The Martineau Society

Newsletter No. 31 ***Summer 2012***

Contents

****

Martineau Society Subscription Information:
Yearly subscriptions are due on January 1st. * UK: Individual members £20 // Concessionary rate £10 // Institutional membership £45. Life membership rate is £200.

* Overseas: Individual members $37.50 // Concessionary rate $25. This may be paid in dollars to Prof. Elisabeth Arbuckle, Condo. Montebello M526 Trujillo Alto PR00976 USA.

****

Editor's Note

The extended Jubilee holiday in the United Kingdom, blessed by endless rain at the time of an official hose-pipe ban to save water in the east of England, has given your Editor an unequalled opportunity to prepare your latest newsletter. Clearly, the weather shares republican sympathies!

Our esteemed President, Mrs. Sophia Hankinson, has contributed the 'unpresidential' address she gave at last year's annual conference at Tynemouth. Her article is full of strange eggs. It features several characters of whom we may know as contemporaries of the Martineaus, including Harriet and James, but otherwise hear little.

Similarly, Elisabeth Arbuckle's article centres on a friend of Harriet and we welcome an article from a new contributor to our newsletter, Brian Bucknall, who has traced his family's close, indeed very close, connections to Harriet Martineau. We wish him good fortune in his further researches.

These are all very welcome contributions to *The Martineau Society Newsletter.* Your Editor hopes for more contributions featuring other persons in the Martineau circle. Other interesting persons abound. For example, Erasmus Darwin, whose childhood sweetheart, Emma, married his younger brother, Charles, was a 'close friend' of Harriet.

The article by Keiko Funaki follows a more usual pattern – Harriet Martineau's view in the 1850s of the future of British India. It looks at the influence on her thinking about India from John Stuart Mill and a further interesting character, Raja Rammohun Roy. Here is another bright connection. Rammohun Roy died whilst on a visit from India and is buried in Arnos Vale Cemetery, Bristol (see www.arnosvale.org.uk) His magnificent tomb is well maintained in this day by the Indian government and will be viewed by delegates to this year's annual conference of the Society.

It is with sadness that we must acknowledge the recent deaths of two members of the Society: Vice-President Robert (Bob) K. Webb (1922-2012), distinguished historian and Martineau biographer, whose obituary will follow in the next Newsletter), and Mrs. Barbara Smith, the former Librarian of Harris Manchester College, Oxford. Mrs. Smith made valuable contributions to the Society and will be fondly remembered for her

friendly welcome and unstinting help to many members in their researches.

Our grateful thanks to all our contributors to this newsletter. All the errors are, as ever, solely those of your Editor. Do enjoy your reading. After all, the Olympic Games in London are almost upon us!

****

A Brother Lost and Found: the tale of Edward Tagart, Helen Bourn Martineau, Charles Dickens, Beatrice Potter and Transylvania

Sophia Hankinson

This is not a proper, oven-ready Presidential address; instead I am presenting you with a few unscholarly eggs, and suggesting you make your own omelettes. I apologise also for the lack of visual aids, but offer you a portrait of the Revd Edward Tagart by Linnell. I also express my thanks to the Librarian of Harris Manchester College, to Rod Voegeli for much technical help, to Ann Peart who came to the Octagon Chapel, Norwich and gave an address covering much of the same ground, and to Pippa Tagart for supplying an extract from her father's family history, from which I shall quote freely. I hope Ann Peart will produce a paper for the Society on the correspondence of Helen Bourn in due course.

First, let me refresh your memory: some of you may remember Elisabeth Arbuckle and Ann Peart telling us, at early meetings of the Society, the sad tale of Harriet and James Martineau's adored eldest brother, Thomas, who studied medicine, became assistant to his uncle Philip Meadows Martineau and married Helen Bourn. Thomas contracted consumption and died aged 28; he was buried at sea on the way home from Madeira, whither they had gone hoping for a cure; their baby son, Philip Meadows, also died and is buried in Madeira. (My thanks to Rod and Iris Voegeli who saw the baby's tomb on a visit to Madeira.)

The Martineaus did what they could to console Helen: Harriet in particular was most solicitous to her 'dear sister' - 'dearest Helen' - as the first few letters in Valerie Sanders' *Selected Letters* show - ever ready with advice, little knowing that, a little later, Helen would be offering her comfort in the loss of Henry Worthington.

You may also recall that Edward Tagart came, at 21, to be the new minister at the Octagon Chapel, Norwich in 1825. A bantam's egg here: The minute books record his election, by 63 votes to 11, at a salary of £250, he to pay for a substitute on any Sunday when he was absent:

> "We impose no fetters …we only require such religious instruction, edification and consolation as are the result of an unprejudiced and diligent study of the Sacred Writings, and to this important service we are well persuaded you will devote yourself…".

At his ordination on 10th August he pronounced himself 'divested of all priestly domination'; afterwards, dinner at the Maid's Head was enjoyed by 90 persons**. (**See Ann Peart, *Faith & Freedom* vol.64, No. 173, pp 125ff).

Edward had already met and fallen in love with Helen; to the Martineaus' growing consternation, they became engaged and married in 1828 in Manchester, her home town. Elizabeth, Tom's mother, was horrified: she wrote to Helen that she expected her to 'wait to meet Tom in heaven'. More of this first egg later.

Here is the second: what happened next? Edward, as represented in the Linnell portrait, is one of the most distinguished (certainly the best-looking) among former ministers' portraits on display in the Octagon vestry. His subsequent career (for, unsurprisingly, he and his bride did not stay long in Norwich) was as minister at York Street Chapel, London, to the west of Upper Regent Street, and later at Little Portland Street, where he stayed 30 years until his death. So successful was he that his congregation presented him with an inscribed silver salver; and this is where Charles Dickens comes in: it was Dickens who composed the inscription… but that's another egg put aside for later.

The second relevant feature of Edward's career in London was his work for the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, into which he was recruited, soon put on the committee, and became Secretary in 1841. It so happens that the present-day Octagon congregation has, over the past few years, made contact, and subsequently exchanged visits, with congregations in Transylvania, a country which has always been a stronghold of Unitarianism. After their suppression by recent political regimes, many former congregations there have revived and one of their student ministers, on a visit to Harris Manchester College, came to Norwich and happened to mention that his church had been rebuilt but still had no communion set. There happened to be a spare set at the Octagon, formerly used at Little Portland Street after James Martineau succeeded Edward as minister there, and after suitable negotiations this set was in due course given to the needy church. All these coincidences amount to another egg : what I call 'Harriet at work', and have always been a favourite aspect of the Martineau Society

Edward decided, apparently on his own initiative, to visit Transylvania in 1858: he, Helen and the four surviving children (the youngest now 18) were to have a family holiday together in Switzerland; Edward and Lucy, the youngest daughter, would go on to spend a week in Transylvania while the others went straight home.

The letters and notes which Edward and Lucy compiled 'reporting on the state of our churches in Transylvania' are of interest perhaps mainly to Unitarians, and form a

separate egg which I do not propose to break here. Their mission accomplished, father and daughter were on their way home full of interest and information through the cities

of northern Germany. His last letter to his wife dated 2 October,1858, expresses his intention to proceed home without delay, where he hoped to arrive on the Wednesday following. But on the next day, he and Lucy took the train from Dresden through Cologne to Brussels, a long and fatiguing journey of twenty-six hours. At the Belgian frontier it appears he stood in the rain and caught a chill and on his arrival at Brussels at 0400 on 3 October, he felt extremely exhausted from fatigue and hunger.

