

The Martineau Society

Newsletter No. 45

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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.

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Editor's Note

This Society newsletter comes from the depths of the UK's "lockdown", the term for the legal and advisory restrictions imposed on British society by the British governments in attempts to control the Covid 19 pandemic. Most travel stopped, most work suspended, most shops shut and even churches closed. Social mixing ended.

Whatever would Victorians like Harriet and James Martineau and their friends have made of it? Fleeing from epidemics such as cholera outbreaks might have been familiar to them. The rich could move: the poor had no such choice and would have to sit it out. Like today, rumour – fake news – would be rife, advertising of false and often dangerous medicines would abound. The first public health officer in England was appointed in Norwich in 1836 under powers just given to local authorities in the Great Reform Acts. Norwich was in the midst of another cholera epidemic.

We must be grateful to our contributors in their varieties of "lockdown" for their efforts in these strange times. We have contributions from the USA and Australia as well as the UK. Jennifer Arzate and Josephine McQuail give us a close look at the treatment by men of women authors and, particularly, Harriet Martineau, in the 19th century British isles. Jeremy Martineau records how Martineau family members scampered away from Norwich to all sorts of occupations in all parts of the world. Stuart Hobday does the very reverse. Thomas Fowell Buxton took his family from London to Norfolk from where, Stuart suggests, the anti-slavery movement in the UK took wings. Valerie Doulton closes our contributions with a gentle record of her memories of our founder and former President, Sophia Hankinson. Thanks to all. The errors you find in the Newsletter are, of course, those of your editor

Stuart does not mention yet another prominent figure in his list of Norfolk anti-slavery campaigners, William Smith, MP for Norwich. Smith, the grandfather of Florence Nightingale, was beloved of all Unitarians for "Mr. Smith's Bill", the Trinity Act 1813,

which freed them from 150 years of illegal, albeit quiet, existence. Smith had begun his opposition to slavery in 1787 and was a close friend of William Wilberforce. His open letter to Wilberforce setting the arguments for abolition led to the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act 1807. He and the other “Saints”, the abolitionist MPs, kept up their struggle until the Slavery Abolition Act 1833.

Do enjoy reading the newsletter.



Harriet Martineau (1802 – 1876)
by Richard Evans Wikipedia

Male Genius Versus Female Eccentricity: Contemporary Images of Harriet Martineau as Impediments to Fame

by Jennifer Arzate and Josephine McQuail

While Harriet Martineau contributed much to the discipline of sociology, her legacy has been slighted. Many male pioneers in scientific fields are known as founding fathers; Harriet Martineau should be considered the mother of sociology, but, though Martineau formulated many theories that we consider integral to sociology today, her male counterparts – Auguste Comte, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and W.E.B. DuBois, even the earlier American traveler de Crèvecoeur – are far more renowned. In her own time and ours, she becomes ‘a mere journalist,’ as she is described in a 1960 review of R.K. Webb’s biography *Harriet Martineau: A Radical Victorian* (ironically, the book that would spark attention to the writer again): “She was, in point of fact, a journalist; and it is this which makes her unsatisfactory for the intellectual, and valuable for the social historian. . . . she anticipated at each stage of her career topics and opinions which were becoming fashionable among the radical intelligentsia” (Thistlethwaite). Thus, essentially Thistlethwaite dismisses Martineau’s writing as “topical” and its popularity almost accidental, missing the fact that *Illustrations of Political Economy*, for example, is an early examples of a genre only recently designated, “creative non-fiction”!

Has much changed from the 19th century, when in 1833, an anonymous writer in *The Quarterly Review* declared her a “female Malthusian,” basing the condemnation on her gender and implying she is “unwomanly”: “. . . such a character is nothing to a female Malthusian. A woman who thinks child-bearing is a crime against society. An unmarried woman who declaims against marriage’ “ (quoted in Scrope, et al., 151). The disgust expressed here proves just how unconventional Martineau was and shows the extreme reaction that reviewers had towards her views on overpopulation. Is it any wonder that she was depicted, literally, as a witch? (see Figure 2). Because she was a woman writer and thinker ahead of her time, even today we must work hard to salvage her reputation and remind not just the general public but the discipline of sociology itself that it had a founding mother – Harriet Martineau – NOT a founding father. Ironically, Martineau inadvertently may have led to her own eclipse, since she translated Auguste Comte’s work into English, thus paving the way for the influential school of Positivism which would have a huge impact on English and American culture, obscuring her own reputation. Yet, Martineau was probably better known in her own time than she is now. Contemporary visual portraits of male versus female writers, including Martineau, exemplify gender disparities that continue to affect the legacy of 19th century female writers even today. This discussion of Martineau’s legacy as a writer and sociologist will revolve around an analysis of images found in *Fraser’s Magazine*.

Critics may have reviled her, but Martineau's essays in *Political Economy* were clearly presented to, and positively received by the common people – those who most needed to understand the economy. It is ironic that the anonymous writer in *The Quarterly Review* should assert that Martineau is essentially “unwomanly,” for in her *Illustrations of Political Economy* she appeals to the common reader partly with the use of pathos – a characteristic of writing associated with women authors. She uses words like “sentiment” and “unhappiness” to appeal to the emotions of her audience. In “On Marriage” from her sociological primer *How to Observe Morals and Manners*, Martineau explains how there is only one thing that a man needs to be considered virtuous, but women who were not born into riches were left to the mercy of those men:

The sentiment by which courage is made the chief ground of honor in men, and chastity in women, coupled with the inferiority in which women have ever been sunk, was sure to induce profligacy. As long as men were brave nothing more was required to make them honorable in the eyes of society: while the inferior condition of women has ever exposed those of them who were not protected by birth and wealth to the profligacy of men. . . . (Martineau, *How* 168)

Her choice of descriptive words like “honor” versus “chastity” displays the strength men hold and the fragile status women have in comparison – again, pathos. Martineau indicts a corrupt society that so undermines the state of marriage “as to vitiate both moral sentiment and practice in an almost hopeless degree, and there is no longer righteousness” (*How* 168). Pathos once more helps her readers understand and feel the helplessness women experience when they enter into a contract such as marriage. Thus, “Martineau challenges the gendered boundaries of knowledge” (Dalley 106), demonstrating that women can take on highbrow, scholarly subjects, as well as sentimental material. Despite this idea of gendered writing, many female writers continuously mixed writing styles; Virginia Woolf in her *A Room of One's Own* asserts “an artist must be “ ‘man-womanly’ “ and “ ‘woman-manly’ ” (p.73). Martineau's various sketches in *Illustrations of Political Economy* are innovative in style; not only does she use pathos (“womanly”) but also ethos and logos (conventionally, the more masculine form of writing). Essentially, then, her writing is androgynous – and was enormously successful since people could understand her examples which were not abstract, but given context in “stories.”

Though her contemporaries were reluctant to admit it, Martineau was a real “woman of letters.” Even the notion of the “man of letters” was actually a rather late one in British cultural history, and to admit the female counterpart went against the social norms. The desire to laud and elevate specifically English authors can easily be traced back to the 18th century with the notion of a display of paintings or even prints called “galleries”: of course, there was a Shakespeare Gallery and a Milton Gallery. As Luisa Calé points out in *Fuseli's Milton Gallery*:

The reconstitution of great British literature in the form of galleries of paintings had a dual cultural function. The galleries made a claim to be a new, narrative form of high art, yet they also circulated celebrated examples of the national literature in the commercial form of visual attractions. Indeed, the galleries were commercial outlets for the sale of illustrated books and prints offering readers a visual entertainment for advertising and marketing purposes. (p.6)

It was the bard himself, Shakespeare, of course, who was one of the first to be established as an author image in the minds of the reading public with the frontispiece portrait of him in the first folio of his plays, in 1623. The Shakespeare and Milton galleries, however, consisted largely of illustrations of the literary works of the authors, rather than portraits of the authors.

