

THE MILL NEWS LETTER

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The item of Milliana for this issue comes from Anthony Trollope's novel, He Knew He Was Right, first published in weekly numbers from October 1868 to May 1869, but begun a year earlier. It was sent to us by Juliet McMaster.

"When Mr. Glascock was announced Mrs. Spalding's handsome rooms were almost filled, as rooms in Florence are filled,--obstruction in every avenue, a crowd in every corner, and a block at every doorway, not being among the customs of the place. Mr. Spalding immediately caught him,--intercepting him between the passages and the ladies,--and engaged him at once in conversation.

'Your John S. Mill is a great man,' said the minister.

'They tell me so,' said Mr. Glascock. 'I don't read what he writes myself.'

This acknowledgment seemed to the minister to be almost disgraceful, and yet he himself had never read a word of Mr. Mill's writings. 'He is a far-seeing man,' continued the minister. 'He is one of the few Europeans who can look forward, and see how the rivers of civilization are running on. He has understood that women must at last be put upon an equality with men.'

'Can he manage that men shall have half the babies?' said Mr. Glascock, thinking to escape by an attempt at playfulness.

But the minister was down upon him at once,--had him by the lappet of his coat, though he knew how important it was for his dear niece that he should allow Mr. Glascock to amuse himself this evening after another fashion. 'I have an answer ready, sir, for that difficulty,' he said. 'Step aside with me for a moment. The question is important, and I should be glad if you would communicate my ideas to your great philosopher. Nature, sir, has laid down certain laws, which are immutable; and, against them,--'

But Mr. Glascock had not come to Florence for this. There were circumstances in his present position which made him feel that he

would be gratified in escaping, even at the cost of some seeming incivility. 'I must go in to the ladies at once,' he said, 'or I shall never get a word with them.'"

(London: Chapman and Hall, 1880,
308 [Chap. 55])

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The issue proper opens with an article by Professors Shiro Sugihara (Department of Economics, Koman University, Kobe) and Shigekazu Yamashita (History of Political Thought, Kokugakuin University, Tokyo) chronicling the influence of Mill's thought in modern Japan and showing how it has persisted there. We continue with a paper by Evelyn Pugh (Department of History, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia) which collects and analyses contemporary references to JSM in light verse and demonstrates the ways in which such verse followed his political thought. This is followed by Recent Publications, Work in Progress and Announcements. The issue closes with a review by Dennis Thompson of the latest volumes of Collected Works.

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J.S. MILL AND MODERN JAPAN

S. Sugihara and S. Yamashita

In The Later Letters of J.S. Mill, we find two interesting letters to F.J. Furnivall, who asked Mill to recommend books on politics for Japanese students. In one, dated 30 March, 1871, Mill recommends the works of Bentham and James Mill as the "best manuals of statemanship" for "an active Asiatic," and advises "that he should acquaint himself with European history; beginning with the standard books . . . and enriching them by the best critical or philosophical writings on historical subjects."¹ In the other, dated 4 April, 1871, he writes: "I have just ascertained that my friend Mr. Cairnes, Professor of Political Economy at University College, might be willing to give lessons in Political Economy to your Japanese friends. . . . It would be much to the advantage of your friends if one [an arrangement] could be made with Mr. Cairnes."² It is regrettable that we can neither identify who these Japanese students were, nor discover whether they actually attended Cairnes' lectures.

Other references to Japan in Mill's writings are few and scattered. For example, he writes in Principles of Political Economy, "The life in England is more governed by habit, and less by personal inclination and will, than any other country, except perhaps China and Japan."³ And in Auguste Comte and Positivism, "Priestly rulers only present themselves in two anomalous cases, of which next to nothing is known: the Mikados of Japan and the Grand Lamas of Thibet: in neither of

which instances was the general constitution of society one of caste, and in the latter of them the priestly sovereignty is as nominal as it has become in the former."⁴

We are, therefore, obliged to concentrate our attention not on "Japan in Mill," but "Mill in Japan," i.e. on the influence of Mill's thought on modern Japan.

In 1870s, ten years later than the discovery of Mill in Russia,⁵ his works were first introduced to Japan by two eminent scholars, Nakamura Keiu and Nishi Amane, who were sent abroad to study by the Shogunate towards the end of the period of feudalism in Japan. The first Japanese translation of On Liberty (translated into Japanese twelve times to date) by Nakamura was published in 1872, that is, during Mill's lifetime.⁶ Nakamura, a famous Confucian who had studied in London from 1866 to 1868, had published a fine translation of Samuel Smiles's Self Help (1871) as well as On Liberty. Nishi, who had studied in Holland from 1862 to 1875 under Simon Vissering of the University of Leiden, published a translation of Utilitarianism (translated into Japanese seven times to date) in classical Chinese in 1877. Both Nakamura and Nishi were representative thinkers of the Japanese enlightenment, and their accurate and readable translations were read very widely.⁷

We may point out two important facts about these early translations. First, On Liberty was popular in Japan as a textbook of the popular rights movement which demanded democratic forms of government during the 1870s and 1880s. This fact was rather curious, as On Liberty did not assert political liberty, but protested against the "tyranny of the majority" in the coming democratic society. Mill had written to his German friend Theodor Gomperz that "as the Liberty it [On Liberty] treats of is moral and intellectual rather than political, it is not so much needed in Germany as it is here."⁸ Such a statement might not recommend On Liberty to his Japanese contemporaries. But it is noteworthy that Mill's emphasis on individuality and self-dignity strongly appealed to the new generations of Japanese who demanded political liberty and representative government after the downfall of the Tokugawa feudal government.⁹ Second, Nishi, who translated Utilitarianism, did not understand clearly the difference between Bentham's utilitarianism and Mill's. In spite of his very fine translation of Utilitarianism, his own writings show that he understood utilitarianism rather as Bentham did. Not only Nishi, but many other Japanese intellectuals, could not understand Mill's unique place in the history of English utilitarianism. As we shall point out later, it was in the next generation that Mill's thought began to be studied more systematically.

Fukuzawa Yukichi, another central figure in the Japanese enlightenment, was an earnest reader of Mill's books.¹⁰ He often cited Mill's theory of politics and economics in his writings, and he wrote a preface to the Japanese version of Three Essays on Religion, which was translated by his disciple Obata Takujiro in 1878. Mill's books in English or in Japanese were widely used as textbooks at Keio Gijuku (which was founded by Fukuzawa) and many other schools.

As to other translations, Principles of Political Economy began to be translated in 1875 by Hayashi Tadasu, who had studied in London with Nakamura Keiu; and a translation of the first two chapters of

The Subjection of Women by Fukamauchi Motio was published in 1875. These translations were not completed, and the Political Economy became popular in Japan only when the translation by Amano Tameyuki of James Laurence Laughlin's abridged edition was published in 1891. Perhaps most remarkable is that Considerations on Representative Government was translated into Japanese three times between 1873 and 1890 (the first four chapters translated by Nagamine Hideki, 1873-76; the whole volume by Ueda Mitsuru in 1887, and by Maebashi Takayoshi in 1890). There were no other translations until two new ones were published in 1967.

