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CHAPTER ONE

Taking Harriet Martineau Seriously in the Classroom and Beyond

Michael R. Hill
Susan Hoecker-Drysdale

THE CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS BOOK, SOCIOLOGISTS ALL, TAKE HARRIET Martineau seriously as a major and consequential intellect within their chosen discipline and their classrooms. It has not always been so, at least in recent times, but Martineau has now been rediscovered by sociologists who are writing about Martineau in a growing series of books, essays, and scholarly editions. We do not all see Martineau through the same "author spectacles," as the following contributions make evident, but we do *see* her—she is no longer "invisible" to those of our students and colleagues who possess a modicum of bibliographic savvy. At several points in this book, readers are presented with contextual background and biographical details about Martineau, information that is useful and necessary for readers who are still new to Martineau's work, but it warrants notice that the time for penning generic introductory synopses of Martineau and her accomplishments is drawing to a close—several sociological introductions are readily available and are cited among the references at the end of this book. Along this line, although uncited in the present bibliography, a growing number of introductory sociology textbooks now make at least passing reference to Martineau (Hill 1998). Harriet Martineau has arrived on the doorstep of the twenty-first century sociological scene, and it is high time that the discipline's scholars, thinkers, and theoreticians take her seriously.

Giving Martineau her due is no minor matter and no small challenge. The eventual consequences for a discipline long socialized to honor only white western males as its revered founders are, of course, unpredictable. Chagrin? Embarrassment? Disbelief? Willful ignorance? These certainly are possibilities, but we hope here for understanding, enlightenment, and reflexivity—our sociological colleagues are, after all, scholars and intellec-

tuals who profess tolerance and openness to new perspectives. The shape of sociological thought changes and grows in novel and unexpected ways when women's previously unheralded contributions to the discipline are acknowledged in literature reviews, incorporated in texts, included in lectures, and added to graduate reading lists (see for example the perspective adopted in Joe R. Feagin's (forthcoming) 2000 presidential address to the American Sociological Association). This is especially vital in Martineau's case. Two hundred years after her birth, Martineau's work remains intellectually vibrant, astutely critical, and deeply concerned with myriad substantive issues that still engage many of today's sociologists around the world.

Taking Martineau seriously demands more than honorific mention in introductory textbooks—no matter how salutatory it is to add such a remarkable "heroine" to the discipline's traditionally male-dominated founding pantheon. Martineau's work demands far more than a genteel tip of the hat. The contributors to this volume wrestle with the implications of Martineau's ideas for sociology today in the same way that disciplinary arbiters have for decades supported and argued for the continuing relevance of Émile Durkhem, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and other male theorists. Given the sheer magnitude of Martineau's published corpus, this is a daunting task and is only just now underway. Despite years of reading, writing, and thinking about Martineau's ideas, none of the contributors to this book claim a comprehensive grasp of Martineau's work as a whole, but each finds sociological gold—and the prospect of further rich discoveries—among the literally thousands of Martineau's writings. The conceptual potential is astonishing: new vocabularies, new precedents, new systems of relevance, new models of engaged sociological practice—all flow in torrents from Martineau's pen. This book offers a preview, a first effort toward what, of necessity, must be the long-term project of taking Martineau seriously. We invite your participation, your critiques, and encourage your own explorations and extensions of Martineau's work and ideas—and we are confident that Martineau herself would likewise welcome you to this exciting and progressive enterprise, not because she sought the limelight, but because she believed so deeply in the positive social results of cooperative rational industry.

Because we contend pointedly—as have others—that it is high time to take Harriet Martineau seriously within the discipline of sociology, the present volume provides several worked examples illustrating how to begin the project of giving Martineau her due: pedagogically, contextually, theoretically, and methodologically. In this chapter, we examine the opportunities and challenges of utilizing Martineau pedagogically in the sociology classroom, in introductory courses and across the broad spectrum of substantive interests that comprises sociology today. In the chapters that fol-

low, Pat Duffy Hutcheon shows how to locate Martineau historically and intellectually within the social and religious movement called Unitarianism, providing a model for future explications of Martineau's location within other influential nineteenth-century movements of thought. Lynn McDonald approaches Martineau through the eyes of another major nineteenth-century figure, Florence Nightingale, and reminds us that our assessments of Martineau's centrality depend, in part, on the disciplinary spectacles one wears and values. Hoecker-Drysdale discusses Martineau's links with Auguste Comte, long acknowledged as one of the discipline's early male founders. Lengermann and Niebrugge favorably compare Martineau to Émile Durkheim, and Hill draws sharp methodological contrasts between Alexis de Tocqueville and Martineau. Beyond these contextual, theoretical, and methodological assessments, Martineau's continuing substantive relevance for special sociological work is also extraordinarily wide. In relation to the sociology of work and occupations, for example, Hoecker-Drysdale's two-part essay, "Words on Work," explores the complexity and sophistication of Martineau's analyses of human labor. Mary Jo Deegan, taking a very different tack, demonstrates Martineau's critical relevance for the sociology of physical disability. In sum, and in varied ways, all of the contributors to this volume provide sociological exemplars of how to take Martineau seriously.

