THE MILL NEWS LETTER

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Published by University of Toronto Press in association with Victoria College

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Vol. XV. Number 2

Summer, 1980

On the theory thar a Smiles is as good as Amis, we balance our Milliana of the last issue with a description from Charles Bradlaugh's National Reformer of a meeting at which "The Superintendent of the Huddersfield Secular and Eclectic Sunday School is presented with the complete Works of J. S. Mill and Smiles's Self Help, and is 'sensibly affected': '"You have gone too far", he said: "I am not deserving of such a treat as this."'" As Peter Johnson (Southampton) said, in sending this to us, "How nice to be appreciated."

This issue is largely the work of Marion Filipiuk, Research Assistant to the Mill project, who in the course of a trip to France last fall found a number of previously undiscovered letters in Avignon. Her editing of these letters is introduced below by an account of their provenance, in which one can detect an echoing of the style of other pilgrims, one of whose accounts she refers to in a note; to another (here entitled "An American in Avignon") she has supplied the introduction. In addition to these tales from Provence, we have in this issue a report on the Bentham edition by its new General Editor, J. R. Dinwiddy (London), and, as usual, a list of recent publications, an announcement, and a review.

May we yet again implore readers to send us information about, or (berter) copies of any writings bearing upon Mill.

NEW LETTERS FROM AVIGNON Marion Filipluk

The Palais du Roure in Avignon houses the Fondation Flandreysy-Espérandieu, a private archive and centre of Provençal literature and culture. The building, which dates from the time of the Popes, was acquired and restored about 1930 by Jeanne Mellier de Flandreysy, one of those remarkably intelligent beauties who inspire writers and artisrs (she was the special friend of the poet Misttal), a lady who seems not entirely out of place in a Mill story. In 1936 she married Emile Espérandieu, an eminent archaeologist, whose library, and estate, came to entich the foundation.

Madame de Flandreysy was a collector—not only of hearts, both metaphorically and literally—but of all sorts of memorabilia. We were told, and confirmed with our own eyes at least part of the story, that when she heard that the <u>diligence</u> in which Mistral had travelled to Avignon had been sold to a U.S. film company to be exported and finally burned at the climax of a new "western," she immediately visited the owner, and, passing herself off as an agent of the company, paid for the wagon, and then triumphantly ordered it to be delivered to the Palais du Roure, where it was installed on the third floor by a crane, after a section of the roof had been removed. One replaces the shingles, and voilà! There sits the <u>diligence</u>, safe from marauding Americans!

And she bought Mill's piano, at the sale held by the Librairie Roumanille in May 1905—a beautiful high mahogany intrument, an octave shorter than the regular keyboard, its red silk front now, alas, shredded. It was this that we went to see during our visit to Avignon last Ocrober, unaware of the rich tales and other treasures that the Palais contains.

We were met by Monsieur Gaghière, the curator, and Madame Bosqui, the secretary-archivist, who showed us not only the piano, but a bust of Mill which, as the story goes, had been commissioned from a young sculptor after voluntary subscriptions by workingmen of the town, in gratitude for Mill's having obtained a park for them, presumably by force both of thetoric and of pocketbook. During the '60s the bust was knocked over and broken but, rescued and tepaired, it was installed in an alcove of the Palais by Monsieur Gagnière—who thinks it a pour likeness. We tended to agree.

After the tour, Madame Bosqui took us to her office and produced a file folder that she thought might interest us. It contained a collection of letters to Mill, some with his draft replies verso, and other papers and envelopes, which had been given to the Fondation about three years ago by the estate of one of the secretaries of Madame de Flandreysy. So interested were we, indeed, that we spent the afternoon helping to catalogue the items.

The MS numbers assigned, from 509 to 528, indicate merely the order in which the items emerged from the folder. We have reordered them below chronologically, giving those with Mill's draft replies first. followed by a brief description of the others.

We are indebted to the Fondation Flandreysy-Espérandieu for permission to publish these letters.

* * * * *

MS 513. In a letter dated 18 May, 1870, M. M. Barry acknowledges Mill's kindness in replying to his questions on two occasions "years ago," and asks whether Mill would be willing to give his opinion on "a very short letter on Religious Education for the young," and suggest a publisher. Mill replies:

"Dear Sir--In reply to your communication of May 18 1 beg to say that my occupations do not admit of my undertaking to examine & give an opinion & advice respecting manuscripts intended for publication.

A. June 3, 1870"

M. M. is, presumably, M. Maltman Barry (1842-1909), who was active in the International Workingmen's Association and other causes. Undeterred by Mill's reply on this occasion, he wrote again, in 1872, to ask that Mill become a committee member of the nascent Society for the Relief and Employment of Political Refugees. For Mill's answer to the later request, see Collected Works, XVII, 1882-3.

MS 510. From Lucerue, on 9 August, 1871, Mill wrote to his doctor, A. Chauffard, in Avignon, enclosing a copy of a prescription for pareira. Having been unable to fill the prescription in Switzerland where the drug was no longer in use, and thinking that it might also be unavailable in Avignon, he asked the doctor to get it for him from Paris or Marseille. Pareira, which he was to take twice a day for "a considerable period," had apparently been recommended as a general tonic. Helen Taylor's letter of 13 June, 1871, to Kate Amberley records her alarm about Mill's health during that period, because "he seemed to have a return of his old consumptive symptoms; but Dr. Williams tells him his lungs are perfectly sound but that he wants bracing, fresh air etc." (letter quoted by permission of the Bertrand Russell Archives, McMaster University).