The political theory of Representative Government was one of the important weapons of the popular rights movement in the 1870s and 1880s, referred to above. A famous memorial in January, 1874, calling for the establishment of a popularly elected assembly, reflected Mill's political thoughts, and the author of this memorial, Furusawa Uru, who had studied in London from 1870 to 1873, quoted eleven paragraphs from Representative Government in his criticism of the conservative position advanced by Kato Hiroyuki.¹¹ Through the more radical members of the popular rights movement preferred Rousseau and Spencer to Mill, because of their theory of natural rights, we must not underestimate the influence of Mill on the development of democratic thought in Japan. His influence was not limited to a particular party or sect, for his works acted directly and indirectly as a strong inspiration to awaken the modern consciousness of liberty and equality. In spite of the eclecticism of Mill's thought, he never abandoned the progressive character of liberalism, and he asserted especially liberty of thought and discussion. For this reason his works were widely read by Japanese as a spiritual weapon in the struggle against despotism.¹²

Though Mill's practical influence in Japan began to decline after the proclamation in 1889 of the Constitutional Code (the old Constitutional Code; the new Constitutional Code was enacted in 1946 after the Second World War), which followed the model of the German Imperial Constitution, he was never wholly forgotten. On the contrary, Mill's life and thought began to be studied more deeply. For example, the first review of his Autobiography was written in 1887 by Uemura Masahisa, a Christian missionary,¹³ and, though the Autobiography was not translated until 1922 (by Imaizumi Uraji and Ishida Kenji), a translation of Bain's John Stuart Mill: A Criticism was published in 1900 by Machida Noribumi. The other remarkable fact was that Mill's works on socialism were widely read as a guide to socialist thought. As Miyake Setsurei, an eminent thinker and historian, writes: "It was through the mediation of Mill that socialism was considered to have real possibilities where before it was thought to be a mere dream."¹⁴ We can point out two examples. Katoku Shusui, a famous forerunner of the Japanese socialist movement, quoted from Political Economy: "The restraints of communism would be freedom in comparison with the present condition of the majority of the human race."¹⁵ Shimada Saburo, a social reformer and member of Parliament, who had translated Bentham's Theory of Legislation in 1878, quoted several paragraphs in 1901 from the Political Economy and Chapters on Socialism, when he emphasized that "Socialism might not be dangerous, and it must be studied carefully."¹⁶ But the democratic movement in Japan

was premature and the discrepancies in the Japanese capitalistic society were too deep-seated to produce any statesman who could accept Mill's view of socialism. The early Japanese socialist movement was destined to suffer under very severe oppression, and Kotoku was executed in 1909 as a revolutionary anarchist.

For more than ten years after the end of the First World War, Japanese politics was characterized by the development of democratic thought and the emergence of a socialist movement. Studies of Mill in these years developed in these basic currents. Five different translations of The Subjection of Women were published during only ten years (by Nogami Nobuyuki, 1921; by Kataguchi Taijiro, 1923; by Ouchi Hyoe, 1923; by Takahashi Taijiro, 1923; and by Hiratsuka Raicho, who was one of the most eminent leaders of the movement for female emancipation, 1930), and the Autobiography became popular in a paperback edition (translated by Nishimoto Masami) in 1928. The best studies during these years on Mill's economic and political thought were published in 1923, just fifty years after Mill's death, by Kawakami Hajime (Professor of Kyoto University) and Kawai Eijiro (Professor of Tokyo University). In this same year appeared Kawakami's Shihoushugi Keizaizaku no Shitekihatzen (Historical Development of Capitalistic Political Economy) including his two articles on Mill written in 1919, and Kawai's Shakaishisoshi Kenkyu (Studies of Social Thought) including his article on Mill, also written in 1919. Kawakami had changed from an early humanistic social reformer to a Marxist thinker, and Kawai was a liberal strongly influenced by Thomas Hill Green's idealist philosophy. Though from different points of view, both authors valued Mill as a great transitional thinker. Their works may be considered as the standard books for later Mill students. But after 1930s, both Kawakami's Marxism and Kawai's liberalism were severely repressed by the Fascist government of Japan. Kawakami was imprisoned from 1933 to 1937, and Kawai was forced to resign in 1939.

During the dark years of war during the 1930s and early 1940s, however, academic studies on Mill did not disappear. Book VI of A System of Logic was translated twice (by Ito Yasuji, 1934, and by Matsuura Kosaku, 1940), before the whole volume was translated by Ozeki Shoichi and Kobayashi Atsuro (1949-1959); and in 1943 Deguchi Yuzo wrote a fine article on Mill's methodology of the social sciences in his Keizaigaku to Rekishiishiki (Political Economy and Historical Consciousness). The Political Economy appeared in a translation by Toda Masas for the first time in 1939, although with some passages deleted by the censor. The translation of "Bentham" and "Coleridge," published in 1939 by Shiojiri Komei, one of the disciples of Kawai Eijiro, is remarkable because of its detailed translator's notes and introduction. These works were the very precious starting point of Japanese Mill studies which flourished after the war.

For a hundred years after 1870s, Mill's thought has continued to inspire the liberal spirit in Japan. Kawai Eijiro wrote in 1926: "When our arrogant spirit causes us to think our own opinion to be absolutely right, when the inclination to listen to the opposite opinion disappears, when we desire to oppress different opinions by force, we should read On Liberty over and over again. Who can say that these

inclinations will be totally suppressed in the near future? Until they are, On Liberty has a firm right to existence."¹⁷

NOTES:

¹The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill, ed. Francis E. Mineka and Dwight Lindley, Collected Works, XVII (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 1812.

²Ibid., 1814.

³Collected Works, II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 104n. (Bk. I, Chap. vii). This paragraph was omitted after the 4th edition.

⁴Collected Works, X (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 320.

⁵See J.P. Scanlan, "John Stuart Mill in Russia: A Bibliography," MNL, IV:1 (Fall, 1968), 2.

⁶Professor Yamashita, one of the authors of this paper, exhibited the first edition of this translation when he attended the Mill Centenary Conference, 3 - 5 May, 1973, in Toronto.

⁷See H. Matsuzawa, "'Saigoku Risshi Hen' to 'Jiyu no Ri' no Sekai," in Nenpo Seijigaku ("The World of On Liberty and Self Help," Annual of the Japanese Political Science Association), 1975, 9-53. S. Yamashita, "Meiji Shoki ni okeru Mill no Juyo," in J.S. Mill no Seiji Shiso ("The reception of Mill in the early Meiji Era," in The Political Thought of J.S. Mill), 1976, 313-44.

⁸5 Oct., 1857, Collected Works, XV, 539.

⁹A famous example is Kono Hironaka's conversion to bourgeois democracy in one lightning flash while reading the Japanese edition of On Liberty on horseback one day in 1872. See John Halliday, A Political History of Japanese Capitalism (1975), 30r.

¹⁰The copy of Utilitarianism which Fukuzawa read in 1876 is in the Keio Gijuku University Library. It is full of underlinings and marginalia.

¹¹Furusawa's criticism of Kato was originally written in English. We can see its two English drafts in the National Diet Library in Tokyo. The first draft is quoted in Yamashita, "Furusawa wa Uru to Shoki Jiyuminkenundo," Kokugakuin Hogaku ("Furusawa Uru and the Early Popular Right Movement," Journal of Law and Politics, Kokugakuin University), XIII, No. 4, 122-30.

¹²Sugihara, "J.S. Mill to Kindai Nihou" ("J.S. Mill and Modern Japan"), Mill to Marx (1957), 247.

¹³Uemura, "Mill Jijyoden o yomu" ("Reading of Mill's Autobiography"), Kokumin no Tomo, I, No. 7 (Aug., 1887).

¹⁴Miyake, Dojidaishi (Contemporary History), Vol. IV, 201.

¹⁵Kotoku, Shakaishugi Shinzui (Essentials of Socialism), Iwanami Bunko edition (1903), 49. See Collected Works, II, 209 (II, i, 3).

¹⁶Shimada, Sekai no Daimondai Shakaishugi Yaihyo (Outlines of Socialism, The Great Problem of the World, 1901), Preface.

¹⁷Kawai, "Mill no Jirjurou o yomu" ("Reading of Mill's On Liberty"), Kawai Eijiro Zenshu (Collected Works of Kawai Eijiro) XI, 203.

* * * * *

Evelyn L. Pugh

The detective story writer, Edmund C. Bentley (1875-1956), author of Trent's Last Case, occasionally dashed off four-line verses of unequal length, of a variety which came to be known as clerihews, in honour of his middle name. He put them in a little book called Biography for Beginners (1905) which was illustrated by Chesterton. Among the famous people Bentley celebrated in rhyme were such figures as Clive, Christopher Wren, Sir Humphry Davy--and John Stuart Mill:

John Stuart Mill
 By a mighty effort of will
 Overcame his natural bonhomie
 And wrote "Principles of Political Economy."