In the remainder of this chapter, we draft the pedagogical dimensions of Martineau's biography, accomplishments, and ideas in sociology classrooms. Readers unfamiliar with Martineau's work will find the following material useful as a resource for introducing Martineau to students and also as an orientation for the substantive chapters below. From this perspective, the substantive chapters easily perform a double duty. Not only do they stand as independent scholarly explorations in their own right, but, when utilized selectively, they make excellent reading assignments in college courses, for example, in the sociology of religion, the sociology of work and occupations, sociological theory, health and disability studies, sociological methodology, social movements, and the sociology of women, to emphasize the most obvious pedagogical applications. We fully expect that—when more scholars in additional specialties begin taking Martineau seriously—the list from which to choose relevant course readings will become ever more expansive.

BIOGRAPHY AND CRITIQUE

Biographical Sketch

To the extent that any complex institutional phenomenon such as sociology can have identifiable founders, Alice Rossi (1973: 118–24) justly celebrated Harriet Martineau as "the first woman sociologist." Martineau's

life is a remarkable example of sociological invention, growth and insight. Harriet, born in 1802, was the sixth of eight children in a middle-class English family. Her younger brother, James, became a well-known cleric (Jackson 1901). Her father's occupation as a manufacturer placed Harriet in comfortable surroundings, but her childhood was marred by strong feelings of fearfulness and self-doubt. She was, nonetheless, intellectually industrious and applied herself to both secular and religious studies. With the exception of two years in private, coeducational classes and a year in a boarding school for girls, she was educated largely at home by siblings and by hired tutors. Through self-study, Martineau rigorously augmented her early exposure to subjects routinely taught only to males. Education was important in the Martineau family and Harriet was both immersed and self-immersed in the classics, languages (Greek, Latin, Italian, French—she later taught herself German), literature, history, composition, mathematics, religious studies, and later as an adolescent expanded her studies in music, modern literature, philosophy, poetry and languages. Women were barred from university study, but Martineau maintained a regimen of intense, self-directed investigation throughout her life. Troubled by increasing deafness as a youth, Martineau required an ear trumpet during adulthood.

The Martineau family suffered severe economic losses in the 1820s, as well as the death of Harriet's father—and Harriet was left to her own resources. While Harriet faced the exigencies of earning her living in a patriarchal society, she wrote, "I began to feel the blessing of a wholly new freedom" (Martineau 1877b, I: 108). Martineau escaped the confines of middle-class Victorian marriage when her fiancé unexpectedly died. She was happily single and independent for the remainder of her life. She successfully supported herself as an author in a variety of genres, including: essays, tracts, reviews, novels, travelogues, biographies, how-to manuals, journal articles, newspaper columns, histories, children's stories, and sociologically-informed nonfiction.

Martineau's intellectual life is a chronicle of scholarly maturation and deepening sociological insight. Raised as a devout Unitarian, Martineau's first literary efforts were fervently religious (see Pat Duffy Hutcheon's chapter, this volume). Adoption of "Necessarianism" provided her with an intellectual bridge to a social scientific perspective, and the theoretical framework in her twenty-five volume *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832–4) signaled her eventual departure from ecclesiastical dogma (see especially volume twenty-five, *The Moral of Many Fables*). In the *Illustrations*, she employed fiction to explicate the principles of the new science of political economy, and the results met with popular success. The *Illustrations* marked her entry into English literary society and set her on the road to financial independence.

In 1834, Martineau began a two-year study tour of the United States

(see Hill's chapter on Martineau and Tocqueville, this volume; Bullock 1992). She reported her observations in *Society in America* (1837) and *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838a). These empirical studies emerged hand-in-hand with her foundational treatise on sociological data collection. *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (1838b) insightfully articulated the principles and methods of empirical social research (see Patricia Lengermann and Jill Niebrugge's chapter, this volume; Hill 1989). This period marked Martineau's achievement of a mature and incisive sociological imagination.

In subsequent years, Martineau refined her metatheoretical orientation, and moved even farther from her Unitarian upbringing. Following a trip to the Middle East, reported in *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848), she openly embraced atheism in *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development* (Atkinson and Martineau 1851). In 1851, she began an English translation/condensation of Auguste Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive*. The introduction of positivist sociological ideas into the United States was greatly facilitated by Martineau's momentous rendition of Comte's (1853) most influential sociological work (see Hoecker-Drysdale's chapter on Comte, this volume).

By choice, Martineau's later years unfolded not in London, but in the Lake District where she built a house at Ambleside. She redeemed her mortgage with royalties from the controversial book with Atkinson. The beauty and peacefulness of the Lake District stand in strong contrast to the years of personal trial, illness, exhaustion, deafness, and social and literary controversy that confronted Martineau throughout much of her life. At various points, her intellectual circle included: Charles Babbage, Thomas Carlyle, George Eliot, Florence Nightingale (see Lynn McDonald's chapter, this volume), Charles Dickens, Thomas Malthus, William Wordsworth, Charlotte Brontë, Charles Lyell, and Charles Darwin, among many others.

For Martineau (1877, I: 143), her profession was a Weberian calling:

> Authorship has never been for me a matter of choice. I have not done it for amusement, or for money, or for fame, or for any reason but because I could not help it. Things were pressing to be said; and there was more or less evidence that I was the person to say them.

Martineau, like all significant sociological theorists, gave life and direction to vital intellectual questions with insight, originality, and a deep sense of personal and social mission. Harriet Martineau died at seventy-four years of age, in 1876.