"Monsieur--J'espère arriver à Avignon en quelques jours d'ici et j'ai alors besoin d'un médicament dont je vous envoie copie de l'ordonnance. N'ayant pu obtenir ce médicament en Suisse où il paraît qu'on ne se sert plus du pareira je crains qu'ii n'en fut peut-être de même à Avignon et dans ce cas je vous engage à vouloir bien en procurer à Paris ou à Marseille. On m'ordonne d'user de ce remêde deux fois par jour pendant un temps considérable.

Lucerne Aug. 9 [187]1"

MS 515. Augusta von Littrow (1819-90), an author, frequently in the cause of women, wrote to Mill on 7 July, 1871, from Vienna's "Academy of Sciences," thanking him for his reply to an earlier letter, and requesting a few words of endorsation to be prefixed to a pamphlet she had written on the fntnre of German elementary schools. With so many men lost in the war, now was the time, she believed, for women

to be properly trained for elementary, and even secondary, teaching. She concluded:

"I know as well as any body, that it would be more proper to present you the printed manuscript before asking the favour of your consent, and you will be in full right smiling at the demand to approve with your authority a pamphlet you do not know. But as it would postpone the publication of my little work, for which the right moment has come just now—our Parliament discussing the question—I take the courage which gives me the righteousness of my good cause, and make an appeal to your benevolence, which I would not have tried without precedence. You have directed in similar circumstances some lines to the ladies of Petersburg to encourage their spirited undertaking, and hoping that you will not refuse as an Englishman the same favour to the sisterly race of German women I remain with the expression of my unbounded veneration.

Your , truly devoted Augusta <u>Littrow</u>-Bischoff"²

Her registered letter reached London on 18 July, and Mill carried it with him to Lucerne, where on 9 August he drafted the following reply:

"Dear Madam—I am very happy to learn from your testimony that there is already a widely spread interest among German women for the cause of the political & social equality of the sexes. I am much honoured hy your wish that some words of approval from myself should be prefixed to the work you have prepared on "die Zukunft der Deutschen Volksschule," but I have thought it right to lay down to myself as a rule, never to give my public recommendation to any work which I have not read.

Lucerne Aug. 9, 1871"

The lady's devotion and persistence ultimately prevailed, however, and Mill complied with her request. See MS 509 below.

MS 524. Yet another invitation ro join a Committee was addressed to Mill on 27 July, 1871, by Hodgson Pratt (1824-1907), who, on his return from service in public education with the East India Company in Bengal, had become an associate of Henry Solly on the council of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union, helping to establish many new branches. His greatest cause, however, was that of world peace; and he enclosed in his letter a copy of a "Dreft Scheme for an Anglo-French Association for the Promotion of International Goodwill," which involved the establishment in London and Paris of committees that would keep each other informed of all topics of international interest under discussion, disseminate accurate information, and counter misunderstandings. He asked Mill's opinion of the project and solicited his membership.

Mill drafted a reply on 23 August:

"Dear Sir--1 beg to acknowledge your letter of July 27 which owing to my absence from England has only just reached me.

Your desire for an organization to give true information to England & France respecting one another & to correct mutual misapprehensions is very laudable. But I believe that the information which it would be possible to supply, especially on the French side, would be, in the vast majorlty of cases, false information. The monstrous absurdities which have been & still are believed even by highly educated people in France, & the multitude of mere lies which are invented, clrculated, & generally credited here respecting what takes place in France itself, would make it impossible for any French Committee to supply England with that authentic information which they themselves would seldom possess. Things are a little better in England, but even if an English Committee were able to lay before the French people the exact truth, no part of it would be believed except what agreed with the national prejudices or party prepossessions of each person. For these reasons, I hope too little from your experiment to be willing to take part in it, though I sh^d be most highly gratified if it were successful.

A. Aug 23 1871"

Mill's lack of enthusiasm did not stop Pratt. He continued to work in associations for international cooperation, and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906.

MS 519. On his arrival at the Schweizerhof Hotel in Lucerne, Mr. P. L. Mills, of the firm of Mills and Gibb (of New York and Nottingham), was dlsmayed to learn that three important letters he had expected to find were not there. The porter helpfully suggested that they had possibly been delivered to JSM by mistake; and so Mr. Mills immediately wrote a note, dated 17 August, 1871, to ask if such were the case. Full of faith in the British Post Office, he addressed the envelope to "Mr. John Stuart Mill / late M.P. for Westminster / London / England."

There are two versions of Mill's draft reply, the flrst cancelled after the word "here" in sentence one, with the rest of the single sentence of version two interlined.

Version 1: "Dear Sir Your note of the 17th ulto has been forwarded to me here. I only received while at Luzern one letter which was not intended for you and this I returned personally to the Luzern post office. I sh^d add that the letter in question did not bear your name on the cover."

Version 2: "Dear Sir Your note of the 17th ulto has been forwarded to me here, and in reply 1 beg to say that I have not received elther at Luzern or elsewhere any letter addressed to you.

A. Sept. 4, 1871"

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MS 517. An eleven-page letter from George Gill dated 28 September, 1871, was apparently prompted by Mill's activity in the Land Tenure Reform Association and the publication of its Programme earlier in the year. Gill, who under his signature described himself as a "Surgeon etc. (Registered) (Aet. 51)," was an (aggrieved) man of many original ideas. He enclosed a copy of his "Scheme of Tenant Rights for England as well as Ireland," which he had sent to most of the leading statesmen in 1869, and which, in his view, had inspired several of the details in the Irish Land Act (1870), particularly the clause on registration of improvements. Moreover, his inventions, "such as the famous independent 'Twin screw system of propulsion' sent into and other of his plans submitted for improvement of warship admiralty design had received no recognition or reward. The real purpose of his letter was to ask Mill to drop a line to Mr. Gladstone on his benalf. Such support would give him the chance of some "acknowledgement in the shape of Royal Bounty.

