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Contents

Editorial

News and queries 3

Conference notes 4

The Philosopher Flowers / Fred Rosen 7

"Sympathy in Equality": J. S. Mill's Arguments for Women's Equality / Michele Green 9

Mill on the Prairies / Jean O'Grady 14

Books

Fred Wilson, Psychological Analysis and the Philosophy of John Stuart Mill (Errol Aspevig) 20

Thomas E. Blom, The Secret Lives of Richard André (Juliet McMaster) 22

Thomas Hardy: Selected Letters, ed. Michael Millgate (Alexander M. Ross) 24

Adrian Desmond, The Politics of Evolution (Bernard Lightman) 26

Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale, ed. Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard (Lori Williamson) 29

Arthurian Poets (William Blissett) 31

Sarah Freeman, Mutton and Oysters (Mary Anne Schofield) 33

Frank Atkinson, Victorian Britain (Richard Helmstadter) 35

Riley's Believe It or Not 38

Editorial

This spring, the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill will be completed after some 30 years of work at the University of Toronto. It seems appropriate for the Newsletter to commemorate this fact, for the Mill Project has had a long connection with the Victorian Studies Association, and its friends here are many. The General Editor of the Mill Project, John M. Robson, was one of the founding fathers of the VSA in 1967-68, and since then the Toronto group has often met in the Robsons' living-room. Associates of the Project have served as presidents and officers of the Association, while four volumes of the Collected Works have been co-edited by VSA members. Scores more members have forwarded the enterprise by their kindness in answering queries and sharing expertise over the years.

But the celebration need not be confined to this group, however numerous: we may all share a feeling of satisfaction, either as Canadians or as Victorianists. For Canadians, this marks an era in Canadian publishing: it is the first multi-volume scholarly project to be completed in Canada, and one that forms the prototype of several others. For students of the Victorian age, there is the security that comes from having to hand everything (well, almost everything) written by one of its seminal figures. For these reasons the Newsletter congratulates the editor and the University of Toronto Press and, by way of marking the occasion, offers several articles on aspects of John Stuart Mill and his Collected Works.

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News and queries

The two last volumes of Mill's Collected Works are Vol. XXXII, Additional Letters, edited by Marion Filipiuk, MICHAEL LAINE, and J.M. ROBSON; and Vol. XXXIII, Indexes, edited by JEAN O'GRADY with J.M. ROBSON. Both will appear this spring.

MARGOT K. LOUIS (University of Victoria) has recently published Swinburne and His Gods: The Roots and Growth of an Agnostic Poetry (McGill-Queens, 1990), to be reviewed in a later Newsletter.

ANN AND JOHN ROBSON were at the Australian National University in Canberra from June until mid-December as Visiting Fellows in the History of Ideas Programme. In Canberra they gave seminar papers in the History of Ideas Programme and at the Humanities Research Centre: Ann Robson on "The Background to J.S. Mill's Writing of the Subjection of Women" and "Helen Taylor versus the Stereotypical Victorian Woman;" John Robson on "Editing Major Philosophic Texts: J.S. Mill," "John Stuart Mill: Biography and the History of the Book," and "Marriage or Celibacy--or get out of town!" They also chaired sessions of conferences in both programmes, and lectured and conducted seminars in other Australian and New Zealand universities. In addition to the subjects listed above, Ann Robson spoke on "Better Living and the Women's Movement," and John Robson on "Rhetorical Theory and English Studies," "Rhetorical Theory and Political Analysis," "John Stuart Mill and Political Theory," and "Obituaries and Biography: The Case of John Stuart Mill."

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"Victorian Punch: a Sesquicentennial Conference" on the comic journal Punch will be held at the University of London, 12-13 July, 1991. For further details please contact Michael Slater, Department of English, Birkbeck College, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX, U.K.

Manuscripts are being sought for a collection of essays which considers the experience of foreign women in England as portrayed in 18th-20th century English literature. Two-page abstracts or completed manuscripts (MLA style) should be sent to M. Button, English Department, Lincoln University, PA 19352, U.S.A., by 1 April. Include abbreviated cv.

The Mill News Letter has not died but suffered a sea-change: it is now merged with the Bentham News Letter as Utilitas: a Journal of Utilitarian Studies. This is edited by Fred Rosen, editor of the collected edition of Bentham's works. For subscriptions, write to Journals Marketing Department, Oxford University Press, Inc., 2001 Evans Road, Cary, North Carolina 27513, U.S.A.