Sociological Critique

It is no easy task to provide a sociological critique of Martineau's published

writings. Most readers new to her work are stunned to learn of the sheer mass and scope of her writings. Joseph Rivlin's (1947) comprehensive bibliography lists dozens of separately published books. The 3,479 pages of the *Illustrations of Political Economy* alone were originally published in twenty-five separate installments, of which the last, *The Moral of Many Fables*, was a systematically arranged compendium of theoretical principles. Martineau was equally prolific as a contributor to periodical journals and newspapers. There is yet no thoroughly comprehensive bibliography of Martineau's reviews and journal articles. Several early articles were reprinted in her *Miscellanies* (1836c) and a selection of later articles appeared in her *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft* (1861). Additional articles are discovered whenever scholars scour Victorian-era periodicals. As a sociologically-astute journalist, Martineau wrote more than 1,500 newspaper columns, of which only a few have been reprinted (Webb 1959; Arbuckle 1994; Martineau 1994). In sum, Martineau's written corpus is a massive reservoir of astute sociological insight awaiting modern sociological critique and extension.

Martineau undertook pioneering studies—substantive, theoretical, and methodological investigations—in what is now called sociology. She was an ardent Unitarian, abolitionist, critic, feminist, social scientist, and avowed atheist . Her writing included such topics as: social theory, biography, disability, education, history, husbandry, legislation, manufacturing, mesmerism, work and occupations, occupational health, philosophy, political economy, religion, research techniques, slavery, sociology, travel, and women's rights.

Of Martineau's numerous works, her three-volume *Society in America* (1837) is the most widely known to sociologists in the United States. Her methodological strategy confronted the problem of ethnocentrism. Rather than compare the United States to England, she identified the moral principles to which Americans claimed allegiance, and compared them to observable social patterns—a methodologically insightful distinction between rhetoric and reality. Martineau documented a wide chasm between extant institutional patterns and the values of democracy, justice, equality, and freedom that Americans claimed to cherish. Beyond *Society in America* (typically read only in the abridged version), however, Martineau's other economic, political, and historical studies remain largely uncited by sociologists. Her substantive, systematic observations of society are directly relevant to historical and comparative sociologists who explicate the complexities of Victorian England and nineteenth-century life. Her theoretical and methodological insights remain as bright, lively, and cogent as any penned by her more widely acknowledged male co-founders of sociology.

In *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (1838b), Martineau provided

the first-known systematic methodological treatise in sociology. It is a theoretically sophisticated, yet practical, guide to sociological observation. Metatheoretically, she offered the classic positivist solution to the correspondence problem between intersubjectively verifiable observables and unobservable theoretical entities. Confronting the problem of studying a society as a whole, she creatively attacked problems of bias, generalization, samples, reactivity, interviews, corroboration, and data recording techniques. She outlined studies of the major social institutions, including: religion, education, family, fine arts and popular culture, markets and economy, prisons, government, and philanthropy. *How To Observe* is also a precedent-setting work of theory. Before Karl Marx, and decades before Émile Durkheim and Max Weber, Martineau sociologically examined social class, forms of religion, types of suicide, national character, domestic relations and the status of women, delinquency and criminology, and the intricate interrelationships between repressive social institutions and the individual (Hill 1989).

Thematic study of Martineau's extensive corpus provides a wealth of untapped opportunities for modern sociologists. The metasociology of Martineau's translation of Comte's (1853) major sociological treatise is a crucial field for intellectual exploration. Her contributions to feminist thought (Martineau 1985) deserve spirited sociological review. Martineau's (1859a) mutual project with Florence Nightingale, *England and Her Soldiers*, is a *tour de force* on occupational health. Martineau provides detailed portraits of nineteenth-century industrial, agricultural, and domestic work in *Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft* (1861) and elsewhere. Her *Illustrations of Political Economy* and other didactic tales are untapped models of literature as sociology. Thematically, Martineau's sociological imagination was unbounded—it reached from micro to macro, from theory to observation, from objective description to informed critique and social action.

The majority of the major, book-length critical interpretations of Martineau have been authored primarily by scholars in disciplines other than sociology—recent examples from English literature include Valerie Pichanick (1980), Thomas Gillian (1985), Linda Peterson (1986), Valerie Sanders (1986), Deirdre David (1987), Shelagh Hunter (1995), and Claudia Oražem (1999). A substantial number of journal articles and chapters in books have also appeared. Those outside the discipline of sociology, however, often fail to appreciate Martineau's specifically sociological acumen. Pichanick (1980: 75), for example, vastly underrated Martineau's scientific discernment when she credited Martineau with having outlined nothing more than a "primitive" sociological methodology. Recent volumes by literature and language scholars typically shed little illumination on Martineau's distinctly sociological accomplishments. (To these recent

offerings may be added a string of earlier works by non-sociologists, including Theodora Bosanquet (1927), Narola Elizabeth Rivenburg (1932), John Cranston Neville (1943), Vera Wheatley (1947), and R.K. Webb (1960)). These often interesting and inherently valuable—but characteristically asociological—works all pose a challenge to modern sociologists. Whatever the value of Martineau's work to literature, history, journalism, women's studies, and other disciplines, the evaluation of her original contributions to sociology requires sustained, intelligent critique by sociologically-sensitive scholars.

This sociological critique has been slowly building. One of the earliest of sociologists, Auguste Comte, was extremely pleased with Martineau's translation/abridgment of his foundational *Cours de philosophie positive.* He wrote to her:

> And looking at it from the point of view of future generations, I feel sure that your name will be linked with mine, for you have executed the only one of those works that will survive amongst all those which my fundamental treatise has called forth. (Comte, quoted in Harrison 1895: xvii–xviii)

In the hands of subsequent male sociologists, however, Comte's prophesy of Martineau's fame went unfulfilled.

