



# May Sinclair in Her Time

*Reappraising May Sinclair's Role in Early-Twentieth-Century Literature and Philosophy*

Edited by

Leslie DE BONT, Isabelle BRASME

& Florence MARIE

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Hunting*



Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée





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in Early-Twentieth-Century  
Literature and Philosophy*

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« Horizons anglophones »

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# Contents

Leslie DE BONT, Isabelle BRASME and Florence MARIE	
<i>Introduction</i>	9
<b>1 May Sinclair Amongst Her Contemporaries: A Multifaceted Persona</b>	
Philippa MARTINDALE	
<i>'Swimming on the Top of This Wave': May Sinclair's Letters and the Development of a Modernist Aesthetic</i>	31
Sanna MELIN SCHYLLERT	
<i>May Sinclair's Public Persona and Fictional Characterisations in H.D.'s Asphodel (1992) and Bid Me to Live (1960)</i>	51
Suzana ZINK	
<i>'Miss Sinclair's Sparkles': May Sinclair in Contemporary Newspapers</i>	67
<b>2 Updating Victorian Tropes</b>	
Christine BATTERSBY	
<i>The Obscured Childhood Home: May Sinclair, Samuel Butler and the Problem of Heredity</i>	87
Maria JUKO	
<i>Victorian Ideas of Women's Independence and May Sinclair's The Three Sisters</i>	107
James THRALL	
<i>Tapping the Power: Uncanny Communication and Sublimated Will in May Sinclair</i>	127



### 3 Literary Modernism in the Making: Modernist Theory

Claire DREWERY

*A Sudden Corporeal Manifestation: the 'Sublimative Epiphany' as Material Aesthetic in the Modernist Novels of May Sinclair and James Joyce* 149

Rebecca BOWLER

*May Sinclair's Dialogic Tesserae* 173

### 4 Literary Modernism in the Making: A Praxis of Modernism

Leslie DE BONT

*'No Other House Will Ever Be to You What I Have Been': Atopic Domesticity, Social Affects and Place-Identity in May Sinclair* 193

Milena SCHWAB-GRAHAM

*'Sharp, Queer, Uncertain Happiness': Walking as Feminist 'Affective Militancy' in May Sinclair's Mary Olivier (1919) and The Three Sisters (1914)* 213

Shalini SENGUPTA

*Broken Gifts: May Sinclair, Modernism, and the Motif of Exchange* 229

*Notes on Contributors* 245

# The Obscured Childhood Home: May Sinclair, Samuel Butler and the Problem of Heredity

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*University of Warwick*

May Sinclair was famously secretive about her childhood. Her two semi-autobiographical novels, *Mary Olivier* (1919) and *Arnold Waterlow* (1924), have often been used to supplement details of her childhood which Sinclair seems to have deliberately censored and obscured. This is understandable, given that Sinclair claimed in a letter to Marc Logé, the French translator of *Mary Olivier*, that ‘all this description of the *inner life* is autobiographically as accurate as I can make it’ (Boll 244 n. 81; italics in original). Accuracy about inner life does not, however, equate to accuracy about the *external life* of May Sinclair (1863–1946), and this chapter will start by providing some details about the town of Fairford in Gloucestershire where members of the Sinclair family lived in the late 1870s and early 1880s. It is probably because the town of Fairford does not feature in either *Mary Olivier* or *Arnold Waterlow* that biographers have doubted that May ever lived in this small, but temporarily booming, Gloucestershire town, although biographers have also recognised that the scene of May Sinclair’s father’s death was relocated in *Mary Olivier* from the Gloucestershire Cotswolds to Yorkshire, and in *Arnold Waterlow* to Essex. Theophilus Boll, Sinclair’s first biographer, had argued that May’s father (William Sinclair, 1829–1881) and her mother (Amelia Sinclair, née Hind, 1822–1901) were living in severely straitened financial circumstances and also living apart by 1881. This was the year when her father died of alcoholism in Fairford. Many of Boll’s claims have remained unchallenged; but, as this chapter will show, Boll had exaggerated both the degree of poverty and the extent of marital and family breakdown, although Boll’s account of William’s death in Fairford is broadly correct.

The first part of the chapter outlines some of the new evidence that I have uncovered about Fairford, especially in relation to Sinclair’s father’s death. The facilities available in Fairford, especially medical

facilities, are also discussed. It explores the significance of the different religious backgrounds of Sinclair's father and mother; their separate burial places, together with their domestic and financial situation; also the fact that May's time as a scholar in Cheltenham started several months earlier than the biographies record. In the second part of the chapter I then move on to consider the ways in which May Sinclair's philosophical interests and reading can be seen to relate to the troubled time of the Sinclairs in Fairford. I focus in particular on Samuel Butler (1835–1902) who is mentioned in neither *Mary Olivier* nor *Arnold Waterlow*, but who provides the topic of the first chapter of Sinclair's first book of philosophy, *A Defence of Idealism* (1917), which engages with contemporary debates about evolution, heredity and individuality. We can see from May Sinclair's will, written in 1918 and thus many years before her death in 1946, that she owned copies of Butler's writings, gifting them as a specific bequest to Miss Aphra Wilson, her special editor at Hutchinsons publishing house, as well as a close friend.

