gave it to Miss

Whitney in a conveyance made three years before her death, the gift to take effect at the time of that event. Miss Whitney was possessed of Mrs. Chapman's views regarding it and on her death, which occurred in July of 1885, she accepted the charge. Miss Whitney then called an informal meeting of those who were most interested and who had been to some extent associated with Mrs. Chapman, and in consultation with them and with Mr. James Jackson Jarves, of Rome, whose wide experience made his counsel most valuable, a decision was reached. On being consulted Mr. Jarves impressively suggested that the statue be given to Wellesley College. No better choice could have been made. We rejoice to believe that this college is destined to broaden with the age, and become one of the world's great centers of liberal learning. Nothing certainly could have been more grateful to the heart of Harriet Martineau than to know that her memory would mingle with the thoughts and aspirations of young womanhood, who, in the quiet seclusion of the New England hills are preparing for the great world's activities.

The following correspondence explains itself:

Wellesley, Mass., May 12, 1886.

Mr. James Jackson Jarves:

Dear Sir,---Permit us to express to you the pleasure it would give the trustees, students and friends of Wellesley College to have the honor of possessing Miss Whitney's fine portrait statue of Miss Martineau.

We hope Miss Whitney will feel it to be the most appropriate place for this noble memorial of an intellectual, energetic, philanthropic woman.

This work of a woman-artist of whom America is justly proud, will be an inspiration to the young women Wellesley is training to fill so many important positions all over the world.

With great regard for Miss Whitney and yourself,

(Signed)

Respectfully yours,  
Pauline A. Durant,  
Secretary and Treasurer of W.C.  
Alice E. Freeman,  
President of Wellesley College.

The second letter read thus:

Wellesley, May 12, 1886.

Mr. James Jackson Jarves:

Dear Sir,---The statue will be well placed in the college amongst earnest young women from every state in the United States, from Europe, Asia, Africa, and the islands of the sea, and those who go all over the world as teachers.

We thank you for your kind expressions of interest and your effort to secure this great work for Wellesley College.

Yours respectfully and obliged,

Pauline A. Durant.



To the deep and delicate insight of Mr. James Jackson Jarves into the needs of the education of American women; to his appreciation of the grand possibilities of liberal culture; to warm and patriotic interest in Wellesley, the foremost college in America for the education of women, does this institution owe the munificent gift. The influence of the life of Harriet Martineau is an ennobling one. Well did Mrs. Livermore characterize her, when on the occasion of the unveiling of the statue at the "Old South", in her grand and never-to-be-forgotten address she said:

"The whole civilized world has been brought into debt to Harriet Martineau, the great Englishwoman who was born 80 years ago, and who for more than half a century lived a life of entire integrity and immense accomplishment. A woman who was so nobly planned as to tower up into the clear air to the commanding heights of pure reason. She denied to herself the possession of genius; but she had character, and that is greater than genius. The passion for justice was very strong with her, and as she advanced in life this passion grew to an intense desire for the general human welfare so that it filled a large space in her moral scheme. Whatever the question, whether of labor reform, or social purity, of peace, temperance, education, hygiene or religious belief, she immediately identified herself with it, putting into it head, heart, and conscience. In all her life and all her writing there is not a trace of moral or intellectual dissipation, not a ravelled thread. Whatever her faults, she was always noble, and a fine moral spirit looks at you from every page. She had a genius for friendship, and to the great and good of her day she was linked as with hooks of steel".

On this occasion Mr. Garrison also said, in an eloquent peroration, as he turned and impressively addressed the statue in its white majesty of noble womanhood:

"Your presence shall enoble (sic) us. For you we have nothing to apologize or excuse. Unquestioned you take your place in the world's Pantheon, worthy to represent the 19th century and the great and good of all times".

The ceremonial presentation and acceptance of this statue at Wellesley College will take place in June [1886]. The representation of a great woman, wrought by a woman, and presented to a woman's college, there is a peculiar fitness and significance in the gift. The statue is one worthy to inspire new and nobler ideals of womanhood. To Wellesley College let it come as a gift and a benediction. It will stand, too, as fitting monument to the rare genius of the woman who had conceived and shaped it; and in this portrait-statue two names meet--names great in art, literature and life--Harriet Martineau and Anne Whitney.

## APPENDIX B

### Wellesley College Commencement Week

(Taken from the Courant, Wellesley, Massachusetts, Vol. IV, No. 17 (June 24, 1886), p. 3.)

A reception was given at the College at 3 o'clock, on Monday, to Miss Annie (sic) Whitney, the sculptor, whose masterpiece, a statue of Harriet Martineau, has been presented to the art collections of the College.

The students and guests of the College, and friends of Miss Whiting (sic), filled the center about the palm-trees, and the second floor gallery above. Just west of the palm-trees had been set up the queenly statue of heroic size. The walls behind were draped with a suitable hanging to throw out the marble.