In the course of his rambling exposition, he reminds Mill of his efforts in promoting Chadwick's candidacy for Parliament in 1868. (See CW, XVI, 1471, 1476, 1481, 1484, 1488.)
Mill's draft reply comes to the point:

"Dear Sir--I beg to acknowledge your letter of Sept. 28 & your tract on Tenant Right. I have read both of them with interest but it is out of the question that $1 \, \mathrm{sh}^d$ make an application to Mr Gladstone tending to procure for you any pecuniary benefit. I have made it a rule not to use influence with any Govr for such a purpose even if I possessed it, & to this rule I could not make you an exception even if I were competent to judge of the inventions referred to in your letter.

I return the pamphlet as I infer from your letter that you have not at present any other copy.

Α. Oct. 9, 1871"

Though Gill almost certainly would have received Mill's letter, does not acknowledge it in a second appeal written on the 27th. have no doubt you will meet Mr. Gladstone at Blackheath to-morrow3-and if so you might say a word or two to him with reference to my claims Scientific & Political--." Mill, still In Avignon, filed it away, apparently unanswered, in the envelope that contained "George Gill & reply / Oct. 9, 1871," adding "Further from him Oct. 27."

MSS 522, 523. During September, 1869, Mill was visited in Avignon by J. K. Hamilton Willcox (1842-98), a young American interested in economic and social questions, particularly the cause of votes for women. In his account of their meeting, which he published the month following Mill's death, Willcox takes credit for suggesting to Mill that he write a statement on free trade for the American public and also for subsequently helping to create the opportunity for its publication--Mill's election as an honorary member of the New York Liberal Club. 5

THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO IS NOT THE OWNER.

Two letters from Willcox, of April 1st [MS 523] and 6th [MS 522] report that he sent Mill all the papers he had been able to get hold of in which his letter had been copied or noticed; and, clearly enjoying his mnofficial position as Mill's American agent, he nrged him to respond to the criticism. Some of it had come from Horace Greeley, in editorials in the Tribune, and in a comment which Willcox passed along: "Hon. Horace Greeley, an old friend and fellow member of the Liberal Club, wishes me to say that while his strictures on your letter have been plausibly met by those who indorse its views, one point has gone unanswered. You attribute the high wages paid here to cheap land and sparse population; he replies that land is cheaper and population sparser in Canada, where wages are lower."

population sparser in Canada, where wages are lower."

Willcox also reported the following: "Our quondam friend Leverson' is a member of the Club, & was some time since a candidate for the Presidency of the New York City Free College. He printed a pamphlet containing testimonials, among which were four notes from yourself praising various writings of his. I tried to get a copy to send yon, but without success."

Mill's draft reply to the two letters, in which he responds to Greeley's objection and gives his reasons for ignoring the rest of the commentary on the points he had made, was read (minns the last paragraph) at a meeting of the Liberal Club, and published in the Trihnne. There are only three minor substantive differences between the draft and the printed text before the concluding sentence, which in MS reads: "Please make my acknowledgments to the Liberal Club for the great honour they have done to my letter hy giving it so wide a circulation & accept my thanks for all the interesting things in your two letters."

There follows a

"P.S. as you say that Mr Leverson has printed notes of mine by way of testimonials for the office of President of a College, it is well you shd know that I never gave him my permission to do so, & moreover that the notes were all written before the occurrences which led to his leaving England. I have no knowledge of those occurrences, nor have I any opinion as to whether they are at all discreditable to him, but I could not have given him anything of the nature of a recommendation for such an office without knowing more about these transactions than I do.

A. Oct. 10, 1871"

MS 520. In 1871 Arthur Patchett Martin (1851-1902) was a young man of considerable talent in the colony of Victoria, supporting himself as an employee of the Melbourne Post Office, speaking at meetings of debating societies, writing in local journals. He had apparently sent Mill his review of The Subjection of Women, and Mill had responded with a favourable comment. On 22 April, having returned his thanks, Martin launches into a twelve-page exposition of the politics of Victoria, describing the most recent election and the issues of the

day: protection vs. free-trade, state-assisted immigration, the possibility of separation, secular education, education for women. The deferential tone that characterizes this letter is noticeably lacking in Martin's comments on Mill in a later work, for which he is best known, Life and Letters of the Right Honourable Robert Lowe, Viscount Sherbrooke (London, 1893).

Mill apparently began his answer to Martin on 22 September, as this date is cancelled on the envelope. He completed it on 10 October, the same day that he wrote to Willcox.

"<u>Private</u>:

Dear Sir--1 thank you for your lerrer of the 22nd of April last. The information it contains relating to the politics of Victoria is very interesting, as to me much of ir was new.

I entirely agree with you that compulsory & secular education is the most important of all questions for Australia. If this can be obtained, & successfully worked, all, other questions will, in a country like yours, very soon come right of themselves. It is to be feared that the new ministry, having a Catholic though one of the best of Catholics at its head, will do all it can to discourage this more will do all it can to discourage this movement. As for state-assisted immigration, whether it is desirable or not it clearly ought not to be carried into effect in opposition to the public opinion of the colony. But I have always thought that the unoccupied lands of Australia were prematurely given up to the governments of the several colonies, & ought to have been reserved as the property of the empire at large until much greater progress had been made in peopling them. The renunciation of them was by no means a necessary consequence of the introduction of responsible government. The step, however, cannot be retraced & it is to be hoped that the principle of the State being the sole landlord may be adopted in Australia so far as respects unappropriated land while there still remains a great quantity of land in that condition.

l cannot agree with Mr Higinbotham in his idea that the legislature shd consist of only 40 or 50 members, elected by the whole of the colony as one constituency, & largely remunerated. Forty or fifty are too few for a deliberative assembly, & too many for an administrative board, neither is it desirable that the legislature should administer; & if men are paid two or three thousand a year merely for legislating, they will think themselves bound to earn their salary by legislating a great deal too much. Besides, so long as Hare's system is not adopted, the uniting of the whole electorate as one body would deprive all minorities of even the imperfect representation which the accidents of local opinion give them & the majority alone would be ever heard in the legislature.