The Mill of A System of Logic, Principles of Political Economy, Representative Government, and On Liberty, seems at first glance to be a most unlikely candidate as a subject for light verse. Bentley's verse is probably one of the few to be written about Mill after his death in 1873. Yet during the period 1865-68 Mill was the subject of numerous light verses. Most of them can only be classified as political doggerel. Some of them were distinctly satirical, while a few were laudatory. The majority of them were penned by anonymous scribes who wrote for the newspaper and periodical press of the day, especially the comic press. The verses treated current political events in what the writers hoped was an amusing fashion, often with desperate attempts at rhyme and scansion. They were more successful in their efforts to entertain for the moment than in creating verse that would ever appear in collected works and anthologies.

The verses illustrate the way in which some of Mill's contemporaries regarded him during the one brief period of his life when he took an active part in the elective political process. There were never as many verses written about him as about Gladstone and Disraeli, who could hardly pick up a newspaper or periodical without seeing lengthy verses about themselves. There was, of course, a rich British tradition of satirical verse which had been used for centuries to deflate political personalities. Mill, however, was not a politician in the ordinary sense and had been elected to Parliament in 1865 after what he admitted in his Autobiography to have been a strange campaign, if campaign it could be called, for one of the Liberal seats from the London borough of Westminster. During those months two newspapers launched a vendetta against him on the grounds that some of his writings were antithetical to true Christian principles. In their zeal to protect Westminster electors from the potential error of voting for Mill, the Morning Advertiser, organ of the Licensed Victuallers Association, and the Record, of evangelical persuasion, vied with one another as to which could fill the most columns with scurrilous attacks about Mill's supposed atheism. It did not escape the astute Mr. Punch that, although the Morning Advertiser claimed it objected to

Mill's rationalism, the real reason for its opposition was more likely Mill's refusal to have his committee-rooms in public houses. "Gin and true religion." Mr. Punch said, might be the points of difference between Mill and the Morning Advertiser, but it was more of gin than it was of religion.¹

The Morning Advertiser enjoyed quoting the allegedly irreligious passages from Mill's Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy, but it kept quiet about his views on strong drink as the bane of the working man. Punch concluded that drinkers obviously were not to vote for Mill. In "Lush against Mill," "an appeal to a Brother Elector addressed from a Lamp-post," one Lush urged his friend Bill "don' vo' for that 'ere beggar Mill" since his religious views were unsound. He advised his friend to "go an' re' sha 'Tizer, cosh if you do, shen you'll be wiser." Furthermore Mill had no band, colours, or banner and would not spend any money. Such a beggar should not expect to go to Parliament--not by his vote!

No gin! For Mill then I won't poll.
No sperrits! What, deny sha should!
I shay No Logic! No Freethinkin'!
And Shem's my shentimentsh for drinkin'.²

The Morning Advertiser and the Record continued their vituperation even after Mill's election and lamented the fate of the ungrateful electors of Westminster. Although the Record went so far as to suggest that his election ought to be set aside,³ both papers ungraciously conceded he had been elected and became abruptly silent on the matter. Punch found the situation too delightful to resist and in the "Tribulation of the 'Tizer," lampooned its anti-Mill tirades in rhyme vaguely reminiscent of Blake's The Tiger:

That a Mill should dare defy
'Tizerly theology
That a Mill should reck the same
Of pot-house praise or pot-house blame.

What must be his creed, who dooms
Public-house Committee rooms!
What his faith--abandoned knave--
Who dares Licensed wittlers brave!

Woe! Oh woe to Westminster,
When with Mill she stoops to err,
And declines to care a rap
For the 'Tizer and the Tap.⁴

Mr. Punch was rather fond of Mill and averred that his campaign statements were almost as good as what he himself would have made. His election victory was saluted with a verse called "Philosophy and Punch." The ten lines gave a recipe for punch which included the crystal waters of truth, brandy, rum, lemon and sugar:

Logic's in Parliament with Mill. Hurrah!
Deep from the well of Truth a bucket draw,

Mingle, and pour; the brimming goblet fill:
That Punch in punch may drink, "Success to Mill."⁵

Mill's success appeared to be limited in the early part of the 1866 session. Not a silent backbencher, he in fact spoke so much that Sir Stafford Northcote said he was referred to as the "wind-mill." He delighted his critics and disappointed his friends by his manner of speaking in his first speech on the cattle plague bill. "Mr. J.S. Mill's Debut" is a bitingly accurate illustration of how that first speech was regarded:

Yes! John Stuart Mill
Is in Parliament "nil,"
As witness his speech on the Cattle Plague Bill--
Which was misty and vague,
And itself such a plague
As patience of members to speedily kill.
All thought him a bore,
As he stood on the floor
And spoke like the clack of a waterside mill,
Which can never keep still--
Though I hope that he will,
For the House as a speaker he never can fill.⁶

It was readily apparent that Mill was no orator and even friends admitted that his speeches ought to be read and studied rather than heard.

His inauspicious debut was forgiven a little later when he defended Gladstone's 1866 Reform Bill. Mill's speech of 13 April was widely acclaimed as the best defence which had been presented. His efforts were especially appreciated by workingmen. Numerous branches of the Reform League passed resolutions commending Mill for his support. The Commonwealth, devoted to working-class interests and the passage of a reform bill, printed some tortuous verses exhorting workers to attend a rally in support of current reform activities. By the time that issue of the paper appeared the Reform Bill was already doomed to failure. The verses were not altogether about Mill but he was singled out for praise in conjunction with other well-known political figures. "A Whit-Monday Political Poem" urged workers to leave the factory and workshop and "meet on yon hill":

Come all you who favour the new Reform Bill
Though small be the progress
Proposed by their Bill,
We'll give fellow workers
One cheer if you will,
For Russell, for Gladstone,
For Bright, and for Mill,

And for all who have "stood"
Or "fell" by the Bill!⁷

The versifier, J. Weston, one of the few who signed his work, also invited the ladies to attend but warned them of the danger to their hoopskirts in a crowd.

Mill was praised again in connection with reform in a thirty-two line verse with the unwieldy title, "Written in Commemoration of the Great Reform Demonstration at Birmingham Held August 27th, 1866." While the verse castigated Tory despots and urged workers to "put the tyrants down" it ended on a suitably patriotic note:

Conquer you must, you shall, you will,
Our leaders Gladstone and Bright, with Beales and Mill.
Reform's the watchword, shout aloud the cry,
Through every home, beneath our British sky,
God bless Victoria, God bless the people's cause,
Give us more honest men, and honest laws.⁸

If working-class reformers wanted honest men to represent them, they could not have praised a more honest one than Mill. He had said that the only reason he wanted to be in Parliament was to get his opinions heard. One such occasion was the debate on the proposed abolition of the malt tax in 1866. Mill urged the retention of the duty and said the revenue ought to be used to pay the national debt. He had little to say about the malt tax but a great deal about the probable exhaustion of coal in three generations, and the necessity of paying off the national debt. England was dependent upon coal for the continued expansion of markets, and, when coal was exhausted, future generations would be crushed with debt created by their unconcerned ancestors. Some of his barley-growing colleagues failed to see the connection among the malt tax, coal, and the national debt, but, as The Times commented, beer was not an "evangelizing power."⁹

One rhymster was moved to set the unpromising subject of coal exhaustion and Mill's gloomy view of the future to verse in one of a trio of diverse items labeled "Mill-iana":

No cheering fires the winter hearth shall hail,
No breweries of Stout or generous Ale;
From London Bridge nor trains, nor steamers, start,
Old England for Australia may depart!¹⁰

Mill was referred to as the "great Reformer" in some untitled verses which came at the end of a laudatory account in the Commonwealth of his speech on coal exhaustion. The poet, J. Weston, who also conducted a singing school, seemed to turn his pen with equal emotion and facility from reform to the national debt. It was unjust to call for a pound of flesh forever when a debt had been paid in interest three times. In his last verse, Weston took Mill's arguments about payment of the national debt and changed them to an attack on landlordism:

But if you're right, John Stuart Mill,
About this monster debt,
Will not your argument apply,
I own myself I can't see why,
With equal force to property,
To all that's lent or let,
To rents and rates, and all the train,
Enough to turn one's very brain,
Of modes concocted all for gain?
All in the spirit of old Cain,
Who slew his brother Abel.¹¹