Miss Freeman read the letter of presentation from Miss Whitney, which was the occasion of the gathering, and introduced Dr. Duryea to speak in behalf of the corporation.

Dr. Duryea said that it was his honorable duty to receive this statue from Miss Annie (sic) Whitney, and those who have held it as a trust. He then stated the sentiments which move the corporation to place it. First, they welcomed it as a piece of high art, by no strained figure we can say the statue speaks,--none can turn his eyes upon it, and not find silence expressive. Surely here is semblance of material form but the moulding of forming spirit. This statue is the work of a woman, one to the manor born, and American sculptor.

We welcome memorials of personal life and history, we recognize the progress of the human race, and every stadium marked by a foremost human life. This figure sets forth certain lines of human progress, and certain achievements of woman. In early ages the highest conception of man was animal. Physical strength was virtue, and woman was always either the toy or the slave or the victim of man. When civilization came, and the mind was developed, woman in aspiring to equality with man ceased to be womanly. In this woman the intellect was developed, but womanliness remained.

At 25 she found her vocation. She was ever in sympathy with the oppressed. She came to this country and felt the sorrows of the slave. She exhibited everywhere the larger sympathies, courage, industry, faith in truth and righteousness. We wish she had seen the light we see, and rested on the strength on which we lean. There is a philosophy which limits the powers of the mind, and shuts out faith: through it her mind was limited, her views narrowed, and her faith almost cancelled. All acknowledge she was unselfish. The human soul has in it the divine ring, and when arbitrarily it declares itself irrational, yet in the depths there is the conception of the truth.

Harriet Martineau lived, and moved, and had her being in a Christian atmosphere. It was the atmosphere in which she lived, which made her what she was in spite of her philosophy. Here we have no lower ideal than the complete human life once lived. Here our faith and hope and love are given to Jesus Christ. While we hail all the advancement made by women, we will not stop anywhere short of that transfiguration moment, when we shall hear the voice, "This is my beloved Son; hear him."

After singing by the Beethoven society, Prof. Horsford was called out. The valley of the Charles, he said, from a very early period has been devoted to two things -- loyalty to learning and loyalty to conscience. I believe that the lady you are looking upon is Miss Annie (sic) Whitney, in her embodiment of these ideas. I am grateful as a friend of Wellesley College that a figure of such nobility, grace, repose, dignity, equipoise, is placed in its halls.

Miss Freeman then introduced Mrs. Louise McCoy North of New York, president of the Alumnae association, to speak for Wellesley's daughters.

In a graceful address she spoke of the inspiration which this queenly marble would be to all, more precious than a work of Thorwaldsen, as showing the power of woman in the realms of art. She paid a tribute to the one who built this temple of learning, and summoned nature and art to adorn it through the ministry of the beautiful and the true. With some dainty humor about the method of entrance of this lady into Wellesley's halls by the aid of a pony, and the permanence of her residence, while girls come and go, she sat down amid applause.

Miss Freeman then called out Mrs. Livermore, who was an intimate and appreciative friend of Mrs. Chapman, whose tribute of friendship to Miss Martineau the statue is. Mrs. Livermore felt that Mrs. Chapman would be content. She spoke of Mrs. Chapman's friendship for Harriet Martineau, of her understanding of her nature and of Miss Martineau's ambitions to use all her powers for the good of humanity; of her power as a writer and her womanly graces. Miss Freeman then invited the guests to a social hour and the refreshment tables.

## APPENDIX C

## The Harriet Martineau and Other Works of Anna Whitney

[Taken from the Wellesley College News, Vol. XXI, No. 15  
(January 23, 1913), pp. 1-2.]

.....But perhaps the students of to-day, who constantly flit to and fro past the Harriet Martineau as they follow their daily tasks, will be most interested to know how she comes to sit at the center of our college life, daily witnessing the fulfillment of her dreams.

After the death of Harriet Martineau one of her ardent admirers, Mrs. Chapman, prepared her memoirs. All the emoluments from these books she put into the hands of Miss Whitney, that a marble memorial to this reformer might be set up in some fitting place in America. The heroic portrait-statue of dignity and poise which we daily see was thus chiseled and placed in the Old South Church in Boston. But this museum of ancient things seemed so incongruous to the effigy of this most modern reformer. Hence, when an Art Building was to be erected at Wellesley, the curators of this work of art and of history tendered it to Wellesley College as the work of a woman artist, and the memorial of a woman reformer. The breadth of view of Mrs. Durant, President Freeman, and the governors of the college was shown in the acceptance of this gift against which there was protest. Miss Martineau lived in a time now happily passing, when organized Christianity much departed from the spirit of New Testament liberty. It was a grief to her spiritually minded brother, James Martineau, himself an innovator, that his sister's radicalism was so absolute. It was a reaction from the dogmatism of her day, and her deeds showed the New Testament spirit.