As to the question of separation, my convictiou is, that it sh^d rest entirely with the Australian people, & that our Govt & Parlt sh^d exert no pressure either way. A time will of course come when the Australian colonies, feeling strong enough to defend themselves unassisted against any attack, will think the power of England to involve them in her wars without consulting them, an evil more than equivalent to the advantage of English protection. I coufess that I

 ${
m sh}^d$ reject separation, but I do not think that the federal principle can be worked successfully when the different members of the confederacy are scattered all over the world; & I think the English people would prefer separation to an <u>equal</u> federation.

I hope your university will soon follow the example of the university of Sydney & that of Chicago, in the admission of women. At Chicago even the law school has lately been opened to them on exactly the same conditions as to male students. Their admission to serve on juries in the Territory of Wyoming has been, according to the testimony of the Chief Justice who had opposed it, of eminently successful. Pray give my compliments to Mr Rusden. It is very fortunate for

Pray give my compliments to Mr Rusden. It is very fortunate for Victoria that it contains persons of such enlightened political opinions as yourself, Mr Rusden & Mr Gresham.

A. Oct. 10. 1871."

MS 516, 509. Replying in German to Mill's note of 9 August, 1871 (see MS 505 above), Augusta Littrow blames her use of English in the earlier letter for Mill's having misunderstood her intentions. It was the <u>principles</u> on which her pamphlet was based that she hoped he could (quickly) endorse. She encloses a copy this time, stressing again how much a few words from Mill would contribute to its success.

MS 509 was not attached to this letter, but seems clearly to be Mill's draft; both her letters were originally filed in the envelope to the first one [MS 515 bis] on which Mill methodically wrote: "Madame Littrow & reply Aug. 9 1871. Her reply [illegible] & reply." The draft reads:

"Dear Madam--I thank you for your pamphlet which I have read with great interest δ which seems to me both well argued and well written. You have confined yourself to a single item in the large subject of justice to women; but that one item is of very great importance; δ you have the advantage in that instance, of making out what seems to be a case of necessity, since from your statements It appears that unless women are admitted to a large share in the work of public teaching, the popular education which is the glory of Germany is in danger not merely of remaining stationary but even of degenerating. I congratulate you cordially on your valuable contribution to the cause both of women δ of education δ I hope it is not the only one which they are destined to receive from you as a writer.

A. Oct. 25, 1871"

The following are the other items in the folder:

MS 525. A formal certificate from the Museum of Practical Geology, dated 27 March, 1858, acknowledging the East India Company's gift of Henry J. Carter's work, <u>Geological Papere on Western India</u> (Bombay, 1857).

MS 511. A letter from the firm of Prescott Grote, bankers, of 23 October, 1861, notifying Mill that they had received his cheque for £62, and deposited it in Helen Taylor's account.

MS 526. An invitation of 18 April, 1864, from the Emancipation Society, to be present on the following day when an address from the Society would be presented to General Garibaldi.

MS 514. A letter headed Manchester, 14 August, 1865, from Edward Owen Greening, announcing the establishment of Renton, Greening & Co., a firm of financial agents, to promote investments in trading companies and encourage share partnerships. He asks for Mill's "hearty good will and co-operation." There is no envelope or comment by Mill on the letter (but see $\underline{\text{CW}}$, XVI, 1166-7).

MS 521. James T. Hoskins, on 20 September, 1871, respectfully calls Mill's attention to an article he had written in the <u>Beehive</u> advocating the formation of a "Vigilance League, absorbing various minor Associations," which would give "an immense impetus to the woman as well as the labour question." The idea had originated in proposals by Henry Solly and Josephine Butler, the larter having "already . . . responded to the idea of effecting a coalition between the working man, and thinking women of Great Britain." He asks that Mill write some words of support in the next number of the <u>Beehive</u>. On the envelope [MS 521 bis], Mill wrote simply: "J. T. Hoskins Sept. 20 1871."

MS 512. A letter of 11 October, 1871, from F. Wickings Smith, solicitor, informing Mill of a "Legacy of £100 (less Death Duty £10) bequeathed to him by the Will of the late George Grote," and requesting that he sign and return the enclosed receipt. Verso Mill wrote: "F. W. Smith, concerning Grote's legacy Oct. 11, 1871."

MS 527. The envelope for MS 513 above with Mill's note: "M. M. Barry & reply / Jnne 3, 1870."

MS 528. A lonely envelope, postmarked 1888, and addressed: "Miss Taylor / Avignon / France."

Any information about, or comment on, this collection and the individual items in it would be most welcome.

NOTES

¹For a description of the course of lectures established, in 1867, for women in St. Petersburg, see Theodore Stanton, ed., The Woman Question in Europe (New York, 1884), 409-10. Mill's "lines to the ladies" are uncraced.

²The Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon, 1815-1950, V (Vienna, 1972), 250-1, and library catalogues spell her forename "Auguste," but she clearly wrote an "a" in this letter. The hyphenated addition to Littrow identifies her as the danghter of a celebrated Viennese physician, lgnaz Rudolph Bischoff.