Mill's views on the suffrage, usually referred to as "Mr. Mill's crotchets," were occasionally lampooned in verses directed primarily at someone else. A case in point was the twelve-verse "Abacus Politicus: Or Universal Suffrage Made Safe and Easy," which appeared in Blackwood's in 1866. "Abacus Politicus" threw darts at Professor James Lorimer's book, Constitutionalism of the Future. The professor advanced a theory of universal suffrage, with the exception of women, made harmless through an elaborate scheme by which a voter of superior qualifications might have as many as twenty-five votes. Only those totally oblivious to political currents needed the accompanying editorial note which explained that Lorimer's book had many good points "particularly with reference to Mr. Mill's crotchets of having workmen themselves in Parliament, and of educating the masses in politics by allowing them to practise on the Constitution."¹² During his election in 1865, Mill had said he would open the suffrage to all adults, both men and women, who could read and write, and do sums in the rule of three. His last criterion had prompted some wit to declare that it would eliminate many university graduates. "Abacus Politicus" included a verse about women, the only one in the poem that mentions Mill by name:

If Stuart Mill could have his will,
He'd add the petticoat,
But that good day is far away
When women are to vote.
Yet though they have no vote, my friends,
No plain, straightforward vote,
By ways and means the cunning queans
Can bias many a vote.¹³

In June, 1866, Mill presented a petition from 1,499 women asking for the vote on the basis of property for single women and widows. Few things about him were considered more entertaining and preposterous than his inclusion of women in the franchise, which provoked endless columns in newspapers and periodicals intent upon ridiculing him. During the 1865 election it was said that he wanted to have women in Parliament. Many regarded his amendment of 20 May, 1867, to the Reform Bill, which replaced the word "man" in the Bill with the word "person," as nothing more than a delightful joke. Mr. Punch

addressed a little squib "to all 'Persons' whom it may concern," and noted that some mothers in commemoration of Mill's recent speech had christened their daughters Amelia, Emily, or Millicent. These could all be abbreviated to "Milly."¹⁴

The question sometimes arose as to whether women might be so enamoured of political power that they would refuse to marry. "A Mill-ody" addressed itself to the issue:

Sweet maid, with regal brow--
And golden hair--

Permit thy poet thus to pen a verse on
These--whom the Legislature styles a "person."

Speak, empress of my breast,
And tell, oh, tell
Wilt thou accept the love I have confest
Too well--too well?
Dost thou sufficiently upon me doat
To wed me--and to sacrifice thy vote?¹⁵

In verses on Womanhood Suffrage it was suggested that Mill was responsible for ending a promising romance. A young lady refused to answer an important question until she learned how her suitor voted. He hedged his answer, saying he was a Liberal-Conservative and always voted for both sides. This reply was unsatisfactory to the lady. She declared she was a Radical and would never marry him. He tried to persuade her by references to Mill's radical friends:

In vain I tried to argue, and I swore that she was right--
I was game to love my Bradlaugh, and to cling to Beales and Bright;
I even dropt obtrusively the manliest of tears--
She scorned my swift conversion, and she answered me with sneers.

And never since that fatal day I've ceased to madly hate
The thought of giving women any power within the State;
One only consolation now remains my heart to fill,
The thought of claiming damages from innovating Mill.¹⁶

Politics of a different variety, the philosophical battles between Mill and the followers of Sir William Hamilton, attracted the attention of an amateur poet of some distinction. Charles, Lord Neaves (1800-76), was an authority on Scottish criminal law who had an almost equally distinguished reputation in literary circles. He was a regular contributor to Blackwoods for almost forty years. In 1865 Mill's Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy appeared, with its attack on the intuitionist theory of matter. His own view of the nature of things was largely sensationalist or phenomenalist. Matter he defined as the permanent possibility of sensation. One of Lord Neaves' most notable satirical compositions was his twenty-one stanza "Stuart Mill on Mind and Matter." The subtitle, "a new song" to be

sung to the tune. "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloen," points to the bouncy rhythm of the verses as well as the clever rhyming. Lord Neaves made short work of Mill's phenomenalist view of matter:

Against a stone you strike your toe;
You feel 'tis sore, it makes a clatter;
But what you feel is all you know
Of toe, or stone, or Mind, or Matter.¹⁷

By the end of the song Lord Neaves had proved Mill's own nonexistence according to his own theories:

But had I skill, like Stuart Mill,
His own position I could shatter;
The weight of Mill, I count as Nil--
If Mill has neither Mind nor Matter.

Mill, when minus Mind and Matter,
Though he made a kind of clatter,
Must himself just mount the Shelf,
And there be laid with Mind and Matter.

I'd push my logic further still
(Though this may have the look of Satire):
I'd prove there's no such man as Mill,--
If Mill disproves both Mind and Matter.

If there's neither Mind nor Matter,
Mill's existence, too, we shatter:
If you still believe in Mill,
Believe as well in Mind and Matter.¹⁸

One journalist was inspired to comment that if the verses were true then the Speaker of the House would have to move for a new election for the City of Westminster. If a man proved his own non-existence, returns were invalid.¹⁹

It is safe to say that Lord Neaves' new song never became a tavern staple but there was one celebrated dinner party when it was sung with great merriment in the home of the Scottish Common Sense School of philosophy. In April, 1866, Carlyle, by then no longer friendly with Mill, gave his installation address as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh. At one of the numerous dinners given for Carlyle, the company entertained itself with songs, one of them being "Stuart Mill on Mind and Matter." Lord Neaves, a fixture at literary occasions in Edinburgh, led the singing. Carlyle was so entranced that he joined in the chorus and beat time in the air with his hand.²⁰ News of this episode may have prompted Mill's only mention of Carlyle's address. In a letter about another matter, he added a line to say he was sorry to hear of Mrs. Carlyle's poor health and "I see by your Edinburgh address that your own is not quite satisfactory."²¹

The literary judge continued to find Mill a good subject. Shortly after demolishing Mill's theory of matter, Lord Neaves took him to

task for his determinism. Mill traced all action to motives, and, in his new song, Lord Neaves demonstrated how he had trapped himself in an argument almost impossible to defend. In "Buridan's Ass; Or, Liberty and Necessity," to be sung to the air "Dear Tom, this brown jug," Lord Neaves used the classic story about Buridan, the fourteenth-century French schoolman who debated the question of free will. Buridan used or had used against him the example of the ass who starved between two bales of hay because he could not choose between them. Lord Neaves could not agree that the ass would starve:

But according to Mill I am here in the wrong;
For, when opposite motives are equally strong,
Then both Asses and Men their inaction retain,
And, like Mohammed's coffin, suspended remain.
They can't stir for their lives, and 'twould thus come to pass,
That he'd starve amidst plenty, poor Buridan's Ass!²²

In some twelve verses he ridiculed Mill's disbelief in causation and his reliance on motives determined by mechanical laws. In the end he concluded that

Even Mill, unawares, feels and speaks like the mass,
And thus lands in a puzzle, like Buridan's Ass.

Mill may rate his own mind at a value so mean,
But he'll never persuade me that Man's a machine.
Some determining power in our bosom bears sway,
And inspires us to choose and direct our own way.
Self-applause, or Remorse, as old scenes we repass,
Make us feel we are Free, spite of Mill or the Ass.²³

Lord Neaves found Mill an irresistible subject for his delightfully witty pen and turned to him a third time in 1866. He summed up Mill's activities in "Stuart Mill Again; Or the Examiner Examined." In his first verse Lord Neaves explained that someone like Mill who was "beslobbered by high and by low" and considered a statesman and sage ought to have his own claims examined. It was quite a performance to satirize in eleven verses Mill's phenomenalist philosophy, the Comtean stages of society (Mill is here called the Pope), utilitarianism, coal exhaustion and payment of the national debt, votes for women, and Mill's attack on Governor Eyre. In the last verse, Lord Neaves offered advice to the nation:

Now, let all men have freedom to speak and to write,
And let others who differ stand up for the Truth;
But I think we should pause as to those we invite
To make laws for the land, or to train up our Youth.
To the helpless and young, sir,
You do a great wrong, sir,
To give them a Teacher, false views to instil;
And I won't, by your leave, sir,

Pin my faith to the sleeve, sir,
Of so godless a guide as the System of Mill.²⁴

Lord Neaves had a decided advantage over the others who wrote verses about Mill. None had his ability. None could take philosophy and turn it into clever rhyme. Neither did they get their efforts published in Blackwood's, a journal almost impossible to ignore; nor did their efforts go half-way around the world to be reprinted in an eclectic magazine and to be quoted approvingly in religious journals in the United States.²⁵ The others had to content themselves with material gleaned from political events, although the events which inspired the verses sometimes made headlines, much to Mill's disadvantage.