When the statue was received, the floor from the porch door to the center had to be strongly undersupported, and the great marble was brought to its present place and unveiled with notable addresses from Dr. Duryea and President Freeman. The Art Building was completed some years after, but "Harriet" had become so a part of College Hall it was not removed, and it is doubtful if she leaves the spot when she sees that freedom of opportunity for women realized which she longed for. Harriet Martineau was a 'come-outer' in the early nineteenth century, when it took courage to break existing conventions. 'The serious studies, political activity, share in social reforms, the independent, self-supporting career, freedom of thought and expression many women now enjoy, most women would never have dared to claim under the circumstances in which she claimed these rights;' and we have them to-day because of the courage of our predecessors in face of

prejudice. There is another debt America owes to Harriet Martineau. She was a voluminous and much-read newspaper writer. She travelled in America in the old slavery days, and from what she saw was led to take an active part in the anti-slavery controversy, and she stood for the Union in the early Civil War days when it had many enemies in England. Charlotte Bronte, who, with our own Emerson and other distinguished leaders in literature and reform, visited Miss Martineau at her hospitable home, 'The Knoll,' at Ambleside, said of her in a letter: 'She is a great and good woman, of course not without peculiarities. .... She is both hard and warm-hearted, abrupt and affectionate, liberal and despotic..... The manner in which she combines the highest mental culture with the nicest discharge of feminine duties filled me with admiration.'

It was the privilege of the writer to spend some weeks in the 'lake region' of England a few years ago, and to find, as many another has done, that here there is fellowship not only with mountains but with high spirits of thought and human achievement. Not only the poets but the reformers, Ruskin, Arnold, Miss Clough, a leader in the higher education movement for women, Miss Martineau and others were nourished here. Introduced by Mr. Garrison of Boston, I visited the then occupants of Miss Martineau's home, a Quaker family of rare quality, and received the hospitality of the home, and the 'careless ordered garden' in which is the sun-dial whose motto voiced the proprietor's aspiration:-- 'Come, light, visit me.' I visited the model cottages erected by Miss Martineau, when model tenements were little thought of, and found on conversation with the inmates that the memory of the benefactor was fragrant. Perhaps as we pass the familiar memorial of this brave woman we should sometimes let a wave of gratitude fill our hearts for the rich harvest of opportunity we reap from the toil of the intrepid pioneers, and pledge ourselves to yet higher endeavor. Sarah F. Whiting.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR THE THESIS

### I. Works of Harriet Martineau Used or Examined

- "Crofton Boys, The". Ed. with Introd. and notes by William Elliot Griffis. Illus. by A. F. Schmidt. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1900.
- Dawn Island, a Tale. Manchester, J. Gadsby, 1845.
- Deerbrook, a Novel. New edition. London, E. Moxon, 1892.
- Feats on the Fiord; and Merdlin. Everyman's Library. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., n. d.
- Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. With memorials by Maria Weston Chapman. London, Smith, Elder, & Co., 1877. 3 vols.
- Household Education. Boston, James R. Osgood and Company, 1877.
- Illustrations of Political Economy. London, Charles Fox, (Vols. I-IV) 1832 and (Vols. V-IX) 1833. 9 vols.
- Peasant and the Prince, The; a Story of the French Revolution. Ed. by Sara Cone Bryant. Boston, Ginn and Company., 1917.
- Retrospect of Western Travel. London, Saunders & Otley, 1838. 2 vols. in one.
- Society in America. London, Saunders & Otley, 1837. 2 vols.
- Traditions of Palestine. London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1830.
- "Walter Savage Landor". Crowned Masterpieces of Literature. St. Louis, Ferd. P. Kaiser Pub. Co., 1908. VII, 2826-2830.

### II. Background and Criticism

- Account of the presentation of the Harriet Martineau statue to Wellesley College. Boston Journal, circa May, 1886.
- Baker, A. E. How to Understand Philosophy. New York, George H. Doran Co., 1926. pp. 171, 204-206.
- Bell, Margaret. Margaret Fuller, a Biography. Introd. by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt. Charles Boni Paper Books. New York, Albert and Charles Boni, 1930. pp. 198-200.