Thus in the galleries and in the collected oeuvres paying tribute to a recently deceased author – like the poet Cowper – one might see illustrations including males and females – but the females would be fictional characters. In fact, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were no women who were admitted publicly to be the female equivalent of ‘the man of letters,’ despite the fact that there were plenty of female novelists and playwrights. However, Harriet Martineau was a woman of letters and established herself as a legitimate author with her various published volumes and periodical publications, which include biography, history and travel literature, a novel, magazine and newspaper articles, educational writings, and “seminal studies in political economy, sociology and British imperialism” (Peterson, *Becoming* 61). She even described herself as the equivalent to a “professional son” in a letter to her mother (*Autobiography* III 91). Martineau would seem to have even arrived as a “woman of letters,” when, during the early 1830s *Fraser’s Magazine* presented an array of sketches, of both male and female writers, one of which – “Regina’s Maids of Honour” – included Martineau herself, among other well-known women writers. An examination of these images, however, shows it was not so simple for a woman to break into this male world.

According to Linda Peterson, “Regina’s Maids” represent the feminine counterparts to the Fraserians, where the “ladies are gathered around a table, ‘every one a lovely she, very busy taking tea, or coffee, as the chance may be’ “ (*Becoming* 15), to quote the doggerel William Maginn, the magazine's editor, wrote to accompany the illustration. However, the women’s literary professionalism is uncertain, since Maginn’s comments focus as much or more on their looks as the quality of their writing! (The woman pictured primping at the mirror, and the sculpted, pampered pooch in the image in Figure 1 are no doubt another reference to the necessity of manicured female beauty which in reference to males in the Fraserian portraits is always negative – as in the image of E.L. Bulwer (Lytton), which among the male portraits also place him in front of a mirror, a “Byronic dandy” (p.20), according to Peterson). Additionally, the male “Fraserians” are portrayed at a gathering which

includes alcohol, whereas the female authors in “Regina’s Maids of Honor” drink tea or coffee.

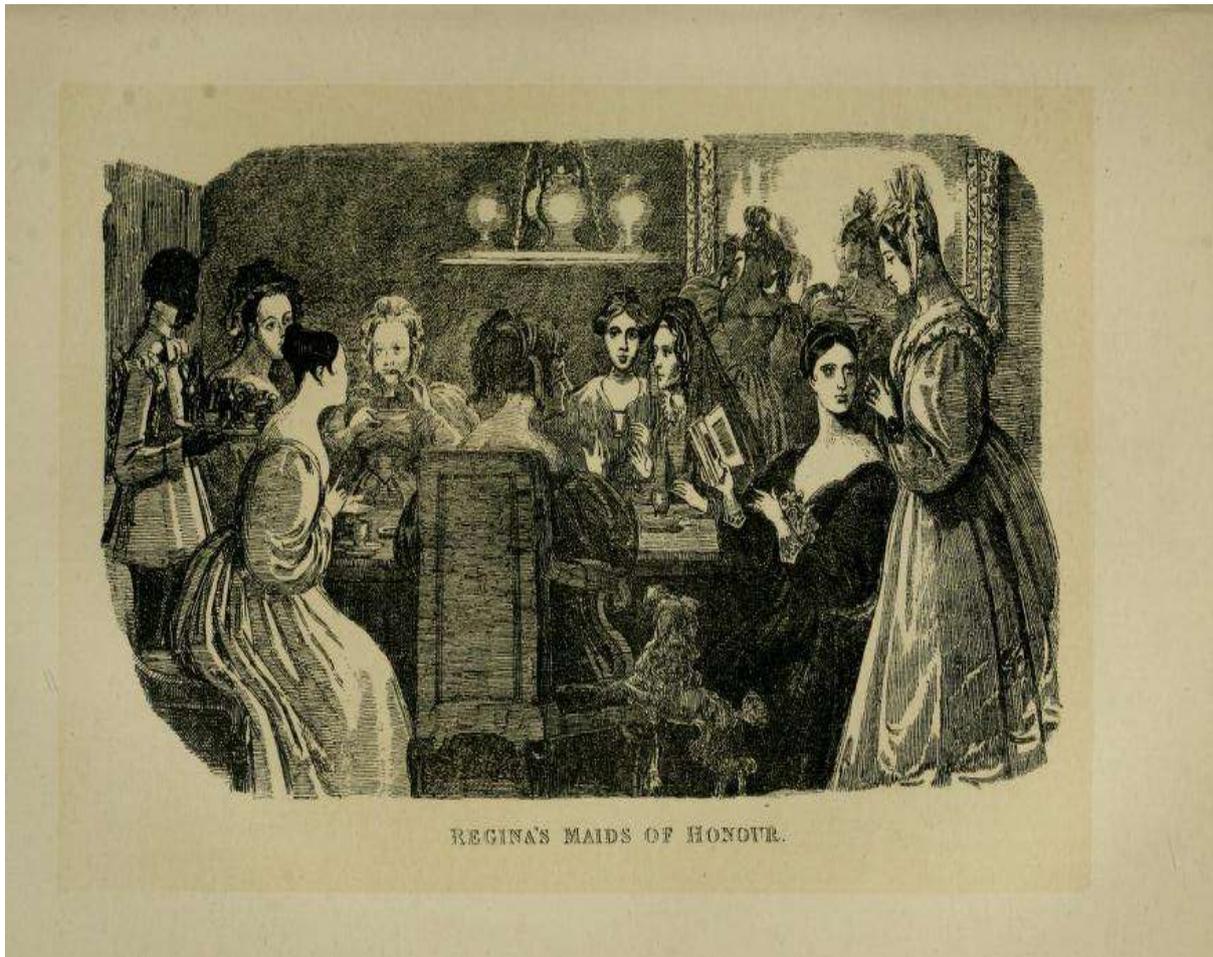


Figure 1 "Regina's Maids of Honour" *Fraser's Magazine, Maclise's Portrait Gallery* Wikisource

Maginn inserts a warning for female authors like Martineau who step out of line: “we think that a lady ought to be treated, even by Reviewers, with the utmost deference – except she writes politics, which is an enormity equal to wearing breeches” (p.222). In his verbal glosses on the sketches Maginn defines the acceptable versions of authoresses - they are depicted in a domestic environment – nonetheless Martineau disrupts the ideal image of a female writer and is considered a female version of the “ ‘hegemonic deviants’ “ in the terminology Andrew Dowling coined to describe men with effeminate traits in the Victorian period (quoted. in Peterson, *Becoming* 26). In her individual sketch (Figure 2) she is twisted into monstrous shape – outspoken women are seen distorted, instead of being feminine and docile -- and she is regarded as a woman who has abandoned essentially the family hearth (Peterson, *Becoming* 30-2). Although she is characterized as such, she continued to prove herself equal to the male Fraserians, earning her place among them with her work,

time and time again. In a letter Martineau wrote to Lord Brougham, she uses the phrase 'solitary young authoress' to describe herself – the virtual manifestation of a woman of letters during the Victorian Era. Martineau did not belong with Regina's Maids, who represent a different type of female writer – novelists or playwrights – she is a woman of letters.



Figure 2 "Harriet Martineau": *Fraser's Magazine*, New York Public Library Digital Collection

If woman's place was home and hearth, is it ironic that Martineau is in front of the hearth, albeit a solitary one? If a woman writing about politics should wear breeches, she is peculiarly cozy in the image. Often, female authors were considered deviants or "unfeminine" – at the very least they were overly-emotional. Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* asserts of women: "I do not wish them to have power over men; but over themselves." Male critics regularly "unsexed" women; Martineau herself cut down Wollstonecraft on this very count:

It was not for her sake that I desired to know Godwin; for, with all the aid from the admiration with which her memory was regarded in my childhood, and from my own disposition to honour all promoters of the welfare and improvement of Woman . . . Mary Wollstonecraft was, with all her powers, a poor victim of passion, with no control over how own peace, and no calmness or content except when the needs of her individual nature were satisfied. . . (399-400)

Was Martineau conscious of the fact that it was Godwin's *Memoirs of the Author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* that really destroyed Wollstonecraft's reputation? She is not letting on if she was.