Few causes with which Mill was involved earned him more unpopularity than his activities with the Jamaica Committee, 1866-68. Formed to investigate the circumstances of the Jamaica rebellion in 1865, its target soon became Edward John Eyre, Governor of Jamaica, whom Mill held responsible for atrocities committed by the troops in crushing the revolt. Mill tried his best to get Eyre indicted for murder. He was successful in bringing to trial two of Eyre's subordinates but the case was thrown out of court.

In some curious verses which juxtapose two totally different events, the Jamaica episode and the Fenian uprisings in Ireland, it is suggested that captured Fenians would go free or get light punishment because of powerful members in Parliament who sided with rebels against the Crown. "Song of a Head Centre," which referred to "Head Centre" Stephens, a Fenian leader who escaped from prison to France, proclaimed the time was ripe

To strike for liberty, me boys, and cut your betters' throats;

They dare not hang for thrason now, nor head off shoulders dock,
The gallows is a bugaboo; a praty for the block!

But there is Colonel Nelson, boys, and there's Lieutenant Brand:
A trial for their life, bedad, is what they've got to stand.
How they stamp out rebellion, sure, their likes will take good care,
Seeing what trouble that has brought on them and Mr. Eyre.

Jack Stuart Mill for ever, and hurroo for friend Jack Bright!
Success to the Committee philo-black and anti-white!
Hang them that crushes rebels in the service of the Crown,
And then who'll be the boys to put the Fenian Brothers down?²⁶

The writer, more gifted with prescience than poetical ability, could hardly have known in March, 1867 (when his verses appeared in print), that by 27 May, 1867, Mill and a number of his colleagues would have brought enough pressure to bear on the government to get the sentences of two condemned Fenians commuted to life imprisonment.

At approximately the same time when Mill was being portrayed as an enemy of orderly government, he was also caricatured as an enemy of private property. In an address in March, 1868, on the Irish land

tenure problem, Mill proposed that Irish landlords be compensated for their property, which could then be sold to tenants. He acknowledged the rights of property until such rights conflicted with public need. In an analogy Mill noted that the law considered a man's right to his person as even higher than his right to property; yet one could not dispose of his person in marriage except according to law. One enterprising rhymster seized upon Mill's analogy of marriage and property rights as the vehicle for fourteen verses which proved, at least to his own satisfaction, that Mill was the architect of a new order in which old customs would be swept away. In verses entitled "John Stuart Mill," and to make his rhymes easier, the poet ended the last line of each stanza with Mill's full name. He demonstrated that the ancient dictum that the Englishman's home is his castle is nothing more than an "ancient delusion" according to Mill:

For your land can be seized, and your houses pulled down,
For the good of the State, in the name of the Crown,
And what harm, if the value is paid of your bill,
'Tis but "public improvement," says John Stuart Mill.²⁷

It was an even greater delusion for those who had "honoured the Queen and the laws never broke" to believe one would marry whom he pleased. The rhymster turned Mill's analogy to its illogical conclusion and chose the example of a man attempting to marry his grandmother, quite a rococo notion.

So be sure, if the peasantry's starving, you're told
That their cabins are lined full of silver and gold,
And waiting the moment when buy up they will
Ould Erin's fee simple, says John Stuart Mill.

Then, landlords, give way to the children of toil,
Make the hind, willy nilly, the lord of the soil--
And be sure the exchange, happen after what will,
Is Ireland's salvation, says John Stuart Mill.²⁸

Those relatively gentle lines were more amusing than verses which implied that Mill and his friends were responsible for Fenian outbreaks in Ireland. In verses called "A Fenian on his Friends," written within a week of the Jamaica Committee's last efforts to bring Eyre to justice, an anonymous poet explained why Fenian uprisings had continued:

But, what made us especially
The British Lion dare,
Was the friends of the bold Jamaica blacks,
And the foes of Governor Eyre.

. . .
Again they're at the Governor,
Who put our brothers down,
And stamped out black rebellion,
While they rose against the Crown.

To get him hanged for murder
 They had tried and failed before.
 At Bow Street Court, on Thursday last,
 They made the attempt once more.
 We trust they'll prove our good friends still,
 P.A. Taylor and John Stuart Mill.
 To bring a loyal subject to
 The gallows was their aim,
 And oh may they exert themselves
 To save us from the same!
 Success to P.A. Taylor,
 John Stuart Mill, and those
 That seek the life of England's friends,
 And side with England's foes.
 The House of Commons won't expel
 The friends that all fund who rebel.²⁹

Governor Eyre gained more public sympathy than Mill and the Jamaica Committee. The vitriolic verses of "The Revolt: League Against Eyre" reflected the sentiments of those who thought the Governor had performed a patriotic service for his country, and now found himself persecuted by

A set ever ranged on the side of sedition,
 To mutinous negroes, now, hands they extend,
 And, now, with their names back a Fenian petition--
 The foe of the Ruler is always their Friend.

Conspiring against one, from maddened brutes' fury
 Who saved Englishwomen, and Englishmen's lives,
 Their fangs may they gnash while they curse a Grand Jury
 Of Britons who value their daughters and wives.³⁰

The Governor won in the end, at least in the sense that Mill was unsuccessful in his last attempt to get him tried on a misdemeanour charge. Mill disbanded the Jamaica Committee in July, 1868. Disraeli's government voted Eyre compensation for his legal fees. In 1872, the Liberals gave Eyre a pension which moved Mill to exclaim that from then on he would hope for a Tory government.³¹

The Jamaica episode damaged Mill severely, particularly in an election year. A number of other actions added little to his popularity in 1868. A contribution of £10 to the election fund of the avowed atheist, Charles Bradlaugh, was considered not merely politically indiscreet but scandalous. Even worse was his recommendation of a number of Liberal candidates in other constituencies. At its mildest this was called unwarranted interference from an outsider. Mill's support of Edwin Chadwick, of earlier Poor Law fame, caused him most difficulty. The fact that Mill had not given his opinion unsolicited but had been asked by the Scottish Reform League to recommend a candidate for Kilmarnock was conveniently forgotten in the ensuing furor. Mill collided with the Honourable Edward Pleydell-Bouverie, second son of the third Earl of Radnor. Bouverie had represented Kilmarnock for

twenty-five years. Their differences led to a celebrated exchange of letters in The Times, reprinted and commented upon at great length in other papers throughout the country.³² The essence of the battle was explained in "Election Amenities":

Says Mr. Mill to the Honourable Mr. Bouverie,
"Mr. Chadwick is a very much better man than you, very.

Constituencies should always, you know, for the very best men stir,
And I'd put him in, if they'd have him, vice me, for Westminster."

Says the Honourable Mr. Bouverie to Mr. J.S. Mill,
"You know nothing about it, and I will be jolly well blowed if I w
He a shining light! He's only a candle with a bad wick,
But whether he is or not, I shan't make way for Mr. Chadwick;
And your law of selection is in my mind a very bad law,
I suppose it was that made you recommend the blasphemous fellow,
Bradlaugh.

Mind your own business, do (W.H. Smith will give you a plateful),
And don't go teaching constituencies to be pedantic and ungrateful.