³Gladstone addressed a large crowd at Blackheath on Saturday, 28 October. See John Morley, Life of Gladstone, 2 vols. (London, 1908),

I, 762.
""A Visit to John Stuart Mill at Avignon," Appleton's Journal, 9

(14 June, 1873), 785-88.

*Mill's covering note to Willcox and the formal letter to the Liberal Glub, which was published in the New York Tribune, 13 Feb., 1871, p. 2, are in <u>CW</u>, XVII, 1801-5.

⁶Prosumably Richard Montague Leverson (1830- ?), who had published in both England and the U.S.: e.g., Copyrights and Patents; or, Property in Thought (London, 1854); The Reformer's Reform Bill: Being a Proposed New and Complete Code of Electoral Law for the United Kingdom (London, 1866); On the Uses and Functions of Money, with Special Reference to the Currency of the United States (New York, 1868). We have not been

able to locate the pamphlet.

718 Nov., 1871, p. 5; CW, XVII, 1840-1.

8 Charles Gavan Duffy (1816-1903) who, having unsuccessfully trice to form an Irish independent party during his period as a Member of the Commons, emigrared to Melbourne in 1855 where he became a distinguished figure in the politics of the colony. He was prime minister from June, 1871, to June, 1872. In 1851 Duffy, with Frederic Lucas, tried unsuccessfully to persuade Mill to stand for Parliament as a candidare for an lrish constituency (see Antobiography, CW, 1 [forthcoming], 272, and CW, XIV, 57-8). For other contacts between them, and Mill's judgments, see CW, XIV, 71, and XV, 504, 560.

 9 George Higinbotham (1826-92) was the leading radical politician of Victoria. Prior to the 1871 election, Parliament had passed an act providing for the payment of £300 per annum to members of both Houses. Martin reported that Higinbotham believed that £2000 or even £3000 would be an appropriate sum, and favoured government by a single House, consisting of about forty or fifty members elected by the whole colony

as one constituency. $$^{10}{\rm John}$ H. Srowe was quoted ro this effect in a new publication of the National American Woman Snffrage Association, Woman's Journal, 1 (23 Apr., 1870), 123. It is possible that Mill was sent this periodical, or saw an account in another of the American journals he frequently

received.

11 Henry Keylock Rusden (1826-1910) was a civil servant in Victoria and a writer in enlightened causes. He had sent Mill two of his essays and a letter, to which Mill responded (see CW, XVII, 1750-1). William Hutchison Gresham (1824-75) is best known for his work in the Land Tenure Reform League of Victoria (1870-73).

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AN AMERICAN IN AVIGNON (1868)

The anonymous correspondent of the Chicago Tribune (16 Mar., 1868, p. 2), who dated his article from Avignon 21 February, clearly felt cheated by Murray's Guide Book that said "stop by all means and see Avignon," and he wanted to set the record straight. "I must record

it as my deliberate judgment that time spent upon either the ancient or the modern attractions of Avignon, is little better than absolutely wasted. . . ." The Palace of the Popes repelled him: "The sight of this architectural monstrosity suffices to explain why the Popes were not anxious to protract their residence at Avignon beyond two generations." And though he found the "bold arches and solid masonry" of the bridge more attractive, practical man that he obviously was, he "could not have avoided answering in the negative the question whether [his] visit had been a paying investment of time, but for what follows."

What follows is an account of his visit to Mill, and it has early themes in common with those in the journals of other pilgrims: Mill is not generally known; his house is hard to find; the cemetery is beautiful, the inscription moving. Indeed the harsh tone of his comments on the town has turned to the lyrical by the time he reaches the green-painted gate and a young peasant working in the garden leads him to the house np a narrow walk bordered on both sides by olive trees.

Mr. Mill at Home

The young peasant showed me into a small sitting room on the right side of the entry, with a tile floor, and the very simplest furniture, and then left me to carry my card to Mr. Mill. He reappeared in a few seconds, and told me I would find Mr. Mill in the room on the other side of the entry. Stepping into this, I found myself in what seemed to serve as a library to the owner of the house. In an armchair in front of the fireplace, in which some coals were still burning, notwithstanding the warm spring sunshine without, there sat, with a cat purring at his feet, the well-known form of Mr. Mill. He rose as I entered, welcomed me by a cordial shake of the hand, and invited me to be seated. In a very little we were engaged in a lively conversation.

Mr. Mill's figure is of more than the average height, but he could hardly be called tall. His form is decidedly slender. His head impresses one at once as the seat of intelligence of the highest order and the highest activity. The upper portion is very broad, but below the splendid high forehead the face becomes narrow-featured. His eyes are grayish, and not large, but of a most genial expression. His nose is thiu and straight and well-proportioned. The features run out into a very sharp chin. The complexion of the clean-shaved face is rosy, and clearly iudicative of good health. The top of the head is almost bald but the lower portion is covered with a good growth of rather curly light-brown hair, slightly tinged with grey. His voice is not strong but of great clearness notwithstanding the delicate and almost womanly gentleness of its tone. Mr. Mill is a rather hesitating public speaker. His ordinary conversation discloses the same defect, which is probably the result of a long habit of weighing words before committing himself to them.

Mr Mill's Views of the Consequences of the late British Reform Bill

I presume that the readers of The Tribune will be interested in learning some of the views held by Mr. Mill on topics of a public nature, which may or may not find expression in the debates of the approaching session of Parliament. Hence, I take the liberty to reproduce a few of the leading thoughts snggested in this fireside conversation. Concerning the Reform bill recently enacted in England, Mr. Mill expressed the conviction rhat, with the concessions already obtained from the ruling classes, rhe cause of political progress was sure to move steadily onward. It would gather new momentum, which would make its advance nut only sure but rapid. He was confident that the first Parliament elected under the Reform bill would open the way for enfranchising the masses of the people of the British Isles. He considered the attainment of universal suffrage only a question of time, and thought I might live to see the day when the elective franchise would be as fully enjoyed in Great Britain as in the United States. There was every indication, he said, farther, that the cause of popular education was about receiving the proper attention in England: To obtain for the masses of the people the proper education, was a sure step towards absolute equality of political rights. The former once secured, the latter would follow as an inevitable consequence.