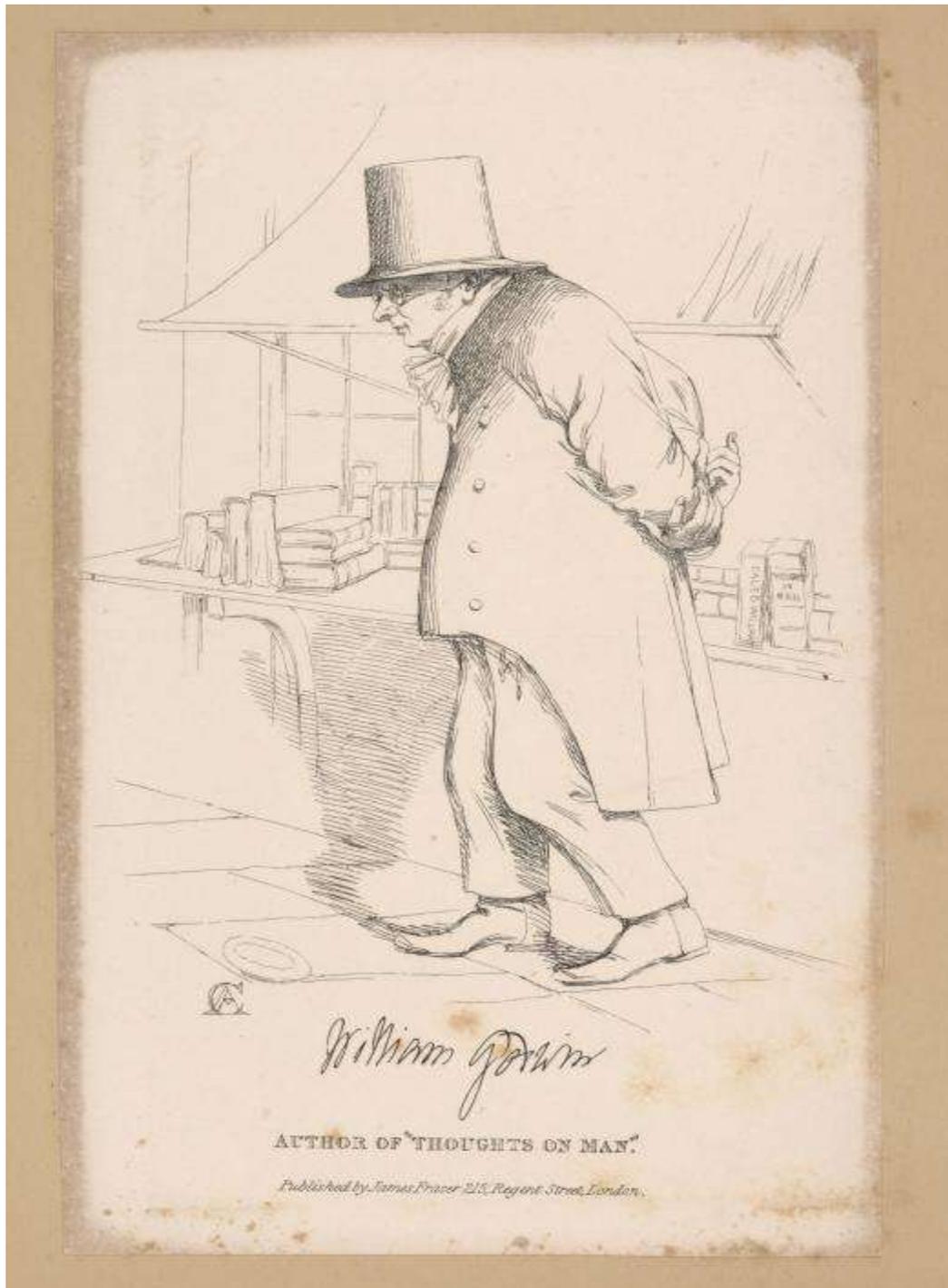


Figure 3 William Godwin, *Fraser's Magazine*, New York Public Library Digital Collections

Fraser's Magazine imagined itself as a highly intellectual journal, spanning the ages, apparently, at least as far as British intellectual history. "The Fraserians," a convivial, imagined scene of writers and philosophers around a table, brings together male writers from past and present. Interestingly, Martineau herself made a passing comment regarding the depiction of William Godwin in his separate plate in The Maclise Portrait-Gallery, husband of Mary Wollstonecraft, in the same passage wherein she dismisses Wollstonecraft:

. . . Godwin . . . was an occasional morning visitor of mine. I looked upon him as a curious monument of a bygone state of society; and there was still a good deal that was interesting about him. . . . Because the finest thing about him was his noble head, they put on a hat; [in *Fraser's Magazine*] and they presented him in profile because he had lost his teeth, and his lips fell in. No notion of Godwin's face could be formed from that caricature: and I fear there was no other portrait, after the one corresponding to the well-known portrait of Mary Wollstonecraft. (399)

It is surely worth noting that Martineau's comments are directed to Godwin's looks! And she subtly draws attention to the fact that there was no Godwinian version of Opie's famous portrait of Wollstonecraft of Godwin, her husband. (But there are two portraits of Godwin in the National Gallery in London and perhaps she refers to the 1802 portrait of Godwin by James Northcote).



Figure 4 "The Fraserians" Fraser's Magazine, "Maclise Portrait Gallery, Frontispiece, Wikisource. See

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/The_Fraserians_%E2%80%94_The_Maclise_Portrait-Gallery%2C_frontispiece.png

An entire book of the Fraserian portrait gallery was published in 1883. In that volume, there was a verbal gloss to go along with the images. We should note the sheer number of male authors in the group print, versus the much fewer number of women in “Regina’s Maids of Honour.” The disparity is also reflected in the verbal glosses in the 1883 collection. Tellingly, Martineau was subtly faulted for her “ego” in what is said about the reception of *Political Economy*, which

. . . proved by its immediate and great success, that its writer had formed no undue estimate of her own abilities, or erroneous judgment as to the propriety of her method of treating the subject. The succeeding volumes were expected with impatience; edition after edition was exhausted; and the tales were translated, one by one, into French and German. As felicitous illustrations of important truths they are of great and enduring value; and they will doubtless continue to be read for their interest as works of fiction and admired for the ingenuity which the writer has shown in avoiding that artificiality of construction which seems necessitated by the restriction of a plot to the special object which it is intended to subserve.
(*Fraserians*)

While the praise seems flattering, it emphasizes that the *Illustrations* are only “fiction.” This is one way again, Martineau’s ideas were devalued.

Too particular, or too broad? In sociology, some of her male counterparts were focused on society as a whole in relation to “the self.” George Herbert Mead, for instance, from whom we get the phrase “significant other,” advocated for an examination of social minutiae. Martineau’s sweep was rather broader; extending even to Egypt, Palestine and Syria, in her *Eastern Life: Present and Past*. The ambitious spread of her works was held against her. Presumably the *Fraser Magazine*’s ideal reader was also “fun” and unpretentious, and could appreciate the Gallery of male authors which seems more of a “Rogues’ Gallery” than a cerebral tribute to a bard-like genius like Shakespeare or Milton. As David Higgins comments of *Fraser*’s editor: “Maginn’s character – a mixture of childish vindictiveness, deep erudition, emotional volatility and brilliant creativity – pervades its pages” (p.2).

“The Fraserians” and the Fraser Gallery of authors spotlights the new, moderately priced journals of what George Gissing called “New Grub Street.” In contrast to the studied seriousness of the Shakespeare and Milton Galleries, Fraser’s Gallery of male authors seems much more “fun” and casual. For Fraser’s portraits – or gallery, if you will – of female authors, it is obviously important to maintain chastity and decorum. That Martineau was included at all is a tribute to her genius, yet certainly she was treated with ambiguity, with the “witch” version of her portrait speaking clearly to her demerits as single, poor and suspect.

Even today, Martineau is still rarely considered as a founding sociologist, and certainly not as an equal to male sociologists. As recently as twenty to thirty years ago, most book length works on Martineau were not by sociologists at all (Hill, *Martineau* 9). Finally, in 1973 Alice Rossi declared Martineau the first *woman* sociologist (quoted. in Hill, *Women* 290) (emphasis ours) – but that is wrong. She was altogether the first systematic sociologist.

