THE MILL NEWS LETTER

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The item of Milliana which begins this issue was sent to us by Francis Sparshott. It is the entire entry for James Mill in The Scottish Nation; or, the Surnames, Families, Literature, Honours, and Biographical History of the People of Scotland by William Anderson, Author of Life, and Editor of Works of Lord Byron, etc., etc. The work contains no entry for John Stuart Mill, but Professor Sparshott has asked us to note the masterly characterization of him in the last sentence:

"MILL, James, the historian of British India, was born in the parish of Logie-Pert, Forfarshire, April 6, 1773. The early part of his education he received at the grammar school of Montrose, on leaving which, through the patronage of Sir John Stuart, baronet, of Fettercairn, one of the barons of the exchequer in Scotland, on whose estate his father occupied a small farm, he was sent to the university of Edinburgh to study for the church. In 1800, after being licensed as a preacher, he went to London as tutor in Sir John Stuart's family, and settling in the metropolis, he devoted himself to literary and philosophical pursuits. By his powerful and original productions, as well as by the force of his personal character, he soon earned for himself a high reputation as a writer. During the first years of the Edinburgh Review, he contributed to it many articles on Jurisprudence and Education, and he was also the author of a number of masterly papers in the Westminster, the London, the British, The Eclectic, and Monthly Reviews. In politics he belonged to the Radical party, and among other articles which he wrote for the Westminster Review were the celebrated oncs 'On the Formation of Opinions," in No. 11, and 'On the Ballot," in No. 25.

About 1806 he commenced his 'History of British India,' which occupied a considerable portion of his time for more than ten years, and was published about the end of 1817, in three volumes The information contained in this valuable work, with the author's enlarged views on all matters connected with India, tended greatly to the improvement of the administration of our empire in the East, and induced the East India Company to appoint him in 1819 to the second situation in the examiner's office, or land revenue branch of the administration, at the India House. On the retirement of Mr. William M'Culloch, he became head of the department of correspondence with India. In 1821 Mr. Mill published his 'Elements of Political Economy,' containing a clear summary of the leading principles of that acience. In 1829 appeared, in two vols. 8vc, his 'Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, ' a work on which he bestowed extraordinary labour, and which displayed much philosophical acuteness. Besides these works he contributed various valuable articles to the Supplement of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, principally on Government, Legislation, Education, Jurisprudence, Law of Nations, Liberty of the Press, Colonies, and Prison Discipline, which were also published as separate treatises. In 1835 he produced, without his name, his 'Fragment on Mackintosh,' in which he severely criticises Sir James Mackintosh's 'Disaertation on the History of Ethical Philosophy.' Mr. Mill died of consumption, June 23, 1836, and was buried at Kensington, where he had resided for the last five years of his life. He left a widow and nine children."

(The Scottish Nation, Edinburgh and London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1877. [1st ed., 1863])

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The issue proper is chiefly concerned with Mill's letters. It begins with two letters discovered by Gerald Sirkin (Department of Economics, City College, City University of New York) and Natalie Sirkin. The letters are interesting in the light of Mill's involvement with Indian education. Readers may wish to refer to Sirkin and Sirkin, "John Stuart Mill and Disutilitarianism in Indian Education," Journal of Ceneral Education, 24 (Jan., 1973), 231-85, wherein the second of these letters appeared; the other is published here for the first time. We continue with another previously unpublished Mill letter sent to us by Ged Martin (Department of History, Australian National University) which supplements the correspondence between Mill and John Plummer, and with two unpublished letters sent by J.B. Schneewind (Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburg) which reveal something of Mill's attitude to Sidgwick's Ethics. Finally we have a letter sent to us by Shiro Sugihara (Faculty of Economics, Konan University, Motoyama, Kobe, Japan)

in which Mill is thanked for advice he has given concerning a lady's marital problems. A thesis abstract, information concerning recent and forthcoming publications and a section devoted to queries close the issue.

We would like readers to note that <u>MNL</u> has switched from publication in the Spring and Fall to publication in the Summer and Winter; issues have, of course, carried on consecutively.