Saint Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, founded by Gladstone, is a residential study and conference centre which offers attractive living and working conditions at very reasonable rates on either a short- or long-term basis. The Library has strong holdings in the Victorian field generally, as well as special collections focused on Gladstone and related areas, and people specializing in Victorian Studies are particularly invited to reply. Additional information is available in the brochure inserted in this issue of the Newsletter, and Michael Millgate (English, Toronto: call 920-3717) can supply booking forms; alternatively a direct approach can be made to the Warden and Chief Librarian, The Revd Dr Peter J. Jagger, St Deiniol's Library, Hawarden, Deeside, Clwyd, CH5 3DF, North Wales, U.K. Telephone: 011-44-244 531256.

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Conference notes

The 1991 Conference

The overall topic of the 1991 Conference (on Saturday, 13 April) will be the eighteen-nineties. This will probably not be the first and will certainly not be the last occasion on which the eighteen-nineties are scrutinized from the perspective of the nineteen-nineties. As Angela Carter once observed, "the fin is coming a little early this siècle," a quotation which I have filched from Elaine Showalter's recent fascinating book Sexual Anarchy (one of the chapters of the book was given a preview at the 1987 Conference).

Our morning paper will be devoted to the history of ideas and will be given by Professor J. E. Chamberlin, Professor of English at the University of Toronto and a former Principal of New College. His title is "The Idea of the Infinite: Some Victorian Sleights-of-hand." Professor Chamberlin will be especially known to Victorianists as the author of a book on Oscar Wilde, Such Was the Drowsy Hour. He is also an expert on West Indian poetry and has written a book on literary representations of the North American native.

Our afternoon speaker will be Robin Spencer, Senior Lecturer in Art History at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. Mr Spencer is an authority on Art Nouveau and on the art of Whistler. His first book, The Aes-

thetic Movement: Theory and Practice (1972), is an important study (even though it is not in the University of Toronto Library). He is also one of the three authors of the major catalogue raisonné, Paintings of Whistler, published in 1980 by Yale University Press. His subject is "Beardsley and Whistler: L'Art nouveau et l'art ancien."

After lunch Jill Matus and myself will treat you to forty-five minutes of prose, poetry and drama from the eighteen-nineties, and if that is not entertainment enough, there is always the AGM.

H.B. de Groot
President, VSA

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Teresa Snelgrove sends the following report on the Conference of the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Victorian Studies Association of Western Canada took place at the University of Alberta in Edmonton from October 11th to the 13th. The papers delivered were not only as exhilarating as the brisk fall weather outside, but also as electrifying as the dustings of snow which greeted us on both mornings (in early October!).

The conference began with James Kincaid's (Southern California) paper "Victorian Child-Loving: Beating the Gentle Child." Kincaid examined the Victorian concept of the child. For the Victorian, the child is no longer the child of nature, but has become a linguistic and cultural construction. According to Kincaid, Victorian grown-ups are both fascinated with and annoyed by the world of the child, which appears to them to be self-sufficient, self-contained, and ultimately impenetrable. Kincaid sees the relationship as being based on the adult's desires and needs--these motivations do not exist in any causal relationship but proliferate in such a way as to simulate a twisting and destructive circle.

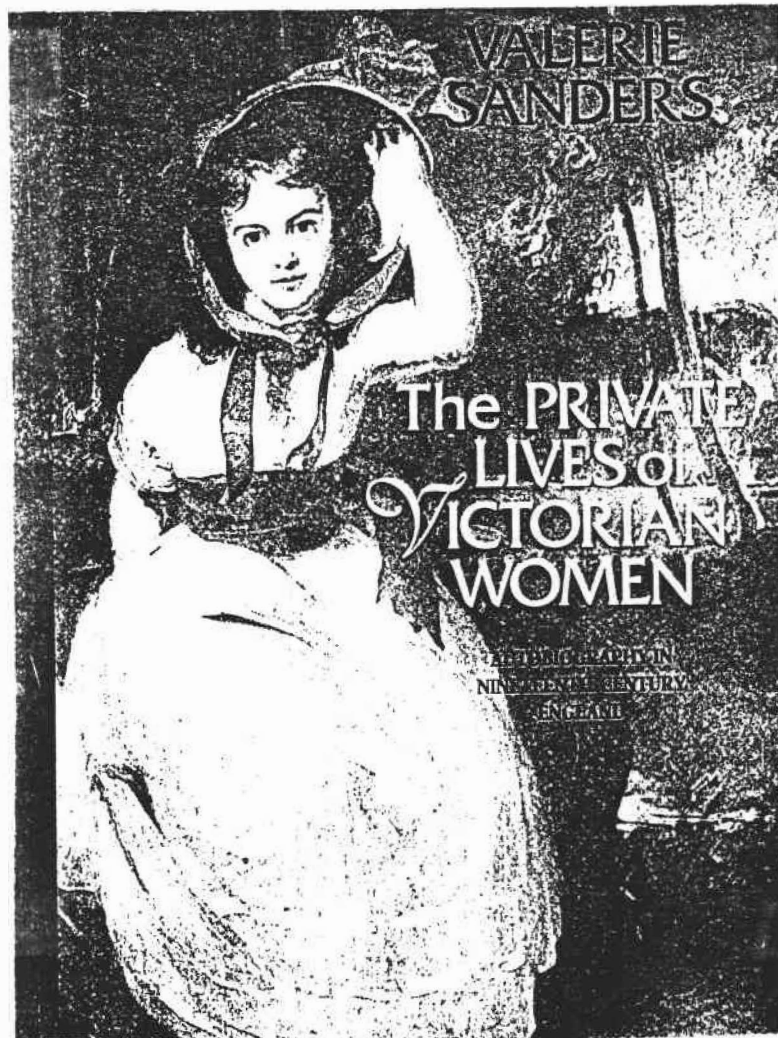
The second guest speaker, Christopher Kent (Saskatchewan) presented a paper, "The Tichbourne Claimant, or Victorian Self-Making and Unmaking." His paper analysed the famous Tichbourne Case (in which an ex-butcher claimed to be the missing Tichbourne heir) in the context of the question, what comprises an "identity?" As a result of the Tichbourne Affair, the English public could witness both in the courts and in the daily press the making (and unmaking) of an identity (the real or false Tichbourne!). Kent linked the Victorian idea of identity with memory, the submergence of individuality, and the growing field of statistics.