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2020 Investigations into Anti-slavery – The Buxtons

by Stuart Hobday

The spectre of Covid 19 onto 2020 turned my life upside down in disconcerting ways but has also led to opportunities and interesting discoveries. Lockdown in a small first floor flat shared with an Irish actor in London was friendly but claustrophobic and my work situation as Arts Centre Manager became uncertain. I was trying to scratch the itch of doing more writing and research but like a lot of people the virus was quite a distraction to the mind. One break out was discovering audio books whilst walking along the River Thames which in turn got me back into reading. I started to research

other opportunities and returned to the possibility of doing a PhD. After two months of lockdown I managed to escape to Overstrand on the Norfolk coast where my brother had a spare room. He was planning an exhibition about the History of Overstrand which I found fascinating and the physical relief of being able to walk along a coastline was profound.

I researched and wrote some text for the exhibition about Thomas Fowell Buxton. I was aware of Buxton but looking into his life was fascinating and with Black Lives Matter dominating the news, and the debate about statues, it was interesting to reflect on the anti-slavery work that emanated from Norfolk from the Martineau and Gurney networks. At the end of my three weeks in Overstrand my job in London had come to an agreed end and I had decided I needed to move back to Norfolk and apply to do a PhD at the University in Norwich. Once you've done a bit of research and writing it can become a bit addictive and I definitely wanted to do more. It does take persistence though and if there's one thing that Harriet Martineau and Thomas Fowell Buxton had in common it was sheer determination to make a difference. So the Covid period for me has been life changing with major changes happening quite quickly whilst occurring in the slow motion of life in lockdown. All of the above accompanied by some guilt and great gratitude to those NHS and essential workers dealing with the virus directly.

So the following is the written result of my findings under lockdown in Overstrand on the Norfolk coast. Keep well and stay curious.

Norfolk's Unique Anti-Slavery History

The Black Lives Matter campaign has led to action and debate about how slave traders are remembered and has led to the toppling of statues and the renaming of buildings. Conversely this draws attention to the almost unique history in Norfolk of campaigns and activism that led to the abolition of slavery in the late 18th and early 19th Century and how this history is not particularly celebrated in the county. An exhibition at The Belfry Centre in Overstrand beginning this week aims to draw attention to the much under-estimated figure of Thomas Fowell Buxton who worked tirelessly to pass the 1833 Abolition of Slavery Act and the crucial support he received from a team of women who worked around him. The small village of Northrepps, next to Overstrand and just outside Cromer, was a hive of anti-slavery activity in the years leading towards the 1833 act, activity that was crucial in the freeing of around 800,000 slaves.

Before focusing on Buxton and his circle it's worth considering the unique context which made Norfolk such a hotbed of anti-slavery action. If we include two of the most prominent 18th Century campaigners, Thomas Clarkson of Wisbech and William Wilberforce of Hull – it's not hard to discern an east / west divide in England on the Slavery issue. It was an Atlantic trade and much of the profit was felt in the trading cities of Bristol, Liverpool and their surrounds. The vested interests of the slave trade were much less prominent in the Eastern counties. Norfolk

particularly faced the continent and had become a home to 'non-conformist' religion which in turn led to 'non-conformist' – anti-establishment - political thinking. In the 19th Century two large Norfolk families, the Gurneys and the Martineaus, became active in anti-slavery campaigns. The Gurneys were Quakers and the Martineaus were of French Huguenot origin and were Unitarians.

There is a much under-estimated role of women who simply did not give up on this issue. I highlight the women around Buxton below but we should not underestimate the support he received from his sister-in-law Elizabeth Fry who constantly lobbied on his behalf. Fry had been a big influence on prominent Norwich lady Amelia Opie who wrote a book and several poems in support of the anti-slavery cause. Both of these women had an influence on Harriet Martineau who resolved to tour America in 1834/5 to witness slavery in action and on her return wrote widely read articles and books including the influential 'Martyr Age of the United States' which drew attention to abolitionists in America and the ongoing existence of slaves there. She would write tirelessly for the following 30 years as a journalist, using her American contacts, to draw attention to the issue until slavery was abolished at the end of the American Civil War. Elizabeth Fry and Amelia Opie both attended the 1840 anti-slavery convention in London in their dotage. Harriet Martineau was invited but couldn't attend due to ill health which is such a shame as it would have been an evocative meeting of these three Norfolk women at an event which was largely men only.

Thomas Fowell Buxton

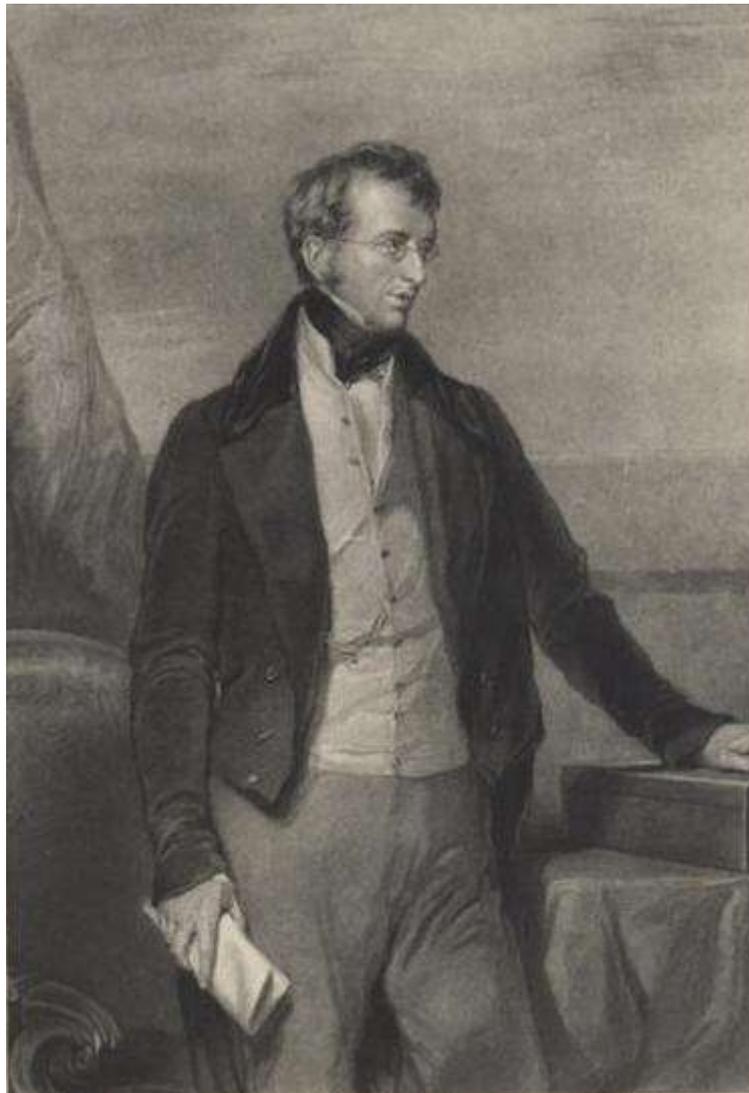
Thomas Fowell Buxton found fame as an anti-slavery campaigning MP and crucially oversaw the passing of the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act that outlawed the holding of slaves in the British Empire and directly led to the freeing of over 800,000 slaves. He lived in Northrepps near Cromer between 1820 until his death in 1845 and is buried in Overstrand Church.

Fowell Buxton was born in 1786 in Essex. His father died when he was seven leaving his mother with three young children. He was sent to school in Kingston-upon-Thames and then Greenwich. Later he went to university at Trinity College, Dublin. He first went to Earlham Hall in Norwich in 1801 and became fond of Hannah Gurney, Elizabeth Fry's sister. Thomas and Hannah become engaged in 1805 whilst he was still studying in Ireland and married on his return in 1807. They moved to Spitalfields in London and later Hampstead. Thomas worked in a London Brewery eventually becoming a partner whilst also becoming politically active. In the twelve years before moving to Norfolk they had eight children.

It was a tragedy that brought Thomas Fowell Buxton to the North Norfolk coast in 1820. He was living with his wife and their eight children in Hampstead when within a month four of the young children died of disease – a mixture of Whooping Cough and Measles. Thomas and Hannah had retained strong family ties to Norfolk and after this terrible phase of their lives the family stayed at Cromer Hall to recover and recuperate. Soon they moved to Northrepps Hall and that became the family base

for the rest of their lives and where they formed mutually supportive relations with Thomas's sister Sarah and cousin, Anna Gurney, who lived in the cottage nearby the Hall.