The following day Edward was unable to rise from his bed and his daughter sent for medical aid. No serious apprehensions were excited until the symptoms of ague appeared in shivering fits, the first of which occurred on Sunday, 10 October. They increased in intensity. At home, more serious accounts arrived and ultimately a telegraphic despatch, upon receipt of which his youngest brother immediately proceeded to Brussels where he arrived too late to witness Edward's death which had taken place some hours before. The previous announcement of his coming was, of course a welcome relief and support to the bereaved Lucy. The sad tidings were tenderly broken to Edward's widow and family who had been at first wholly unprepared for them.

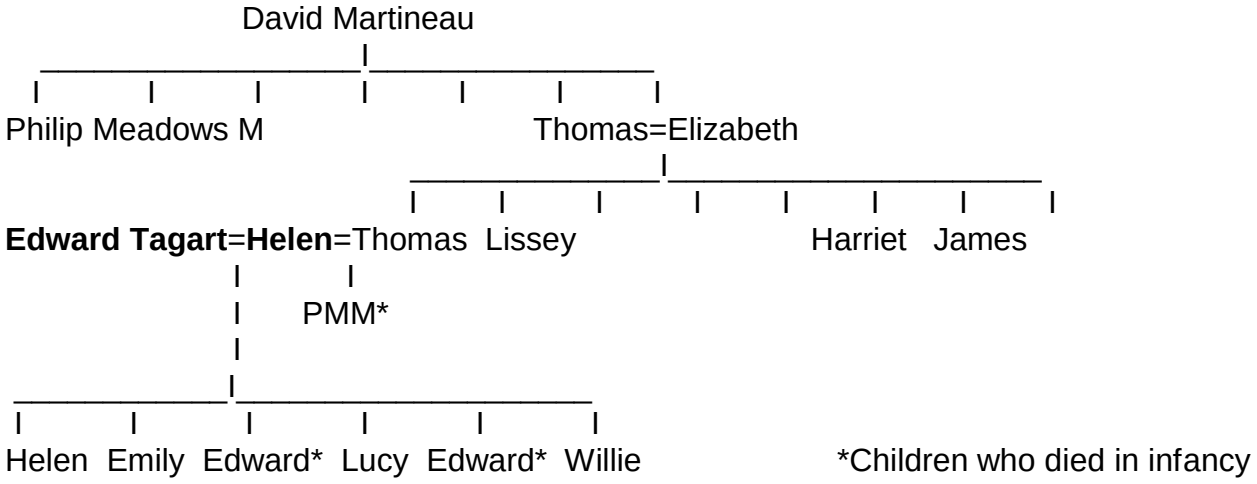
Edward's son, Willy, proceeded without delay to assist his uncle and bring home his sister. The body arrived in London on Monday, 18 October and was interred in the family grave at the cemetery in Kensal Green, London. Edward's cortege was followed to the cemetery at Kensal Green by his only surviving son, his son-in-law, his three surviving brothers and the Reverend Madge. The funeral service was performed by the Reverend James Martineau. Much of this is set out in *The Inquirer* of 23 October, 1858.

Another egg concerns Lucy, born in 1836, who lived till 1925: not surprisingly, she was inspired by this tragic experience, at the age of 22, to devote herself to Unitarian causes, especially the Central Postal Mission, the Unitarian Workers' Union and, notably, a Village Mission at Bedfield in Suffolk which only closed in 2010. (See Clifford Reed: *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* XXV.1,p.59. And See Ann Peart, *Faith & Freedom* vol.64, No. 173, pp 125ff.)

That is Edward's story in an eggshell; but what sort of man was he, what did he do in London and what of the marriage? His father, described in the obituary as 'a perfect gentleman', was a dissenting draper of Bristol and Bath, where Edward did very well at the Grammar School. Very early in life he decided to be a minister of the Unitarian Church. But when he was 12 years old his father died, leaving "a widow, six living children and an unborn infant to the merciful care of providence". The eldest son, William Henry, had to go to work to support the family. Edward nevertheless trained at Manchester College in York, and Norwich was his first pulpit. He proposed to set up home there with his mother and five younger brothers and sisters. His elder brother, William, the earner of the family, died in the following year, 1826. Fortunately,

"so great was the sympathy of the congregation with the deprivation the family had sustained by his removal, that they immediately increased the salary of their young minister, in order to lessen the anxiety of the widow for the future provision of her younger children".

*A Brother Lost And Found - the **Martineau-Tagart Family Connection***



Philip Meadows Martineau the surgeon and Thomas Martineau the merchant, oldest and youngest brothers, were prominent among the congregation. Of Thomas's children, Harriet was two years Edward's senior and James one year younger than him. The family were still mourning the adored eldest son Tom, and comforting his widow Helen - Harriet and Helen (a few years her senior) were still close friends, as is shown by their letters. Helen, herself a grand-daughter of the Revd Samuel Bourn (who was sent down from Cambridge in 1672 because he would not sign the required 'oaths and declarations') was by upbringing, intellect and instincts ideally suited to become Edward's partner, and held her own amongst the circle which became theirs. From Helen's correspondence with Rev John Robberds, Unitarian minister at Manchester, to whom she confided everything, it appears that there were years of heart-searching, from the time they first met through Lissey Martineau in Warrington, as she found herself falling in love with a penniless minister nine years her junior, not at all the future she had anticipated. When an engagement was finally announced, the mourning mother was much dismayed as we have seen. Harriet, never one to hold back in such matters, thought the match quite unsuitable.

However, in 1828 the Rev. Edward Tagart and the widow Helen Martineau were married in her home town of Manchester. She "on their union, placed at his control her moderate fortune, with confidence in his judicious employment of the amplest means for good and generous purposes and objects, to which she uniformly encouraged him by the fullest sympathy and trust". Edward's financial problems were at an end.

Portrait of Reverend Edward Tagart by John Linnell (Octagon Chapel, Norwich)

After this unpropitious start, the marriage of Edward and Helen lasted 30 years and seems to have been completely happy. Helen survived Edward's death by 13 years, dying at the age of 76 in 1871. Edward was an extremely hard working minister throughout his life. In addressing the British and Foreign Unitarian Society after 25 years of working for it, he said

> "I am more and more [for] the practical influence of religion and less and less for the theoretical. Not that my love for the Unitarian doctrine has one whit declined, but I love them especially for their practical bearing".

He also found time to become a member of several scientific societies, including the Linnaean and Geological Societies, even though not at all educated in science. He also greatly admired the philosophy of John Locke.

Their life in London was based first at Wildwood, a large house on Hampstead Heath; some years later they moved to a smaller house on the Finchley Road - Edward wrote that he thought their expenses would be reduced by £150 per annum - but also perhaps because their daughter, Helen, had left home to be married. By 1847 they were in Porchester Terrace, Bayswater. Their social life was extremely active and Helen appears to have been a tireless and charming hostess: friends included the Charles Dickenses, Thomas and Jane Carlyle, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Dean Joseph Farrar of Harvard, Leigh Hunt, William Thackeray, Mrs Gaskell, and John Linnell, the artist, who made pastel studies of Edward, some of his children and others of their circle.