Edith Abbott (1906: 615), a Chicago sociologist, attributed "the most convenient and definite statement regarding the early employment of women" in the United States to Martineau (1837, II: 131–51). Abbott (1906: 616) however, faulted Martineau's computational accounting of the occupations open to women, and argued that Martineau's underreporting of occupational possibilities for women lent unintended support to "comforting generalizations regarding the multiplication of industrial openings for women" in the decades subsequent to Martineau's report. Nonetheless, Abbott (1906: 626) appreciatively noted Martineau's perceptive and critical conclusion that "it is difficult . . . for women to earn their bread." If Martineau's specific statistics were misleading, her overall conceptual analysis was accurate and enduring. Abbott wrote that "one could not go far wrong in saying that the lot of the poor woman is still sad. Opportunity of employment is scarce now as it was then." Little more was then heard about Martineau in sociological circles—with perhaps the sole exception of Mary van Kleek's (1913: 18) citation of Martineau's data on women bookbinders in van Kleek's landmark study of the bookbinding industry.

Following a nearly half-century hiatus of significant commentary by sociologists on Martineau, Seymour Martin Lipset (1962: 39), who otherwise admired Martineau's sociological skills and went to the considerable effort of abridging Martineau's *Society in America*, suggested:

> To those who wonder why such a sophisticated analyst has been allowed to linger for so long in the obscurity of nineteenth-century editions, the answer must be that the blame rests with Harriet Martineau herself.

Lipset implied that Martineau was overlooked only because she wrote lengthy works that are "tedious to some readers." Importantly, however, he pointed out that, "In emphasizing the value system as a causal agent, Martineau was an early precursor of one of the major sociological orientations, an approach that attempts to analyze the effect of values on structure and change" (Lipset 1962: 10), and concluded that *How to Observe Morals and Manners* "testifies to the considerable sophistication" that Martineau brought to methodological issues (Lipset 1962: 37). Upon the publication of Lipset's abridged edition of Martineau's *Society in America*, John Cawelti (1963: 208) characterized Martineau as a Victorian combination of Margaret Mead and Hannah Arendt. Comparing her work to Tocqueville's well-known studies of the same era, Cawelti credited Martineau with providing a viable, alternative analysis of "the pressure toward conformity" in American society. Not only did he prefer Martineau's full-length treatment over Lipset's abridgment, he concluded, that Martineau suggested further "avenues of approach to the problem that are surely worthy of investigation by historians and sociologists" (Cawelti 1963: 213).

In subsequent counterpoint, and in concert with new wave feminist awakenings in American sociology in the 1970s, Alice Rossi (1973) designated Harriet Martineau as "the first woman sociologist," and Dale Spender (1982) critically faulted the male academic establishment for the patriarchal exclusion of Martineau's work from sociology. Paul Riedesel's (1981) apologetic exemplifies the patriarchal bias. He severely discounted Martineau even while calling attention to her work. Claiming that Martineau "left no corpus of theory," Riedesel (1981: 77) failed to cite Martineau's sophisticated methodological classic, *How to Observe Morals and Manners* or any of her equally resilient and intellectually vibrant works. At best, such essays damn with faint praise.

In an important pedagogical article, James Terry (1983: 253) argued in *Teaching Sociology* that Martineau and Charlotte Perkins Gilman are "two women who have been excluded from the sociological canon whom I consider on a par with the traditional masters." He concluded, Martineau's "writings in political economy and scientific methods, her comparative study of American and European societies, and her insights into the subordination of women in American society in the 1830s deserve recognition and study in their own right" (Terry 1983: 253–4). Robert Nisbet (1988: 173–4) followed suit, asserting that—compared to Alexis de Tocqueville's (1835–40) *Democracy in America*—Martineau's (1837) *Society in America*

"is a better study of American life." Michael R. Hill (1989) outlined Martineau's scientific logic and traced her epistemological development in his long introduction to the sesquicentennial edition of Martineau's *How to Observe Morals and Manners*. Hill (1989: li) argued that any *one* of Martineau's recognized major accomplishments, specifically, (1) writing the first book on sociological methodology, (2) completing an insightful and methodologically sophisticated analysis of American society, and (3) translating and condensing Comte's foundational work, warrants her unconditional election to the rank of major sociologist. And, in the same year, Shulamit Reinharz (1989: 92) reminded us that Martineau's methodological treatise, *How to Observe Morals and Manners* not only predates Durkheim's *Rules of Sociological Method* by sixty years but is also "nearly analogous." In her survey of the "continuities among women as subjects and objects of intellectual work," Reinharz (1989: 92) noted:

> There were the continuities of not being remembered—e.g. the fame of de Tocqueville vis a vis Harriet Martineau, although both wrote at the same time about the same topic; and the fame of Durkheim's treatise on method as compared to Martineau's although hers predates his by sixty years and is nearly analogous.

Two years later, Mary Jo Deegan (1991: 13–14), in her introduction to *Women in Sociology: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, assessed Martineau's sociological preeminence as

> equal to, if not greater than, that of any man in her era, including the relatively overpraised Comte and de Tocqueville. Martineau's lucid translation of Comte's work contributed significantly to his recognition as a founding sociologist. She condensed his voluminous Cours de philosophie positive and made it more accessible to those who later established sociology in the English-speaking world. In addition, her travels in the United States were more insightful, comprehensive, and methodologically creative than those of de Tocqueville. Martineau is a giant in sociology, and her undisputed leadership is recognized here.