Thomas Fowell Buxton had been a businessman and financier who had done well with a London Brewery and mining investments. In 1818 he was elected MP for Weymouth, a role he performed for another twenty years, maintaining a London residence for his parliamentary work. He became greatly influenced by the progressive Gurney family and in Parliament became an important ally to Elizabeth Fry and helped finance and supported her quest for prison reform. He also worked to alleviate poverty and to reduce the criminal offences that led to the death penalty as well as becoming one of the founders of the RSPCA and its first Chairman in 1824.



Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786 – 1845)

He became a supporter of William Wilberforce and his anti-slavery crusade and in 1821, with Wilberforce's health failing, Buxton assumed leadership of the anti-slavery group of MPs. In 1823/24 the government worked and succeeded to suppress proposed anti-slavery reform led by Buxton, who then takes the lead in forming the Anti-Slavery Society. There were powerful vested interests still protecting the economic system of slave labour and these interests influenced the government. Getting the 1833 Act passed was an achievement of dogged determination and the support Buxton received from Norfolk, particularly from the women in his life, was crucial. The 'cottage ladies', Sarah Buxton and Anna Gurney, fed Buxton information from Africa and the colonies, his sister in law, Elizabeth Fry, used her contacts to lobby MPs, his daughter, Priscilla, became his secretary and right hand person whilst his wife, Hannah, was a constant support. They all helped develop the largest Anti-Slavery petition of 187,000 signatures which was carried into Parliament on the day of the debate and they helped develop a clamour amongst campaigners and the public that the time had come to abolish slavery.

The passing of the 1833 Act which abolished slavery in the British Empire and in effect freed 800,000 slaves was Thomas Fowell Buxton's crowning achievement. He left Parliament after the election of 1837. In 1840 he received recognition for his work in being made a Baronet. However he knew there was still important work to do and much slavery still existed in Africa and America. In 1839 he wrote a pamphlet: 'The African Slave Trade – Its Remedy' and in 1840 put together an expedition of nearly 200 men to visit Africa and develop trade links with Britain and the colonies. He was convinced that normal trade would help develop former slave-holding areas and support former slaves. However the expedition ran into trouble when nearly a quarter of the men died of fever and the government recalled the expedition while the press ridiculed it. Despite this, some important trade links were established.

Thomas had been unable to join the Africa trade mission due to his failing health and this got worse when he learnt of the troubles that the mission ran into and the effect of the fever as well as the negative press it received at home. Despite his failing health, he also tried to manage the Northrepps estate in a progressive way creating work for locals and providing food for villagers particularly through some harsh winters. In 1843/44 he was dogged by illness, headaches and often became confused. In February 1845 he died at Northrepps Hall, surrounded by his beloved family, and was buried at Overstrand Church.

Priscilla Buxton

Priscilla Buxton was Fowell Buxton's eldest daughter who had survived the 1820 tragedy and went on to become her father's secretary and right-hand person in the

build up to the 1833 Act. She worked tirelessly collecting information for him to use and getting people to sign petitions. The first two signatories to the huge 187,000 strong anti-slavery petition presented to parliament in 1833 were Priscilla Buxton and another Norfolk luminary, Amelia Opie. The day after the crucial debate in Parliament Priscilla wrote to her aunt, Sarah Buxton, in Overstrand to describe the scene:

“A vast number of slavery petitions was presented...a deputation of members was needed to bring in our monster”....“I am tired, most utterly tired, of writing and of everything connected with work. As for petitions, I only wish I might never see another. The fact is, I am exhausted.”

However the letter concludes with her quoting her father on their way home: *“My work in life is done...Emancipation is effected. The thing is done”* Priscilla Buxton married the Scottish MP Andrew Johnston on the day in August 1834 that slaves were officially freed.

Anna Gurney & Sarah Maria Buxton

Sarah Maria Buxton was the younger sister of Thomas Fowell Buxton, three years his junior. When their mother remarried, Sarah went to live in Northrepps. After Thomas married Hannah Gurney, the Buxtons became a close network with the Gurneys and Sarah became great friends with Hannah's cousin, Anna Gurney. In 1825 Sarah and Anna moved in together at Northrepps Cottage and would become known as the 'Cottage Ladies' for the rest of their lives. They lived as partners and together they created a busy progressive household closely linked to the surrounding villages. Anna Gurney was disabled and would be carried around the village. This didn't stop her playing an active role in ensuring ships did not run aground on the surrounding coast and she even learnt Spanish and Portuguese so she could talk to sailors who were stranded. She was a formidable character and intellectual and with Amelia Opie founded the Anti-Slavery Society in Norfolk. Opie was a regular visitor to Northrepps Cottage often staying at Christmas and Easter so much that she wrote poetic tributes to Sarah and Anna and to the restless progressive work they pursued. Anna and Priscilla Gurney took the lead in supporting the anti-slavery campaign of Thomas but Sarah was always there in the background offering support and when Priscilla married and went to live in Scotland, Sarah stepped into the breach and became more closely involved.

All her friends and family were greatly shocked when Sarah Maria Buxton died suddenly aged 50 while visiting Clifton in August 1839. Thomas wrote to Joseph Gurney: *“It is a vast void to us; she was part of our daily existence.”*

Anna Gurney lived for another 18 years and continued to support the campaigning work of Thomas Fowell Buxton, Amelia Opie and Elizabeth Fry. This Norfolk network was determined and persistent against the powerful vested interests that arose around the slave trade. Passing the 1833 Slavery Abolition Act was their great achievement but the work carried on and was a lifelong pursuit for all of them.

Martineau Miscellany – The Norwich Diaspora

by Jeremy Martineau

1 Background

The idea for this short paper came to me soon after life was upended by the COVID-19 pandemic. Judy and I arrived back in Australia early on a Monday in mid-March after a trip to South America. We then spent the next fortnight at home in mandatory quarantine.

The source material for this paper is the family book with a bit of my own knowledge supplemented with some very limited research.

There has therefore been next to no chance to do any proper research, so I have simply used the family book (with a bit of my own knowledge & a bit of token research) as my only source material.

The general theme, very loosely, is family connections with other countries. I have focused on family members who, after the family had become established in the UK, travelled abroad for recreation, study or business or migrated altogether. I have also included a couple of others simply because they have caught my attention or imagination and might, I thought, be interesting to readers.

2 Starting Point

A good place to start is the family of David – grandson of Huguenot refugees Gaston and Marie. He and his wife, Sarah Meadows, had seven children – two daughters and five sons. The first four sons – Philip Meadows, David, Peter Finch and John – are shown below. Neither Thomas, the youngest son, nor either of the daughters, Margaret and Sarah, is shown because there is no known portrait of any of them.

Figure 1



Philip Meadows had one child only, Fannie Annie, born to his second wife when he was sixty. His four brothers, though all had large families – ten, six, fourteen and eight children respectively. Those children, and the following generations, fanned out in different directions resulting, over time, in quite a diaspora not just in the UK but beyond as well.

David, Peter Finch and John all moved to London and went into business there – variously brewing, sugar refining and banking. The other two brothers, Philip Meadows and Thomas, stayed in Norwich and eventually died there.

Fannie Annie is the only one of her generation to have stayed in Norwich. She died there in 1877 – the last of the family in the city.

The following sections look in turn at some of the descendants of David, Peter Finch, John and Thomas.

3 David (1754-1840) & His Family

The second son David (brewer and sugar refiner) had a family of six daughters (none of whom married) and four sons. One of David's grandsons did establish the family name in Scotland, but most of this branch of the family stayed more or less put in or near London. There are, however, no notable travel exploits that I have been able to find.

3.1 George – *Scotland*

Grandson George (1835 – 1919) founded the Scottish branch of the family when, in 1861, he married Eliza Jane Mackenzie. She was the sister of Roderick Mackenzie of Kincaig and captain in the Queen's Royal Irish Hussars, and heir to the Mackenzie estate at Kincaig. Kincaig is a few miles south of Aviemore heading up the A9 through the Cairngorms. George himself lived at Gomshall Lodge in Surrey

George and his third son William maintained the family connection with the sugar industry by carrying on the refining tradition. George was a partner in David Martineau & Sons in London (following his father and grandfather in the business) and lived at Gomshall Lodge in Surrey. He also wrote several works on sugar production, was an industry expert and participated in various government-sponsored industry conferences, and was honorary secretary to the British Sugar Refiners' Association. He was created a Companion of the Order of the Bath in 1902 for services to the industry.