Helen was sad at the breakup of the Dickens marriage but not averse to a bit of gossip. She wrote to her daughter:

> "I am going up to Hampstead with the carriage …to call on Mrs. Stansfield… [who] can tell me more about the Dickenses than anyone – I don't give any credit to the multitude of gossiping stories that are in circulation – Mrs. Dickens puts a brave face on it (but I can't think how she can leave her children) & says neither party are to blame but they think they shall be happier separated & he makes her a very handsome allowance £600 & therefore he is giving these readings to help out his income".

One source did remark that it was an argumentative household and another account says that Mr. Tagart "launched into metaphysical discussion about heaven and such like". Edward was probably prone to fits of depression and Helen's letters contain more than one reference to his being tired and overwhelmed by his responsibilities. In one a note of exasperation breaks through:

> "Mr. Tagart would be the better for a few lines from you to cheer him up. Do set before him all his blessings – tell him not to despond at trifles. You can do it better than anyone".

Edward usually wrote in terms of the greatest affection both to and about his wife but he was not above administering an occasional reproof:

> "Helen fortunately speaks of herself as better & returns some papers which you forwarded to her, I don't know why. They were only likely to bother her without

doing her any good. All, that does not give her pleasure, must be kept back from her, as it shd. Be (sic) from every body whom we do not desire to punish for known and palpable faults".

Both Edward and Helen were devoted parents, perhaps, as we shall see, too much so. An extract from one of Helen's letters is revealing:

> "He [Dickens] is come to London & little Charles was ill of scarlet fever when he wrote his last number of Dombey. The last parts were deeply interesting to me for I have always identified Paul with Willie [the youngest Tagart] & Florence with Lucy but, as Mr. Tagart told him, no creation of his could equal the sweetness & loveliness of Lucy's character or what she is to her little brother & in her own home".

They took holidays and attended conferences, often scientific, in Europe at fairly frequent intervals. In one letter to his eldest daughter, now married and living near Liverpool, her father points out that much as he would like to come and spend the summer holidays with her on the Lancashire coast, the Rhine is really nearer and more accessible, so that is probably where they will go.

There were six children of the marriage, of whom two boys died in infancy. The eldest daughter, "in every way a satisfactory daughter, much loved and respected by her parents", married a Liverpool lawyer. Her granddaughter's reminiscences give the impression that Edward and Helen were somewhat overindulgent. A second daughter, Emily Ann (1831–1890) presumably remained at home to keep her mother company.

The last child, William Henry - known as Willie - was born in 1840 by which time Helen was 45. He was considered delicate and in view of the early deaths of his two elder brothers was reared with anxious care. There is a story that his mother was advised by her doctor that he must never be allowed to cry. So he was always given in to and from an early age was a worry to his parents. From surviving letters he was "An unattractive character", but Edward wrote:

> "I do not perceive in him any tendencies of a degrading nature. I have not seen him take to smoking. I do not hear from him any the least expression to have time at his own disposal or to go wandering about town out of my sight."

One has the feeling that the Revd Edward was a bit out of his depth where his wayward son was concerned. The lad must have made good, however: it was he who went, with his uncle (Edward's youngest brother), to bring home his father's body; and it is to his descendants that we owe much of this omelette.

A final thought: is the number of early male deaths significant? Edward's father, eldest brother, two sons and one grandson all died either as children or in early middle age: was Edward only precipitating an end already genetically proposed by taking on his hazardous, arduous and unsolicited visit to Transylvania?

The Charles Dickens egg: in composing the inscription which was to go on the salver presented to Edward as a token of appreciation by his congregation in 1844, Dickens described Unitarianism as “that religion which has sympathy for men of every creed and ventures to pass judgement on none”. He was then, and had been for some years after his return from America, a member and constant attendee at Little Portland Street with his wife and family. No doubt we shall hear more of this during the 2012 Dickens bicentennial year.

Oh, and Beatrix Potter? She already has a connection with the Octagon (another egg). But her mother was a Unitarian and as the family lived near Little Portland Street it is more than likely that they sat at James Martineau’s feet when he held that pulpit - but Beatrix was not born till 8 yrs after Edward died, and I haven’t so far been able to prove it: this must be regarded as a dubious, if not rotten egg.

****

Harriet Martineau and Henry Crabb Robinson

Elisabeth Sanders Arbuckle

As a legal practitioner in the Assize Courts on the Norfolk Circuit, the Unitarian Henry Crabb Robinson had met the Martineaus of Norwich while Harriet was still a child. The son of a tanner, Robinson was born in Bury in 1796 and as a young man entered the office of a solicitor in Chancery Lane. When an uncle left him an income of £100 a year two years later, Robinson left for the continent to travel and study German. Curious, self-improving and personable, he was able to meet literary luminaries like Goethe, Schiller and Madame de Stael; he became a foreign correspondent (and later foreign editor) of *The Times*. After a daring stint as special correspondent in Spain for 6 months in 1808-1809, he returned to England, entered the Middle Temple and was called to the bar in 1813, vowing to leave when his income reached £500/year - as it did 15 years later. A voracious reader of new works of merit, Robinson sought the friendship of English writers and poets like Lamb, Coleridge, Southey and most notably, Wordsworth. At last he met the newly famous young woman causing a sensation in London literary circles by her clever tales illustrating the tenets of the new science of political economy - Harriet Martineau.

As with several intimate friends whose letters from Martineau have survived, Robinson seems to have become a confidant of most aspects of her personal and public life. Their 30-year friendship - known about from Robinson's diary, his letters to others and especially from Martineau’s letters to him (which she provisionally gave him permission to keep) tells us nothing really new about Martineau. But the friendship helps to confirm Martineau’s early popularity in London, her success as a domestic manager and community activist in Ambleside, her ever-widening interest in public affairs and finally,

her affection for people she admired such as Wordsworth.

In Norwich on 27 October 1832, Robinson was taken to call on Harriet Martineau. That morning in preparation, he read *Brooke and Brooke Farm*, one of her *Illustrations of Political Economy*, and recorded his impressions of her in his diary. "She is agreeable in her person and her manners," he wrote, "not old-maidish and not offensively blue in the colour of her conversation." Talking of books, he complained about the title of her series, "political economy," being an outré, radical new science, but she countered that she attributed her success to the term. (Years later, Robinson was to take a hard look at Martineau's intellect and achievements: she was intellectually superior to himself, he admitted, but had lost friends by her "infidel writings." Having "secured… a home at Ambleside [she] enforces respect where she is aware she cannot but be disliked.")

In spite of the difference in their ages and Robinson's periodic disgust with Martineau's wilder ideas, they tended to have the same values and opinions of others.

On 19 November 1837, a year after Martineau's return from America, Robinson came to dinner at the house on Fludyer Street, London, where Martineau lived with her mother and aunt. Again they talked about authors and biography, and Martineau liked his opinions of people, which agreed with hers. It was better, she noted, "to have truth than any particular kind of opinion of great people" (she was expressing this sentiment about Sir Walter Scott as shown in his letters but perhaps it did not apply to *her*).

The friendship between the two Unitarians of different generations, as suggested, was bound from the beginning to hit snags. Dining at Robinson's in January, Martineau pronounced on "the Seigneurial rights of the French Canadians" without really knowing what she was talking about, as she admitted in her diary. On his side, Robinson recorded (a bit contradictorily) that his respect for her diminished daily, though not his esteem "for her character," but he thought her reputation was secure whatever she might turn to next.

Besides meeting Martineau socially, Robinson was sometimes recruited for her mother’s favorite charities at Norwich, such as the support of two Polish orphan girls. He also continued to go to parties at Fludyer Street. One evening he met several "distinguished" guests there, including Carlyle. To his amusement, Martineau told him three times she was competing with two other parties that night.