## Of Living and Dying in Fairford<sup>1</sup>

During the 1920s, Sinclair spent much of her time in Stow-on-the-Wold, a small town less than twenty miles away from Fairford which she used as her writing base (260–1). This is where Boll discovered Sinclair's literary remains. Raitt, Sinclair's most recent biographer, comments on a report by one of Sinclair's friends which claimed that she regularly drove visitors to Stow over to Fairford, 'to see the church and the house where she claimed to have lived' (22). But Raitt is unsure whether she should believe that Sinclair had ever lived in Fairford as a child, given other conflicting stories that Sinclair also told about where her childhood had been spent. Boll had discovered that May's father was based in Fairford at the time of his death from 'cirrhosis of the liver, chronic nephritis and exhaustion' on 19 November 1881 (25). However, Boll had also argued that May's parents were irredeemably estranged and also 'near poverty' at the time of his death (27, 29, 39). Raitt is willing to believe that May might have spent some time in Fairford with her father but, like other biographers and commentators, she nevertheless recycles Boll's

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1. I am indebted to Alison Hobson of The Fairford History Society for answering my numerous email queries about Fairford.

claims about the poverty of the family and the complete breakdown of William and Amelia's marriage (Raitt 21–23).

William Sinclair had lapsed into alcoholism sometime after his successful, Liverpool-based, shipping company had failed in the shipping crises of the late 1860s, after which William and his family moved away from Cheshire, just across the Mersey from Liverpool, where he had enjoyed the luxurious lifestyle appropriate to a wealthy, commercial shipowner. Boll evidently found it difficult to track down the various addresses at which the Sinclairs and their children had lived during the 1870s. He concluded that there had been a 'psychic and physical separation' of May's mother and father, citing as evidence the separate burial places of William, who died in 1881 and his wife, Amelia, who died twenty years later (Boll 29). This inference seems to be largely based on the depiction of the relationship between Mr and Mrs Olivier in the novel *Mary Olivier*, with details of the Oliviers' failing marriage transferred to that of William and Amelia Sinclair. Writing only three years later than Boll, Zegger is very explicit in articulating this assumption. May, Zegger asserts, 'drew on her memories of her own parents' in portraying Mr Olivier—'a weak ineffective man'—and the much stronger Mrs Olivier who is 'religious and puritanical', and who 'by her show of quiet suffering controls the family'. Zegger notes that the Oliviers 'both belong to the Church of England' and 'subject their children to a religious training that is narrow and repressive,' with Mary Olivier obliged to rebel against her parents' values as she refuses 'to confine her interests to household tasks' (15–16). By implication, this description is extended also to the Sinclair family, despite the fact that Amelia Hind and William Sinclair came from very different religious traditions and backgrounds (Delmar).

The Hinds were overwhelmingly Anglican, with several Anglican clergymen in the family. By contrast, William Sinclair was raised as a Presbyterian in a prominent and also an extremely wealthy Belfast family which included the St Clair Sinclairs of Hopefield House. William's two uncles, John St Clair Sinclair (1809–56) and Thomas St Clair Sinclair (1811–67), have been described as doing more financially for the Irish Presbyterian Church during their lifetime than any other previous Presbyterian family (Hamilton 179–80). The remarkable Sinclair Seamen's Presbyterian Church in Belfast, commissioned by Thomas in honour of his dead brother, John, was opened in 1857, and still fulfils its original role in the bleak urban landscape of the demolished Belfast Docks ('Sinclairs of Hopefield'). Its

openness to mariners of all denominations is reflected in its Venetian-style interior, and in the polished wooden pews, altar and furnishings which echo the layout of a ship. Its stained-glass windows, maritime memorabilia and its arts and crafts decoration are testament to the fact that the type of Presbyterianism practised by the Sinclairs was not of an overly narrow kind. A commitment to female education was also evident in this branch of the Sinclair family, allowing several of the female 'cousinage' to attend Cheltenham Ladies' College and three—one being May Sinclair—to become significant published female authors, along with four others (rather more distantly related to May) who would also go on to publish their own poetry, stories or memoirs (Delmar).

William and Amelia were married in a Church of Ireland ceremony in 1850, only six years after marriage between Presbyterians and members of the Church of Ireland had been legalised. The Church of Ireland was still, in 1850, aligned with the Church of England, although in 1871 this close association was broken and it became instead an autonomous province of the Anglican community. At the time of the couple's marriage the law of the church coincided with the law of the land, and Delmar reports that in the marriage ceremony both William and Amelia declared themselves members of the Church of Ireland: a declaration that opened up educational and social advantages denied to Irish Presbyterians. The extent to which William Sinclair had altogether given up his nonconformist religious background does, however, remain unclear. As is still the case today, it could be that individuals made a declaration of religious affiliation in order to gain social advancement (to enable their children to attend Anglican schools, for example), without any real religious conversion having taken place. *Mary Olivier* includes a long passage about how dreadful it was that Aunt Lavvy had attended Unitarian Chapels in Liverpool and then later in Essex, and how angry that had made Mary's parents who were both committed to Anglicanism (103–7). Indeed, the main objection to Unitarianism pronounced by Mary's horrified mother is a social one: that 'People don't call on Nonconformists', and that it would be unfair to any children to have a nonconformist living in the house as they would be ostracised by society (105).