MILL IN INDIA HOUSE A LITTLE BUREAUCRATIC TALE IN TWO LETTERS

Gerald Sirkin & Natalie Robinson Sirkin

These two recently-uncovered letters by John Stuart Mill were written to Horace Hayman Wilson (1786-1860), who, during his career in India from 1811 through 1833, had gained a reputation as a Sanskrit scholar and had become the dominating figure in the Government's education programme. These letters are from a large collection of letters to Wilson which we found in England while engaged in research on Wilson.

Sir.

I have had the honor of receiving and laying before Mr. Loch² your letter of the 6th Ultimo; and I am desired to express to you his acknowledgments for the readiness with which you have consented to afford your valuable aid in the selection of a competent person for the office of Head Master in the Anglo Indian College,³ and which was no more than he expected from your zeal for the interests of Native Education in general, and of that Institution in particular. I have also to express his obligations to you for your remarks on the nature of the office, and on the qualifications which it requires; and, above all, for your public spirited offer to give preparatory instruction in the native languages to any gentleman whom the Court may nominate to it.⁴ Such instruction, and the continued communication with yourself which it would involve, are advantages of the value of which, to any person who may be selected for the duties in question, Mr. Loch is deeply sensible.

Your observations on the expediency of attaching a higher salary to the office than that now appropriated to it from the Education Fund, have been perused by M^r. Loch with every attention. But while he feels the force of your reasons, and the weight due to your opinion, he would not consider himself justified in proposing to the Court the adoption of the measure which you recommend, until trial shall have been made of the possibility of procuring a competent person on the terms

originally proposed. 5 He will therefore feel greatly indebted to you if you will endeavour to obtain a person qualified for the office, and willing to undertake it on the present conditions. Should this be found impracticable, it will no doubt be advisable for the source and ency of increasing the Salary.

I have the honor to be advisable for the Court to take into consideration the expedi-

Sir

Your most obedient Servant John S. Mill

[in Mill's hand] India House 29th March 1834

[entirely in Mill's hand]

India House 5th January 1836

My dear Sir

Some months ago, by the desire of the then Chairman, 1 had the honour of placing myself in communication with you with a view to obtain your valuable aid in procuring a person qualified to superintend the Anglo Indian College & to be the principal teacher in that Institution, and you kindly consented to look out for a fit person. The Managers of the Institution have since withdrawn their application, stating that they have now no doubt of being able to sclect a competent person in India and I am consequently directed by the Revenue & Judicial Committee to apprise you that any further continuance of your endeavours to procure a person in this country will be unnecessary.

Having thus fulfilled my instructions permit me in my individual capacity to say how much pleasure I have derived from your letter in this month's Asiatic Journal. The Government of India in their recent conduct have gone directly in the teeth of all the instructions they have received from this country -- as well as violated the most obvious rules of policy & common prudence.

Believe me My dear Sir Very truly yours J. S. Mill

NOTES:

1 The letters are now in the H.H. Wilson Collection (MSS Eur.E. 301) in the India Office Library through whose kind permission they are published here.
2John Loch was the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the

East India Company that year. The East India Company, which had started as a trading company, was governing India on behalf of the Crown.

3This College, also known as the Hindu College and as the Hidyalaya, was organized in 1816 by a group of leading Hindus in Calcutta for the purpose of teaching English and Western science to high-caste Hindu boys. The College soon ran out of funds because of mismanagement, and by 1823 it was asking Government for financial assistance. Government agreed and soon was providing nearly all the required funds, although the management remained in the hands of the "native managers."

Wilson was never called upon to fulfil his offer, which was probably just as well, since it is likely that he would have taught the prospective Head Master Sanskrit rather than Bengali, the spoken language of the Hindus in Calcutta. A representative statement of Wilson's conviction in this matter is given in his testimony before Parliament in 1853: "7315. What languages do you think it is most desirable to teach the young civil servants before they go out to India? [Ans.] I confess that I should be very much disposed to recommend merely Arabic and Sanskrit. The vertacular languages are much more readily learnt in India " Minutes of Evidence Taken before Select Committee [of the House Lords], 5th July, 1853, Parl. Pap., 1852-3, vol. 32.)