- Blunden, Edmund. Leigh Hunt and His Circle. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1930. p. 254.
- Boas, Ralph Philip, and Hahn, Barbara M. Social Backgrounds of English Literature. Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1925. pp. 191-244.
- Bonser, Helen A. "Illustrations of Political Economy; an Early Example of the Case Method." Social Service Review. III (January, 1929), 243-251.
- Buchan, John, Ed. A History of English Literature. Introduction by Sir Henry Newbolt. New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1927. pp. 415-417.
- Cambridge History of English Literature, The. Ed. by Sir A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917. XIII, 380-381, 440, 443, 607-608; XIV, 27, 102, 209, 478, 533, 552, 666.
- Century Dictionary and Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language, The. New York, The Century Co., 1913. XI, 660.
- Collier's New Encyclopedia. New York, P. F. Collier & Son Co., 1921. VI, 139.
- Comte, Auguste. The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte. Freely trans. and condensed by Harriet Martineau. London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd. Vol. I (trans. by George Henry Lewis) pub. 1904; Vols. II and III pub. 1916.
- Craik, Henry, Ed. English Prose. Selections with Critical Introductions by Various Writers and General Introductions to Each Period. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907. V, 461-473.
- Crawshaw, William H. The Making of English Literature. Revised edition. New York, D. C. Heath and Company, 1924. pp. 328-336.
- Cruse, Amy. The Englishman and His Books in the Early Nineteenth Century. London, George G. Harrap & Company Ltd., 1930. pp. 15, 28, 82, 86, 128, 136-137, 146, 149, 192.
- Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. by Sidney Lee. London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1909. XII, 1194-1199; XIII, 390-399.
- Durant, Will. The Story of Philosophy. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1928.

- Moody, William Vaughn, and Lovett, Robert Morss. Revised edition. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. pp. 297-298, 341-342.
- Morley, John. Critical Miscellanies. London, Macmillan and Company, 1923. pp. 339-373.
- Neff, Wanda Fraiken. Victorian Working Women, an Historical and Literary Study of Women in British Industries and Professions, 1832-1860. New York, Columbia University Press, 1929.
- Nelson's Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopaedia. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1926. I, 493; VI, 78; VIII, 4, 603.
- New Century Book of Facts. Ed. by Carroll D. Wright. Springfield, The King-Richardson Company, 1909. pp. 900, 932.
- New International Encyclopaedia. The. Second edition. New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1916. XV, 155.
- Owensby, Jessie Mae. Carlyle's Relation to the Economic Thought of His Time. (Unpublished thesis). College of Industrial Arts, 1930.
- Palgrave's Dictionary of Political Economy. Ed. by Henry Higgs. London, Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1925. II, 703; III, 707, 782.
- Pope-Hennessy, Una. Three English Women in America. London, Ernest Benn Limited, 1929, pp. 211-304.
- Reynolds, George F. English Literature in Fact and Story. New York, The Century Company, 1929. pp. 246-257.
- Rogers, Arthur Kenyon. English and American Philosophy since 1800, a Critical Survey. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923. pp. 129-130.
- Ryan, James H. An Introduction to Philosophy. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1928. pp. 16-18, 60-62.
- Saintsbury, George. A History of Nineteenth Century Literature (1780-1895). New York, The Macmillan Company, 1923. pp. 163-164, 342.
- Salmon, Edward. The Literature of the Empire. New York, Henry Holt & Company, 1924. XI, 253. (The British Empire, ed. by High Gunn.)



- Schapiro, J. Salwyn. Modern and Contemporary European History. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918. pp. 25-88.
- Sorley, W. R. A History of English Philosophy. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921. pp. 247, 253, 256, 266.
- Thilly, Frank. A History of Philosophy. New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1914. pp. 503ff., 535.
- Thorndike, Ashley H. Literature in a Changing Age. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920. pp. 192-223.
- Turner, William. History of Philosophy. New York, Ginn and Company, 1903. pp. 606-612.
- Walker, Hugh. The Literature of the Victorian Era. Cambridge, University Press, 1913. pp. 84, 178-184, 196, 208, 648, 706, 720, 908.
- Weber, Alfred. History of Philosophy. Trans. by Frank Thilly. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. pp. 492ff.
- "Wellesley College Commencement Week". The Courant, Wellesley, Massachusetts, Vol. IV, No. 17 (June 24, 1888), p. 3.
- Whiting, Sarah F. "The Harriet Martineau and Other Works of Anna Whitney". The Wellesley College News, Vol. XXI, No. 15 (January 23, 1913). p. 12.
- Wingfield-Stratford, Esme. Those Earnest Victorians. New York, William Morrow & Co., 1930.

## GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. Titles and Editions of Harriet Martineau's Works

- Autobiography. Ed. by Maria Weston Chapman. Boston, James R. Osgood and Co., 1877. 2 vols.
- Autobiography. Ed. by M. W. Chapman. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1877. 2 vols.
- Autobiography. With memorials by Mrs. M. W. Chapman. New popular edition. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1885.
- Autobiography. With memorials by M. W. Chapman. London, John Murray, n.d. 3 vols.
- Autobiography. With memorials by M. W. Chapman. Third edition. London, Smith, Elder, and Co., n.d. 3 vols.
- Berkeley the Banker. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.
- Berkeley, the Banker; or Bank Notes and Bullion; a Tale for the Times. Hartford, 1848.
- Berkeley the Banker; or, Bank Notes and Bullion; Tales for the Times. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- Billow and the Rock. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.
- Billow and the Rock. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1874.
- Billow and the Rock. Prize and Gift Book edition. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Billow and the Rock. New edition. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1905.
- Billows (sic) and the Rock. Twentieth Century Juveniles and Gift Books. Illus. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Billow and the Rock: a Tale. New edition. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1886.
- Biographical Sketches. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1889.