William (1865 - 1950) founded his own sugar refining firm, Martineau's Limited, and was Master of the Grocers' Company in 1922; he was knighted in 1935. He inherited the Kincaig estate on his mother's death in 1916 – I am not sure why first son George did not inherit although second son Arthur had died young. In any case, having inherited at Kincaig, he then bought nearby Invergordon Castle in 1920. The acquisition came with an ancient Pictish stone, the Hilton of Cadboll stone, which had

been relocated to Invergordon Castle in the nineteenth century. It seems William may have been responsible for sending the Hilton of Cadboll stone to the British Museum; it was hurriedly returned to Scotland (where it is on display in the Royal Museum of Scotland) after a huge public outcry.

Figure 2



Invergordon Castle
<http://www.theinvergordonarchive.org/picture/number271.asp>



Replica Hilton of Cadboll stone on original site in
Easter Ross
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hilton_of_Cadboll_Stone

William's eldest son Roderick Kilgour (1897 - 1937) ended up adopting the Mackenzie name by royal licence in 1915 and, in doing so, dropped the Martineau name altogether. The move to Scotland and away from London was evidently a transition over the generations from George, to William and then to Roderick Kilgour.

Pianist Malcolm, born in 1960, is a grandson of William's younger brother (George's fourth son) Alfred.

3.2 Sydney – Olympic Games in Stockholm

Sydney (1863 - 1945) was a great-grandson of David and a nephew of George; he was an industrial chemist and company director and, like his grandfather and father before him, involved in the sugar industry. He competed at the Olympic Games in Stockholm in 1912 where he won a silver medal for fencing. He also competed in the 1908 Olympic Games, held in London, so did not have to travel – or in 1920 when he was again selected but did not travel (to Antwerp) because of illness. He was, in addition, a good oarsman and rowed at Henley several times for the London Rowing Club.

Through Sydney there is also a significant Birmingham connection. His wife Edith was a Nettlefold, the eldest daughter of the industrialist and leading Unitarian Frederick

Nettlefold, whose father was in partnership with Joseph Chamberlain. Joseph Chamberlain and my great-great-grandfather Thomas married sisters (Florence and Emily Kenrick) and were therefore brothers-in-law; they were also close personal friends and together drove the Elan Valley reservoir project (that, from 1904, secured Birmingham's water supply) through the City Council and Parliament. Edith (like her father) was a leading Unitarian and is recorded in the family book as president of the General Assembly of Unitarian & Free Churches from 1929 to 1931 as well as '*the moving spirit*' behind the book's revised (1972) edition. She died in 1961 aged 92.

3.3 Lucy – *Wills family connection*

Lucy (1832 - 1860) was the younger sister of George (section 3.1) and a granddaughter of David. This section is included as something of a digression, although there is no travel aspect to it, because of a chance family connection going back to around 1988. It surfaced on a prospective transaction I worked on in Birmingham. The transaction involved a planned management buy-in of Firmin's – see <https://www.firminhouse.com>. Firmin's is a manufacturer of military and ceremonial regalia and one of the oldest businesses in the country; it was founded in 1655 during the Protectorate that followed the English Civil War. The private equity house providing the equity investment was run by David Wills, a distant cousin, who was aware of the family connection and raised it with me. He is a direct descendant of Sir Alfred Wills, a High Court judge, who married Lucy in 1854. He and I kept in touch for a while but lost touch (which I rather regret) sometime after I moved to Australia.

4 Peter Finch (1755-1847) & His Family

Peter Finch's immediate family again remained settled in or close to London, but later generations spread much further afield and include some interesting personal histories. Peter Finch himself started out in business as a scarlet-dyer with his brother John and then became first a brewer, then a sugar refiner, and finally a banker.

4.1 Edward x 2 – *USA, Burma & India*

Edward (1791 – 1862) was Peter Finch's youngest son. He is recorded in the family book as a '*merchant in the American market, sometime of Mobile*', Alabama, (with no further details given) but must have returned to England because he died at Sydenham – then still part of Kent. Edward's eldest son, Edward Marsh (1822 - 1875), was a lieutenant-colonel in the 10th Native Infantry of the Bengal Army and served in the Burmese War of 1852 and with the Delhi Field Force during the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

4.2 Horace – *South Africa, New Zealand, Egypt & Turkey*

In the next generation after the second Edward (grandson of Peter Finch) comes Horace. Horace (1874 - 1916) also had a military career and served in the Boer War. He was involved in the siege of Mafeking where, as a sergeant, he won the Victoria Cross in the action at Game Tree on 26 December 1899; this was for dragging a wounded corporal to safety while under sustained fire from the Boers. He was

wounded three times in the process and, as can be seen from photos, lost an arm – the family book says, incorrectly, that it was a leg. After this action he returned to England but later settled in South Africa before moving to New Zealand.

In New Zealand, with the declaration of war in 1914, Horace again signed up – this time as a transport officer in the 14th (South Otago) Regiment – and served in Egypt and then at Gallipoli. After Gallipoli he was invalided back to New Zealand with a fever and died soon after arriving back in 1916. He seems to have blotted his service record in an altercation at a café in Alexandria.

See <http://www.cemeteries.org.nz/stories/martineauhoracerobert190910.pdf>.

Horace is buried at Anderson's Bay Cemetery in Dunedin. His VC can be seen in the Lord Ashcroft Gallery at the Imperial War Museum in London.

Figure 3



4.3 Francis Edgar – *Birmingham business connection*

Francis Edgar (1828-1893) was the son of Peter Finch's second son, David, by his second wife Catherine Marsh. He joined his second cousin, Edward Kentish, as an iron-founder and hinge manufacturer in Birmingham. Edward Kentish was a younger brother of Thomas, my great-great-grandfather, who championed the Elan Valley water project.

5 John (1857 - 1834) & His Family

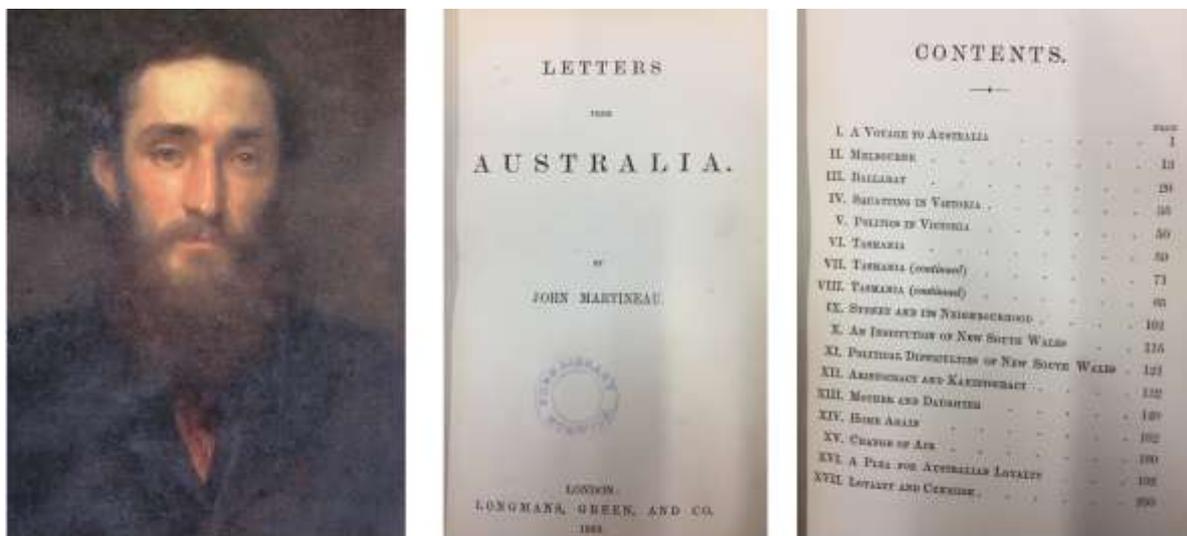
This branch of the family again remained, for the most part, in London and the Home Counties. John, its founder, was a leading brewer (Master of the Brewers' Company in 1806 and a partner in Whitbread's after the merger in 1812) but also established his own sugar refining business. His branch of the family includes some colourful characters – some of them with interesting overseas connections.