5A letter from James Mill states the anticipated salary as

follows: "The emoluments [are] 1500 per an. with the addition of an allowance for house rent." (James Mill to McVey Napicr, British Museum, Add. MSS 34615, f. 10C, 1 June, 1831. We are indebte for this reference to Dr. Robert F.S. Tate.) We are indebted

After twenty-one months, Wilson had not found a candidate for a position which should have attracted suitable men. The salary of L500 per year was generous by England's standards, though less so for an Englishman living in India. James Ballantyne came to India to fill a similar post in the Benares Sanskrit College in 1846, a much less desirable location than Calcutta, for a salary of only 1250. Ballantyne was Wilson's candidate. Generally, the average salary for that position was higher than L250 but lower than L500. In the 1840's, four men were brought from England to fill professorships at a salary of L300 per year, which, while adequate for single men, was found inadequate for married men. The salary was raised to 1480. (J. Kerr, A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, From 1835 to 1851 [London, 1853], Part I, pp. 44, 53.)

It seems, therefore, that Wilson's failure to find a candidate was owing to his lack of zeal for the task rather than its difficulty. We can only conjecture about Wilson's reason: it is probable that he preferred that the "native managers" of Anglo-Indian College, with whom he was on very friendly terms, be left free of European interference. Though he had on all occasions described European supervision as essential to the proper management of the Indian Colleges, he was chiefly concerned with the promotion of the traditional Oriental education, and therefore set no great store by the improvement of the competing Western

education.

This view of Wilson's indifference and even outright resistance to introducing modern, Western, education, is at variance with the standard interpretation of historians, who take Wilson at his word, that he was equally energetic in promoting both systems of education, modern and ancient. Nevertheless, all the evidence of what Wilson did rather than of what he said supports our interpretation. (Sirkin and Sirkin, "John Stuart Mill and Disutiliatrianism in Indian Education," <u>Journal of General Education</u>, 24 [Jan., 1973], 231-85. Sirkin and Sirkin, "The Battle of Indian Education: Macaulay's Opening Salvo Newly Discovered," <u>Victorian</u> Studies, 14 [June, 1971] 407-28

Studies, 14 [June, 1971], 407-28.)

Othe "letter" to which Mill refers is actually a sixteen-paged article, "Education of the Natives of India," in The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register of British and Foreign India, China and Australasia, N.S. 19 (Jan.-April, 1836). Wilson in this article violently attacked the Indian Government's new "Anglicist" education policy, which replaced Wilson's own long-standing "Orientalist" program, that he had established and continued against sporadic opposition in India and from the Court of Directors in

England.

Some of the despatches from the Court of Directors, criticizing Wilson's Orientalist program, were written by Mill himself. Not only were they critical, but they repeatedly urged just such a shift from the Orientalist to the Anglicist program as had lately been introduced. Therefore Mill's statement, that the new policy went "directly in the teeth of all the instructions" from the

Court, needs to be explained.

The explanation seems to be that Wilson's article had a powerful effect on Mill (why this was so, we attempt to answer in our article in Journal of General Education), and thereby came close to having the same effect on government policy in India. Mill, under Wilson's guidance, was as much in the dark about Indian education policy as he was about the feasibility of finding a superintendent for Anglo-Indian College. In subsequently drafting the despatch on behalf of the Court, strongly condemning the Indian Government's new education policy, Mill relied entirely on Wilson's arguments in his article, and even on Wilson's words.