Over the next year and a half, Martineau's hectic schedule included her journey to Newcastle and Scotland, the publication of her novel *Deerbrook* and her continental tour ending in the onset of a painful tumor. She now left London to be near her doctor brother-in-law at Newcastle.

From 1840 when Martineau was settled at Tynemouth in a room overlooking the sea, she and Robinson began to exchange long letters. Two years later Robinson made the journey to Tynemouth to see her, by chance travelling in the company of her bosom friend, Elisabeth Reid - another Unitarian whose husband Robinson had known. Reid had planned "to reside a few weeks" at the elegant Bath Hotel, a few doors along Front

Street from Martineau's room, and she arranged for Robinson to stay there too. The two visitors regularly breakfasted and dined together, calling on Martineau daily at 6:30 for tea and staying to chat till 10:00. Robinson thought Martineau looked well "under the salutary influence of laudanum." Showing him her correspondence with the MPs Robert Hutton and Charles Buller on her refusal of a pension of £150 offered by Lord Grey, she told him she had refused four times, not caring to take money from taxes that others had better claim to. She was an "excellent and most misunderstood" person, Robinson noted in his diary. Moreover, the luxuries in her apartment like hothouse flowers and pineapples supplied by her wealthy friends made him believe she didn't think she needed money. Curious about her recent *Playfellow* stories, he quickly read though the collection. The grim tale of boyhood amputation, *The Crofton Boys*, he judged "wise and highly moral" and praised the "perfect truth of the narrative." The action of *The Settlers at Home* struck him differently. It was set on the Norfolk coast, and the "wilful cutting of the dykes" seemed affecting but "uncomfortable." *Feats on the Fjord*, the tale of youthful heroism set in Norway, seemed "the most picturesque and agreeable by far." (Robinson's judgment was sound. Based on a nineteenth-century travel account, *Feats on the Fjord* has outstripped any of Martineau's other works, being republished well over than 30 times in England and America, as well as translated into Dutch, French and German and possibly other languages.)

When Martineau asked her friends in 1843 to destroy all her letters, Robinson was evidently granted a stay, for in late April she begged he wouldn't deprive her of "the solace" of their correspondence. Just in *case* he might some time be persuaded to print them, she explained her familiar case for the "*inviolability of private correspondce* ." By December, however, she conceded that Robinson could tell friends what she'd written in her letters.

Although Martineau now claimed she was too ill to write for a living, her personal and business letters grew longer and longer, and eleven closely-written pages were dispatched to Robinson in December 1842. Next he was approached by her friend Erasmus Darwin to be part of a committee collecting a testimonial fund for Martineau. When the money was presented to her the following summer, a slight contre-temps arose over her wish to spend £100 on a service of silverplate - as urged by Elisabeth Reid. Despite this blip, Martineau wrote serenely to Robinson of an imaginary chat she'd had with him over her needlework pondering the immortality of Wordsworth's thoughts. Yet her latest news of Reid was shocking. On the way to Tynemouth this time, her coach had overturned, Reid was badly shaken, and her maid now cried incessantly. Luckily, Martineau observed, the local doctor hadn't *bled* her.

Heartened by the testimonial fund, Martineau now determined to *use* her illness as a kind of tract. Her *Life in the Sick-Room* described the moral dangers of pain and depression and the mental and emotional benefits to be gained from long-term illness. (Today the short book seems a rather maudlin sermon, but Robinson's taste was thoroughly attuned to Martineau's.) He called *Life in the Sick-Room* the best thing she'd written, vindicating the "dignity of human nature in opposition to the common notion of human depravity." He also quoted Wordsworth's comment on the book's "perfect honesty and freedom from cant."

Henry Crabb Robinson: (photo courtesy of Wikipedia Commons)

Soon Martineau was off on another tack, being caught up in an ambitious scheme dreamed up by her friend Seymour Tremenheere to help prevent disaffected coal miners in the north from striking. Through books and other writings, they hoped to teach the ignorant miners that *their* welfare was closely allied to that of the owners. As a dedicated teacher of the people, Martineau could not resist this new challenge. Plunging into a vast letter-writing campaign, she asked authors to donate their copyrights to a cheap-books club. Soon she admitted to Robinson that the effort had been more than she had strength for. Yet within days she was writing on behalf of a "deserving young man" just going to London, whom she begged Robinson to "notice" (this was possibly the “suicidal youth” who pled for advice after reading *Life in the Sick-Room*). In the same letter to Robinson, Martineau asked if she could use part of his subscription to the Polish orphans. The elder sister had died, and she wanted to help *another* case in Newcastle, the daughter of an insane gentleman who had been her brother-in-law's fever patient. Finally, would not Robinson come for another visit? She wanted to compare notes with him about William Taylor, the controversial German scholar from Norwich.

Robinson must have agreed to help sponsor the Newcastle girl, Cristina, for Martineau soon reported that the father had returned from travelling with only the clothes he was wearing, yet was not crazy enough to be confined. The money collected to send Cristina to school was kept in a savings bank unknown to the father. Meanwhile, for the cheap-books club a "Weekly Volume" (later "Monthly Volume") aimed at the miners had begun to come out. Its benevolent publisher, Charles Knight, had decided furthermore, "that the humblest readers shd have the best books."

After this last letter of early May 1844, Martineau told Robinson she had been "cured" of her tumor by means of mesmerism. Greenhow had "dismissed" her case, and she and Robinson might meet when she got to the W. R. Greg’s home at Windermere (Martineau was to claim in her autobiography that Greg was "one of the very earliest inquirers into mesmerism in England”; he and his wife had come to see her at Tynemouth, and he invited her to come to his holiday home at Windermere to continue her mesmerism).

As was customary, Robinson then spent the Christmas season near the Wordsworths. In mid-January 1845, he jotted in his diary: "[t]he Davys [future neighbors of Martineau’s] gave a handsome dinner," including "the Gregs and Miss Martineau, the Fletchers and Mr. Graves" (other neighbors). Conversation, "by tacit consent," was on indifferent matters, Wordsworth, Dr. Davy and Mrs. Fletcher being "decided disbelievers" in mesmerism. While Wordsworth chatted to Martineau and Mrs. Davy, Robinson tried to be as "pretty-behaved as the poet" towards Mrs. Greg, "a very sweet woman indeed." Greg and Wordsworth seemed shy of each other, Robinson thought, but he arranged for Martineau to call at the Wordsworths next day, though doubting she would become "cordial" with them. Robinson, had misjudged Martineau's romantic streak, however, and she later avowed carrying the volume of Wordsworth's poems he had given her "over hill & dale." More importantly for Wordsworth scholars, Martineau became an informant for Robinson, reporting the poet's observations and the doings of

the Wordsworth circle. Wordsworth, she said for example, seemed able to lose himself in thought. At his brother's death, his face was "all gloom," then "all animation" at hearing about her extraordinary discourse in a mesmeric sleep. His mind must always have been "especially liberal," but was now *more* so (perhaps Martineau saw what she *wanted* to see in Wordsworth). In spite of this, he was unaware of the state of the poor and did not notice flagrant "sensual vice," around him, while JPs and clergymen despaired at the drunkenness, quarrelling and extreme licentiousness with women in the district. His life with his angelic wife was happy and serene, but everything must be punctual for him, the fire bright and so on. Calling daily on Isabella Fenwick, Wordsworth gave her a "smacking kiss" before sitting down to talk--she being "the worthiest possible" who did Martineau the honor to be fond of *her*. When she called on Wordsworth at Rydal Mount, Martineau said, she could hear him only if he spoke directly *to* her (her reports to Robinson therefore relied partly on what others told her).