There were, however, also philosophical divergencies between the two religious denominations, and in *Mary Olivier* considerable emphasis is also placed on Mary's own excitement when she read an Encyclopaedia article that compared her aunt's Unitarian commitments to her own emerging pantheist beliefs (108). In the novel Mary's

pantheism is linked to her reading of Spinoza (*Mary* 98–108; and see Battersby, ‘Shadow’). Unitarians—as their name suggests—rejected those aspects of Christian theology, organisation and practice which rest on the belief that there is one God who eternally exists as three distinct persons (Tuggy). In nineteenth-century England Presbyterianism and Unitarianism became aligned, and this fed into lively debates—both inside the Anglican communion and also beyond—about how essential belief in the Trinity is to Christianity. Many of the earliest Unitarians in Britain had been Deists who believed that religion was natural to humanity, and that God was accessible to reason. They looked for an original form of religion from which trinitarianism, which they regarded as corrupt mode of Christianity, had decayed or evolved. As such, they were often accused of being atheists. The same objection was also raised to those nineteenth-century Unitarians who aligned themselves with pantheism. Pantheists identify God and nature, and as such their beliefs are in conflict with the notion that God is any kind of person, and also complicate our understanding of substance and individuation. Although Unitarians do, for the most part, regard themselves as Christians, the question of the relation between Unitarianism and pantheism continues to this day. As Worth put it in a Unitarian sermon of 2017: ‘Scratch a Unitarian and you’ll probably find a Pantheist’ (Worth). The tension comes because pantheists identify with a generalised, universalist religion which embraces aspects of many world religions, but they also insist that this original religion can only include an uncorrupted form of Christianity, without the hierarchies and established rituals and ceremonies of the Anglican or Roman Catholic Churches, and also omitting the Athanasian Creed which emphasises belief in the Trinity.

It has been impossible to discover whether William Sinclair attended either the nonconformist Chapel or the Anglican Church in Fairford. As such, it is also impossible to know whether May Sinclair had transferred her father’s real-life nonconformism onto Aunt Lavvy in the novel. But what can be said is that there is no record of the burial of William Sinclair in the town of Fairford. He had lived in the town since at least 1879, as attested by the trade directories, the electoral rolls and the announcement of the bans for the wedding of his oldest son, also called William, who had been based in Fairford at the time of his engagement. William Sinclair senior is not listed in the meticulous burial records of St Mary’s, the Anglican parish church, with its celebrated medieval stained glass windows and

its extensive graveyard. His burial also cannot be traced through the records of the nonconformist Chapel which also flourished in Fairford in the 1880s, attracting a large congregation of nearly two hundred people. It is, however, difficult to trace Presbyterian or other nonconformist burials, since they were not recorded in the same way as Anglican burials. The account of the burial of Mr Olivier in *Mary Olivier* describes his dead body being transported by train from the town where he had died, with a destination that had been demanded by Mr Olivier's mother—to the distress of his grieving widow (194). The burial place of William Sinclair's body has yet to be located. He could not have been cremated since he died before cremation was declared legal in 1884. It is, however, entirely possible that his body, like that of Mary Olivier's father, had also been transported by train to its final resting place. If so, the fact that William Sinclair's death was announced in a variety of newspapers, including *Jackson's Oxford Journal* (26 November 1881), London's *Pall Mall Gazette* (23 November), the *Liverpool Mercury* (22 November) and *The Belfast Newsletter* (24 November) provides clues to possible burial sites. Another passage in *Mary Olivier* (52–53) mentions the dead body of Mary's grandmother as having been transported by train from Liverpool to a London graveyard. A jumbling of names, places and dates—a technique often practised by May in writing her novels—makes Liverpool the most likely destination for the body of May's father, especially since a cluster of Sinclair family members and business associates were in the Merseyside area.

We cannot know whether William Sinclair remained at heart a nonconformist. It does, however, seem entirely possible that May Sinclair's paternal grandmother pressurised his widow into returning the body to the family for Presbyterian funeral rites which differ from those of the Church of England in that Presbyterians reject the role of the priest and also the use of the Anglican prayerbook. Given that Amelia and her offspring were dependent on the extended and very wealthy Sinclair family for financial support, Amelia might have found it hard to resist any such demand. As such, the separate religious burial places of William and Amelia cannot be used as evidence of the absolute breakdown of May's parents' marriage, as Boll—and later Raitt—inferred. Boll had hypothesised that the separate burials of the parents could only be explained by the complete marital separation of William and Amelia: a separation in death destined to 'go on for all of time' (Boll 29; and see Raitt 23). The separate burial places are as likely to be attributable to different religious traditions or family

demands as to irreparable marriage breakdown. And it is really not that surprising that Amelia herself was buried adjacent to the body of her beloved youngest son, Reginald, in an Anglican churchyard in Devon where they both had lived, and also worshipped, in the years leading up to Reginald's death in 1891.

There is a further problem with Boll's assumption that William and Amelia were already irrevocably separated before William died in 1881, since in the census of April of that year we can see both William and Amelia listed as living at Mount Pleasant in Fairford, together with their youngest son, Reginald, then aged 20, plus a cook and a housekeeper. May Sinclair—still called by her birth name, Mary, in 1881—is not present on the April 1881 census, but she is instead listed as a boarder, aged 17, in Cheltenham, about 20 miles (35 km.) away from Fairford, with frequent stagecoaches linking the two towns. Biographers generally state that May did not start the year that she spent at Cheltenham Ladies' College until the autumn of 1881, but the census shows that she was already there in the spring of that year, at 21 Royal Parade (one of 38 girls, aged between 10 and 18, listed at Mrs Brady's College Boarding House). A copy of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (in German), bequeathed by May Sinclair to the London Library after her death in 1946, and signed on the inside page 'May Sinclair, Fairford 1881'—and with an older signature on the title page 'Mary Amelia S. C. Sinclair'—also provides evidence that May had also spent time in Fairford during 1881 (Battersby, 'Philosophy Books').