Mill's draft was accepted by the Gourt of Directors, but was rejected by the final authority, Sir John Cam Hobhouse, President of

the Board of Control. (See Sirkin and Sirkin, op. cit.)
After we had written our article, The Later Letters of Stuart Mill, 1849-1873 appeared, containing an earlier letter bearing on Mill's draft despatch:

"Do not think that a style so controversial as that of this paper is what I think desirable or what I generally practise in official correspondence; it is by no means so -- but this paper was written in ill health, in the domestic distress of last year, and I may add, against time, having to be written before I could get away, to go abroad for my health: I left it in hands quite capable of moderating the tone, and altering what seems polemical in its

character; and we often find it necessary to write our despatches first for effect here, upon the Directors and the India Board, and afterwards shape them into something more suitable to the dignity of official authority exercised over gentlemen by gentlemen..."
(Letter to Henry Taylor [No. 1873], Collected Works, XVII [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972], 1970.)

Though haste and ill-health explain the style, they do not explain the content. Mill goes on to indicate that he remains convinced of the correctness of his position. This letter establishes the time when he wrote the despatch as close to July 30, 1836, when he left for the Continent.

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A LETTER FROM JOHN STUART MILL TO JOHN PLUMAER

Ged Martin

The letter given in this note supplement's the correspondence between Mill and John Plummer, a working-claes writer, published in Later Letters (Collected Works, XIV-XVII). The letter was recently discovered bound inside a pamphlet in the National Library of Australia. The letter has been catalogued as MS3913.

John Plummer was born on 3 June 1831, and until his early thirties worked as a stay-maker at Kettering in Northamptonshire. He began to write on trades unions and co-operation during the 1850's, and came to the notice of Mill and Lord Brougham. Correspondence between Mill and Plummer apparently began in 1859. Mill valued Plummer's opinions on subjects of importance to the working claes, and regarded him as one of the few self-educated men who could write with real style. Mill also admired his struggle to overcome his twin disabilities, for Plummer was lame and partially deaf. Plummer was an enthusiast for working-class exhibitions as a means of self-improvement, and persuaded the reluctant Mill to be president of one in North London in 1866. In 1867 he visited Paris for the International Exhibition, and in 1879 travelled to Sydney to report its Exhibition for the Graphic. He remained in Sydney, writing both for Australian and British papers, and died on 9 March, 1914. 1

Although Mill had a high regard for Plummer's ability, his relation remained that of an interested patron rather than a close friend. This letter is a typical example of Mill's relations with intelligent working men.

Saint Véran, Avignon² Jan. 24 1864

Dear Sir,

I thank you for your two letters, and their various inclosures,

by which I have been much interested. I hope that your connection with the Sydney Morning Herald3 will continue as satisfactorily as it has begun. I have read all your articles in the Penny Newsman Some of which I liked very much and I have little doubt that I shall like your Essay on Colonies; but I will, as you desire, criticize it freely. I do not, any more than you, agree entirely with MF Goldwin Smith [.] I think that a sort of modified federation between a mother country and colonies may be usefully maintained as long as neither party desires to separate.

Do not send anything more to this address at present, as we return to England in a fortnight. I need hardly say that we shall be glad to see you at Blackheath when you are in town and it is convenient to you to come.

With our kind remembrances to MTS Flummer, I am very sincerely yours J.S. Mill

NOTES:

Biographical information on Plummer is scattered. This paragraph based upon obituary notices in <u>Sydney Morning Herald</u>, 1C, 11 March 1914; <u>Fred John's Annual</u> (3rd year, London 1914), p.166; <u>Bulletin</u> (Sydney), 29 May 1880, p.5; review notices in <u>Plummer's Our Golonies</u> (London, 1864) and <u>Gollected Works</u>, XV-XVI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), esp. pp.609, 794, 873, 1029, 1146, 1236, 1252.

Mill had been staying at Saint Véran since 3 September 1863. 1236, 1252.

(Collected Works, XV, 880.)

Plummer was London correspondent of the Sydney Morning Herald, the leading newspaper in New South Wales, until superseded by cable service. On 7 February 1866 Mill thanked Plummer "for the pleasant things you have written about me in the Sydney Morning Herald." (Sydney Morning Herald, 11 March 1914; Collected Works, XVI, 1146.)

4A newspaper published by Edwin Chadwick and addressed to a

working class readership.