Other papers were equally interesting and wide-ranging. Representative titles included "Did Foucault and Althusser Ever Play the Holborn Empire?" (Peter Bailey, Manitoba), and "Palpitating Orbs: Bosoms, Sexuality, and the Power Relations in Gender in Mid-Victorian Popular Culture" (Patricia Anderson, London). While Bailey's paper analysed the "discourse" that occurs between performers and their audience in the music hall (a relationship predicated on a sense of "club membership"), Anderson's paper examined how pictorial images of the upper half of women's bodies revealed Victorian attitudes towards sex. Susan Brown (Alberta) picked up the same theme of women as objects of discourse as opposed to being the subjects of their own discourse. Brown developed her thesis by comparing D. G. Rossetti's "Jenny" and Augusta Webster's "The Castaway."

Susan Hamilton (Alberta) in her paper, "Still Lives: Gender and the Literature of the Victorian Vivisection Controversy" made the link between the suffering of animals in anti-vivisectionist posters with the plight of the suffering Victorian women.

Other papers included Douglas Thorpe's (Saskatchewan) examination of Stevenson's psychic struggle, Betsy Cogger Rezelman's (St. Lawrence) fascinating unravelling of the links between culture and politics, and Christopher Hogood's (Lethbridge) study of the relationship between shopkeepers and wholesalers in Victorian England. Teresa Snelgrove (Toronto) analysed the narrative structure of three of George Eliot's novels; Snelgrove demonstrated that by using the computer the researcher can detect the many small narrative patterns which determine our response to a text. The last paper of the conference, "Beyond Victorian Canada: The Arctic and the West in Literature and Art," given by Ian McLaren (Alberta), was an account of the ways in which explorers and settlers in Canada's frozen deeps and plains attempted to transpose their European values and objects.

The Conference was enthusiastically hosted by Juliet McMaster and Glennis Stephenson.



The Philosopher Flowers

Fred Rosen
Bentham Project
University College, London

As the great edition of the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill nears completion, with the two last volumes (Additional Letters and Indexes) about to be published, Professor Robson has dramatically enhanced the feelings of envy of General Editors throughout the world. But these feelings are quickly overcome by the great pleasure of using the superbly edited and produced volumes and by the realization that, once their contents become familiar to a rising generation of scholars, research into Mill's life and thought, indeed into Victorian intellectual history and biography, will begin on a different plane and will have a major effect on several academic disciplines. Once the Bentham and Mill editions can be read together, this admittedly not entirely disinterested observer is willing to predict that the history of utilitarianism will have to be rewritten. For the moment, the best advice to give to prospective PhD students is: "read Mill," for there are themes in abundance to be explored in these volumes.