The Condition of Ireland

From the reform bill, we naturally passed to the lrish question. He thought that the present Parliament would give its attention to the matter of introducing necessary reforms in the Irish Church at an early date. The abnormal condition of the tillers of the Irish soil, which he considered the main source of the evils weighing upon Ireland, he also believed would receive early attention from the existing Legislature of the United Kingdom. But while he thought that the present Parliament would initiate measures in regard to these two vital questions, agitation for land reform would be inaugurated as soon as universal suffrage was established. With the enlightenment of the public mind, proceeding from the question of Irish land reform, in the press and Parliament, he thought the solution of the same problem as applied to Eugland and Scotland would not prove as difficult as some were disposed to consider it.

Fenianism

In regard to Fenianism, Mr. Mill expressed his belief that, not-withstanding the recklessness and cruelty of the Fenian outbreak, there was no feeling of resentment towards Ireland harbored by the English people but that the late deplorable events only tended to make the couviction more general that the government had to confront a stupendous evil—the fruits of the sins of past generations—for which a cure must be found at the earliest possible moment. While all classes of the English people were disposed to uphold their government in repressing such outbreaks against law and order as had been made,

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nothing like revengeful feeling was entertained by them. He regretted that countenance had been given to a certain extent by public men in the United States to Fenianism for mere party purposes. He believed that the movement had spent its force on both sides of the Atlantic, and that the British people had got over the great alarm they had undeniably felt in the latter part of last year, and were now calmly prepared to do what justice and duty required.

Reconstruction in America

From English politics we passed to affairs in the United States. Of course, the reconstruction question was first in order. It is hardly necessary for me to say that Mr. Mill is entirely in sympathy with the party that has been endeavoring to reconstruct the Union on the basis of equal, political and civil rights, and would have realized its noble purposes in this but for the persistent opposition of Andrew Speaking of the extension of political rights to the emancipated slaves by Congress, he said that, independent of all other considerations, those who had stricken the fetters off the bondmen of the rebellious South were in duty bound to resort to this measure as the sole official means of protecting them from the hatred and hostility of their former masters. Their freedom would have been a valueless gift without this guarantee of safety and means of self-protection. But, moreover, the very principles that constituted the foundation of the political and civil system of the United States required the enforcement of an absolute equality of rights and duties in every part of the republic. He had not the least fear that the low condition to which slavery had reduced the negro race would render the exercise of the rights of suffrage by the freedmen a source of danger to our country. "If there be any danger from rhis source," he said, "yo easily avert it by using your best endeavors to educate the freedmen. Of the capability of the latter to make good citizens he had no doubt. He took occasion also to express his horror and indignation at the cruel outrages that are being continually perpetrated upon the freed-men all over the South by their late masters. "Verily," he exclaimed, "slavery makes brutes nor only of the oppressed, but of the oppressors."

The Currency Question in the United States

The conversation turned to the economical relations of the United States. He was nor slow in giving me to understand that in his opinion the American people did not show the same practical wisdom in respect to their financial that they manifested in the conduct of their political affairs. He expressed his astonishment at the popular opposition to a reduction of the volume of the currency, which had already borne fruit in the form of the anti-contraction bill passed by Congress. He confessed himself muable to comprehend how a people, so intelligent as those of the United States, could consent to submit for an indefinite time to the insecurity and inconvenience of constantly changing values, the legitimate result of an irredeemable currency, and this in spite of the severe lessons received during the past five years' dominion of paper currency. He was convinced that the anti-contraction policy now inaugurated would be found fraught with the

greatest perils, and that the American people would not find lasting relief from their financial embarrassments until they had abandoned it for a policy leading directly to a species basis. He expressed his surprise that the great and constant fluctuations of prices during the last four years had not already produced a disastrous financial and commercial reversing on the other side of the Atlantic and was glad to take this as evidence of the inherent vitality of the republic.

The Ptotective System

The mistaken protective system of the United States was next spoken of. Mr. Mill feels confident that the very excesses of the American protectionists will bring on an early popular reaction against their fallacies. He thinks that the question of free trade or protection will become the paramount issue, as soon as the reconstruction question is definitely solved, and that it will lead to a new formation of political parties. He has the hope, gained by the light of English experience and that of other countries, and their natural good sense and discernment, that the American people, who have so distinguished themselves as champions of freedom in other respects, will be arrayed before many years on the side of freedom of trade.

Other Topics

Besides the topics mentioned, the conversation touched briefly upon woman suffrage and the temperance question, and the efforts making in various countries for improving the material and moral condition of the working classes by the system of co-operation. As to the first, Mt. Mill believes that the United States will set a noble example to other nations by first vesting women with political rights. He believes that American women can secure such rights whenever they make a serious effort to obtain them. As to the temperance question, although doing justice to the laudable motives of those who would attempt to check the vice of intemperance by legislation in the United States, he is not convinced of the wisdom or efficacy of prohibitory laws as a means of moral reform. Concerning co-operation, he expressed his ardent sympathy with this social movement, as well as his faith in the great practical benefits to be derived from it for the working classes.