- Biographical Sketches. New York, Hurst & Co., n.d.
- Biographical Sketches 1852-1876. New edition with autobiog. sketches. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1878.
- Biographical Sketches. Third edition. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1870.
- Biographical Sketches 1852-75. London, The Macmillan Company, n.d.
- Biographical Sketches. New York, 1868.
- Charmed Sea. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.
- Charmed Sea; or Polanders in Siberia. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- Chicago in 1836. Chicago, Fergus Printing Co., 1876.
- Crofton Boys. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.
- Crofton Boys. New York, D. C. Heath & Company, n.d.
- Crofton Boys. Cheaper edition. London, John Heywood. Ltd., n.d.
- Crofton Boys. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Crofton Boys. Every Boy's Library. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Crofton Boys. Broadway Series. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Deerbrook. A Tale of English Country Life. London, John Murray, n.d.
- Deerbrook. London, Smith, Elder, & Co., n.d.
- Deerbrook. Popular Library. London, Smith, Elder, & Co., n.d.
- Eastern Life: Past and Present. Boston, Roberts Bros., 1876.

Eastern Life: Past and Present. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Erica (Same as Feats on the Fiord) Boston, L. C. Page & Company, n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Bell's Continuous Readers. London, George Bell and Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. London, Blackie & Son's Publications, n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Famous Books for Boys and Girls. London, Blackie & Son's Publications, n.d.

Feats on Fiord. School edition. Dublin, Browne and Nolan, Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Royal Series. London, William Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Second edition. Illus. by Arthur Rackham. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Broadway Series. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Every Boy's Library. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Library of Travel and Adventure. London, W. P. Nimmo, Hay, & Mitchell, Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Continuous Readers. Abridged edition. London, Oliver & Boyd, n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Ludgate Story Readers. London, George Philip & Son, Ltd., n.d.

Feats on Fiord. Royal Series. London, Ward, Lock, & Co., Ltd., n.d.

Feats on the Fiord. Abridged by D. Q. Harrison. Leeds, E. J. Arnold & Son, Ltd., 1928.

Feats on the Fiord. Standard Library. London, Blackie & Son's Publications, 1904.

Feats on the Fiord. Continuous Readers. London, Blackie & Son's Publications, n.d.

- Feats on the Fiord. Library of "Famous Books". Illus. in color. London, Blackie & Son's Publications, n.d.
- Feats on the Fiord. Irish school edition. Dublin, Browne & Nolan, Ltd., n.d.
- Feats on the Fiord. New edition. London, William Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd., 1903.
- Feats on the Fiord. Forward Series. London, William Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd., n.d.
- Feats on the Fiord. Popular Favorite Bumper Rewards. London, William Collins, Sons & Co., Ltd., 1928.
- Feats on the Fiord. Tales for Children from Many Lands. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1914.
- Feats on the Fiord. Ed. by F. C. Tilney. Tales for Children from Many Lands. London, J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918.
- Feats on the Fiord. Tales for Children from Many Lands. Illus. by Arthur Rackham. Col. by W. Cubitt Cooke. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1918.
- Feats on the Fiord. Ivory Series. London, Gall and Inglis, 1904.
- Feats on the Fiord. New edition. London, Gall and Inglis, 1911.
- Feats on the Fiord. Boston, Joseph Knight Co., 1894.
- Feats on the Fiord: a Tale. Illus. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1899.
- Feats on the Fiord. Children's Classics. Illus. by Boris Artzybashev. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1924.
- Feats on the Fiord. New edition. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1914.
- Feats on the Fiord. Boston, L. C. Page & Company, n.d.
- Feats on the Fiord. Rainbow Series. London, Ward, Lock & Co., Ltd., 1902.

- Feats on the Fiord. London, Williams and Norgate, 1923.
- Feats on the Fiord, and Merdhin. Everyman's Library.  
New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1910.
- Feats on the Fiord; Tale of Norway. Temple Classics. New  
York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.
- For Each and All: or, Letitia and Maria. New York., n.d.
- For Each and for All; or Letitia and Maria. New York,  
John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- For Each and for All. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.
- Glen of the Echoes. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.
- Glen of the Echoes; or, Don Mahoney and Dora Sullivan: a  
Tale of Ireland. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- Hampdens. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1879.
- Hampdens. Prize and Gift Book edition. London, George  
Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Happy Child's Library. New York, Daniel Appleton & Company,  
n.d. 18 vols. (Contents: Grofton Boys, Dangers of  
Eating Out, Domestic Tales, Early Friendships, Farmer's  
Daughter, First Impressions, Looking-Glass for the Mind,  
Minister's Family, Peasant and the Prince, Poplar  
Grove, Somerville Hall, Tired of Housekeeping, Twin  
Sisters, Chances and Changes, Goldsmith's Village,  
Never too Late, Ocean Work, Rural Tales.)
- Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft. London, Bradbury, Agnew  
and Co., Limited, n.d.
- Hill and Valley. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.
- Hill and Valley; or Hands and Machinery. New York, John  
W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- History of British Rule in India, The. London, Smith,  
Elder, & Co., n.d.
- History of England. New Index. London, George Bell and  
Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- History of England. Bohn's Library. London, George Bell  
and Sons, Ltd., n.d.