When The Knoll was almost finished in summer 1846, Robinson ordered a house-warming gift: a "marble-mounted sideboard" (or dresser) for the drawing room. Yet before it was delivered, Martineau had gone to Liverpool from where she dashed off a note to Robinson, thanking him and teasing him with a puzzle. "Next Thursy evg," she'd be in London "at Mr Wedgwood's for a week," but she hoped to spend Christmas "at the first cataract of the Nile" and to see Jerusalem before she saw Westmorland again. (James Martineau's wealthy parishioners at Liverpool, the Yates, had invited her to travel with them to Egypt and the holy lands.)

While Martineau was away, Robinson went to hear a lecture by her friend Ralph Waldo Emerson, whom he had disliked from a distance. Now seeing Emerson for the first time, Robinson declared his countenance "a combination of intelligence and sweetness" that quite disarmed him. To his brother, he quoted Martineau that Emerson, "'without convincing anybody's reason of any one thing, exalts their reason, and makes their minds worth more than they ever were before.'"

When Martineau had returned from the East and Robinson was spending another Christmas in the midst of the "high church & tory" Wordsworth circle (which offended him), he found it "a relief to join with Mrs Arnold Mrs Fletcher or Miss Martineau." Martineau was an object of envy "by the success of her domestic arrangements," the Wordsworths told him. Walking home with her from the Wordsworths', he heard about the building-society, her lectures, her "management of land" and selling butter and milk from her cow. She was delighted to be setting a good example for the young women of the district, she told him.

In Paris in mid-June 1850, Robinson met "some of the most agreeable Americans" he had ever seen, Eliza Follen and Maria Chapman (Martineau's two closest American women friends). Chapman, he recorded in his diary, was an anti-slavery "enthusiast," and the drawback to the women's society was that they seldom allowed themselves "to talk on any other subject," demanding full agreement with their views (shades of Martineau on *her* subjects!). "Ah! What a woman that is!--Mrs Chapman," Martineau gushed to Robinson. Follen was "vivacious, & impulsive & sweet," but Chapman had

reasoning powers that could not be baffled, "learning and literary *fulness* . . . knowledge of the world [and] the noblest martyr spirit . . . of our time." Had Susan Cabot, Follen's sister, made any impression on him? Though "one of the plain, humble old maids whom nobody notices," she *was* clever, Martineau felt.

When the Atkinson letters came out, Martineau feared their "plain-speaking" would result in her "excommunication from the world of literature." Robinson, in fact, happened to hear Mary Ann Evans (George Eliot) pronounce the book as "studiously offensive…absolutely atheistic!" (Eliot, however, then reviewed the work.)

Within a year, the unstoppable Martineau was sending her "Letters from Ireland" to the London *Daily News*, and Grace Davy told Robinson that Martineau was making "£200" by writing for that paper.

Further anecdotes might be quoted to illustrate Robinson's sometimes dumbfounded but grudging admiration for Martineau, as suggested at the beginning of this paper. Once granted permission to *tell* people what was in Martineau's letters, Robinson might have pled forgetfulness as a ruse to keep them. Luckily, the correspondence - meticulously preserved and now deposited at Dr. Williams's Library in Gordon Square - has survived to extend our understanding of Martineau, including her capacity for friendship and her agility at brushing off occasional criticism she didn't want to hear.

****

The Martineau/Bucknall Connection

By Brian G. Bucknall

My interest in Harriet Martineau (HM) stems not from studies in English literature or Victorian socio-economics but from a more lowly reason: that is through her farm hand and gardener, my several times great uncle. This servant connection puts me well below the salt cellar at the HM table.

It was my late uncle who many years ago first mentioned HM to me. He was interested in family history and told me with a certain amount of pride that an earlier member of the family had gone to work for Harriet Martineau in the Lake District although he didn't know who the ancestor was. And I didn't know who Harriet Martineau was! Not wanting to appear ignorant in the presence of my uncle, a learned professor of metallurgy and born in the period when HM was presumably better known, I merely nodded assuming she was some prominent Victorian. He also described HM as a professional invalid and seemed fascinated that her illness had been cured by mesmerism. I made a mental note that I should investigate this lady and the family connection at some time in the future.

Many years later, I happened to be in the bookshop of the Genealogical Society when my eye caught sight of a publication bearing the Martineau name – *Who's Who in the Lake District.* So I bought a copy and mentioned this to my next-door neighbour who had some literary leanings. She said she thought the Martineau family had lived in Norwich. So at this stage nothing much had yet been learnt.

The next event was my daughter marrying a Martineau descendant. Her future grandmother-in-law, a Mrs Martineau, invited my wife and me to lunch. Sadly, she seemed to know very little about HM when I raised the matter but on the other hand she had not been born into the Martineau family. I had to do this carefully as I didn't like to mention the servant connection!

A few years later, this time in my retirement, I resolved to crack the "Martineau nut". My objectives were to establish just who was Harriet Martineau, who was the ancestor that had gone to work for her and how did he did he come to do so. This involved two lines of research. The first was to check the Victorian censuses and other family history sources and the second to find out about Harriet Martineau and all her works.

The censuses confirmed the presence of a Henry Bucknall, gardener and farm servant, at Ambleside in 1861 but he was not there in 1851. Thus he had gone to work for HM before 1861 but after 1851. So he had not come to Ambleside in 1846 when the house was first built but about 15 years later. I also found he and his family continued to live there until his death in 1889.

In terms of the Harriet Martineau project it seemed sensible to begin by reading the then recently-accessible computerised Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. This gave me a very comprehensive picture. Other sources, for example, Wikipedia followed. I was amused to learn something of her finances. Having had some involvement with mutual societies at one time in my career and knowing that the building society movement had started in Birmingham I thought her establishment of the Windermere Building Society commendable. On the other hand, having found she had lost a good proportion of her savings in a company that had run into difficulties I was surprised she had put a relatively high proportion of her eggs into one basket. One would have thought she should have known better.

The two volumes of her autobiography then followed. I found it readable and moving because in spite of several misfortunes and handicaps her determination won through. Her factual style of writing and a certain amount of dry humour also appealed to my temperament. The only disappointment was the biography finished around 1855 with no references to a Bucknall and although I had enjoyed the two volumes I was no further on. I then came across *A Year at Ambleside* by Barbara Todd. This covered a later period and there was a reference to Henry Bucknall and his family. I also read the third volume of her biography by Maria Weston Chapman.

Some of her other works were read for example *Health, Husbandry and Handicraft* (with some difficulty because it was a poor-quality re-print) but it was not until *The Collected*

Letters of Harriet Martineau was published and read in 2007 that I was able to bring my own investigation to a close. I much enjoyed reading these works with exception of *Deerbrook* which was not to my taste at all.

The censuses revealed that a Henry Bucknall and his wife Elizabeth were living at The Cottage in Ambleside in 1861. Other records showed they had married in 1859 aged 43 and 34 respectively at Nottingham where Henry had been a framework knitter living in nearby Beeston. Discovery of these facts raised further queries – why had they married so late in life and how was it a framework knitter from Beeston had become a gardener and farm servant at Ambleside? It was not until I had read some of HM's letters that I found the marriage had taken place just before the couple settled at Ambleside, in early 1859.