Take the one with the least promising title, the recently published Miscellaneous Writings,[1] which, in the spirit of the triadic titles of many of the volumes, might better have been christened Essays on Botany, Evidence and Mind. So specific a title, however, might not have allowed the editor to allude to the additional "folder labelled miscellaneous" (xlvii) which contains material not included in the Miscellaneous Writings. Despite the modest title, fascinating material can be found here. Some of it can be approached through the "Index of Persons and Works," where one can trace, as in other volumes, important allusions to other writers and works. The references to Bentham, for example, are neatly collected and will enable scholars to construct a more sophisticated account of the relationship between the two thinkers than currently exists. In reading the collection of Mill's notes and preface to Bentham's Rationale of Judicial Evidence, one is able to see clearly the quality of understanding displayed by so young an editor of this important work. The notes lead one to confirm Bentham's confidence in his choice of editor, for Mill displays a firm grasp not only of the details of the law of evidence but also of Bentham's philosophy as a whole--no small feat for a young man of twenty-one.

Arguably the most attractive part of the volume are the "Botanical Writings" which, together with Professor Robson's introduction to them, provide a fine account of Mill's hobby from boyhood. These writings reveal his eye for detail, his sense of order, and also his enthusiasm for the outdoor life of the "botanical amateur." Professor Robson notes both that Mill was introduced to botany by the future botanist, George Bentham, during a visit to Sir Samuel Bentham's home in France in 1820, and that this enthusiasm for cataloguing plants was related to the Benthamite enthusiasm for classification in general. He does not dwell on the fact

that Jeremy Bentham and his brother, Samuel, also shared an enthusiasm for botany which grew out of their interest in numerous aspects of applied science; their correspondence over many years contains numerous references to various seeds and plants. Also of interest is the account of the dispersal of Mill's collection of plants by Helen Taylor after his death (alas, following a botanical expedition) and especially the care and attention devoted to that part given to Joseph Dalton Hooker, the Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew. This editor is reminded of the different attention paid by Hooker to parts of Jeremy Bentham's non-botanical collection of manuscripts and books which he acquired on the death of George Bentham, and subsequently sold to the British Museum. Regarding a final parcel of books which he sent off to the Museum, Hooker suggested: "They are I fear worthless but such as they are the Museum is welcome to them--if not let them be burnt and excuse my troubling you."[2] Mill fared better.

The importance of this volume of Miscellaneous Writings does not lie solely in the botanical writings or in Mill's notes on Bentham's work on evidence. The volume also contains other material, too numerous to list, but two items might be mentioned here. The first is Mill's notes on his edition of his father's Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind, which appeared in 1869. The difference between these notes and the earlier ones on Bentham is that the former reveal much about the development of J. S. Mill's own thought while the latter provide more of a youthful, though scholarly, exposition of Bentham's ideas. Secondly, the publication in Appendix E of the questions which Mill proposed for discussion at the Political Economy Club might stimulate the creation of an academic game in which the various meetings might be re-created (much as famous battles are re-enacted by enthusiasts) with the participants meeting on suitable anniversaries, debating the questions (e.g. 4 March 1841: "What is the most convenient definition of the word Demand?"), and playing the parts of the original characters.

There is so much to admire in the whole edition that a few points of criticism will not diminish its achievement. One might regret that letters to Mill have not been included in the Correspondence; that the titles of the volumes give few clues to their contents (just where are On Liberty, Utilitarianism, and Considerations on Representative Government?); that some of the lengthy introductions are already out of date; or, most importantly, that the University of Toronto Press have allowed some volumes to go out of print. Except for the last, none of these cast the slightest shadow on one of the most important academic projects in recent decades. Not only should the edition remain in print, but students should be allowed to share in the scholarship with fully edited paperback editions of the most important works.

Notes

[1]John Stuart Mill, Miscellaneous Writings, ed. John M. Robson, Vol. 31 of Collected Works of John Stuart Mill (Toronto and London: University of Toronto Press and Routledge, 1989).

[2]Peter Jones, "The Museum is Welcome to Them--if not Let Them be Burnt," The Bentham Newsletter, VII (1983), 43.

"Sympathy in Equality": John Stuart Mill's Argument for Women's Equality

Michele Green
University of Windsor

In the 1970s feminist scholars rediscovered J. S. Mill's writings on sexual equality. Mill's campaign for women's suffrage and his forthright, impassioned pleas for equal access to occupations and education earned him high praise. In particular The Subjection of Women was hailed both for its presentation of the civil and domestic disabilities of women, and for its understanding of sexual politics. The new feminist critique challenged traditional Mill scholarship which had tended to concentrate on Harriet Taylor's influence on Mill's views on sexual equality. But it also raises some problems for historians, because much of the new analysis was defined by a focus on the validity of Mill's arguments for the present-day concerns of feminists.[1]