The longest sociological analysis to date, Susan Hoecker-Drysdale's book-length sociological assessment, *Harriet Martineau: First Woman Sociologist*, appeared in 1992. Hoecker-Drysdale's compact biography examines the life and thought of this Victorian radical and specifically outlines Martineau's multifaceted work in political economy, history, journalism, and sociology—work based on Martineau's premise that scientific knowledge is essential to social progress. In sum, by the last decade of the twentieth century, the paradigmatically revolutionary case for Martineau was amply made.

Now, in the Kuhnian tradition of normal science, a number of paper presentations at professional sociological meetings, articles, and book chapters—several by the contributors to this book—are starting to appear with greater regularity. The chapters in this book are offered as points of departure for ever more exhaustive and comprehensive explications of Martineau's metasociological framework, sociological theories, methodologies, and empirical findings, analyses, and social critiques. The astonishing breadth of this prospect points not only to an exciting future of new scholarly work *per se*, but also to vital pedagogical opportunities in academic classrooms.

PEDAGOGICAL ISSUES

James Terry (1983) recommended including Martineau's work in the basic sociology curriculum, and with good reason. For the authors of this chapter—as well as for many sociologists of our acquaintance—Martineau's insights inform every sociology course we teach, and we cannot imagine teaching sociology without including her sage observations and sociological perspective. We have taught Martineau in a wide range of courses. For example, Hill utilizes Martineau in: Sociological Research Methods, Regional Geography, Introduction to Sociology, Sociology of Marriage and Family, Social Problems, and Sociological Theory. Hoecker-Drysdale has taught Martineau in courses on Feminist Sociological Theories, Sociology of Sex Roles, Women and Work through Literature and Sociology, Victorian Sociology, The Feminist Tradition in Sociology, Feminist Perspectives in Social Science, and Classical Social Theory. Experientially, we conclude that Martineau's works merit mature study and intelligent analysis throughout the sociological curriculum. Academics who teach university courses have much to gain in taking Martineau seriously in the classroom.

Martineau was a nineteenth-century writer, however, and her prose is challenging for today's students, in the same way that the works of Charles Dickens, Jane Austen, and other Victorian writers speak often to universal issues but in the language and diction of an earlier era. We recognize that students unfamiliar with nineteenth-century prose may sometimes find her word choices exotic to the modern eye and ear. This is, of course, a pedagogical opportunity, first, in terms of the wider mission of liberal arts education—that we do not jettison the wisdom of our predecessors just because their words now ring with a peculiar timbre, and second, as a pointed sociological illustration of linguistic, cultural, and institutional change. Our experience has been that students quickly develop the comprehension skills for (get the knack of) reading Harriet Martineau, in part because they are drawn by the lively empirical descriptions which are inter-

spersed in her analyses and because Martineau speaks to so many contemporary social issues.

We suspect, however, that any strangeness or difficulty perceived by would-be instructors and/or their students in reference to Martineau's language is largely a straw figure. Linguistic difficulty is given no salience by those who seriously teach and read the works of Adam Smith, Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, Alexis de Tocqueville, and the like—all authors who are indeed challenging to the average college student. Reading sociological theory in the original or in translation almost always requires discipline and a sympathetic willingness to understand—so too for Martineau. That Martineau has not been widely taught in sociological theory courses is a problem that lies not primarily in Martineau's prose style, but in the traditions of patriarchal pedagogy. When Martineau is presented with the same energy, veneration, erudition, integrity, and authority with which astute Marxists discuss *Capital* or discerning Durkheimians dissect *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, for example, we contend that her work too becomes as "richly textured," "complex," "thoughtful," "brilliant," "significant," "foundational," and "masterful" as any authored by members of the traditional male pantheon.

In Martineau's case, there is a further complication on the linguistic and conceptual front—she wrote frequently and explicitly for the literate public of her era, and rarely for academicians. Much of her sociological writing is directly accessible to neophyte readers, especially her didactic fiction and many of her newspaper "leaders" and articles in popular British monthlies. Here, the pedagogical difficulty is that students may miss entirely the sophisticated logic and structure of her theoretical views and focus instead on story line or substantive, topical content (although, clearly, substantive content gives life to theory). Indeed, some readers at the time noted that they read her didactic tales more for the story than the moral. This is a general problem faced by instructors who teach about such writers as Martineau, Jane Addams, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and W.E.B. Du Bois, writers for whom it was axiomatic that their sociological ideas ought to be presented at least part of the time in prose accessible to non-specialists. Thus, such writings tend to forgo the esoteric footnotes, arduous definitions, and abstracted languages in which so much sociological theory is shrouded and encapsulated. Pedagogically, the task is to make the implicit theory more explicit, in much the same way that we must often show students how everyday speech is theory-laden and replete with metascientific presuppositions. With reference to formal theories, this is nothing more than the obligation to excavate and/or reconstruct "missing" elements in metascientific worldviews, and to demonstrate how such elements are logically interconnected (Hill 1984: 66). Interestingly, Martineau provides worked examples of just this process in her *Illustrations of Political*

Economy, wherein each fictional narrative is supplemented by a tightly worded précis outlining the theoretical principles that underlie each didactic novel in the series.