⁵Plummer had won first prize of L30 in a national mechanics' essay competition organised by the Rev. J.P. Gell of Notting Hill, London. His views are summed up in the title of his essay: Colonies: an Essay on the advantages accruing to the British Nation, from its Possession of the Colonies, considered economically, politically and morally (London: Kettering and Sydney, 1864). 6 March 1864 Mill wrote to Plummer: "I like your Essay on the Colonies very much, though I do not go the length of all you say respecting their advantages." (Collected Works, XV, 923.)

Goldwin Smith (1823-1910) published a series of letters in the

Daily News in 1862-1863, advocating independence for the colonies. These were revised in an attempt to add consistency to their arguments, and published as The Empire (Oxford, 1863). On 8 November,

1864, Mill wrote to J.E. Cairnes, "I do not at all agree with Goldwin Smith in thinking the severance actually desirable."

lected Works, XV, 964.)

'In Representative Covernment, Mill had described the position of the self-governing colonies as follows: "Their union with Great Britain is the slightest kind of federal union; but not a strictly equal federation, the mother country retaining to itself the powers of a Federal Government, though reduced in practice to their very narrowest limits." But Mill did not believe in "Imperial Federation." In 1838 he had written that "the notion of giving the colonies representatives in the H.[ouse] of C.[ommons] cannot be entertained by anybody who has one grain of statesmanship in his head." In 1859 he described such schemes as "sc inconsistent with rational principles of government that it is doubtful if they have been seriously accepted as a possibility by any reasonable thinker." (On Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government, ed. R.B. McCallum [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946], 309, 310-R.B. McCallum [Oxford: Oxford E 11, Collected Works, XIII, 393.)

11, <u>Collected Works</u>, XIII, 393.)

Smill sent a similar request to Thomas Hard on 27 January, 1864. He was at Blackheath again on 17 February, 1864. (<u>Collected Works</u>,

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XV, 918-20.)
Mill invited the Plummers to dine several times at this period.
(Collected Works, XV-XVII, 868, 1083, 1185, 1186, 1941.)

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TWO UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JOHN STUART MILL TO HENRY SIEGWICK

J.B. Schneewind

The two letters printed below are among the Sidgwick papers in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. Henry Sidgwick (1838-1900) is generally considered to be the last great classical utilitarian moral philosopher. Though he greatly admired Mill, there has, up to now, been no evidence of any contact between the two philoso-phers.² These two letters show that Sidgwick turned to Mill for advice about the most serious problem of his personal life.

In 1859 Sidgwick, newly graduated with high honours, began a life-long career of teaching at Cambridge. Ten years later he resigned his position on the grounds that he could no longer conscientiously subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles, as hy law required (a new position was immediately created for him). He began worrying about religion and subscription as early as 1860, and he tells us that it was while he was considering whether or not he ought to resign because of his doubts that he "went through a great deal of the thought that was ultimately systematised in the Methods of Ethics" (published in 1874). To 1870, he published two immediate results

of this long deliberation: a letter on "Clerical Engagements" in the <u>Pall Mall Gazette</u> of January 6, and a pamphlet entitled "The Ethics of Conformity and Subscription." The present letters suggest that he sent a draft of the latter to Mill.

Mill's praise of the lines of thought indicated in the draft may have been encouraging, but as Sidgwick had by this time already worked out the main points of his mature ethics, it should not be supposed that Mill's letter turned him to the subject.

Aug. 3. 1867

Dear Sir

The questions mooted in your letter of July 28 are very important, and extremely difficult if not impossible to decide by a general rule, without many allowances for differences of position which point out to different persons different paths of usefulness. As you say, it is absurd to refer each man to his individual conscience since the very question is, what his conscience ought to prescribe. While I sympathize fully in your perplexities, I do not know when I should be able to fix a time for discussing them at length, either viva voce or in writing: but I would endeavour to find time for reading the statement you speak of, and for giving some sort of opinion respecting it. I am