Feminist scholars have found tensions, or contradictions, in four main areas of J. S. Mill's writings on equality: Mill's disdainful treatment of his mother in earlier drafts of the Autobiography; his views on economic independence for women; his acceptance of traditional sex roles; and his discussion of "natural" differences between the sexes. For instance, Himmelfarb points out that in an early draft of his Autobiography, Mill blamed his mother for being a "drudge," seeing her subordination as a personal failure of character. But by way of contradiction, in The Subjection of Women Mill presented the subordination of women as an historical and a social phenomenon.[2]

Likewise, Mill's arguments for economic independence for women have been seen as contradictory because of his commitment to Malthusian principles of population and belief in the wage-fund theory.[3] Indeed, in an early essay on marriage Mill insisted that while women should be capable of supporting themselves, "it does not follow that a woman should actually support herself." This would "burthen the labour market with a double number of competitors,"[4] reducing wages to the point where two could not earn as much as one. Years later, in The Subjection of Women, Mill still saw it as undesirable for a woman to contribute "by her labour to the income of the family" (298). Third, some feminist scholars say that Mill's qualifications for economic independence for women cannot be separated from his acceptance of traditional sex roles or assumption of the immutability of the existing family structure. Such biases reveal his incomplete and inadequate advocacy of equality.[5]

Finally, Mill has been criticized for ambivalence in discussing natural differences between the sexes. In The Subjection of Women, he unequivocally states that no natural differences divide men and women, and asserts the impossibility at present of knowing the psychology of women (276-7). Yet in the early essay on marriage, he insists, "it will be for the happiness of both that [a woman's] occupation should rather be to adorn and beautify" life (43). Women's natural

task is accomplished by being, not doing.

The problem with this attention to the limitations of Mill's "feminism" for today is that it leaves open the question of how his writings on gender equality fit into the overall development of Mill's social and ethical philosophy. To blame him for not rising above his age, or for not making total equality always his first priority, is to ignore the fact that Mill never viewed the vote for women as a natural right, that he did not see equality for women as a good in itself. It is to ignore the centrality of utilitarianism in Mill's thought.

When feminist scholars do place Mill's case for equality within the context of his overall intellectual or political agenda, they emphasize the relation between his writing on equality and his liberalism. Thus, Gail Tulloch's statements that Mill's arguments for sexual equality were guided by the principle of utility, as he had come to interpret it (that which will lead to the improvement of humankind), turn on the relation of equality to Mill's commitment to the liberty of the individual, to "self-realization" and to justice as the means of advancing humanity.[6]

II

J. S. Mill's views on sexual equality may also be explained in relation to another aspect of his revised utilitarianism. In the years following his mental crisis of 1826, Mill recognized that an individual's moral improvement depends upon reducing self-interest and developing a capacity for sympathy--or the ability to feel another's pleasures and pains as if they were one's own.

Mill saw as a fundamental error in Benthamism its over-emphasis on self-interest as a universal principle of human nature. During his mental crisis and recovery Mill rejected the notion that self-preference provided an adequate ground for social morality. Enlightened self-interest could not provide indissoluble ties between the individual and society; it could not spark a desire to work for the good of society. In the years following his crisis, Mill discovered for himself the importance of sympathy as a natural tie between individuals and as a basis for social morality. As Mill made clear in his early essays on poetry, in his criticisms of Bentham, and in his discussions of the moral sentiments and the highest pleasures in Utilitarianism, the moral regeneration of the individual (and consequently of society) depended upon cultivating the individual's capacity for sympathy. While always agreeing with Bentham that sympathy was not a valid criterion for moral judgments, nevertheless Mill argued that a complete social philosophy should emphasize the development of sympathy as a motive to action which could lead to the improvement of society.

Mill believed that Bentham's and James Mill's mistaken stress on self-interest was the consequence of confusing the characteristics dominant in a particular age for universal truths of human nature. In matters of contemporary politics Mill could agree therefore with Bentham and James Mill that self-interest predominated.[7] Indeed, in newspaper articles, essays, and letters, Mill identifies the exclusive pursuit of self-interest as the cause of major flaws in the English national character.[8] Mill sees this dominance of self-interest as antithetical to moral improvement. In his writings on women, Mill then demonstrates how self-

interest is reinforced and perpetuated by sexual inequality. Moreover, he argues that sexual inequality prevents the development of sympathy and thus the improvement of humankind.