In the earlier 1800s the framework knitting industry centred in the East Midlands was economically in a bad way. Henry's elder brother Theophilus, my great, great-grandfather, had left the industry in the mid-1840s and moved to Edgbaston, Birmingham, where he became gardener to the Bache family. The head of the family was Samuel Bache, a Unitarian minister, and they lived at 44 Frederick Road.HM's brother Robert, who was also a Unitarian and had become a brassfounder, was a near-neighbour of the Baches living at 32 Highfield Road in 1851 and 38 Highfield Road in 1861. Edgbaston had begun to be developed in the early 1800s for successful tradesmen looking for a small country house set in a spacious garden. Hence a demand for gardeners.

Theophilus Bucknall had another brother, Edward, who also became a gardener in Edgbaston. Following further investigation it seemed the brothers had gained horticultural and agricultural experience at Beeston where framework knitting was a cottage industry in an area of smallholdings. So with two brothers in Birmingham as full-time gardeners it would not be unexpected for the third to join them and look for similar work in the same district.

With the Martineau and Bache families being near-neighbours and Unitarians it is very likely they were friendly. The Bache family seems to have treated my great great-grandfather Theophilus well as he worked for them for many years. Furthermore, they nominated two of his sons, one being my greatgrandfather, to the Birmingham Bluecoat School. A son was also given a second name Kentish as was a Martineau son, Edward Kentish. Both sons, it seems, were named after the famous Birmingham Unitarian minister John Kentish *(1768-1853).*

HM's niece, Maria, born 1827 and third child of Robert Martineau and elder sister of Edward Kentish had gone to live with her aunt in the early 1850s and had become her devoted companion and secretary. It seems very likely that Maria Martineau with her Birmingham and Unitarian connections had a role in the recruitment of Henry after HM's previous gardener and farmworker, Robert Fulcher, had left her employment following a dispute.

A letter of 23 March 1859 from Harriet Martineau to Sarah Martineau, the wife of George Martineau, Harriet's cousin, states:

> "We are so comfortable with the new man and his bride. She is a nice active body, very sensible and her husband adores her. They are desperately happy, to be sure."

It should be noted that at the time of their marriage in 1859 Henry was aged 43 and Elizabeth 34. These ages suggest a possible long courtship, marriage perhaps not being possible until Henry had found permanent employment.

So it was in early 1859 that Henry went to work at The Knoll as gardener and farmer of her model farm of two acres. This farm had been started when the house was built in 1846 to provide a measure of self-sufficiency in food for HM's household. After the opening of the railway to Windermere in 1847 the summer influx of tourists to the Lake District periodically caused food retailers to run short of supplies. HM's innovative farming resulted in some national publicity, the interest of a Parliamentary Committee examining "The Smallholdings Question" and the publication of a book on the subject.

Henry Bucknall and his wife lived in an adjacent cottage (Knoll Cottage) and were identified living there up to the 1881 census, although Harriet Martineau had died in 1876. *The Knoll* remained in the possession of the Martineau family until the 1920s and Henry worked for the new tenant until his death in 1889. Reports suggest Harriet Martineau treated her servants very well, educated them and even provided them with a library. Knoll Cottage evidently had a commodious laundry room which enabled Elizabeth Bucknall to become a laundress there. Henry and Elizabeth had two daughters, the first being named Harriet Elizabeth after Henry's employer and the second, Martha Jane.

It seems unlikely that Martha was named after HM's former maid, Martha Fulcher, who had left HM's employ some years earlier. Most likely she was named after her paternal grandmother, Martha Bucknall.

Harriet Elizabeth was safely delivered at birth by Maria Martineau. A letter from HM to Fanny Wedgwood, her friend, in March 1860 reads:

> "Last Wednesday, my farm man's wife, (married, not young, above a year ago) was taken into labour after breakfast - the nurse 5 miles off and both doctors miles away - five women choosing to be confined that day. Maria, who had never seen any case of the kind, went down, - not letting me know and providing against my being told. It was a very rapid case, - only 3 hours and do you know Maria carried the poor woman through, till the nurse arrived only 5 minutes before the birth. The doctor came 5 minutes after. By some instinct M. did exactly what was right. (She was so stiff the next day). A severer case could hardly occur, - it was so quick. Mother and child are perfectly well (the latter name "Harriet"!). The mother said yesterday of Maria - "I have never stopped thinking of her. What would have become of me without her?" ".

In late December 1860 a letter from HM to Sarah Martineau reports:

> "Our Christmas passed over in the normal way - that is, with a kitchen party of odd & end people - from 80 to 8 months. Maria took charge of the farm baby during the dinner hour, to rescue it from doses of goose & plum puddings & beer."

A letter from Jane Martineau to Sarah Martineau 25 December 1864 reports:

> "...all the gay doings are to be in the kitchen tomorrow. It has been Aunt's custom to invite a few poor people & tomorrow there will be nine to dinner, including the Bucknalls."

No further references to the Bucknalls have been found although Books 5 and 6 of the *Collected Letters* have yet to be read. But this does not matter as a good deal has now been unearthed about the Bucknall family of Ambleside. One of my cousins (daughter of my late uncle) hearing of my research mentioned that a great aunt had once told her that as a child around 1900 following an illness she had been sent by her Birmingham parents for health reasons to stay with the Bucknall younger daughter, Martha Jane, who by then had married a plumber and continued to live in Ambleside. She said she had been taken to see Knoll Cottage and was highly amused and somewhat horrified to find the stairs to the upstairs rooms were on the outside of the building. Another interesting anecdote from her was the journey from Windermere Railway Station to Ambleside. This was by what seems to be a post-chaise before the days of motor cars or buses. Apparently the journey was along a toll road with the coachman sounding his hunting horn on the approaches to the various gates, much to the amazement and delight of the young child.

When I heard this story I reflected on both the campaign at the time of HM on the proposed railway from Windermere to Ambleside which was never proceeded with perhaps due to strong local opposition of the Lake Poets amongst others. Also, I thought, the postal service upon which HM completely relied for her livelihood would have the difficult job of conveying mails promptly each day by post-chaise along the same Windermere - Ambleside road.

Investigation of the Bucknall connection with HM over a period of several years has been a fascinating and educative experience. As well as resolving a family history matter I have learnt a good deal about the social, economic and international issues in England and the USA in Victorian times. Once I have written up the family history I expect to return to my HM readings.

Bibliography

Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
Wikipedia
Birmingham – The building of a City Joseph McEnna 2005. Tempus Publishing.
Blue Coat – A History of the Blue Coat School, Birmingham 1722-1990 John D. Myhill 1991. Meridian Books

Streetwise. Street names in and around Birmingham Vivian Bird 1991. Shire Publications.
Framework Knitting Marilyn Palmer 1984. Shire Publications
Harriet Martineau's *Autobiography* Volumes 1 & 2. 1877 Re-published by Virgin Press.
Harriet Martineau at Ambleside Barbara Todd 2002. Bookcase. Carlisle.
Autobiography with Memorials (1877) Maria Weston Chapman. Virago London 1993.
Health, Husbandry and Handicraft Harriet Martineau 1861. Bradbury and Evans. London (Re-print by Kessinger)
Deerbrook Harriet Martineau. London 1839
Ancestry Co. (family history information)
Exploring Beeston's History - web-site. Beeston & District Local History Society.