- History of England. New York, The Macmillan Company, n.d.
- History of England. Philadelphia, Porter and Coates, S. W.,  
1887. 4 vols.
- History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace: 1816-1846.  
London, C. Knight, 1849-50.
- History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace. New  
York, The Macmillan Company, n.d. 4 vols.
- History of England from Beginning of Century to Crimean War.  
Philadelphia, Porter and Coates, S. W., 1877. 4 vols.
- History of the Peace: History of England 1816-54. New  
York, D. G. Francis, n.d. 4 vols.
- History of the Thirty Years' Peace, A. D. 1816-46. London,  
1877.
- History of Thirty Years' Peace. Bohn's Library. London,  
George Bell and Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Homes Abroad. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- Homes Abroad. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.
- Hour and the Man. New York, Harper & Brothers, n.d.
- Hour and the Man. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1905.
- Hour and the Man. Ed. by E. A. Baker. Half-Forgotten  
Books. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Hour and the Man. London. George Routledge and Sons,  
Ltd., n.d.
- Hour and the Man, The. Ed. by E. A. Baker. New York,  
E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.
- Household Education. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company,  
n.d.
- Household Education. Popular Library. London, Smith,  
Elder, & Co., n.d.
- Illustrations of Taxation. London, Charles Fox, 1834.  
5 vols. in 2. (Contents: No. 1 "The Park and The Pad-  
dock"; No. 2 "The Tenth Haycock"; No. 3 "The Jerseymen  
Meeting"; No. 4 "The Jerseymen Parting"; No. 5 "The  
Scholars of Arneside".)

- Laws on Man's Nature and Development. By Harriet Martineau and Atkinson. New York, Peter Eckler Publishing Company, n.d.
- Letters as to Her Religion. New York, Peter Eckler Publishing Company, n.d.
- Life in the Wilds: Tales of the South African Settlement. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- Life in the Wilds: a Tale of the South African Settlement. New York, George Munro's Sons, 1891.
- Loom and Luggar. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.
- Loom and Luggar: or Weavers and Smugglers: a Tale for the Times. New York, George Munro's Sons, 1891.
- Loom and Luggar: or Weavers and Smugglers; a Tale for the Times. New York, n.d.
- Manchester Strike, A, a Tale. Third edition. London, Charles Fox, 1833. (Illustrations of Political Economy, No. 7.)
- Man's Nature and Development. Harriet Martineau and H. G. Atkinson. Boston, J. P. Mendum, n.d.
- Mary Campbell. Wellington, Shropshire, Houlston, n.d.
- Martineau Library. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d. (Contents: Peasant and the Prince, Crofton Boys, Feats on the Fiord, Settlers at Home, Traditions of Palestine.)
- Martyr Age of the United States, The. Boston, Weeks, Jordan, & Co., New York, J. S. Taylor, 1839.
- My Farm of Two Acres. Cottage Farm Series. London, A. C. Fifield, n.d.
- My Farm of Two Acres. London, A. C. Fifield, 1906.
- Our Farm of Two Acres. Brooklyn, A. T. Huntington Co., 1863.
- Peasant and Prince. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Peasant and the Prince. Standard Literature Series. Introd. and notes by E. R. Shaw. New York, Newsom & Company, n.d.



- Peasant and the Prince. New York, Newsom & Company, 1899.
- Peasant and the Prince. Ed. with introd. and notes by Henry W. Boynton. Riverside Literature Series. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1902.
- Peasant and the Prince. School edition. New York, Ginn & Company, n.d.
- Peasant and the Prince. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.
- Peasant and the Prince. Every Boy's Library. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Peasant and the Prince. Broadway Series. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Peasant and the Prince: Story of the French Revolution. New York, Ginn & Company, 1886.
- Peasant and the Prince, The. Illustrated. New York, Ginn & Company, n.d.
- Playfellow. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.  
(Contents: Crofton Boys, Feats on the Fiord, Settlers at Home, Peasant and the Prince.)
- Playfellow. Gift Book Series. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d. (Contents: Crofton Boys, Feats on the Fiord, Settlers at Home, and Peasant and the Prince.)
- Playfellow. Prize Series. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.
- Playfellow, The. New edition. London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1895. (Contents: The Crofton Boys, Feats on the Fiord, The Settlers at Home, The Peasant and the Prince.)
- Playfellow, The. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1872.
- Positive Philosophy. By Auguste Comte. Trans. by Harriet Martineau. New York, Peter Eckler Publishing Company, n.d.
- Positive Philosophy. By Auguste Comte. Ed. by Harriet Martineau. New York, The Macmillan Company, n.d. 3 vols.