Because Mill felt that self-interest dominated in his society, he could follow the lines of James Mill's Essay on Government. James Mill had based his argument for extending the suffrage on the view that self-interest was a universal axiom of human nature. Since all men were governed by self-interest, and rulers were men, rulers acted in their own behalf. Only representative government could protect the many from the oppressive few. J. S. Mill repeatedly explained to women who worked for improvements in opportunities in education and careers rather than for the suffrage that self-interest prompted those in power to enforce only legislation benefiting their interests.[9]

Yet Mill's arguments for women's suffrage provide a substantial revision of his father's views on the extent of self-interest. James Mill excluded women from the vote on the grounds that their interests were identified with those of their husbands and fathers. In his Autobiography J. S. Mill recalls this view as providing one of his earliest points of dissent from his father (I, 107). He felt that his father's stance on the woman's vote represented a lapse in logic: women needed the vote precisely because of the prevalence of male self-interest. James Mill had failed to see that women stood in exactly the same relation to men as the ruled did to their rulers.

In The Subjection of Women, Mill illustrates exactly how relations between women and men compare to those between rulers and ruled. He shows how women are subjected to the self-interest of men in all aspects of life. The extent of that subjection is made clear every time a woman is forced to grant "the last familiarity" (285). For Mill sexual dominance is the starkest example of unrestrained self-interest. Further, women's subjection is much more complete than the subjection of the ruled to the tyrant because men do not just want the obedience of women, "they want their sentiments" (271-2).

The only check to this pursuit of male self-interest is political power, all the more necessary for women because a man's self-interest has been curbed in most other areas. Mill realizes that unless checked, self-interest will continue to increase at the expense of the interests of others. "We know that the bad properties of human nature are only kept within bounds when they are allowed no scope for their indulgence," he declares. Thus patriarchy cannot be separated from this aspect of human nature: a wife may in fact be the one person over whom a man can exercise his self-interest; only here could he indulge "those points of his original character which in all other relations he would have found it necessary to repress and to conceal" (289).

And in this way the family, too, comes to serve the interests of its "chief." Care of one's wife and children, according to Mill, is "only care for them as parts of the man's own interests." Even so-called "sacrifices" for the family are defined by the patriarch's preferences. This makes the family a school of wilfulness, of "unbounded self-indulgence" and of an "idealized selfishness" (288-9).

The dominance of male self-interest in the family ensures the continuance

of selfishness in the next generation. Boys learn early that their interest will prevail over those of one-half the human race. The effects of such domestic relations on the moral condition of humankind are clear: what is learned at home perverts "the whole manner of existence of the man, both as an individual and as a social being." In fact, "All the selfish propensities, the self worship, the unjust self-preference, which exist among mankind, have their source and root, and derive their principal nourishment from, the present constitution of the relation between men and women" (324-5). Only sexual equality (beginning with the suffrage) would make men more "unselfish and self-sacrificing" (293).

The disfranchisement of women did not just foster the self-interest of men; it also reinforced women's own self-interest. One of Mill's arguments for suffrage was that women should be given full political rights because they already exercised an indirect and irresponsible power which depended on personal influence over men. Mill's concern is that this indirect power rested entirely on self-interest. Conditioned to believe that public matters were not their business, women did not occupy themselves with it. Few women therefore had a public conscience, seeing issues only in terms of personal interest, which did not extend beyond their husbands and family. This subordination of public conscience to private interest has a

MILL'S LOGIC; OR, FRANCHISE FOR FEMALES.

"PRAY CLEAR THE WAY, THERE, FOR THESE—A—PERSONS."

pernicious influence over men. No man would "postpone private interests to public" when his wife influences him in the "direction of the only interest which she understands and appreciates."[10]

To correct women's tendency to see public issues in terms of self-interest and the detrimental effects of this, women must be given the vote. By their transformation into citizens, they will become concerned with the interests which are common to all. In short, the suffrage, for both men and women, would restrict the force of self-interest and broaden their sympathies.

III

The connection Mill makes between sexual inequality and self-interest, and equality and the development of sympathy, is illustrated by his contrast of the actual family with the ideal. Mill points out that present relations between men and women characteristically lack sympathetic communion. Sympathy is rarely seen among husbands, who do not know what their wives are really thinking or feeling, or do not share in those feelings because they cannot transcend their own interests. Mill also suggests that the capacity of women for sympathy has been either stunted or replaced by a false sense of self-abnegation--a false altruism created by socialization that would ensure subordination (278, 293).

Even so Mill makes some interesting comments on women's capacity for sympathy. He stresses their practical talents, intuitive perception and greater nervous susceptibility, which are linked to their ability to enter into the minds and feelings of those with whom they are in immediate contact (304-10). As John Robson has pointed out, these are very similar to the qualities Mill ascribes to poets. In the case of poets (where it should be recalled the difference is one of degree not kind), greater sensibility is related to a greater capacity for sympathy.[11]

Only in a marriage between equals "partaking in the same things" can the capacity for sympathy flourish. Here the similarities between partners increase, each "acquiring the tastes and capacities of the other in addition to his own" (334). The moral regeneration of mankind, Mill declares, can only begin when one learns to cultivate one's strongest sympathy with one equal in rights and culture. When the family is so constituted, it will become a school of the virtues of freedom: a school of "sympathy in equality" (295). Children will then develop the moral habits and sentiments appropriate to all social relations.