Despite Mill's growing unpopularity, someone was inspired to write
set to music, and have printed, two verses emphasizing his intellectu
ability. Other candidates might put on a great show on election day
but Mill was the "people's soldier in woe and weal." "A Triple Hurrah
for Mill" was undoubtedly intended to inspire his lukewarm Westminste
constituents:

The silks and fans, will all fade, lads,
And the feathers be blown away,
And with the first shower of rain, lads,
Our ribbons will quickly decay.
But a man both honest and true, lads,
Shall endure and always will.
Then, hurrah, for Worth and the Brains, lads,
And a triple hurrah for Mill! ! !³⁴

When the returns were in on 18 November, 1868, Mill said that no
sensible man ought to be disappointed at losing an election. He had
been defeated by W.H. Smith, a rich businessman of Westminster. "Aft
the M  l  e" assessed the election results and expressed regret for
Mill's defeat:

The stalwart Smith of Westminster, with strength that baffles us
Hath earthward borne, in wisdom's scorn, the philosophic Mill:
Why saved he not for tilt the force that all to waste has gone,
In patting Bradlaugh on the back, and cheering Chadwick on.³⁵

Mill never expressed any personal regrets about the election and
always claimed that he left Parliament with a feeling of relief that
he could then return to more important things. He did indeed have
more important matters. He had to arrange for the publication of the

Subjection of Women, finish revisions of his father's Analysis of the Human Mind, bring his Autobiography up-to-date, and write "Theism," the concluding essay in Three Essays on Religion.

There is no evidence that Mill ever paid attention to any of the preceding verses. He may have seen few of them, although he probably knew the ones by Lord Neaves in Blackwood's. But all have some importance in that they contribute to one kind of a public image. The other image was that of a world famous philosopher and political economist. Everybody had heard a little something about him, some had read his books, few had any real knowledge of him. Nevertheless, the feeling was there, carefully engineered by his election committees, that the electors of Westminster ought to be grateful to have such a notable person represent them in Parliament. The verses written about him in various journals and newspapers helped to make him more of a public figure than he already was. The image presented in verse was often harsh and unflattering and occasionally suggested that Mill was simply a crank of a philosopher who floated free of the real world. The meaning of what he had said or done was distorted in rhyme. Few of the verses seem to be deliberately malicious. Most of them simply take delight in the perennial surface absurdities of politics. Anonymous versifiers, working under pressure of deadlines before the event in question got stale, had neither the time nor presumably the inclination or training to explain the subtleties of Mill's thought on a particular issue. But then, how could the complexities of the Irish question or the Jamaica affair be explained in light verse?

Of all the verses written about Mill, only one can be said to have had any lasting impression on him personally or to have possibly influenced him in any way. It is the single verse most frequently quoted in biographical studies of Mill and the one which has attracted most attention. It does not come within the period of the verses discussed above, and relates to an episode in Mill's youth in 1823 when he was seventeen. In a burst of idealism Mill and an unknown friend distributed birth control tracts in a working-class district of London. They were arrested, remanded to the Lord Mayor who apparently released them. The incident seems to have been hushed up and there is no record of a trial.³⁶

Public notice came, however, in a doggerel verse by Thomas Moore, who made his poetic reputation with Lalla Rookh. The verse about Mill is often quoted out of its context, and so appears to be simply four lines Moore scribbled and sent to The Times. In fact it is the sixth verse of a twelve-verse lampoon against opponents of the Corn Laws. In "Ode to the Goddess Ceres," Moore lamented the slander and scorn heaped upon the English squirearchy, which was being attacked in speeches and books by reviewers and economists about whom a goddess would know nothing. Three of the attackers are mentioned by name, Bentham and the two Mills (with letters tactfully omitted):

There are two Mr. M--s, too, whom those that like reading
Through all that's unreadable, call very clever;--
And, where as M-- Senior makes war on good breeding,
M-- Junior makes war on all breeding whatever!³⁷

How much attention this particular verse attracted when it first appeared in print is impossible to say. It was printed again a little later, along with other poems by Moore, in Odes Upon Cash, Corn, and appeared in various collected editions of his poetry. It may be that the incident helped shape Mill's cautious attitude toward the whole problem of the dissemination of birth-control information.³⁸ In any event the incident and the verse for a long time seemed to be forgotten.

The most opportune time for Mill's opponents to have brought it forward would have been in the election of 1865, when he was closely questioned about all his views. The Morning Advertiser and the Record would undoubtedly have issued special editions had the editor known about the episode. At least one widely quoted letter from one who called himself a "Westminster elector" took Mill to task for his statements that people should have no more children than they could decently feed, clothe, and educate.³⁹ About the only verse which referred to such views came in 1866. It was one of the trio of "Milliana," subtitled "Nuptial Incontinency":

All Fathers of large families I blame,
And you, ye matron Mothers, fie for shame!
As Malthus says, it is a vile disgrace,
Thus recklessly to heap the human race!⁴⁰

After a half-century of oblivion, however, Thomas Moore's verse was resurrected by Abraham Haywood in a savagely biting obituary in the Times. It has been suggested that Haywood, who knew Mill when he was a young man and who had been trounced by him in debates in the London Debating Society, finally found his opportunity for revenge.⁴¹ The ensuing furor over whether Mill was a Neo-Malthusian prompted denunciations from various pulpits, some of them of Mill and others of the obituary writer. Circular letters were printed and distributed about the matter. The committee which had been formed to promote a memorial to Mill was thrown into turmoil. Gladstone, shocked over the revelations and convinced by Haywood's charges that Mill did not outgrow the errors of his youth and remained a Neo-Malthusian, withdrew from the committee and refused to allow his name to be connected with it.⁴² After the controversy died down a monument to Mill was finally erected on the Embankment.

Mill never fared very well at the hands of the scribblers of light verse. One verse followed him even after death and was another contributory factor in the creation of an unfavourable and distorted popular image based on half-truths and innuendoes. The public who read the obituary and the verse were probably convinced that if one reads it in The Times it must be so.

NOTES:

¹"Mill and Public Measures," Punch, XLIX (July 8, 1865), 2.

²"Lush Against Mill," ibid. (July 15, 1865), 22.

³The Record, July 12, 1865, 2.

⁴"The Tribulation of the 'Tizer," Punch, XLIX (July 22, 1865), 24.

- 5 "Philosophy and PUNCH," *ibid.*, 32.
- 6 "Mr. J.S. Mill's debt," *The Press*, XIV (March 3, 1866), 205.
- 7 J. Weston, "A Whit-Monday Political Poem," *Commonwealth*, May 19, 1866, 5.
- 8 E.G. Smith, "Written in Commemoration of the Great Reform Demonstration at Birmingham, Held August 27th, 1866," *ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1866, 5.
- 9 *The Times*, April 18, 1866, 9.
- 10 F.W.C., "Mill-iana," *The Press*, XIV (April 21, 1866), 366.
- 11 *Commonwealth*, April 28, 1866, 5.
- 12 *Blackwood's*, XCIX (May, 1866), 648.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 649.
- 14 *Punch*, LII (June 1, 1867), 227.
- 15 "A Mill-ody," *Fur.*, n.s. V-VI (May 18, 1867), 107.
- 16 "Womanhood Suffrage," *ibid.* (July 4, 1867), 173.
- 17 Lord Neaves, "Stuart Mill on Mind and Matter," *Blackwood's*, XCIX (Feb., 1866), 258.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 259.
- 19 "The Magazines," *The Press*, XIV (Feb. 3, 1866), 114.
- 20 David A. Wilson, *Life of Carlyle*, 6 vols. (London, 1923-34), VI, 58-9.
- 21 Mill to Carlyle, 11 April, 1866, *Collected Works*, XVI (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 1157. Carlyle had mentioned in his address that his health was poor.
- 22 Lord Neaves, "Buridan's Ass; Or, Liberty and Necessity," *Blackwood's*, XCIX (May, 1866), 614.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 615.
- 24 Lord Neaves, "Stuart Mill Again; Or the Examiner Examined," *ibid.*, C (Aug., 1866), 246.
- 25 "Buridan's Ass" was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 89 (June 2, 1866), 637. Three verses of "Stuart Mill Again; Or the Examiner Examined" were quoted by Joseph Haven, "Mill versus Hamilton," *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 25 (July, 1868), 517, who said the essential features of Mill's system were quite accurately portrayed by the verses. Two verses of "Stuart Mill on Mind and Matter" were quoted by Rev. Augustus H. Strong, "Philosophy and Religion," *Baptist Quarterly*, 2 (Oct., 1868), 406-7. Strong claimed that Mill's system of absolute scepticism was justly ridiculed by Lord Neaves.
- 26 "Song of a Head Centre," *Punch*, LII (March 16, 1867), 109.
- 27 "John Stuart Mill," *The Owl* (March 18, 1868), 4. For Mill's views on Ireland see his pamphlet, *England and Ireland* (London, 1868) and *Chapters and Speeches on the Irish Land Question* (London, 1870).
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 "A Fenian on his Friends," *Punch*, LIV (March 7, 1868), 107.
- 30 "The Revolt League Against Eyre," *ibid.* (May 30, 1868), 237.
- 31 Michael St. John Packe, *Life of John Stuart Mill* (London, 1954), 472. The entire Jamaica episode is discussed on 464-72. For a fuller account see Bernard Semmel, *Jamaican Blood and Victorian Conscience: The Governor Eyre Controversy* (Boston, 1963).
- 32 The story is told in Samuel E. Finer, *The Life and Times of Sir Edwin Chadwick* (London, 1952), 495-500.