Dear Sir yours very sincerely J.S. Mill

Henry Sidgwick Esq

Avignon Nov. 26. 1867

Dear Sir

Owing to absence from England 1 did not receive your paper on Tests until long after it was sent, and had to wait much longer before I could give it proper attention. I think it an exceedingly fair and clear statement of many of the considerations and counter considerations which really exist in the minds of conscientious men and influence their personal behaviour in the matter of Tests. And I agree with you in thinking that an ethical theory—a fixed moral principle, or set of principles—respecting the bindingness of the obligation of a test, would be very desirable. But it seems to me that such fixed principles cannot be laid down for the case of Tests by itself; that the question requires to be taken up at an earlier stage, and dealt with as part of the much larger question, What, on the principles of a morality founded on the general good, are the limits to the obligation of veracity? What ought to be the exceptions (for that there ought to be some, however few, exceptions seems to be admitted) to the general duty of truth? This larger question has never

yet been treated in a way at once rational and comprehensive, partly because people have been afraid to meddle with it, and partly because mankind have never yet generally admitted that the effect which actions tend to produce on human happiness is what constitutes them right or wrong. I would suggest that you should turn your thoughts to this more comprehensive subject. You possess several, far from common, qualifications for dealing with it: a strong conscientious interest in it, and the power of representing to yourself clearly and distinctly, without prejudice or partiality, the pro's and con's of a moral question. There is therefore good reason to hope that your meditations on the subject would not be unfruitful. Apart from this more general subject of consideration, there would be little use in any remarks that I could make on the special question of Tests; the discussion of which, in the way in which you have treated it, cannot perhaps be carried, with any useful result, much further than you have done. I am Dear Sir

Yours very sincerely J.S. Mill

Henry Sidgwick Esq.

COTES:

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 $^{
m l}$ Add. MSS c 94/132 and 133. I am grateful to the Master and Fellows of Trinity College for permission to publish these letters. The research during which the letters were discovered was supported by a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, to which I should like to express my thanks.

The remarks on this subject made in Terence Y. Mullins, "Sidgwick's Concept of Ethical Science," Journal of the History

of Ideas, 24 (Oct. 1963), 584-8, are astonishing.

3A[rthur] S[idgwick] and E[leanor] M. S[idgwick], Henry Sidgwick: A Memoir (London: Macmillan & Co., 1906), 38.

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A LETTER TO MILL FROM MADAME DE ROTH

The following letter to Mill from a Madame de Roth of Vienna was writter in response to a letter from Mill advising her to remain with her husband despite her inclination to leave him because of incompatibility, which Mill describes, apparently quoting her first letter, as "a difference in your 'ways of thinking and feeling!" (Collected Works, XVII, 1715). A notation in Mill's hand on the envelope of Madame de Roth's original letter seeking the advice indicates that Mill burned it. The MSS of Mill's letter and her acknowledgment are in the Library of Kansai University, Osaka, Japan.

Dear Sir

With the one word "endurable" you have given me the longed for advice. It was that, what I wanted to know. I wanted to know, if in marriage mere endurance, patient suffering are a right thing. I could not trust my own judgment, and therefore in an nour of great perplexity and doubt I took the great liberty of asking one I could believe more than myself. I could not help thinking, that one has no right to condemn unborn beings to partake of the curse of an illassorted union. But I accept your opinion, you surely know, what is right from the highest point of view. And it is almost easier to suffer on, to endure patiently and silently as I have done till now, than to commit an act, by which the very foundation of my being must be shaken, and a new, hitherto unknown sorrow, that of giving through a willful act of mine pain to others, fall upon my life. I wonder, will there ever come any light in these dark questions that—I feel but to sure of that—people the world with wretchedness unspeakable! And now, ere my name drops out of your memory, let me thank you, dear Sir, for the letter you wrote me for your great generosity. I thought it more than likely, that my letter should never be answered, for after it was gone, I felt the madness of having ever written it, it was however, and I am unutterably thankful for it

Believe me dear Sir
 yours most respectfully
 N. [1] d.R.

20.00-00

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Thesis Abstract:

MILL ON HAMILTON: A RE-EXAMINATION OF SIR WM. RAMILTON'S PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Minnesota)

D.t. Ourer.