5.1 John - Australia & Egypt

The youngest of John's nine sons was Richard (1804 - 1865) who, like his father and elder brother Joseph, was a partner in Whitbread's; he established the Suffolk branch of the family when he bought a substantial estate – '*The Lawn*' – at Walsham-le-Willows in 1854. Quite a lot has been written about Richard – who was close to Harriet and managed her affairs – and his wife, Lucy Needham, but much less about the succeeding generations. They had four children, of whom the eldest (the only son) was John (1834-1910), named after his grandfather.

I knew nothing at all about John until, on a visit to the Norfolk and Norwich Millennium Library in 2016, I came across his account of a voyage to Australia published as part of a slim volume called *Letters from Australia* in 1869. I read the first chapter (which covers the voyage via the Cape and arrival in Melbourne on a sailing ship named 'Mercia') and made a mental note to read the rest of it one day – it was interesting, well written and a good read. John travelled to Australia (with his wife Mabel and their young daughter Violet) for his health, which had always been delicate, and spent around fifteen months in the country. They sailed across the Bass Strait to Tasmania and, judging from the contents page (copied below), may have visited New South Wales as well. They returned on a P&O steam ship via Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) and the Suez Canal, visiting Cairo, in 1868. The trip apparently improved John's health, though not that of Mabel, which, like her husband's, was also delicate.

Figure 4



John Martineau by Frederic Leighton
Reproduced from 'The Martineaus of
Walsham-le-Willows' by Richard Martineau

Because of his health, John had not gone to boarding school but had instead, at the age of fifteen, been sent to Eversley, in Hampshire, where Charles Kingsley (of *Water Babies* fame) was the local vicar. Kingsley was to be his tutor, and a close and

enduring relationship developed between them. A 'broad church' theologian, and one of the few clergymen to accept Charles Darwin's theory of evolution, Kingsley was a lifelong influence on John.

John practised as a barrister but did not enjoy the bar and was not very successful. He was fortunate, however, in being able to take up a partnership in Whitbread's; he became a director on incorporation of the business in 1889.

5.2 Alfred x 3 - *India*

The first Alfred (1820 - 1903) was another of John's grandsons, a lawyer, who became a County Court judge for Sussex. He and his wife had one child, also Alfred, born in 1873, who was killed in action in France in 1917, but he also had four other children (two sons followed by two daughters) by an unnamed mother (a mistress) living in London. These are therefore great-grandchildren of John.

The younger of the two sons was another Alfred (1868 - 1926) who is referred to below as Alfred Edward. He joined the Indian civil service in 1889 and later became a puisne judge of the High Court of the Punjab based in Lahore. He eventually died in India and evidently spent most of his life there. In 1895 he married Lizzie Warburton whose father was a district superintendent in the Indian police '*famed throughout India for his remarkable cases of criminal detection*' – the quotation comes from the family book. The family book goes on to describe him as '*the son of Sirdar Faiz Taleb Khan by Shad Jahan Begum, an abducted lady of noble Afghan family*'; this lady was apparently also the mother of Sir Robert Warburton who held office as a military colonial administrator with the fantastic title of '*Warden of the Khyber Pass*'!

5.3 Durani x 5 – *India, South America & Central America*

All five of Alfred Edward's and Lizzie's children (three sons and two daughters) had 'Durani' as a middle name. This is evidently a family name; I have not been able to track down it properly but did find some background in a paper by the British Association of Cemeteries in South Asia where it appears as 'Durrani' in the section headed 'More on the Durrani-Warburtons'.

See

http://himalaya.socanth.cam.ac.uk/collections/journals/chowkidar/pdf/chowkidar_05_06.pdf.

Two of the three sons served in the military – Gerard Durani in the Royal Sussex Regiment in the First World War and Alfred Arthur Durrani (a fourth Alfred!) in the Indian Army in the Second World War. Gerard and his other brother, Hugh Durani, were both schoolmasters. Hugh spent eight years between the two World Wars travelling in South and Central America as a writer and, according to the family book, contributed pieces to a number of magazines. Gerard, the eldest child, wrote various works on the history of cricket; he is also the author of a biography of his redoubtable father-in-law with the arresting title *Controller of Devils*.

See <https://warburton.one-name.net/papers/ControllerofDevils1.pdf>. The photograph below (taken from the frontispiece) gives a good impression of his character.

Figure 5



5.4 Cyril Edgar - USA

Cyril Edgar (1871 - 1918) was a great-grandson of John's, the sixth in a large family of ten children born to Hubert and his wife Elizabeth Alston, and described in the family book as a member of the London Stock Exchange. Cyril Edgar's first wife died in 1901, not long after the birth of their only child, but in 1907 he married Muriel Delano Robbins of Massachusetts, whose mother was a first cousin of US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. I have not been able to find how or where they met, but they evidently lived in England, as their children were educated there, and Cyril Edgar himself is buried at Fairlight in Sussex. Muriel lived till 1971, surviving him by more than fifty years, by which time the eldest of the next generation (their son, Cyril Francis) had long since been settled in California.

5.5 Hubert Melville - Egypt

Hubert Melville (1891 - 1976) was another of John's great-great-grandsons and therefore a third cousin of Alfred Edward - section 5.2 above. He was a very keen and quite accomplished cricketer (right hand batsman and slow left arm bowler) who played the game to a decent standard; in the early 1930s he played in three games against the university sides (Oxford and Cambridge) that then still qualified as first-class fixtures. He hosted matches against the touring Australian, New Zealand, West Indian and Indian sides from 1926 to 1932 at his own private ground at Holyport, near Maidenhead, in Berkshire and played in three of the four matches himself. The 1926 Australian side (in the one match that he did not play in) included some legendary names – notably Woodfull, Ponsford, Oldfield and Grimmett – with the game ending in an honourable draw. This match is generally billed as having involved a Minor Counties XI, but I have also seen the side referred to as HM Martineau's XI. During the 1930s, Hubert Melville's side (also known as the Water Martins) undertook several early-season tours to Egypt – see <https://www.cricketcountry.com/articles/hm-martineaus-private-band-of-english-cricketers-the-first-serious-cricket-team-to-fly-276129>.

5.6 Robert Braithwaite - *indirectly Australia*

A notable descendant of John's is the distinguished pre-Raphaelite painter Robert Braithwaite (1826 - 1869) who was his grandson. He and his elder brother, Alfred (the first Alfred – section 5.2 above), were two of the six sons born to the fourth son (Philip) of John and Margaret Bunney; they also had two daughters.

Figure 6



Two of Robert Braithwaite's works –
'The Last Day in the Old Home' (1862 -
his most famous painting) & 'Kit's
Writing Lesson' (1852)

<https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/robert-braithwaite-marineau-372>



Robert Braithwaite married a Maria Wheeler in 1865. After moving to Australia I got to know a friend of Judy's family, Peter Fox, an accountant in Toowoomba, who asked me if Robert Braithwaite was a relation. It turned out that Maria Wheeler was a relation of his. We were able to work out that we are fourth cousins twice removed – a remarkable chance connection half a world from home!

6 Thomas' Family

Thomas was the proprietor of the family business in Norwich; he was a manufacturer of camlet and bombazine. The business did well for a time but eventually failed in 1829 as a result of economic changes in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars and, from 1820, revolutionary turmoil in its primary export market of Spain. Thomas and his wife, Elizabeth Rankin, were of course the parents of Harriet, James and their six siblings – one of them my three-times-great-grandfather, Robert.

6.1 Henry - *New Zealand*

Another of the siblings was Henry who joined his father as a partner in his business. Following Thomas' death in 1826 he ended up having to wind it up and pay off the creditors. The responsibility and the general stress seem to have had a major effect on him and to have driven him to drink; this was at a time when the rest of the family (other than his first cousin Fannie Annie) had either moved away from Norwich or died so he had no local family support.