- ³³"Election Amenities," Punch, LV (Oct. 24, 1868), 171.
- ³⁴"A Triple Hurrah for Mill," in honour of John Stuart Mill, Esq., Candidate for Westminster, 1868. William E. Gladstone Papers, British Library Add. Mss. 44756, f. 55.
- ³⁵"After the M \acute{e} l \acute{e} e," Punch, LV (Nov. 28, 1868), 226.
- ³⁶The best accounts of the entire episode which unravel the charges made by Haywood in 1873 are in Norman E. Himes, "John Stuart Mill's Attitude Toward Neo-Malthusianism," Economic Journal (Supplement) (Jan., 1929), 475-84, and Peter Fryer, The Birth Controllers (London: Secker and Warburg, 1965).
- ³⁷Thomas Moore, "Ode to the Goddess Ceres," in Poetical Works of Thomas Moore (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1924), 570-2. See also his "Ode to the Sublime Porte," ibid., 587 and MNL, VIII:1 (Fall 1972), 1.
- ³⁸Packe, Life of Mill, 58.
- ³⁹Morning Herald, July 8, 1865, 5.
- ⁴⁰"Mill-iana," The Press, XIV (April 21, 1866), 366.
- ⁴¹Packe, Life of Mill, 72.
- ⁴²The Rev. Stopford Brook issued a circular letter to which Haywood replied, making his charges more extreme than in the obituary. For details see W.D. Christie, John Stuart Mill and Mr. Abraham Haywood (London, 1873). See Gladstone Papers, British Library Add. Mss. 44,095 and 44,207 for a number of the circular letters as well as Haywood's correspondence with Gladstone and others involved in the episode. See also Francis E. Mineka, "John Stuart Mill and Neo-Malthusianism," MNL, VIII:1 (Fall, 1972), 3-10.

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Recent Publications:

- Annas, Julia. "Mill and the Subjection of Women," Philosophy, 52 (Apr., 1977), 179-94.
- Biller, K. "The Function of Language, Literature and Criticism in the Pedagogy of Utilitarianists in the Time of John Stuart Mill," Ph.D. thesis, University zu Erlangen-Nurnberg, 1975. (In German)
- Bronfenbrenner, Martin. "Poetry, Pushpin, and Utility," Economic Inquiry, 15 (Jan., 1977), 95-110.
- Kirsch, Michael C. "Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill on Value and Distributed Justice," Ph.D. thesis, Florida State University, 1976.
- Knox, B.A. "The British Government and Governor Eyre," The Historical Journal, 19 (Dec., 1976), 877-900. (Discusses, in passing, JSM's role in the House.)
- McDonnell, James. "Success and Failure: A Rhetorical Study of the First Two Chapters of Mill's Autobiography," University of Toronto Quarterly, 45 (Winter, 1976), 109-22.
- Martin, David E. "The Rehabilitation of the Peasant Proprietor in Nineteenth-Century Economic Thought: A Comment," History of Political Economy, 8 (Summer, 1976), 297-302.
- O'Donnell, Margaret G. "Henry Sidgwick: Externalities and the New Concept of Laissez-Faire," Ph.D. thesis, Texas A & M, 1976.

- Pappé, H.O. "On Liberty and Liberalism," TLS, Oct. 15, 1976, 1307.
(A letter relating to Gertrude Himmelfarb's book.)
- Pradhan, S.V. "Mill on India: A Reappraisal," Dalhousie Review, 56
(Spring, 1976), 5-22.
- Settani, Harry E. "The Probabilist Theism of John Stuart Mill," Ph.D.
thesis, St. John's University, 1976.
- Sharpless, F. Parvin, ed. Essays on Poetry by John Stuart Mill.
Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1976. (With Intro-
duction.)
- Westholm, Carl-Johan. Ratio och universalitet: John Stuart Mill och
dagens demokratidebatt. Skrifter utgivna av Statsvetenskapliga
föreningen i Uppsala, Nr 72. [n.p.]: Rabén & Sjögren, 1976.
(With summary in English.)

Work in Progress:

- Schwartz, Pedro. Dr. Schwartz is working on JSM's monetary theory
and on his distinction between laws of production and laws of
distribution.

Announcements:

FIFTH ANNUAL HISTORY OF ECONOMICS CONFERENCE
University of Toronto, May 25-27, 1978

Persons wishing to present papers at this conference are invited
to submit abstracts (two copies) together with separate sheets con-
taining the following information:

1. Author's name, address, professional affiliation, position
and telephone number.
2. Title of paper.
3. Whether or not the author is a member of the Society.

Abstracts, with information sheets attached, must be received no
later than October 1, 1977.

It is expected that sessions will be held on some or all of the
following themes:

1. The History of Sub.-Disciplines in Economics.
2. Applications of the History and Philosophy of Science to the
History of Economics.
3. Writing the History of the Economics of Living Economists.
4. The Application of Statistical Techniques to the History of
Economics.
5. The Development of Canadian Economics.
6. Classical Economics--The Reinterpretation of the Last 25
Years, Where Does It Leave Us?
7. Round Table on New Resources for Teaching and Research on
the History of Economics.

Persons proposing to present papers should indicate whether their
papers will fit the proposed themes of any of these sessions. As an
experiment, at least one afternoon session will be devoted to "con-
tributed papers" which should be brought to the conference in multiple
copies and will be distributed to interested conferees for discussion
in small group meetings on focused topical areas. The chairpersons of

these sessions will lead the discussion and may invite certain contributors to comment on their papers.

A person wishing to serve as a discussant of an invited paper or a chairperson of a discussion section for contributed papers should submit name, address, professional affiliation, position, telephone number and area of interest within the history of economics by October 1, 1977. All communications concerning the Conference should be sent to:

Craufurd D. Goodwin
Department of Economics
Duke University
Durham, NC 27706

The purpose of the History of Economics Society is to promote interest and inquiry into the history of economics and related parts of intellectual history; to facilitate communication and discourse among scholars working in the field; and to acquaint members of the profession with the scientific, literary, and philosophical traditions of economics. Information about membership in the society, which may be combined with a reduced-price subscription to the quarterly journal History of Political Economy, can be obtained from James L. Cochrane, Secretary-Treasurer, History of Economics Society, Department of Economics, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208.

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FIFTH JAPAN MILL CONFERENCE

The fifth Japan Mill Conference was held 1 April, 1977. Eleven scholars met to hear a paper by Professor Kashiwagi of Fukuoka University on Mill and Christianity.

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JAPAN SOCIETY OF BRITISH PHILOSOPHY

The first general meeting of the Japan Society of British Philosophy was held on 2-3 April, 1977. The society, established in 1976, has about 130 members. On the first day, four papers, two dealing with Mill concerning the influence of English thought on modern Japan were read. On the second day, the meeting, chaired by Professor Shigekazu Yamashita, heard a paper by Professor Fukuda of Nihon University on the methodology of Mill and Spencer.

The society plans to publish a twelve-volume series of English thinkers. The volume on Bentham will be edited by Professor Yamashita and that on Mill by Professors Sugihara and Koizumi.

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Review:

Essays on Politics and Society. Edited by J.M. Robson. Introduction by Alexander Brady. Volumes XVIII and XIX of the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977. Pp. xcv, 780 and Indexes.