Another inference made by Boll, and accepted uncritically by a number of later writers, is that Sinclair's novel *The Helpmate* (1907) 'represents the marital relationship of May Sinclair's parents' and, more particularly, a lack of sensual interest on the part of the wife which drove her husband to infidelity (Boll 26). Little evidence is given for the hint that there was something untoward about William's relationships with women other than his wife, except that William's death was not registered by his wife, but by a certain Martha Mitchell (Boll 25–6). It is now possible to add that in 1881 Martha Mitchell was a 66-year old widow and a needlewoman who lived above a shop in London St, about 10 minutes' walk away from William Sinclair's home, and that her (older) husband, Thomas, had died in 1875. As such, it is extremely fanciful to suppose that there was a sexual relationship between Martha and William. There are numerous possible explanations for Martha's presence at the time of the death, including dropping off some mending (it was a Saturday).



The lack of financial resources of William Sinclair senior in the final years of his life has also been grossly exaggerated in the biographies of May Sinclair. At his death he had an estate of over £ 281, equivalent to £ 43,715 (\$ 52,385) in terms of real wealth in February 2023. Even more significantly, William was the occupier of a substantial house in Fairford which was being advertised for sale or to let (for £ 30 p.a.) three months after his death, and offering the following accommodation: a good drawing room, a small dining room and ante room, a library, two kitchens, scullery, pantry and closet, five bedrooms, three dressing rooms, good attics, offices, lawn and gardens, gas throughout, and with possible stabling nearby. Advertised in *The Field Magazine* of 25 February 1882, the house (which still stands) was described as being at the centre of ‘V.W.H. Country’, ‘with four packs’ of the celebrated Vale of White Horse hunting hounds located nearby, along with ‘fly fishing’ and a railway station, only ‘one hour to Oxford’. Mount Pleasant includes some very small and cramped terraced cottages, and the biographies had led me to suppose that the Sinclairs would be located in one of these. It was thus a surprise to discover that the property in question is impressively large, despite being described as ‘small’ by the advertiser who lists himself as “‘Sinclair,” Fairford’. It is clear that the advert was aimed at a wealthy class of country gentlemen with ample leisure time and relatively deep pockets, but who also might have business to conduct in Oxford and perhaps also London. No doubt William Sinclair was living beyond his means—as was also Arnold Waterlow’s deceased father, described in May Sinclair’s 1924 novel as having ‘contrived to go bankrupt a second time’, largely through unwise investments in goldmines—but there is nevertheless much more wealth in the family than Raitt’s description of the Sinclairs’ ‘sudden descent into genteel poverty’ might lead us to expect (*Arnold* 146; Raitt 21). Furthermore, neither bankruptcy seems to have been total, or even formally declared; rather, more like an interference with the expectations of the sons whose upbringing had not prepared them for a drop in class privilege and wealth—as also in both semi-autobiographical novels (*Arnold* 146–149; *Mary* 199–203). Interestingly, May, her mother and William’s oldest son all did relatively well out of William Sinclair’s will; it was the younger sons who were the most disadvantaged.

We cannot be sure why William Sinclair senior decided to relocate to Fairford sometime before 1879. It was perhaps in part because it was at the time a kind of boom town, with the recently constructed railway promising a fast link between London, Oxford

and Cheltenham. We can tell from William's own will that he liked to invest in the infrastructure of railway lines and docks, and the station had only opened in 1873 and certainly attracted a good number of speculative investors. It only gradually became clear (in the 1890s) that competition between rival railway companies would leave Fairford as a dead-end on the railway maps of Britain, marooned as a rural backwater, with good railway links to Oxford and to London, but with the proposed through route to Cheltenham blocked by Great Western Railway after they took over the competing railway company (Christiansen 101; Loader). At the time that William was based there, Fairford was a thriving and also a 'literary' town: with libraries, free schools for the poorer children, debating societies, and offering easy access both to rural pursuits and to city life. Just as important was surely the fact that this small Cotswolds town also boasted one of the most respected private lunatic asylums in England, attracting well-educated medical men as doctors and also a variety of well-heeled patients and children in need of care, boarding and medical treatment.

The Fairford asylum—"The Retreat"—had been founded in 1823 for mentally ill patients, a large proportion of whom were paupers. However, after the reorganisation of the mental asylums which took place after the Lunacy Act of 1845, the pauper lunatics were moved elsewhere (Roberts, Section 5; 4.13.TA). Fairford Retreat's enlightened 'moral system of treatment' was unusual in its avoidance of physical constraint; its high reputation enabled the asylum to survive, despite the depleted numbers (*London and Provincial* 669). Its rural and 'healthy' location, together with the newly constructed railway, were also important in allowing psychiatric medicine to thrive there. Although William Sinclair was not a patient of 'The Retreat', he was clearly an alcoholic. What is more he came from a family in which financial ruin had driven his uncle, Thomas Sinclair, to depression and eventually to suicide, when 'a religious gloom of extraordinary character began to settle down upon him and he was also oppressed with the most horrible idea that he was outside the pale of mercy' (Delmar). Thomas was the uncle who had been extraordinarily wealthy, and who had gifted Belfast the magnificent Sinclair Seamen's Presbyterian Church; but he had temporarily relocated from Belfast to London after a catastrophic financial loss in a major Belfast fire in 1866, as well as some disastrous losses in the shipping industry (very common in the 1860s). Thomas had committed suicide by throwing himself out of a window in Gordon

Square in Bloomsbury: a family drama which is then rehearsed on the concluding page of Book IV ('Maturity') of *Mary Olivier* (328; and see Delmar).