****

Harriet Martineau and The India Question: her view of future India

Keiko Funaki

The Indian Rebellion began as a mutiny of sepoys of the East India Company's Army on 10 May, 1857. The Rebellion was the First War of Independence for India. Harriet Martineau began to write *British Rule in India: a Historical Sketch* on 16 September, 1857. It Is not a political commentary but what had to be done in that situation - a clear and Harriet Martineau-like conception of past incidents and of present real behaviour.

This paper is mainly concerned with Harriet Martineau's view of 'The India Question'. It was a pressing question for her. The key is her respect for Indian Unitarians. She respected the Indian reformer, Raja Rammohun Roy, whom she had met in her apprenticeship period as a writer in the Unitarian society of Norwich when she had won a Unitarian essay contest with essays on Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The Indian reformer, Rammohun Roy,[1] was a liberal–minded intellectual who welcomed Western technological and social innovations and supported controversial reforms as the abolition of suttee(sati) and thuggee. When the mutiny of the sepoys happened in India, Harriet Martineau mourned the unsettled circumstances of India. After she had published *British Rule in India: a Historical Sketch,* Harriet wrote *Suggestions towards the future Government of India* quickly and the article was published the following year. Why she did rush her work? She wanted to write about certain inferences from the history of the East India Company, and on the present circumstances of Hindustan and its rules, which might possibly become of use in the impending controversy about the maintenance or abolition of the East India Company. Harriet Martineau wrote in the preface of *British Rule in India: a Historical Sketch* –

> "The aim of the work, and the treatment of its subject, are as humble as can well be. I simply wish to put in the way of others a convenience which I should often have been glad of myself for obtaining a general notion of what our Indian

> empire is, how we came by it, and what has gone forward in it since it first became connected with England."[2]

Harriet respected Indian culture, insisted on the liberty of Indians, and opposed direct rule by the British Government. So she needed to examine the rule of the East India Company from the past to the present. She included her opinion and opposed the British government's proposals for a new Parliamentary Act for the rule of India. Isobel Armstrong has pointed out Harriet's awareness of Palmerston's philistinism.[3]

However, it is curious that Harriet's claim was almost the same as John Stuart Mill's, a Utilitarian who could not state his private opinion because of his duties as the East India Company's Conductor of Correspondence for the Native States at that time. It is my opinion but her claim for liberty of India seems similar to the concept of Mill's *On Liberty* (1859). When she writes about liberty of opinion, or education for Indians, we practically read his *On Liberty*, though yet unpublished at that time.[4]

This paper's main focus is Harriet Martineau's view about India. Firstly, for understanding of Harriet's view, I think Deborah Logan's preeminent study is suitable for guidance. Deborah Logan's view of Harriet Martineau's writing about India is that she presents a history of British India and provides an overview of proposed reform to repair England's damaged relationship with its 'dependency'. Logan argues that her *British rule in India: a Historical Sketch* focuses primarily on the East India Company as the representative of the British Government, one whose roles shifted between trade relations, an ambiguously-defined policy of intervention in the indigenous culture, and territorial acquisitions.[5] On the other hand, Armstrong's view emphasizes influences of the Mill father and son. Armstrong argues Harriet's historical view draws on James Mill's *History of British India* (1817), and Harriet follows John Stuart Mill's respect for native customs.[6]

Armstrong states Harriet Martineau does not share James Mill's contempt for Indian culture, or Thomas Macaulay's reading of the Indian as irredeemably effeminate. But Armstrong's view is careful. Armstrong says that Martineau did not share John Stuart Mill's understanding of Indian culture as a lower form on the evolutionary scale. Martineau shared his father's contempt for this view. Martineau's view of India is more complicated. So I affirm her intention once again. In her *Suggestions towards the Future Government of India*, she said,

> "I have been urgently requested to present, in some familiar form, certain inferences from the past history, and suggestions from the present circumstances of Hindustan and its rules, which may possibly be of use in the impending controversy about the maintenance or abolition of the East India Company. The leisure, quietness, and impartial position of the sick-room seemed to render the request reasonable; and I have had much satisfaction in doing what I could to induce consideration and caution, in prospect for the most formidable legislative proposition that has been brought forward for many

years."[7]

Unlike John Stuart Mill, Harriet emphasized that she was impartial in her position in her sick-room. She claimed that the time had arrived which would determine whether Britain would lose India very soon, or keep it as a more valuable portion of the British Empire than it had ever yet been. She criticized Palmerston's Parliamentary proceedings, writing:

> "We may hope to see the great majority of the two Houses making the same admission, and insisting on not being hurried into legislation which all future generations may deplore. But it is so strongly believed that lord Palmerston will assume that both people and government are in condition to legislate, that there is no time to lose in putting forth a plea for rational caution, and a warning against such insolent precipitancy as too often follows an equally insolent apathy and procrastination. Such a plea and such a warning are furnished by the most cursory review of the condition of the case; conditions so remarkable, so peculiar, so new to the imagination and judgment of Englishmen as to demand time and study which another year will scarcely afford."[8]

Harriet Martineau emphasized that the case of India was unprecedented. She said, before arriving at the separate condition of the case of India, how peculiar the whole case was. She also said that Britain's footing in India had begun and extended without national cognizance. When the region became British, it was not ruled by the British Government. Therefore India was no colony of Britain; it had never been national territory, she emphasized. Her issue is clear and logical. She claimed that it was impracticable for British territory in India to be superseded in the same way as in other countries which, like Canada and Australia, became colonies, thoroughly British and very modern. Even if, in fact, India was under British government rule, the East India Company's position prevented India becoming part of the British Empire.

After she had analyzed Indian conditions, Harriet suggested that India needed a permanent constitution and representative government. She recognized the religious situation in India as the most conspicuous problem and close to the political difficulties. She said that the standing controversy between the East India Company and some sections of the religious world, about the existing policy of equal toleration, proved the first point. Harriet analyzed the conditions of the Indian Case; the first was the dimensions of India, second, its characteristics, and third, its history. She saw the difficulties for the governing of India as the huge population and peculiar races, the Asiatic political experience and its religions.

Harriet pointed to the Anglo–Indian case next. The Anglo-Indian mind was the policy of the East India Company, since its attention has been devoted to its territorial rule. She states the Anglo –Indian state of mind and knowledge specifically. The British Empire in India began as a commercial adventure, ordinarily selfish in its character. Next she analyzed conditions of the British case. She stated that the British people were mostly

ignorant about India. She pointed to the political errors by the British in India.