Martineau's *Moral of Many Fables*, the last volume of her *Illustrations*, is a logically integrated compilation of the brief theoretical summaries from each novel. Here, for example, is the précis from Martineau's *The Hill and the Valley* (1832–4, no. 2: 216):

> CAPITAL is something produced with a view to employment in further production.
> Labour is the origin, and
> Saving is the support, of capital.
> Capital consists of:
> 1. Implements of labour,
> 2. Material, simple or compound, on which labour is employed, [and]
> 3. Subsistence of labourers.
> Of these three parts, the first constitutes fixed capital; the second and third reproducible capital.
> Since capital is derived from labour, whatever economizes labour assists the growth of capital.
> Machinery economizes labour, and therefore assists the growth of capital.
> The growth of capital increases the demand for labour.
> Machinery, by assisting the growth of capital, therefore increases the demand for labour.
> In other words, productive industry is proportioned to capital, whether that capital be fixed or reproducible.
> The interests of the two classes of producers, labourers and capitalists, are therefore the same; the prosperity of both depending on the accumulation of CAPITAL.

Explicating and interconnecting the logical arguments in summary form for Martineau's myriad other works is an instructive exercise for professor and student alike, and one that is required if the theoretical import of Martineau's writings and the theoretical shifts in her work over time are to be fully appreciated in courses wherein selections from her writings are made assigned readings.

Researching Martineau's Intellectual Biography

Professors preparing new lectures on Martineau's intellectual biography as a sociological pioneer have many available sources on which to draw. Her

birth at the dawn of the nineteenth century and subsequent career in England, however, make it relatively more difficult for North American instructors to locate primary information to use in reconstructing Martineau's professional life. Mary Jo Deegan (1988) shows how to use various library aids to build biographical portraits of neglected women sociologists, but the library tools she recommends are best suited to American women who became active professionally in the late nineteenth century and thereafter. Somewhat different strategies are required to construct an intellectual biography of Martineau as a sociologist, but the mine of readily available material is happily large.

In addition to the several literary biographies, noted above, and Hoecker-Drysdale's (1992) sociologically-framed account, most students begin with the major data source on Martineau's life, her *Autobiography* (1877b), written in 1855, but published posthumously in 1877 together with Maria Chapman's biographically important *Memorials of Harriet Martineau* (1877). The most available edition is the Virago 1983 publication of the *Autobiography*, but, unfortunately, it contains neither the *Memorials* nor an index. Martineau (1877a), ever sensible and efficient, also wrote her own obituary notice and self-estimate! Readers should be warned, however, that Martineau's reflections on herself are often self-deprecating and thus do not adequately convey an objective estimation of her intellectual accomplishments.

Numerous personal experiences are reflected in Martineau's *Household Education* (1849), *Life in the Sick-Room* (1844b), and *Berkeley the Banker* (a didactic novel in her *Illustrations of Political Economy*, 1832–4). Her adult conversion to atheism, from a spiritual life of devout Unitarianism, is chronicled in *Eastern Life, Present and Past* (1848). Glimpses of personal life are found readily in Elisabeth Arbuckle's edited collection of Martineau's correspondence with Fanny Wedgwood (Martineau 1983) and in Martineau's *Selected Letters* (1990) edited by Valerie Sanders. A selection of Martineau's letters regarding America written between 1835 and 1867 was edited by R.A. Burchell (Martineau 1995). Regarding material in archives, a large collection of Martineau manuscripts and letters in the Birmingham University Library, Birmingham, England, are now available on microfilm—a collection for which there is a published guide: *Women, Emancipation and Literature: The Papers of Harriet Martineau, 1802–1876* (Adam Matthew Publications 1991). Second in size and importance only to the Birmingham papers is the Reinhard S. Speck Collection of Harriet Martineau papers now deposited at The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. An inventory of the collection is available via the internet and from the Library.

Social context and perspective on the times as well as the intellectual debates of Victorian England can be gained by more general reading in the

journals in which Martineau published, such as the *Atheneum*, *Edinburgh Review*, *Household Words*, *Once A Week*, *Westminster Review*, *Cornhill Magazine*, *Chambers Magazine*, and others. The *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824–1900* is a helpful tool in this regard. As was common practice in Victorian periodicals, many of Martineau's articles and reviews were unsigned or published under pseudonyms. Modern scholarship is slowly providing a corrective, however. For example, Lohrli (1973) provides a complete list of the articles Martineau wrote for Charles Dickens during his editorship of *Household Words*. Francis E. Mineka (1944) lists the articles Martineau wrote for the *Monthly Repository*, and Arbuckle (1994) has updated R.K. Webb's (1959) invaluable handlist of the hundreds of unsigned leaders that Martineau wrote for the London *Daily News*. *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature*, under "Martineau, Harriet," furnishes references to a representative selection of nineteenth-century reviews of her publications, and to use *Poole's Index* to find representative articles written *by* Martineau, consult the useful but not wholly reliable *Cumulated Author Index for Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, 1802–1906*. There is at this writing, however, no comprehensive bibliographic guide to either Martineau's magazine articles or to contemporary critiques of her writing.