Thomas's collapse into depression was caused in part by the same revolutions in the shipping industries which also led to William Sinclair's financial ruin and, given the similarities in circumstances, William might well have sought to avoid his uncle's fate by moving to a more rural and more 'healthy' location. As such, the 'reforming' and 'moral' medical men living in the small country town of Fairford must surely have added to its appeal. Dr Charles Harold Bloxsome—the physician who signed the death certificate of William Sinclair—was the main doctor for all Fairford inhabitants, but he was also the primary medical officer for 'The Retreat'. The Crofts, where Dr Bloxsome lived and where part of the asylum was based, was only about 5 minutes' walk away from William Sinclair's house in Mount Pleasant. In a small town alcoholism was a difficult condition to conceal, and the shame of the public drunkenness of the father and one of his sons is a theme that recurs in both *Mary Olivier* and *Arnold Waterlow* on numerous occasions (*Mary* 177, 179–180, 184, 272; *Arnold* 106–111, 312–314). As such, it seems all too likely that the clue to May Sinclair's secrecy about her childhood home is linked to that shame.

## May Sinclair, Identity and Inherited Characteristics

May Sinclair's self-identification as an 'incurable' Idealist—a claim that she makes in a letter to Samuel Alexander on 16 March 1926 (Thomas 155)—has obscured the fact that she also engages with another, more physiological, tradition of philosophical enquiry. In both *Mary Olivier* and *Arnold Waterlow* Sinclair provides lists of the formative reading that shaped the character of her heroine and hero, including examples that do not fit within an Idealist tradition of philosophy, but instead engage with contemporary scientific and pseudo-scientific debates about the problems of heredity, evolution, madness and degeneracy. The list of influential authors includes Charles Darwin (1809–82), Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), Henry Maudsley (1835–1918), Théodule-Armand Ribot (1839–1916) and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). Although the name of Samuel Butler does not feature in either of the two lists, in her first book of philosophy, *A Defence of Idealism* (1917), Sinclair credits Butler for

having given her a starting point for grasping the otherwise baffling literature on 'the subject of Heredity' (17).

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) is mentioned in both these novels, and his name could also be added to the above list since, even though he can be fitted within the tradition of German Idealism, his philosophy also signals the break-up of that tradition insofar as he privileged the physical body and its drives, instead of spirit, consciousness or, indeed, an individualised self. Schopenhauer speculated at some length on the themes of madness, degeneracy, heredity and also genius. In her second treatise on philosophy, *The New Idealism* (1922), Sinclair explicitly claims that she had 'for years' been 'satisfied with Kant and Hegel, relieved by Schopenhauer and Mr Bradley' (x). I have explored Sinclair's enthusiastic engagement with Schopenhauer in much more detail elsewhere, and I note also there the importance of Eduard von Hartmann (1842–1906) whose major book, *The Philosophy of the Unconscious* (1869), was also profoundly influenced by Schopenhauer (Battersby, 'Schopenhauer'). Hartmann is also mentioned in *Arnold Waterlow*. Thus, Arnold comes to learn about philosophy through an older man who 'reads great, deep books in German. Kant and Hegel and Schopenhauer and von Hartmann': all books by authors which May Sinclair herself owned (185; and see Jones, also Battersby, 'Philosophy Books'). Both Hartmann and Schopenhauer are also discussed in more detail in Sinclair's unpublished manuscript on psychoanalysis, 'The Way of Sublimation'. Written during the years of the 1914–18 war, it exists in various draft versions, but remained unpublished when dementia and Parkinson's disease put an end to Sinclair's career as a writer and philosopher around 1927. In that manuscript Sinclair links the name of Samuel Butler with those of Schopenhauer and Hartmann, as well as with the psychoanalytic theory of Carl Jung (1875–1961) and the philosophy of Henri Bergson (1859–1941). There, glossing what she means by the 'eternal, indestructible libido' which she is seeking to analyse in this unpublished text, she states:

I use this word (so repulsive to the Idealist) in Jung's sense of Creative Energy, in which it is equivalent to the Will to Live in Schopenhauer and Hartmann, the 'need' or 'want' of Samuel Butler, the Life-Force, or *élan vital* of Bergson, and, even to the Puritanic, void of all offence. Sublimation itself is the striving of the Libido towards manifestation in higher and higher forms. The history of evolution and Its history. ('Way' 23)

The next page also includes an added footnote on evolutionary development: ‘That a libido is the prime mover of all growth is well shown by Samuel Butler in “Life and Habit”’ (24 n.).

Given the subtitle of Butler’s 1880 book on heredity, *Unconscious Memory*, ‘A Comparison Between the theory of Dr Ewald Hering [...] and the “Philosophy of the Unconscious” of Dr Edward von Hartmann; with translations from these authors [...]’, it seems highly likely that it was Butler who gave Sinclair a means of linking Hartmann, Schopenhauer and Jung. Towards the start of ‘Way’, Sinclair praises both Schopenhauer and Hartmann as the only two nineteenth-century forerunners of psychoanalysis, and positions herself as a ‘humble disciple’ of Hartmann and his ‘philosophy of the unconscious’ (3–4). Noting how her own academic mentor in philosophy had ‘coldly snubbed’ her own youthful admiration for Hartmann, Sinclair declares herself ‘avenged’ on those of her elders who sought to deflect her away from ‘the New Psychology in which the Unconscious has come into its own’. Butler is also the focus of the opening chapter of Sinclair’s *Defence of Idealism* which concentrates on the questions of heredity, personal identity, evolution and cultural progress, but with also an extended discussion of sublimation, neurosis, individuality and degeneration. And the troubling motif that runs through this whole chapter is the question of whether a child must be supposed identical with its parents, as Butler had maintained.