Harriet stressed the lack of liberty of opinion in India especially. She said it was essential to establish equality under the law and its administration and after that to convince the governed of their right of opinion. These are, as mentioned above, resemblances to John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. Harriet states her view on the importance of liberty of opinion in India in part II, under the title "The task to be done". Her opinion is clear: after people's equality under the law, the government must convince the governed of their right of opinion and if the public opinion which exists in India is ignorant, it is highly necessary for the Europeans to be aware of it, in order to gain insight into the native mind. This is indeed her characteristic view of education and this view is common to John Stuart Mill. It may be a common thought of radical Victorians. As Armstrong analyzes, it is true that Harriet Martineau follows John Stuart Mill in respect for native customs and culture, drawing upon the writings of those who thought likewise. Harriet shares his belief in indirect rule and resistance to Crown rule although she does not agree with him on the importance of retaining Indian languages as the medium of law and learning. She emphasizes the importance of religious liberty. She considers that equal civil rights, amidst all the diversities in religion, must be the foremost principle; it includes the necessity that all state functionaries, both civil and military, abstain from interfering with any man's religious persuasion.[9]

Conclusion

Harriet Martineau and John Stuart Mill, contemporary Victorians, treated many controversial subjects similarly, such as Comte's philosophy, the education of women and the freedom for women to hold property. The India Question was one of them. As Mill was a public official of the East India Company, the Chief Conductor of Correspondence and then Examiner, there were many official documents issued through Mill but few personal works. Regarding the India Question, it is interesting that the conclusion of both Mill and Martineau is to accept, albeit reluctantly, the end of the East India Company. The India Question has various approaches, for instance from the standpoint of Harriet Martineau as a journalist, religious writer, Liberalist, and radical Victorian.[10] The political question of the hour about the East India Company was their common question. She concluded Crown rule was premature for the current condition of India. Her suggestion was gradual reform in Britain's relationship with India. She warns against the nonsense of prevailing British rule in India. She analyzed that if Queen Victoria was ever to be truly acknowledged as Empress of Hindustan, it must be by virtue of waiting for the fitting hour of proclamation. But she stated the evil of a pretended double government. She analyzed British rule in India from religious and historical viewpoints and drew her conclusions based on historical analysis. At this point, it is necessary to analyze John Stuart Mill's 'Historical Method' in his *System of Logic* (1843). Mill corresponded with Comte from 1841. Harriet Martineau began to

read Comte's works in 1851.

Auguste Comte is a key person for both social scientists considering the method of history. Martineau's future India would be denied 'double' government, and she demanded political change for India albeit It would be difficult to achieve the protection of the East India Company and the independence of Indian society. She said, "This must be the safest immediate course, whatever may be the ultimate decision."[11] Though she did not state it, it is clear she implied political change may ultimately mean India's independence. If it is so, this is the important point arising from her esteem for Rammohun Roy, the Indian Unitarian.

Notes and References

1 "Hindu Unitarian Reformer", Roy was celebrated by earlier editors between 1818 and 1826. Aslant called him a "Hindu Unitarian Reformer", and though this appropriation depended on some rather too easy analogies between Roy's Buddhism and Unitarianism, the enthusiasm was genuine. Isobel Armstrong in *Harriet Martineau Authorship, Society and Empire* (see below).p.215.and Robert Aspland, *Monthly Repository*, 1(1822), 561-9(p.561), 'Review - Hindu Unitarianism.' p.228 2010)

2 *Harriet Martineau's writing on the British Empire:* vol.5, The India Question, Edited by Deborah Logan, London Pickering & Chatto 2004.p.8.preface. (She campaigned in her column) The East India Question, November 1857~24 July, 1858. *Daily News*.

3 Isobel Armstrong, "Harriet Martineau and India: on not writing accusatory history" *Harriet Martineau Authorship, Society and Empire* Edited Ella Dzelzainis and Cora Kaplan. Manchester University Press.2010.p.214

4 "I was in a few years qualified to be, and practically was, the chief conductor of the correspondence with India in one of the leading departments, that of the Native States. This continued to be my official duty until I was appointed Examiner, only two years before the time when the abolition of the East India Company as a political body determined my retirement." (*Autobiography, Collected Works* [CW]I, Toronto University1981.pp.83-5) He was the Examiner (1856-58) at the end of the East India Company. Mill had already proved his capacities to defend the Company's interests vigorously during the Parliamentary investigations that preceded the enactment of Charter Act of 1853. Mill's writing about India and the East India Company comprises a huge corpus of official or quasi-official material, only a small proportion of which was ever published. He described the end of the affair to his friend Henry Chapman on 8 July:
"The East India Company has fought its last battle, and I have been in the thick of the fight. The Company is to be abolished, but we have succeeded in getting nearly all the principles which we contended for, adopted in constituting the new government, and our original assailants feel themselves much more beaten than we do. The change though not so bad as at first seemed probable, is still, in my opinion, much for the worse."
On 2.September, 1858, when the Company's responsibility for India was withdrawn and its home establishment formally wound up, Mill took his leave from East India House. He refused offers of a seat on the new Council of India, almost refused to accept the silver inkstand which his Company colleagues had presented to him, and never again sought or occupied an official position in the home government of British India.(CW. XXX. p. xxxix.)

5 *Harriet Martineau's Writing on the British Empire* Vol.5.The India Question, Edited by Deborah Logan, London Pickering & Chatto 2004.p.1.

6 Isobel Armstrong[2010], p.216.

7 Harriet Martineau, *Suggestions Towards The future Government Of India* Smith Elder & Co. London. p. v. preface.

8 Ibid.pp.2-3

9 Ibid. pp.59-60.

10 R.K.Webb:1960.

11 Harriet Martineau[1858]p.153.

Tomb of Raja Rammohun Roy (Courtesy of Arnos Vale Cemetery Trust)

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

Kathryn Fox, Prof Kathryn Ecclestone, John Leigh and Bernard Omar

****

The Martineau Society

The Martineau Society was founded in the early 1990s by members of the Octagon Chapel, Colegate, Norwich, to foster interest in the descendants of Gaston Martineau, surgeon and Huguenot refugee who settled in Norwich in 1695.

Their skills developed in many fields: medicine, art, writing, engineering, education, religion and industry and the Society publishes papers on their lives and correspondence with others in these fields and with their other contemporaries.

The Society is a registered charity (no. 1064092) and holds an annual conference which includes an AGM, papers and visits to places connected with the Martineau family. The Society issues *The Martineau Society Newsletter* twice each year, containing scholarly articles and news of events and publications.

Contact Information

www.martineausociety.co.uk

Elisabeth Arbuckle	elisabeth.sanders.arbuckle@gmail.com
Jane Bancroft	jane.bancroft@btinternet.com
Bruce Chilton	bruce_chilton@hotmail.com
Sophia Hankinson	sophia.hankinson@btinternet.com
Alan Middleton	alan@ajmiddleton.co.uk
Valerie Sanders	V.R.Sanders@hull.ac.uk
Barbara Todd	btodd06@btinternet.com
John Vint	j.vint@mmu.ac.uk
Robert Watts	watts372@btinternet.com
Ruth Watts	watts372@btinternet.com
Gaby Weiner	gaby.weiner@btinternet.com

The Martineau Society Newsletter submissions of 2,500 – 3000 words or less may be sent to Bruce Chilton, Newsletter Editor:

*by email and as an attachment, preferably in Microsoft Word, to:
bruce_chilton@hotmail.com

*by post to: 22 Marston Lane, Norwich NR4 6LZ, UK

phone: 0044 (0)1603 506014

Please note: Submissions must be made on the understanding that copyright will be shared to the extent that ***The Martineau Society*** may publish them in the Society newsletter and elsewhere, wholly or in part, including through the Society's websites. Otherwise, copyright remains with the authors of the individual contributions.

****

If, by a liberal interpretation, or, better, a complete revision of the technical phraseology of doctrine, the bands of creed be not relaxed, the church must either descend to the rank of a sect, or become a vast hypocrisy; pretending to unity, yet torn by divisions; representing the faith of the country, yet sheltering its unbelief; the symbol of piety, yet a storehouse of unveracity; the nominal head of all our culture, yet sworn to the words of an age that had none of it. How long will educated Englishmen bear patiently the injurious decree of ecclesiastics – "you shall not be religious, except on conditions impossible to the understanding"? James Martineau *Essays, II,ii.*