Martineau's biography intersected with many of England and America's most notable personalities. To recreate this exciting intellectual world, energetic students may be put on the hunt for references to Martineau in autobiographies and "life and letters" volumes written by her friends and contemporaries. For examples of these genres, see Charles Knight (1864), Jane Carlyle (1883), James Payn (1844), Gordon Haight's (1954–5) edition of the letters of George Eliot, and John Stuart Mill (1967). The index to Martineau's (1877) *Autobiography* (unfortunately not provided in the 1983 Virago edition) furnishes a long list of names to begin investigating for this type of biographical scavenger hunt. The importance of names as starting points for biographical and archival searches cannot be overemphasized. For examples and discussion of this approach to sociobiographical research, see Hill (1993: 27–36). By cross-indexing who wrote about whom in their letters and memoirs, a dense sociogram of Martineau's intellectual world can be constructed as a class project.

Teaching Martineau across the Sociology Curriculum

Martineau wrote so many varied books, articles, and newspaper "leaders," that her materials are relevant to virtually every sociology course. The institutional sweep of *Society in America* and *Retrospect of Western Travel*, for example, is complete: family, religion, law, education, economy, polity, art, literature, language, etc. A host of graduate theses using the general for-

mula, "Harriet Martineau's Theory of (fill in a social institution of your choice)" are waiting to be researched and written. Instructors will find the following primary works especially cogent and pertinent to the courses noted:

- **Introduction to Sociology:** Martineau is now mentioned in more than a dozen introductory sociology textbooks (Hill 1998) and we suggest supplementing such texts by carefully selecting an article or chapter by Martineau that fits the topics emphasized—and the teaching strategy adopted—by individual instructors. The excerpts reprinted in Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley (1998) are excellent models of the types of substantive materials that can be selected and assembled for use in introductory undergraduate settings.
- **Sex and Gender; Sociology of Women:** Yates's edited collection, *Harriet Martineau on Women* (Martineau 1985), is an outstanding exemplar of drawing from Martineau's works for a thematic purpose. Feminist sociological interpretations of Martineau are particularly appropriate (and challenging—given her sometimes conservative views) in sex and gender and women's courses. Lengermann and Niebrugge-Brantley's (1998) recent text/reader relates Martineau and her work to other important early women sociologists and social scientists whose work was at once foundational and feminist.
- **Theory and Methods:** *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (1838b) is the first systematic and substantive treatise on the methodology of sociological research. It explores the thorny problems inherent in drawing theoretical conclusions from direct observation and interview data. With guidance, the work is accessible to undergraduate majors. It also teaches important theoretical points. Consideration of Martineau as a theorist of reform, including valuable excerpts of her writings from a variety of sources, are found in McDonald (1998: 138–65). In addition, Martineau has been examined by McDonald (1994) as a nineteenth-century woman methodologist. Martineau, before Marx and well before Durkheim and Weber, examined social class, religion, types of suicide, national character, delinquency, penology, and the intricate interrelationships between social institutions on the one hand and the individual on the other.

  Advanced students will find an engaging epistemological discussion in *Letters on the Laws of Man's Nature and Development* (Atkinson and Martineau 1851; Hoecker-Drysdale 1995). Martineau's translation of *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (see Chapter Nine, this volume) is not only a classic in its own right, but is also a paradigm example of translation as sociological labor as later practiced by C. Wright Mills, Talcott Parsons, and others who

produced translations of Marx, Durkheim, Weber, etc. An introduction to Martineau's theory of political economy is found in the nonfiction treatise on *The Moral of Many Fables*, the last installment of her twenty-five–part *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832–4). Advanced students interested in the theoretical development of free-trade economics should be offered *The Factory Controversy* (1855) and *Corporate Tradition and National Rights* (1857b).

- **Historical and Comparative Sociology:** Martineau comes brightly to the fore when she turns her methodological and analytical skills to complex empirical topics—and she does this best in *Society in America* (1837). Her attempt in *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838c) to write pure, uninterpreted description is a useful companion work. *How to Observe Morals and Manners* (1838b) articulates the research design for these large studies and should be read in conjunction.
- **Health and Occupations:** Martineau was a keen observer of occupations and the relation of work to health problems. Though presently scarce, her *England and Its Soldiers* (1859a) is a *tour de force* of occupational health studies. There, she compared the hazards of military life with a wide range of civilian occupations. Modern students in social change courses can be challenged to document and compare the health risks of these several occupations in the past and in the present.

  Martineau's (1861) collected articles in *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft* show her acumen in carefully observing manufacturing processes, including the production of straight pins—a topic close to the heart of classical economists such as Adam Smith's dissertation on the manufacture of pins in *The Wealth of Nations* (see also Chapters Six and Seven, this volume). Concerning the sociology of health *per se*, Martineau's *Life in the Sick-Room* (1844b) chronicles her own bout with a serious illness and is instructive as an exemplar of reflexive participant observation. Her controversial cure by hypnosis is detailed in *Letters on Mesmerism* (1845) and relates directly to modern discussions of alternative treatments and the social construction of illness.
- **Sociology of Literature:** No course in the sociology of literature is complete without a substantive bow to Martineau. Her work includes deceptively uncomplicated examples of writing novels as sociology. She viewed fiction as an experimental mode in which the theoretical principles of the social sciences can be worked out. Martineau's method is the empirically-grounded thought experiment (Hill 1987). This method is best seen in the first twenty-four numbers of the *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1832–4), in the tales pub-

lished as *Poor Laws and Paupers* (1833), and in *Forest and Game Law Tales* (1845–6). She explored her abstract ideas in these works and was sufficiently audacious to make the practical import of her sociological theories intelligible to a mass, popular readership.