Mill's Examination "proved" that Hamilton's philosophy was a tissue of inconsistencies, mere crumbs and scraps of erudition. Mill thought that the weaknesses of Hamilton's "Intuitionism" would redound to the credit of Associationism in the Battle of the Two Philosophies. The Main Contradiction of Hamilton is usually characterized as a futile attempt to mix oil and water, i.e., Reid's dogmatic realism and Kant's critical phenomenalism. A more adequate interpretation of Hamilton's philosophy must begin with his own professed allegiance to Aristotle and the Schoolmen. "Peripateticism" is the basis for many of his (generally ignored) distinctions.

The initial, mainly historical, sections of the thesis (a) chronicle the decline and fall of Hamilton's once "quite fantastic" reputation, (b) discuss his relation to Reid and the Scottish school (especially on two issues: what Hamilton calls (1) Reid's "error of commission," i.e., Reid's discrimination of consciousness as a special faculty directed upon our other acts, and (2) his "error of omission," i.e., his failure to appreciate the real problem of "representationalism" or the distinction of the scholastics between intuitive and abstractive knowledge), and (c) discover in a philosophia perennis based on the catholic conception of "Common Sense" as Nous a principle of unification for his "massive erudition."

The latter half concentrates on Hamilton's Philosophy of Consciousness and his Natural Realism. Hamilton's appeal to the facts of consciousness is, for Mill, mere "dogmatism in disguise." Hamilton's "escape" from the circle of our ideas, Mill argues, involves an illicit "stretching" of what is properly self-consciousness to include consciousness of a non-ego. If, on the one hand, Hamilton's "vindication" of Consciousness grounds knowledge ultimately on Belief, his analysis of perception, on the other, distinguishes sharply between perceptual knowledge and the mere "belief" of representative knowledge. If "the object specifies the act," the sense given by Hamilton to "the

object" should be carefully noted.

Mill is interested in genetic questions such as how the concept of a non-ego arose in us. The traditional distinction between conception and perception is reflected in Hamilton's distinction between the mediation of concepts and the mediation of representations. A two-fold meaning can be thereby given to the adage that "the knowledge of opposites is one." This "equivocation" is the basis for a reconciliation of Hamilton's realism with his "agnosticism." For Hamilton, non-comparative knowledge is central to the realism/idealism issue. The Natural Realism of Hamilton and Reid may vary on the "precise object" of perception, but not on the question whether the object of perception be real or ideal.

Presentative knowledge has a single, representative knowledge a double, object. Hamilton seems to be a "representative realist" on the perception of distant objects. Hamilton argues rather that if Reid's "sensation" is merely an objectum quo which suggests the percept as an objectum quod, then Reid's realism collapses into a "representationalism." Ockham noted two senses of the distinction between intuitive and abstractive knowledge. "Intuition" If Reid allows "immediate may be of a term or of an existent. knowledge" for Memory and the Sun alike, then his sense of "immediate knowledge" is merely Ockham's first sense. Reid may be a Representationalist of what Hamilton calls "the third and subtlest variety." Hamilton argues that Ockham's second sense is crucial to the problem of perception. Perception Proper has a single object. Representative knowledge, whose object is double,

is not as such knowledge, but merely "belief." Other considerations such as Hamilton's espousal of Aristotle's Primary/Secondary Quality distinction over that of the Moderns are adduced to prove the importance of "Aristotle" for a consistent "Hamilton."

Recent Publications:

August, Eugene R. "Mill as Sage: The Essay on Bentham," PMLA, 89 (Jan., 1974), 142-53.
----- "Mill's Autobiography as Philosophic Commedia,"

Victorian Poetry, 11 (Summer, 1973), 143-62.

Brock, Daniel. "Recent Work in Utilitarianism," American Philosophical Quarterly, 10 (Oct., 1973), 241-76.

Brown, D.G. "Mill's Act-Utilitarianism," The Philosophical Quarterly, 24 (Jan., 1974), 67-8.