Mill foresaw a "new order of things" characterized by a justice rooted "no longer in the instinct of equals for self-protection, but in a cultivated sympathy between them" (294). The suffrage was a necessary step towards transcending self-interest and developing the individual's capacity for an expansive sympathy--towards the moral improvement of humankind.

Notes

[1]Kate Millet, Sexual Politics (New York, 1970), 89, 96; Essays on Sexual Equality, ed. Alice Rossi (Chicago, 1970), 58-9. For a critique of feminist analysis, see Gertrude Himmelfarb, On Liberty and Liberalism (New York, 1974), 173-5.

[2]On Liberty and Liberalism, 188-92.

[3]Gail Tulloch, Mill and Sexual Equality (Boulder, Col., 1989), 28-9.

[4]"On Marriage," Collected Works

[CW], XXI, 42-3. Subsequent references in the text, unless otherwise specified, are to The Subjection of Women, CW, XXI, 259-340.

[5] Tulloch, Mill and Equality, 62-3; Susan Muller Okin, Women in Western Political Thought (Princeton, 1979), 226, 228-9.

[6] Tulloch, Mill and Equality, 75, 138-9.

[7] A System of Logic, CW, VIII, 887-90; Autobiography, CW, I, 177, 189.

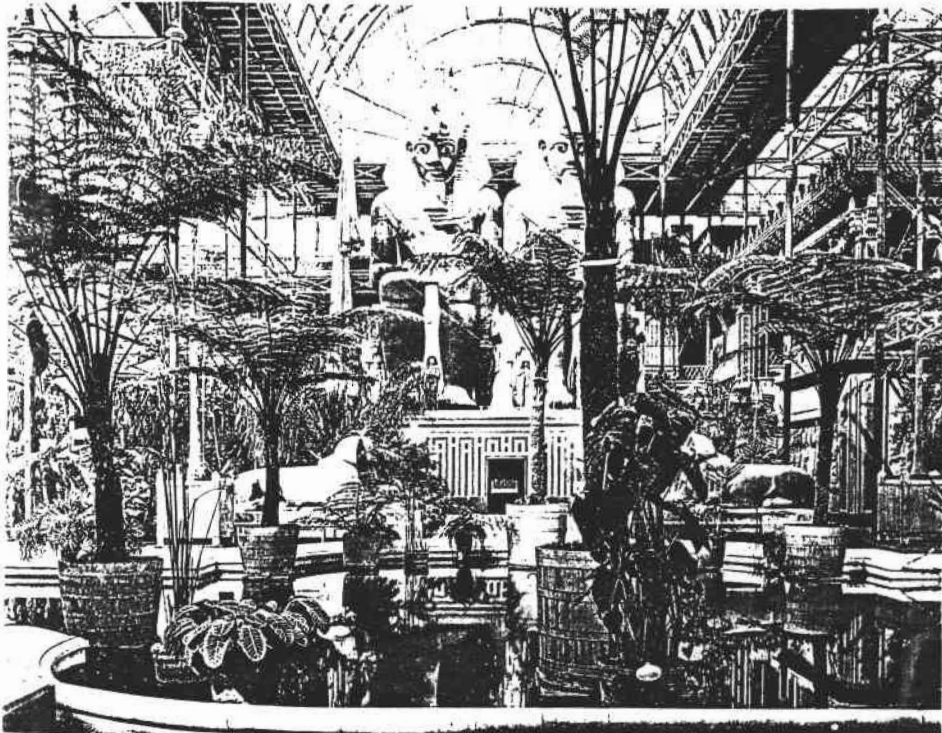
[8] See, for example, "English National Character," CW, XXIII, 721; "Civilization," CW, XVIII, 119, 125-30; Earlier Letters, CW, XII, 31-2.

[9] Later Letters, CW, XIV, 138; "Women's Suffrage [3]," CW, XXIX, 402.

[10] "Women's Suffrage [3]," 405; cf. "The Admission of Women to the Electoral Franchise," CW, XXVIII, 155-8; Later Letters, CW, XVII, 1642; Subjection of Women, 290.

[11] "Mill on Women and Other Poets," VSA Newsletter, 12 (Nov. 1973), 14-16.

The author would like to thank Sidney Eisen for his most helpful comments on the manuscript.



Mill on the Prairies

Conference on J.S. Mill and India at the University of Calgary, June 28-29, 1990.