I was so deeply interested in the conversation, that I was surprised to find, on looking ar my watch, after touching upon the last mentioned subject, that my call had already extended to more than two hours. It was time for me to take my leave, and so I arose and bade good-bye to the great and good man, whose fame had spanned two continents without making him known to his nearest neighbors. I shall always look back to my visit to Avignou as one of the most pleasant and profitable incidents of my life.

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THE BENTHAM PROJECT

J. R. Dinwiddy

There have been several developments at the Bentham Project in the last year or two which we are glad to have this opportunity of reporting to readers of the Mill News Letter. In 1978 Professor Herbert Hart succeeded Lord Robbins as chairman of the Bentham Committee, and the vice-chairman is Professor William Twining of the University of Warwick. J. H. Burns of University College London, having served as General Editor of Bentham's Collected Works since 1961, retired from this post in 1979, hut remains closely associated with the Project as a member of its Executive Committee. The present General Editor is J. R. Dinwiddy of Royal Holloway College, who was Joint General Editor with Professor Burns from 1977 to 1979.

The sixth volume to appear in the Collected Works, A Comment on the Commentaries and A Fragment on Government, edited by J. H. Burns and H. L. A. Hart, was published in 1977. Volumes IV and V of Bentham's Correspondence, edited by A. T. Milne and covering the period from November 1788 to the end of 1797, will be published by the Athlone Press during 1980. In 1978-79, owing to the uncerrainty which then existed about the future of the Athlone Press (which has since been sold by the University of London to a commercial firm), the Bentham Committee explored possibilities of finding an alternative publisher, and in June 1979 it concluded an agreement with the Oxford University Press whereby the latter has agreed to publish over the next five or six years the dozen volumes that are currently in preparation. One of the first volumes that will appear in rhis programme is one edited by Amnon Goldworth of San José State University, California, comprising the Deontology, A Table of the Springs of Action (the brief work on motivation published in 1817), and the essay on "The Greatest Happineas Principle" which was written in 1829 for--but most of which was not actually published in--the Westminster Review. The text of the Deontology (Bentham's handbook on ethics) will be confined to what is known to be his own authentic contribution to the notoriously dnbious edition of the work brought out by John Bowring two years after Bentham's death. Two other volumes which are very close to completion are Chrestomathia, Bentham's only published work on education, edited by W. H. Burston of the Institute of Education, University of London; and Constitutional Code, vol. 1, edited by J. H. Bnrns and F. Rosen (London School of Economics), which will comprise the part of the Code, chapters i-ix, which was published in Bentham's own lifetime. Other volumes in the current programme are as follows. Volumes VI and VII of the Correspondence, which are expected to cover the years 1798-1811, are being edited by J. R. Dinwiddy. A volume entitled Preparatory Principles, edited by D. G. Long of the University of Western Ontario, will put into print for the first time the early writings of the 1770s in which Bentham defined the basic concepts and principles on which he planned to construct his comprehensive work on legislation. Two works of the early 1780s which are being edited in one volume by C. F. Bahmueller and Hardy Wieting Jr. are the

Essay on the Influence of Place and Time in Matters of Legislation, Bentham's only substantial attempt to examine the possible influence of environmental and historical factors on the application of his principles, and Indirect Legislation, in which he discussed methods other than penal sanctions whereby the legislator could influence social behaviour. M. H. James of La Trobe University, Victoria, is editing a volume of Bentham's Political Writings, 1788-95 which will include the Easays on Political Tactics and the shorter, largely unpublished, works in which, under the stimulus of events in France, Bentham addressed himself to problems of constitutional reform and formulated for the first time arguments in favour of democracy. In the later 1790s Bentham turned his attention to social policy, and his Writings on the Poor Law, edited in two volumes by C. F. Bahmueller, will contain the eight separate works ne wrote on the subject, of which only three have been published before. Lastly, James Steintrager of Wake Forest University is producing a two-volume edition of Church of Englandism and Its Catechism Examined, Bentham's actack on the established Church which was published anonymously in 1817 but was not included by Bowring in his edition of the Works.

Besides the programme outlined above, work is in progress on several other sections of the new edition. Pedro Schwartz of the University of Madtid has been collecting and examining for several years, as a part-time Research Fellow at the Project, Bentham's writings and correspondence relating to Spain, Portugal and Latin In 1979 he brought out in Madtid two volumes of letters America. entitled The Iberian Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham: A Provisional These letters, with the full annotation which he and Claire Gobbi have been preparing, will be incotporated in due course in the appropriate volume of the Correspondence series of the Collected Works. Dr. Schwartz and Miss Gobbi have also been investigating the two large unpublished works written in the early 1820s, Emancipatiou Spanish and Rid Yourselves of Ultramaria, with a view to rheir inclusion in projected volume of Bentham's writings on colonies. Professor Steintrager, as well as editing Church of Englandism, is preparing two further volumes of writings on religion incorporating Not Paul, but Jesus and the Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion; and L. J. Hume of the Australian National University has recently undertaken to edit volumes II and III of the Constitutional Gode, some material for which has already been collected by Professor Burns and Dr. Rosen. During the 1970s, a large amount of work was done under the direction of W. L. Twining on the voluminous writings on evidence, but further progress in this area awaits a thorough investigation of the related writings on judicial procedure.

In addition to editorial work, the Bentham Project has embarked in recent years on certain other activities, such as the Mill Project had undertaken at an earlier date. The Bentham Newsletter was started as an annual publication in 1978 and contains articles, reports on research in progress, and bibliographical material. The editor, Glaire Gobbi (Bentham Project, University College London) would be glad to hear from anyone who would be interested in contributing to the Newsletter or subsctibing to it. In December 1979 a special

"conference issue" was published containing papers delivered at the first Bentham Studies Conference, held at University College in the previous July. The conference, taking place over two days, was attended by more than seventy people and included a dinner at which Bentham himself presided.