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Journal of Philosophy, 3 (Sept., 1973), 1-12. celund, Robert B. Jr. and Emilie S. Olsen. "Comte, Mill and Emilies." Interlude in Late Classic Ekelund, Robert B. Cairns: The Positivist Empiricist Interlude in Late Classical Economics," Journal of Economic Issues, 7 (Sept., 1973), 383-

Heilbroner, R.L. "The Paradox of Progress: Decline and Decay in The Wealth of Nations," Journal of the History of Ideas, 34 (April-June, 1973), 243-62.

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London: Allen Lane Press, 1973.

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Philosophical Quarterly, 23 (Oct., 1973), 289-300.

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Queries:

From Eugene R. August (Department of English, University of Dayton): I am trying to trace the author of a phrase quoted in Mill's review of Tennyson's poems. (Mill's Esseys on Literature & Society, ed. J.B. Schneewind [New York: Collier Books, 1965], 145-6.) Mill's sentence reads, "We predict, that, as Mr. Tennyson advances in general spiritual culture . . . he will strive more and more diligently, and, even without striving, will be more and more impelled by the natural tendencies of an expanding character, toward what has been described as the highest object in poetry, 'to incorporate the everlasting reason of man in forms visible to his sense, and suitable to it. "

From John M. Robson (Department of English, Victoria College, University of Toronto):

In editing Mill's Essays on Politics and Society (Vol. VI of the Collected Works) I have reached the point, only too well known to all editors, when certain references just refuse to be found. It is, of course, somewhat embarrassing to admit publicly that one is ignorant of matters that are, very commonly, known to many, but the good of the greatest number must triumph over individual pride. I should, therefore, be most grateful for any help (even fragile hints) about the origins of the following references:

Bacon, "they [questions] resolve of themselves."
"One of the writers of M. Thiers' school" (before--probably not long before--the publication of "Centralisation" in April, 1862): "We are saturated with government. It requires a great strength of conviction to enable me to write as I do, namely in favour of centralisation and state interference."

Casîmir Perier, "A quoi un poëte est-il bon?"

and the state of t

Two natives of Corfu, one who became a Minister in the Russian Empire, the other who became President of Greece (before the arrival of the Bavarians). (The reference is in Considerations on Representative Government, 1861.)

"A recent writer, in some respects of considerable merit, proposes (to use his own words,) not a crusade, but a divilizade," against the Mormons. (The reference is in On Liberty, 1859; the OED gives JSM's usage as the earliest known.)

Anon., "sabbathless pursuit of wealth" (1840).
Anon., "Alia res sceptrum, alia plectrum."
Anon., "the deep slumber of a decided opinion" (1859).
Anon., "Opinion tolerates a false disclaimer, only when it already tolerates the thing disclaimed" (1861).

Anon., a person without the vote is in the position of one who

"has no business with the laws except to obey them" (1861). Anon., "whatever is not a duty, is a sin" (1869). Anon., things which "are aye growing" while men "are sleeping" (1861).

Anon., "you shelter and weather-fend him from the elements of experience" (quoted by JSM from Samuel Badley, who mays it is the

"phrase of a masterly writer") (1835).

Anon., "thou shalt not" predominates unduly over "thou shalt" (1859).

Anon., "sagacious of his quarry from afar" (quoted by JSM from Henry

Taylor, 1836).
Anon., "the old remark" that "as the schoolmaster is, so will be the school" (1861).

Anon., "idleness" is "the mother of vice" (1854).

As I hope to get the manuscript into the press this autumn, early clues would be most welcome; but better some time than never.

COLLECTED WORKS

A System of Logic (Vols. VII and VIII of the Collected Works) has now appeared, and so the edition has (probably) passed the midpoint, with thirteen volumes published, and about twelve still to appear. As indicated in the query section above, the next volume scheduled is Essays on Politics and Society (Vol. VI), to be followed by Essays on Philosophy (Vol. XI), and An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy (Vol. IX). Incautiously one may predict that they will appear at roughly yearly intervals, beginning in 1975.

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