Looking back from the perspective of the twentieth century, Sinclair’s lengthy engagement with Butler’s philosophy might seem surprising—especially as she does not engage with *Erewhon* (1872), the novel which now guarantees Butler’s reputation as a writer and visionary thinker. However, it is important to recognise just how much Butler and Sinclair had in common, and why Butler might have seemed to supply an opening for Sinclair to think through her own religious, philosophical and also family dilemmas. Butler was, like Sinclair after him, above all a philosophical novelist, although he was also a writer on science, a translator, a classicist, an artist, a photographer, a musician and jack-of-all-trades—having spent some time in New Zealand working on a sheep ranch. Like Sinclair he had authored a semi-autobiographical novel, *The Way of All Flesh*, which was published posthumously in 1903. This novel, written between 1873 and 1884, but which Butler did not dare publish during his lifetime, describes in gruelling detail the ways in which family inheritance can shape and delimit an individual’s ambitions. In the novel Ernest Pontifex—Butler’s alter-ego—loses

his faith in Christianity, after having been beaten and bullied by his parents into training for, and then subsequently accepting, a position as an Anglican priest. Like his hero, Butler gave up a career in the Church and rejected Christianity as harmful humbug. But, unlike his fictional hero, Butler escaped both his family and the Church by retreating temporarily to New Zealand where he discovered and read Darwin, wrote *Erewhon*, and also flirted briefly with Unitarianism. From an initial admiration of Darwin, Butler came to disagree (often splenetically) with the details of his account of evolution, adopting a philosophical position of 'pan-psychism' which drew on the pre-Darwinian theories of the 'Great Chain of Being'.

'Great Chain' theorists were inspired by Plato and neo-Platonists such as Plotinus, as well as by the development of Platonic theories in the biology of Aristotle. They posited a hierarchy of forms or substances, running from 'lower' types (such as sponges, molluscs and insects), through the more developed biological types (such as whales and quadrupeds), to the most perfect of all organisms: human beings (Lovejoy). For early Chain of Being theorists the placing of different types of species on the table of perfection was fixed for all time; but towards the end of the eighteenth century Jean-Baptiste Lamarck (1744–1829) and other biological theorists complicated this model, and suggested that the table was not fixed, and that organisms could move up (or down) the chain as individuals acquired new characteristics through interaction with their habitat, and then passed those acquired characteristics down to their offspring (Oldroyd). Although Lamarck argued that new species might emerge or also completely disappear, this was not an evolutionary theory as we now understand the term. As Oldroyd points out, in the eighteenth century the word 'evolution' was 'normally used to refer to the gradual "unfolding" of *immanent* qualities, as for example in the development of an embryo or a seed' (32; italics in original). As such, the eventual development of the species was already inherent in its ancestors. The acquired, inherited characteristics did not substantially alter the underlying 'great chain' framework in Lamarck's writings—and Butler's writings on evolution also fit with that older developmental model.

Butler maintained that the identity of the child is simply an unfolding of the primary characteristics of its ancestors, except for a few acquired characteristics that are added through the lived experience of the child and the eventual adult. Like Lamarck, Butler maintained that learnt behaviours that become embedded in an individual's habits and lifestyle are themselves inheritable, and that

it is via such an accumulation of unconscious bodily and mental habits that species develop and evolve. There was one further notion that Butler employed to explain the unfolding of species, namely the idea that we have seen Sinclair mentioning in 'Way' that what drives all evolutionary development is an inner striving or desire that leads an individual to adapt better to its environment through adaptive behaviour—so, for example, a giraffe obtains its long neck through needing to reach edible leaves on trees which other competing animals are unable to access, and it is the giraffe's unconscious desire to feed on these leaves that causes its neck to lengthen and also the offspring of that individual to each have an extended neck. From a scientific point of view, it is hard to defend Butler's (and hence also Sinclair's) account of 'unconscious desire', although it should be pointed out that Darwin also had no good explanation of how characteristics might be inherited—nor, indeed, how evolutionary novelties might emerge. Thus, although Darwin is often credited with inventing the notion of 'survival of the fittest', it was only in the fifth (1869) edition of *The Origin of Species* that Darwin imported this phrase which he appropriated from another of the writers on Mary Olivier's and Arnold Waterlow's reading lists: Herbert Spencer (Oldroyd 207–9).

In the early years of the twentieth century, numerous modernist writers and thinkers were profoundly influenced by Butler's account of 'habit-memories', as Bellini has shown (112, 122–25). These habit-memories are ones that we rely on in everyday life, but of which we are generally unconscious: 'a clear sign of the fact that one knows how to walk is one's ability to do it, but such knowledge is sedimented so deep in one's psyche and body that it is difficult to call it back to consciousness' (Bellini 113). Bellini's list of Butlerian modernists does not include Sinclair, of whom he seems unaware. However, like Sinclair before him, Bellini compares Butler's position to that of Jung:

All the basic functions of our life then—from walking to breathing, from having an appetite to thinking—are but habits of which we have grown unconscious.