Recent Publications

"Liberty and the Higher Pleasures: Reply," Bronfenbrenner, Martin. Economic Inquiry, 18 (Apr., 1980), 319-20.

Garforth, F. W. Educative Democracy: John Stuart Mill on Education Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press (for University of in Hull), 1980.

"Frege, Mill, and the Foundations of Arithmetic," Kessler, Glenn.

Journal of Philosophy, 77 (Feb., 1980), 65-79.

ssberg, Jonathau. "Free Association: Mill's Autobiography as the Fiction of a Philosophy." In Interspace and the Inward Sphere: Loesberg, Jonathau. Essays on Romantic and Victorian Self. Ed. Norman A. Anderson and

Essays on Romantic and Victorian Self. Ed. Norman A. Anderson and Margene E. Weiss. Macomb, Ill.: Western University Press, 1978.

McPherson, Michael S. "Liberty and the Higher Pleasures: In Defense of Mill," Economic Inquiry, 18 (Apr., 1980), 314-18.

Richards, David A. J. "Human Rights and Moral Ideals: An Essay on the Moral Theory of Liberalism," Social Theory and Practice, 5 (1980), 461-88.

Russell, Gordon Beck. "An Application of Erik Erikson's Eight Ages of Man to the Lives of John Stuart Mill, Samuel Johnson and George Herbert." Ph.D. thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1979 (DAI, 40, p. 4060A).

"Toward a Logic of Liberalism," Journal of Philoso-Schick, Frederic. phy, 77 (Feb., 1980), 80-98.

Announcements

"England in the 1880's" will be the topic of the 1981 Northeast Victorian Studies Association's Conference, April 24-26, at the University of Hartford. Send abstracts of proposed papers (10 copies if possible) or suggestions for panels by November 1, 1980, to Jane Lilienfeld, Program Chair, English, Assumption College, Worcester, MA 01609. For information about the conference contact Catherine Stevenson, English, University of Hartford, West Hartford, CT 06117. In conjunction with the conference, the University of Hartford Studies in Literature will publish a special issue of interdisciplinary essays on England in the 1880's. Articles for this issue (about 15 pages in length) should be submitted by January 15, 1981 to Leonard Manhelm, ed., University of Hartford Studies in Literature, University of Hart ford, West Hartford, CT 06117.

The ninth Japan Mill Conference was held on 7 October 1979 in Tokyo. Mr. Iwaska, a special research fellow of Kyushu University, delivered a paper on Coleridge's political thought emphasizing its relation to that of Mill. Mr. Iwaska, along with Professor Kashiwagi of Fukuoka University, is corrently translating "Coleridge" for inclusion in the Japanese text of Early Wrirings.

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REVIEWS

The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals: 1824-1900. Vol. III. Ed. Walter E. Houghron. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Pp. xvii, 1012 + 1. \$125.00 (\$300.00 for the set of three).

Volume Three of the impressive Wellesley Index has now appeared, adding another stone to the arch ro be completed with the forthcoming Volume Four. By now the usefulness of the volumes and the magnitude of the editors' achievement, both in terms of the finished project and in terms of any user's knowledge of the difficulties overcome, must be clear to anyone who has undertaken research in the period. The present volume provides listings for Ainsworth's Magazine; The Atlantis; The British and Foreign Review; The Modern Review; The Monthly Chronicle; The National Review; The New Monthly Magazine; The New Review; The Prospective Review; Saint Pauls; Temple Bar; The Theological Review; and The Westminster Review (1824-36, 1840-1900), The London Review (1835-36), The London and Westminster Review (1836-40).

It is, of course, the Westminster Review in all its guises which will interest subscribers to the Mill News Letter most particularly. Here the listings can solidify our knowledge of radical opinion in the period. It is especially important for Mill scholars, adding more than sixty items by J. S. Mill to the eleven from the Edinburgh Review listed in Volume I, and the fifteen from Fraser's Magazine and the Fortnightly Review listed in Volume 11. The entries are preceded by the usual excellent introductory essay describing the history and bias of the three journals and showing how the London Review was begun in 1835 as an organ through which the two Mills and those sympathetic to their views could disseminate their ideas after the break with John Bowring and Colonel T. P. Thompson of the old Westminster, J. S. Mill was the actual editor of the review, remaining so through its amalgamation with the Westminster Review under the title of the London and Westminster Review and until its sale to Henry Cole and W. E. Hlckson in 1840 whereupon it reverted to its old title of the Westminster Review. After that, Mill retained no editorial or proprietary interest in the journal, although he remained an occasional contributor and was closely consulted during the period of editorial uncertainty in 1850.

Although Mill's editorial direction ceased in 1840, we should remember that the impetus for the inauguration of the London Review

was the desire to provide a periodical which, through the abandonment of anonymous journalism was to allow the free play of opinion and was to drop altogether every kind of lying; the lie of pretending that all articles are reviews, when more than half of them are not; and the lie of pretending that all articles proceed from a corps, who jointly entertain all the opinions expressed. There is to be no we; but each writer is to have a signature. . . . Mill's involvement with the Westminster resulted in its becoming the vehicle for a good deal of his most important work. There we find the articles on Bentham and Coleridge, his first essay on De Tocqueville, the article on Whewell's moral philosophy and those on Comte and Positivism.

Volume III does slightly less well in the percentage of attributions that could be made; the Westminster giving more trouble than most in this respect. The volume is completed by an appendix with corrections and additions to Volumes 1 and II, an appendix in which mill does not figure. Any reviewer of each of the volumes must close

in grateful admiration. We should all, be grateful.

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