Positive Philosophy of A. Comte. Translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau. New and cheaper edition. London, Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner Co., n.d.

Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte, The. Freely translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau. Introd. by Frederic Harrison. London, George Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1876. 3 vols.

Settlers at Home. Bell's Reading Books. London, George Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1914.

Settlers at Home. Bell's Continuous Readers. George Bell & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Settlers at Home. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., n.d.

Settlers at Home. Superior Reading Books. New York, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Settlers at Home. Broadway Series. London, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., n.d.

Sowers not Reapers; or Chatham and Mary Kay. New York, George Munro's Sons, 1891.

Sowers not Reapers; or, Chatham and Mary Kay. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.

Tales of the French Revolution. New York, John W. Lovell Co., 1884.

Tales of French Revolution. New York, George Munro's Sons, n.d.

## II. Periodical Publications by and about Harriet Martineau.

Abbott, E. "Harriet Martineau and the Employment of Women in 1836". Journal of Political Economy, Chicago, XIV (December, 1906), 614-626.

Adams, C. Methodist Quarterly, XII, 330.

All the Year Round, London, XXXVIII, 126.

American Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, XX, 216.

- "Autobiography". Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh, CL, 41.
- "Billow and the Rock". Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh, LXXXV, 461.--Same art. Eclectic Magazine, New York, XI, 216.
- "Biography of Harriet Martineau". Westminster Review, London, CVIII, 65.
- Blackwood's Magazine, New York, CXXI, 472.
- Blackwood's Magazine, New York, LXIV, 185.
- British Quarterly, VIII, 432.
- Brown, F. "Miss Martineau and the Carlyles". Atlantic Monthly, Boston, CVI (September, 1910), 381-387.
- Clarke, J. F. North American Review, New York, CXXIV, 435.
- Chamber's Edinburgh Journal, Edinburgh, X, 7.
- Congregationalist, London, VI, 505.
- "Conversations with Harriet Martineau and Others, after Death". Cornhill Magazine, London, XLVIII, 289.
- Croker, J. W. "Morals and Manners". Quarterly Review, London, XLIII, 61.
- "Cured by Mesmerism". Littell's Living Age, Boston, XXVII, 420.
- "Deerbrook". Blackwood's Magazine, New York, XLVII, 177.  
--Same art. Edinburgh Review, Edinburgh, LIX, 494.
- "Eastern Life". Westminster Review, London, XLIX, 314.  
Same art. Eclectic Magazine, New York, XIV, 552.  
--Same art. Littell's Living Age, Boston, XVIII, 404.
- Eclectic Magazine, New York, XXXII, 510.
- Eclectic Review, London, XC, 87.
- Eglinton, J. "Harriet Martineau". Dial, New York, LXXXIV (April, 1928), 324-328.
- Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, London, XXVI, 161, 184.
- Farley, F. A. Christian Examiner, Boston, XLVI, 443.

- "Feats on the Fiord". Christian Remembrancer, London, IV, 528.
- Fowler, D. Canadian Monthly, Toronto, XIII, 172.
- Foxcroft, F. Congregational Quarterly, London, XIX, 393.
- Fraser's Magazine, London, VIII, 576.
- "Game-Law Tales". Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Edinburgh, n.s., XIII, 55.
- Gorton, D. A. National Quarterly Review, New York, XXXV, 341.
- Greenwood, F. W. P., "Devotional Exercises". Christian Examiner, Boston, XVI, 44.
- Greg, W. R. Nineteenth Century, London, II, 97. -- Same art. Littell's Living Age, Boston, CXXXIV, 617.
- Hall, E. B. "Later Writings". Christian Examiner. Boston, XXXII, 190.
- Higginson, T. W. Nation, New York, XXIV, 223, 236.
- Hillard, G. S. "Miscellanies". Christian Examiner, Boston, XX, 251.
- "History of England". Eclectic Review, London, XCI, 443.
- "Hour and the Man". Eclectic Review, London, LXXIII, 462.  
 -- Same art. Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, Edinburgh, n.s., VIII, 9. -- Same art. Monthly Review, London, CLIV, 12.
- "Household Education". American Whig Review, New York, IX, 604.
- Hughes, T. Eclectic Magazine, New York, LXXXVII, 367.
- Hurlbut, M. L. "Western Travel". Christian Examiner, Boston, XXIV, 386. -- Same art. Eclectic Review, London, LXVII, 277. -- Same art. Westminster Review, London, XXVIII, 470. -- Same art. Monthly Review, London, CXLV, 361.
- Jackson, A. W. "James and Harriet Martineau". Littell's Living Age, Boston, CCXXVIII (February 2, 1901), 325-327.
- Lowe, M. P. Unitarian Review, Boston, VI, 334.