This is the background to Henry taking the drastic step of emigrating. Both he and the rest of the family would have known it was a final separation when, in June 1841, he sailed for New Zealand on the ship 'Arab'. He landed in Wellington (then Port Nicholson) three months later - little more than a year after the Treaty of Waitangi. In Wellington he was briefly in business again (this time with a George Wynter Blathwaite, who had sailed as a fellow cabin passenger on the 'Arab', and a Thomas Bryson) but died in 1843, barely two years after arriving, without ever having married or had family.

6.2 Harriet – *USA, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, France, Italy & Germany*

The other conspicuous traveller in this branch of the family is, of course, Harriet. Besides her well-known exploits over a period of two years in the USA, she travelled (by camel and on horseback) in the Near East, going from Egypt through Palestine to Syria, taking in Cairo, Aswan, Abu Simbel, the Sinai, Petra, Jerusalem, the Dead Sea, Damascus and Baalbek. This is to say nothing of her truncated trip to the Continent in 1839 when her health failed in Venice only a month after she left and brother James had to collect her in Germany to return home.

7 Conclusion

This rather disparate collection of family stories reflects not just the personal exploits of a cast of characters but also the developing world order that we know today.

I suppose I am biased (being part of their branch of the family) but, in the end, am struck most by the stories of Henry (for its finality at a time when New Zealand was only just starting as a society) and of the intrepid Harriet – for her Eastern travels as much as the ones in the USA – but also by Horace's travels almost as much as his bravery.

Remembering Sophia Hankinson

by Valerie Doulton

In looking at past correspondence in order to write about Sophia, I have been reminded of how she happily first came into my life.

In 2000 I attended an event at Dove Cottage, and that evening Robert Woof, who was one of my tutors at Newcastle University, introduced me to Babs Todd. On returning home I received a lovely card from Babs,

So good and extraordinary ! meeting you last eve & do hope to see you here again....

W'd you like to join the Martineau Society? You'd probably v much enjoy it....

That night in the Lake District Babs had been so excited to hear that my grandmother is Vera Wheatley.

Next followed correspondence with Sophia who was equally excited to hear this news. On 2nd October 2002 she wrote to me,

Dear Valerie,

Many thanks for your letter of 23rd September. It is good of you to find the time to write when you have such major projects on your mind. (I'd love to see the Byron if I can manage it, at the NPG: he's one of my favourite heroes – though I can't cope with much of his poetry...)

So from the tone of Sophia's letters I was prepared to meet a person of warmth and generosity who spoke her own mind! When we finally did meet at the Martineau Society conference many years of happy friendship began. I really appreciated her directness, and loved talks with her over many years; in particular she spoke very strongly to me about her wish that the Society would not become dominated by academics.

The words Babs wrote, '*You'd probably v much enjoy it...*' have proved so true. It has been a great pleasure and hugely interesting to be part of the Society. Both of these women have brought enormous additional riches into my life, and I remember them both with love. I am enormously grateful to Sophia, for founding the Society through which my grandmother's book on Harriet has been importantly promoted to people in the U.K. and all over the world. Sophia's energy and vision in all she achieved are an inspiration to me, and always will be.

Recent Deaths of Members

Barbara Todd died on 13 February 2020. With her partner Maureen Colquhoun she lived at Harriet Martineau's house, The Knoll, in Ambleside. Full obituary to follow in the next Newsletter.

Recent New Members (UK unless stated)

Fay Carter

The Martineau Society

The Martineau Society was founded in the early 1990s by members of the Octagon Unitarian 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.

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The Martineau Society Newsletter submissions of 2,500 – 4,000 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

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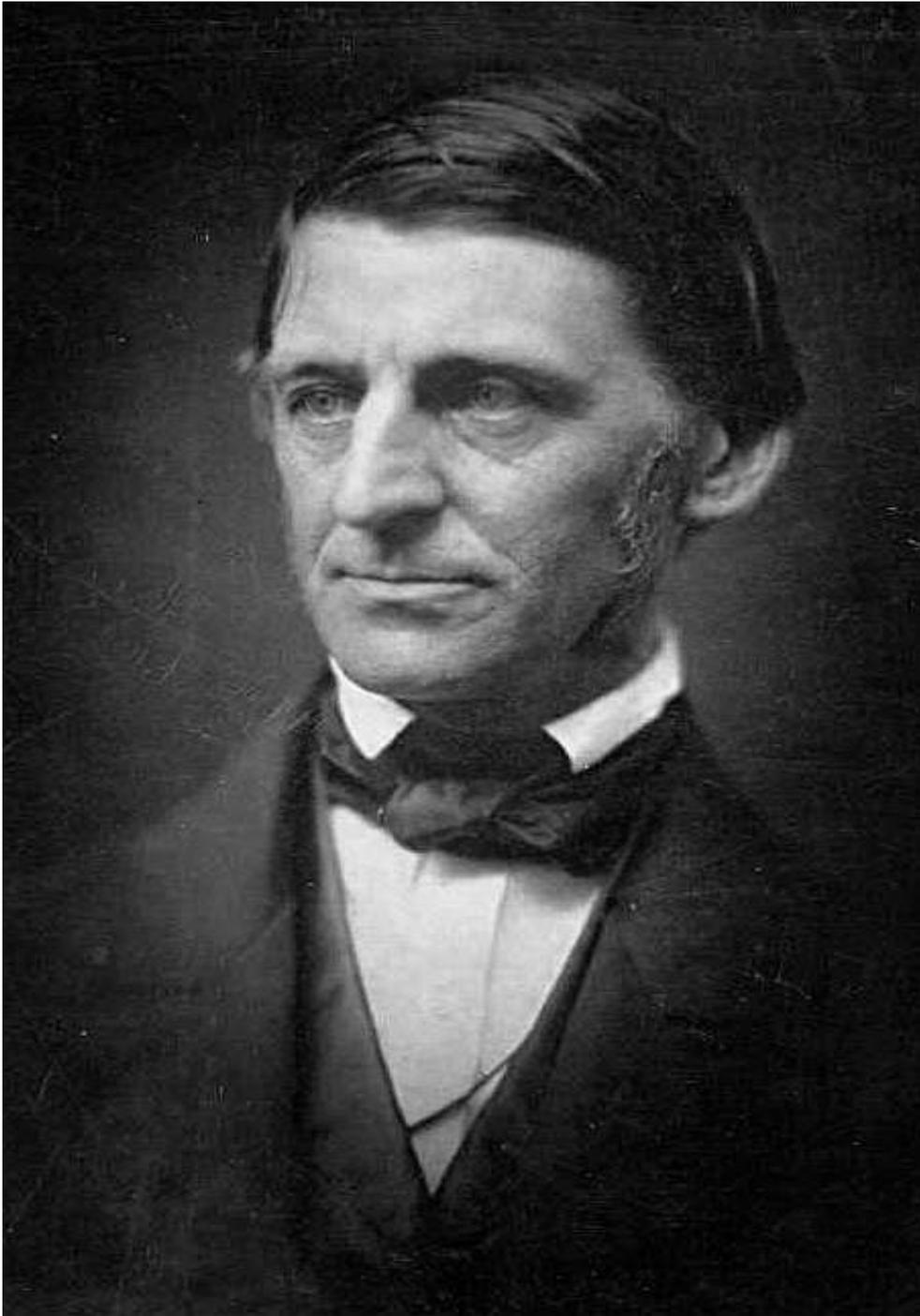
Please note: Submissions must be made on the understanding that copyright will be shared to the extent that **The Martineau Society** may publish them in the Society newsletter and elsewhere, wholly or in part, including through the Society's websites. Otherwise, copyright remains with the authors of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

All that Shakespeare says of the king, yonder slip of a boy that reads in the corner feels to be true of himself. Law was enacted, the sea was searched, the land was found, the blow was struck, for us, as we ourselves in that place would done or applauded.

I can find Greece, Asia, Italy, Spain, and the islands – the genius and creative principle of each and all eras – in my own mind. Every mind must know the whole lesson for itself. What it does not see, what it does not live, it will not know.

I am the owner of the sphere, of the seven stars and the solar year, of Caesar's hand, and Plato's brain, of Lord Christ's heart, and Shakespeare's strain.

Ralph Waldo Emerson



Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803 – 1882)

Wikipedia