At last--definitive editions of On Liberty and Considerations on Representative Government. In addition, this set includes ten other works. Of these, Mill himself chose to republish in full only four: "Civilization" (1863), "De Tocqueville on Democracy in America [II]" (1840), Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform (1859), and "Recent Writers on Reform" (1859). The others, he believed, did not have lasting value, partly because they were superseded by his "more mature writings." John Robson, the textual editor of the Essays, properly declines to follow Mill's editorial decision; at the least, the earlier writings help us to "assess the development of the views expressed in the 'more mature writings.'" Robson therefore includes four early book reviews: "Use and Abuse of Political Terms" (1832), "Rationale of Representation" (1835), "De Tocqueville on Democracy in America [I]" (1835), and "State of Society in America" (1836). A very short review, "Essays on Government" (1840), a parliamentary paper, "Reform of the Civil Service" (1854), and a later review, "Centralisation" (1862), complete the set of main texts. In the appendices one finds a review that Mill co-authored in 1837 with George Grote ("Taylor's Statesman"), Mill's own brief appendix to vol. I of Dissertations and Discussions that combines portions of "Rationale" and the first review of Tocqueville, and Jowett's letter that criticizes Mill's "Reform of the Civil Service."

Few scholars are likely to object to what the editor has chosen to include, but inevitably some will complain about what he decided to exclude. Some of the works that might have been more appropriately placed in a collection on politics and society--for example, Auguste Comte and Positivism--have already appeared in the Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society. Many of Mill's newspaper articles, speeches, and journals that are relevant to politics but have not yet been published are scheduled for later volumes. The editorial decision to save these political writings for the later "generic" volumes is based on a desire to avoid publishing a large number of miscellaneous volumes at the end of the Collected Works. Still, one wishes that some of the speeches and papers that bear directly on the questions discussed, for example, in Representative Government, could have found a place in the political volumes. A candidate is Personal Representation, the pamphlet reprinting Mill's speech in the Commons in 1867, which expands on the case for Hare's voting system presented in Chapter vii of Representative Government, and further illuminates Mill's views on political parties. Another possible item: Mill's proposal for a London Corporation, introduced in parliament in 1868, which draws its inspiration from the chapter on Local Government.

The editing of the texts of these volumes sustains the high standards set by the earlier Collected Works. Departing from the more orthodox practice in textual editing, the editor uses as copy-text

the last edition that Mill supervised; this departure has proved to be justified for Mill's writings. Even in the case of On Liberty, which Mill wished to preserve in its original form, the decision to use the fourth library edition (1869) seems sensible. For this work as well as for the others in these volumes, the editor collates the last text with all the earlier library editions. Some of the seemingly trivial variations have substantive significance--for example, changes in capitalization of words such as "democracy," "society" and the "state." In appendices, the editor records substantive variants between the library editions and the People's editions of On Liberty and Representative Government. These variants are important because many modern editions have reproduced the less reliable People's Editions. The most notable example is the definition of utility in On Liberty: the People's Edition replaces "man" with "a man" in the phrase, "the permanent interest of man as a progressive being."

While eschewing informational notes, the editor identifies persons and books Mill mentions when (as often is the case) Mill's citation is obscure or incomplete. It is a relief to discover that most of the references about which the editor earlier solicited information in the pages of this News Letter have now been identified (for example, the Russian minister and the Greek President from Corfu mentioned in Representative Government at p. 567). A few, such as the "recent writer," whom Mill in On Liberty (p. 291) criticizes for urging a "civilizade" against polygamous communities, remain anonymous.

Unlike the editors of most collected works, Robson has taken the trouble to provide a most valuable bibliographic index of persons and works cited in Mill's writings, together with the full original text of the quotations to which Mill refers, including 33 pages of Tocqueville's French. Robson's textual introduction supplies much worthwhile information about the circumstances of composition of the works in the Essays and about the history of their publication. All in all, the editing of the texts and the scholarly apparatus that accompanies them manifest more than the diligence and care that should characterize a fine edition; they reveal an editorial intelligence of the highest order, making the Essays a model for collected works in which the needs of scholars with many different interests must be respected along with the rigorous requirements of traditional textual editing.

The introduction by Alexander Brady is not so distinguished, though it is certainly competent enough. Brady devotes most of his 61 pages to a straightforward summary of Mill's views, considering each of the works in the volumes more or less in chronological order and placing each in one of the three periods into which Mill divided his intellectual development. An introduction may not be the appropriate occasion to offer an original interpretation of Mill's social and political thought, but it should provide an opportunity to make some comparisons among Mill's writings, some critical analysis of his leading arguments, and some discussion of the context in which Mill wrote and the reaction of his contemporaries and subsequent thinkers to his ideas. Brady supplies a few comments (all of them worthwhile) on the context and contemporary reaction but almost no comparison and criticism at all.

While Brady does not seize the opportunity these volumes offer for tracing changes in Mill's thought, other scholars will certainly find the volumes convenient for that purpose. Mill himself identified only two "substantial changes of opinion" in the political thought of his mature period--a conversion to "a qualified Socialism" and a shift from "pure democracy" to a "modified form of it." The second change can be explored in these volumes better than in any collection of Mill's writings, and it is a rather more subtle change than has been assumed by many commentators, who have seen a simple transition from democracy to elitism.

Representative Government, expressing Mill's "matured views" on the "best form of a popular constitution," continues to warn against the dangers of "government of the numerical majority," just as the writings of his middle period did. But in Representative Government he is equally concerned to promote government "in which the whole people participate." Although some earlier writings anticipate this theme (especially the second review of Tocqueville), no other work gives such prominence to the educative value of participation. Throughout this work, Mill assesses political institutions, ranging from the electoral process to local government, according not only to how well they foster skill and intelligence in government, but also equally how well they encourage participation of all citizens for the purpose of fostering civic education. One would not learn much about this theme from Brady's Introduction (which scarcely mentions participation), but reading Representative Government immediately after the other political writings collected in the Essays one cannot but notice its prominence.

Less striking but no less important are the shifts in Mill's attitude toward the political role of the "instructed few" who, before Mill's discovery of the virtues of participation, constituted for him almost the only protection against the tyranny of the majority. Mill's view of the process of representation may serve as an illustration. In the earlier writings, Mill stressed that voters should choose representatives on the basis of their "characters and talents" rather than their positions on political issues. Constituents should not require a representative "to act according to their judgment, any more than they require a physician to prescribe for them according to their own notions of medicine" ("Rationale," pp. 24, 39-40; and Tocqueville [I], p. 72). In Representative Government, Mill still believes that constituents should "choose as their representatives men wiser than themselves" and that representatives should have considerable discretion. But now, abandoning the Platonic analogy, Mill insists that it is no less important that voters consider the candidates' positions on issues; moreover, representatives must not act contrary to their constituents' "fundamental convictions" or "primary notions of right"--for example, on a policy toward foreign aggression (pp. 506-11).

If the development of Mill's political views depicted in these volumes defies summary as a simple shift from democracy to elitism, it also casts doubt on interpretations that treat On Liberty, his leading social essay, as an aberration in his intellectual history. To be sure, the praise of unbridled free speech and thought that Mill expresses in 1859 contrasts with the respect for authority and social

consensus that the writings of the 1830s stress. But in the "matured" writings of the 1860s, especially Representative Government, these conservative values are balanced by more radical ones, some of which derive from On Liberty. If (for example) the exercise of the freedoms extolled in the latter work help develop the "human faculties of perception, judgment . . . and even moral preference" (p. 262), then Mill can have some hope that the political participation he urges in Representative Government can improve the political competence of citizens.

Whether Mill scholars use the Essays on Politics and Society to pursue these or other themes in Mill's intellectual development or simply to examine Mill's arguments analytically, they will be well served by the editorial acumen that informs its pages. The Essays, moreover, should soon end the confusion that has afflicted the citations and even the quotations in the literature on Mill's political and social writings. Scholars no longer have any excuse for failing to use common texts and standard pagination for these important works. At \$60 a set, however, the new volumes will not solve the problem of teachers who seek a standard edition of Mill's political writings to assign their students. Let us hope that Toronto Press will eventually see the value of issuing a paperback version of the Essays. Although they are not so rich in otherwise inaccessible material as are some of the previous volumes in the Collected Works (especially the Letters), the latest volumes promise to be the most widely used of any in the series. Such a splendid edition deserves as wide a circulation as possible.

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