- Lowe, M. P. Unitarian Review, Boston, VIII, 319.
- Macmillan's Magazine, London, XXXVI, 47.
- Martineau, Harriet. "English Mill Child of 1834". Child Labor Bulletin 3, No. 2 (August, 1914), 74-78.
- Marvin, F. S. "Harriet Martineau: Triumph and Tragedy". Hibbert Journal, London, XXV (July, 1927), 631-640.
- "Memoir of Harriet Martineau". Victoria Magazine, London, XXVII, 330.
- "Memorials of Harriet Martineau". Temple Bar, London, LIII, 457.
- Methodist Magazine, London, XLIII, 261.
- New York Review, New York III, 129.
- Noble, J. A. "Miller's Life of Harriet Martineau". Academy, London, XXVI, 403.
- Peabody, A. P. "Gospel of Atheism". Christian Examiner, Boston, L, 489.
- Penn Monthly, Philadelphia, XI, 888.
- People's Journal, London, I, 141.
- "Playfellow, The". Christian Remembrancer, London, II, 178.
- Plumptre, C. E. "Neglected Centenary". Westminster Review, London, CLVIII (December, 1902), 669-678.
- "Political Economy". American Monthly Review, Boston, III, 365.
- "Poor Laws and Paupers, Tales on". Monthly Review, London, CXXXIV, 493.
- Portrait of Harriet Martineau. McClure's Magazine, New York, XXXIV (February, 1910), 385.
- Quarterly Review, London, CXLIII, 494. -- Same art. Littell's Living Age, Boston, CXXXIII, 451.
- Radical Review, New Bedford, I, 338.
- "Recollections of Harriet Martineau". Cornhill Magazine, London, XLIX, 33, 148.

- Richardson, H. S. Contemporary Review, London, XXIX, 112.
- Sewall, E. Q. "Life in the Sick Room". Christian Examiner, Boston, XXXVIII, 158.
- Simcox, G. A. Fortnightly Review, London, XXVII, 516.  
-- Same art. Eclectic Magazine, New York, LXXXVIII, 725.
- Smith, C. C. "Reign of William IV". Christian Examiner, Boston, XLIX, 51.
- Spectator, London, LVII, 1729.
- "Tales". American Monthly Review, Boston, II, 294.
- Tomson, A. Christian Examiner, Boston, XLV, 285.
- "Tracts". Dublin University Magazine, Dublin and London, VI, 557.
- Wilson, M. "Spiritual Wanderings of a Cambridge Literary Lady (Mary Ann Ketty), a Hundred Years Ago". Hibbert Journal, London, XXII (July, 1924), 757-772.
- Wilson, R. R. "Foreign Authors in America". Bookman, New York, XII (February, 1901), 594.
- "Works of Harriet Martineau". American Biblical Repository, New York, XII, 389.

### III. Works about Harriet Martineau.

- Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography. Ed. by J. G. Wilson and John Fiske. New York, Daniel Appleton & Company, n.d. IV, 235.
- Clarke, J. F. Nineteenth Century Questions. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1900. pp. 284-311.
- Courtney, Mrs. Janet Elizabeth Hogarth. Freethinkers of the Nineteenth Century. London, Chapman and Hall, 1920.
- Courtney, J. E. Freethinkers of the Nineteenth Century. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1920.
- Harrison, Frederic. Philosophy of Common Sense. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1907. pp. 325-332.

- Horne, Richard Henry, Ed. A New Spirit of the Age. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1844. II, 65-82.
- Hubbard, E. Three Great Women. New York, Roycrofters, 1908.
- Miller, Mrs. F. Fenwick. Life of Harriet Martineau. Eminent Women Series. Fourth edition. London, Gibbings & Co., n.d.
- Miller, Mrs. Florence Fenwick. Harriet Martineau. Boston, Roberts Bros., 1885.
- Miller, Mrs. F. F. Famous Women. Albany, Weare C. Little & Co., n.d.
- Worley, John. Critical Miscellanies. London, The Macmillan Company, 1886. III, 175-211.
- Pen - Portraits of Literary Women, by Themselves and Others. Ed. by Helen Gray Cone and Jeanette L. Gilder, with biographical sketches by the former. New York, Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1887. 2 vols.
- Queens of Literature of the Victorian. By the authors of "Our Queen", "Life of General Gordon", etc. London, Robert Scott, 1886.
- White, Thomas W. Slavery in America, Being a Brief Review of Miss Martineau on That Subject. By a South Carolinian. Richmond, Thomas W. White, 1838.

#### IV. Bibliographies of Harriet Martineau's Works

- Allibone, S. Austin. A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1898. II, 1232-1233.
- Dictionary of National Biography. Ed. by Sidney Lee. London, Smith, & Co., 1909. XII, 1198-1199.
- Martineau, Harriet. Feats on the Fiord and Merdhn. Everyman's Library. New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., n.d. p. viii.