Turning to another genre, Martineau's (1877b) *Autobiography* is receiving critical attention in literary studies (e.g., Peterson 1986) and should be included in courses on sociobiography—an emergent field in sociology (Long 1987; Denzin 1989). Examples of Martineau's own excursions in biography are collected in *Biographical Sketches* (1869).

As genres of popular literature, Webb (1959) and Arbuckle (1994) lead readers to reams of Martineau's newspaper columns. The *Miscellanies* (1836c) and *Health, Husbandry, and Handicraft* (1861) provide a wealth of sociologically-informed essays and journal articles. *Deerbrook* (1839a) is her major experiment in writing a pure novel and is readily comparable to the works of Jane Austen and similar novelists of that era. Both George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë praised *Deerbrook* and claimed to be inspired by the novel. *The Hour and the Man* (1841) is a full-length excursion in historical fiction focused on slavery in Haiti.

- **Social Problems, Social Change, and Race Relations:** Martineau was an outspoken critic of slavery, injustice, and oppression. She advocated reform measures on the basis of consistently argued sociological principles. Her insight into northern resistance to the abolition movement in America is surprisingly modern. Her analysis of slavery as a debilitating social institution is particularly cogent in *Society in America* (1837) and this aspect is well-preserved in Lipset's abridgment of that work (Martineau 1962). Her observations are continued in *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838c). *The Martyr Age of the United States* (1839b) lays out the dynamics of the American abolitionist movement. Martineau's *Demerara* in the *Illustrations of Political Economy* (1932–4, no. 4) depicts the ill-fated economics of slave systems. *The Hour and the Man* (1841) explores, through historical fiction, the dynamics of the slave revolt in Haiti.
- **Criminology:** Martineau conceptually and empirically analyzed prison systems in *Society in America* (1837, III: 179–90) and, in *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838c, I: 199–227), vividly illustrates her pluck as a penal investigator. Whereas Tocqueville interviewed only prison officials during his American tour, Martineau visited several prisons, interviewed their wardens, and arranged to talk, unchaperoned, with several male inmates. Thus, her conclusions on prison systems—and her denunciation of the Auburn scheme—have superior empirical grounding and are candidates for inclusion in all introductory crimi-

nology courses. From her writings as a whole, one can assemble insightful, interrelated readings on morality, religion, law, education, economics, criminality, and penal reform.

Availability of Martineau's Works

Students and instructors alike could not benefit from Martineau's pioneering sociological work if text and reference copies were not readily available for assignment and study. Although first published during the nineteenth century, several of Martineau's core works are still in print. Others can be purchased as microforms or as Books-on-Demand (to check current availability, consult *Books In Print*—preferably the online version for the most up-to-date information). Book prices range from relatively inexpensive paperbound editions to high-priced library bindings. The wave of the future is signaled, perhaps, by the recent offering of *The Hour and the Man* in an electronic version, or e-book, at lower cost than any of the traditional paper editions.

Most volumes not available in smaller libraries can be easily located online via OCLC's *WorldCat* and obtained through interlibrary loan. The first volume of the Osgood edition of Martineau's *Autobiography* is now available online, without charge, via the Victorian Women Writers Project, courtesy of Indiana University. It seems reasonable to expect that additional Martineau works will become available in this way in future years. The bibliographical details of Martineau's separately published works in their various paper editions are sufficient to fill a monograph in its own right (Rivlin 1947) and are not reproduced here. Although rapidly rising in price over the last two decades, many first and early editions of Martineau's works are also available on the rare book market, and the occasional "bargain" can still be had by academics who want to build personal Martineau collections.

Martineau's works are ripe for compilation and class assignment as professor-generated photocopy packets. Photocopy packets of selected readings—and even entire books—can be readily compiled and/or reproduced inexpensively for course adoption. It is especially important to note that all copyrights to Martineau's works are long expired, thus reducing costs to students and eliminating considerable red-tape—no "permissions" to make multiple copies are required. A further advantage is that all of Martineau's works appear in English—her entire corpus, unlike that of many European theorists, is immediately accessible to English-speaking students in Canada, England, the United States, and around the globe.

We offer one cautionary admonishment when recommending Martineau to students. Where renewed interest in Martineau's sociology is likely to spark increased student use of rare or fragile early editions, local librarians should be alerted and encouraged to remove these volumes from open

stacks, prohibit their circulation, and curtail their unsupervised use. Photocopies, microfilms, or modern reprints should be made available in their stead.

A CONCLUDING COMMENT ON SERIOUSNESS

We have emphasized in this chapter the importance of taking Harriet Martineau seriously, in the classroom and beyond, but it would be a mistake, if, in so doing, we failed to underscore the personal enchantment and intellectual delight that we, our colleagues, and our students, have experienced when reading, studying, and writing about the life, times, work, and ideas of Harriet Martineau. Martineau's works open exciting windows on the earliest origins of sociology as a modern discipline; the study of her life and work results in a clearer understanding of the roots of our own intellectual commitments. In short, she helps us connect with a discipline that is otherwise too often abstracted and abstruse. Her criticism often sparkles, her insights are frequently provocative, and her empirical descriptions almost always impart that immediate sense of presence that makes our collective social past more palpable to us in the present. We are serious in our studies of Martineau because she inspires us, makes us smile in admiration of her industry, and engages our sociological imaginations.