Butler's unconscious memory is in no way to be confounded with Freud's personal unconscious, and is rather more similar—but only by a stretch—to Jung's collective unconscious. The sedimentation of experience in habit does not happen only during the time frame of the individual's life, but is transmitted from generation to generation. Butler [. . .] goes as far as to claim that the experience of one person 'is not enjoyed by his successor, so much as [. . .] the successor is bona fide but a part of the life of his progenitor, imbued with all his memories, profiting by all his experiences—which are, in fact, his own.' (Bellini, 114, quoting Butler, *Life* 50)

As such, and also like Sinclair, Bellini recognises the profound implications of Butler's position for any notion of personal identity:

The blurring of boundaries between mind and body in habit entails a dramatic paradigm shift in relation to personal identity. If the most fundamental dimension of one's life belongs to the common soil of unconscious memory, and if one's existence is actually only a part of the larger process of evolution of life, how can the idea of personal identity still be consistent? Butler is quite blunt on this point: he is ready to dispose of the concept of personal identity since 'in any sort of strictness [it] is an impossibility.' (Bellini 115, quoting Butler *Life* 84)

Butler is insistent that we should give up on the notion of personal identity as a mere convention of language. There are numerous places in Sinclair's corpus where she seems to be suggesting something similar: including in the passages on pantheism and Spinoza in *Mary Olivier*, as well as in *Arnold Waterlow* and the unpublished manuscript on psychoanalysis (Battersby, 'Schopenhauer'). In *Defence*, however, Sinclair draws back from Butler's extreme radicalism about personal identity and evolutionary continuity—probably because she was reluctant to simply identify herself with a male family line whose inherited traits included alcoholism and a tendency to depression. Her paternal grandfather, also called William Sinclair, had died in 1841, at the age of 37, and in *Mary Olivier* we can see Mary worrying about the fact that nobody ever said anything about her paternal grandfather, 'so perhaps there was something queer about *him*' (290; italics in original).

Stark (1992) has provided a detailed account of the ways in which *Mary Olivier* engages with Butler's criticism of Darwin's *The Origin of Species* and the question of whether or not madness and other aspects of family degeneration might be inherited. Noting that Darwin's account made it unlikely 'that anything so useless as insanity could be inherited at all', Mary finds herself nevertheless troubled by the theories of Maudsley and Ribot who made it seem 'even less likely that sanity could survive,' given that it would only be 'after many generations' that inherited insanity would be ameliorated; but by that time insanity would have degenerated through 'imbecility to idiocy, infecting more generations as it went' (*Mary*, 289). Mary is particularly bothered by Maudsley's claim that "[t]here is a destiny made for a man by his ancestors, and no one can elude, were he able to attempt it, the tyranny of his organisation", and this makes her realise that she had 'been wrong all the time'. Referring to herself in the third person, Mary rejects her earlier opinion that 'Papa and



Mamma, perhaps Grandpapa and Grandmamma' are each 'powerful, but independent and separate entities, in themselves sacred and inviolable, working against you from the outside: either with open or secret and inscrutable hostility, hindering, thwarting, crushing you down. But always from the outside.' (289–90) But that, Mary now realises was a mistake:

You had thought of yourself as a somewhat less powerful, but still independent and separate entity, a sacred, inviolable self, struggling against them for complete freedom and detachment. [...] But it was not so. There were no independent, separate entities, no sacred, inviolable selves. They were one immense organism and you were part of it; you were nothing that they had not been before you. It was no good struggling. You were caught in the net; you couldn't get out. And so were they. Mamma and Papa were no more independent and separate than you were. Dan had gone like Papa, but Papa had gone like Grandpapa and Grandmamma Olivier. [...] Papa couldn't help drinking any more than Mamma could help being sweet and gentle; they hadn't had a choice or a chance.

How senseless you had been with your old angers and resentments. [...] Mamma, Papa and Aunt Charlotte, Dan and Roddy, they were caught in the net. They couldn't get out.

Dan and Roddy—But Mark had got out. Why not you? (290)

It is in *Defence* that Sinclair tackles the question of how an individual might 'get out' of the ancestral 'nets' that completely determine the possibilities available to that person's life. She does this by tackling head-on the theoretical underpinnings of Butler's position, exposing what she and Butler share in terms of their beliefs about personal identity and acquired characteristics, whilst also opening up a gap between their two positions which, she insists, allows an individual self to emerge despite the biological input of her or his ancestors. Sinclair's argument against Butler in the first chapter of *Defence* is puzzling, but becomes less so when we notice that she is, like Butler, closer to the 'Great Chain of Being' thinkers than she is to later evolutionary theorists. This is evident in her use of the term 'sublimation' in both 'Way' and *Defence*. For Sinclair, neurosis is not caused by repression, as Freud had claimed. And 'sublimation' is also de-linked from psychic repression, and is instead used in ways reminiscent of the neo-Platonists. 'Sublimation' is thus defined as 'the diversion of the Life Force, of the Will-to-Live, from ways that serve the purposes and interests of the species, into ways that serve the purposes and interests of individuals' (*Defence* 7). Like Schopenhauer, who combines aspects of both Plato and Kant in postulating an underlying,

non-individuated force or 'Will' which underlies our everyday, but also illusory, space-time reality, Sinclair posits an underling 'Life-Force' which seeks to express itself through actualising itself as an individual spatio-temporal entity (Battersby, 'Schopenhauer'). And it is only because this undifferentiated and unindividuated life-force is capable of actualising itself as an individual that humanity, culture, geniuses and indeed evolution can occur. Conjoining elements of Butler and psychoanalytic theory, Sinclair claims in *Defence*: 'it is when, in four words, I resign my individuality, that I become inferior. And the one word for it is Degeneration' (39). For Sinclair, 'Neurosis is degeneration' (8).

This means that, for Sinclair, her father's alcoholism is to be equated with degenerative neurosis, and a failure to attain individuality. He is instead wholly defined by inherited family characteristics. May Sinclair needed to find a way to break free of the Butlerian 'nets' which made her simply identical with her alcoholic father and other 'degenerate' and 'neurotic' ancestors who had failed to escape the traps of heredity. In Sinclair's 1922 novella, *The Life and Death of Harriett Freat*, it is Harriett's father who enjoys reading Spencer, Darwin and other 'dangerous' books on evolution, with Harriett being repeatedly defeated in her attempts 'to understand a single word of Herbert Spencer' (41, 43). Like *Mary Olivier* and *Arnold Waterlow*, *Harriett Freat* also draws on autobiographical elements from May Sinclair's own life, and the sympathetic depiction of Harriett's father as a 'courageous' freethinker raises the question of whether, as a teenager, May Sinclair might have found the dangerous and challenging books on evolution in her father's own library at Mount Pleasant in Fairford. If so, that would fit with the hypothesis that William Sinclair should by no means be equated with the strict Anglican father depicted in *Mary Olivier*. Whether or not that is the case, the overall plot of *Harriett Freat* takes up Sinclair's argument in *Defence*, and illustrates the tragic consequences of allowing a daughter's identity to remain submerged in that of her parents, even after her father, and then her mother, had died. It is clear that Sinclair's ongoing internal dialogue with Butler is key to the development of her fiction, as well as to her philosophy. And since Fairford was a place associated by May Sinclair with insanity, degeneracy and a potentially tainted family line, outlining the links to Butler and the literature on heredity can also help us better understand the obscuring of Fairford as a significant childhood home.

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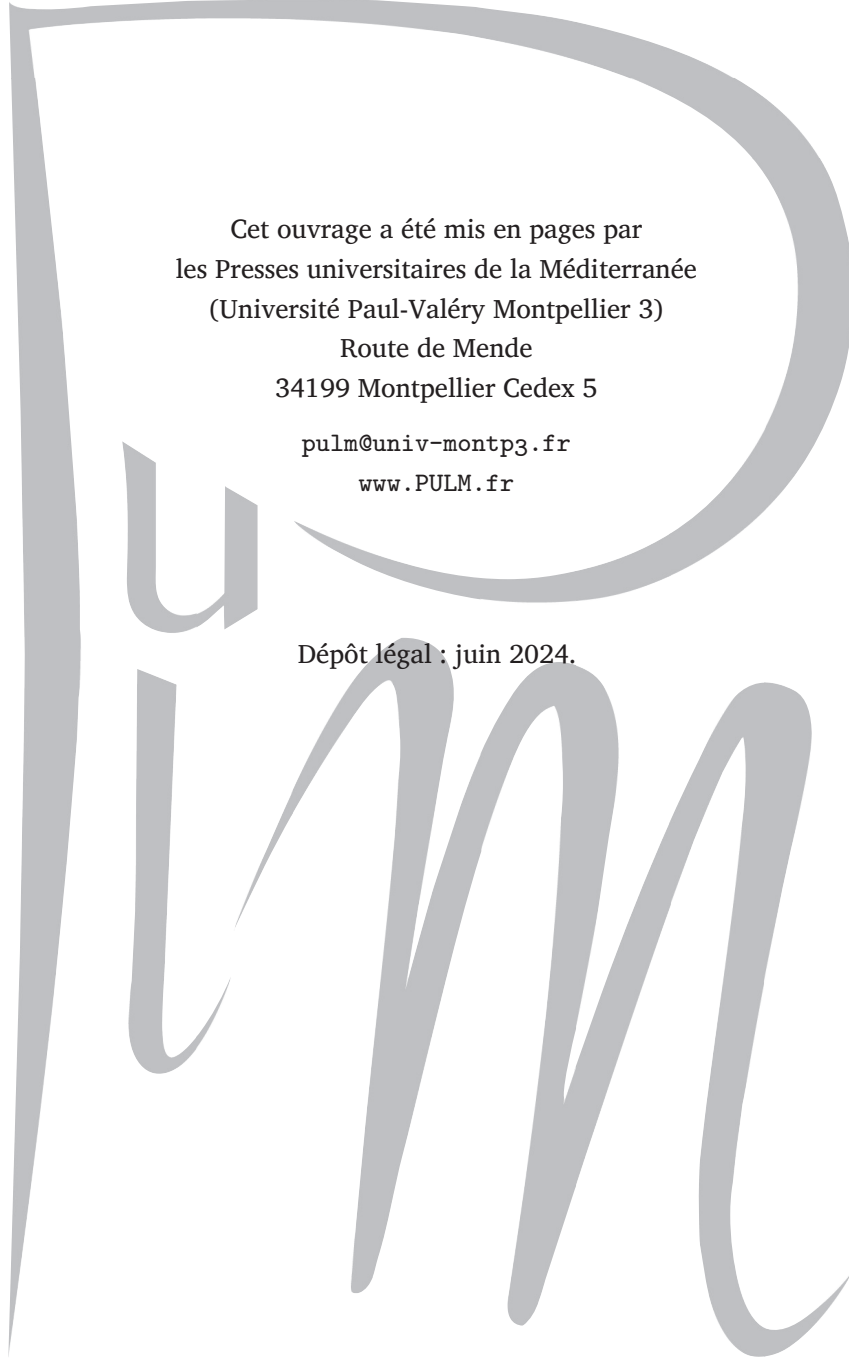
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