Jean O'Grady
Mill Project

"John Stuart Mill and India" is not a popular topic or one that has previously attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. This partially reflects the fact that, in these days of academic specialization, there are few scholars who are at home across the whole range of Mill's activities and interests. Those who know about nineteenth-century India and the East India Company (for which Mill worked for thirty-five years) tend to be less familiar with Mill's contributions in the field of philosophy, economics, and social theory, and vice versa. Thus the main aim of the conference devoted to Mill and India, which was recently organized by Professor Anthony Parel of the University of Calgary, was to bring together a varied group of experts to explore the possibilities of the subject and initiate fresh research.

Inevitably, the group was a fairly small one, consisting of twenty-four scholars from around the world, and this number included several from the host university and ten who were giving papers. The group comfortably filled a circle of tables in a seminar room of the University of Calgary's aptly-named Education Tower. Outside, hundreds were packing the Olympic Oval for a football game. It is unlikely that we will ever see the throng re-directed and flowing to conferences in the Education Tower. But the conference participants agreed that a considerably larger group would turn their attention to Mill's Indian involvement as the inherent interest of the subject becomes more widely recognized.

There are, however, problems with the material itself that help to explain the fact that so far it has given rise to only a handful of publications. One is that most of the relevant documents were produced not independently but as part of Mill's work for the East India Company. Of his own accord he did write three pieces on India, but these are on peripheral topics (trade, the legal system, and land tenure). There are also a few significant passages in such works as Representative Government. But the bulk of the evidence for his attitudes must come from the despatches he drafted at work--that is, from the instructions, comments, and advice that were sent out by the Company to the governments in the three Presidencies of India for their guidance. From a list Mill kept himself, we know that he wrote over 1700 of these despatches. In addition, we have the transcript of Mill's evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1852, when he helped to convince their Lordships that the Company's Charter should be renewed. Lastly, there are the pieces that Mill wrote on behalf of the Company in 1858, when Parliament was considering the transfer of the Indian administration directly to the Crown: the initial petition against a too hasty decision; a hundred-and-one-page Memorandum of the Improvements in the Administration of India during the Last Thirty Years; and seven shorter pamphlets criticizing aspects of the different proposals

for a new constitution. Potentially, all these documents offer a fascinating insight into the way Mill's theories of government and society were put into practice. But scholars have been deterred by a question whose answer is by no means obvious: to what extent can these despatches and defences be taken to represent Mill's own ideas, and to what extent was he simply voicing Company policy--acting, as he put it, as "merely one wheel in a machine"?[1]

Another problem with the material, at least until recently, has been its general unavailability. By a happy coincidence, Volume XXX of The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Writings on India,[2] was published just before the conference, and it makes readily accessible for the first time the independent articles, a short minute on a legal matter, the Parliamentary evidence, and all the 1858 pamphlets. It does not include the 1700-odd despatches, both because of their workaday nature and for reasons of space. But these despatches, having dozed obscurely for a hundred years and more in the India Office archives, are also being disinterred: the editors of Writings on India provided an annotated finding-list of them in a lengthy appendix, and now it seems likely that Chadwyck-Healey may publish the complete set on microfilm.

It was appropriate, then, that the conference should open with a paper addressing the very basic question of Mill's responsibility for the despatches; and doubly appropriate that the authors should be Martin and Zawahir Moir of the India Office Library, co-editors of Mill's Indian volume and compilers of the finding-list. Martin Moir, who presented the paper, has already thrown considerable light into obscure places by publishing a guide to the India Office records, and articles on the way despatches were drafted under the Company. In their contribution the Moirs outlined the process by which a draft was circulated, sometimes repeatedly, among the Chairmen, the Board of Control, and the Court of Directors, at each stage gathering insertions, deletions, and emendations--so that it was no wonder that some letters from India were not answered for several years. In the process of arriving at a version acceptable to all, Mill's text often underwent alteration. Mostly these alterations were of an unimportant nature, but in a minority of cases they are of considerable significance. Occasionally the MS of his list suggests that, if a draft had been altered very radically, he crossed it out from the list. The items that remain he considered to be of his own composition, though tempered by a process of adjustment and compromise.

During the discussion period, some members of the audience argued that Mill could nevertheless still be seen as a loyal bureaucrat expressing the Company's views rather than his own. Indeed this became the chief bone of contention during the conference, with several papers drawing different conclusions from the material studied. Lynn Zastoupil, for instance, argued for Mill's intellectual independence in his discussion of the well-known "education despatch" of 1836, in which Mill opposed the Indian government's decision to stop subsidizing traditional Sanscrit and Arabic education, and to fund only education in English and on western subjects. This despatch is easy to claim as Mill's, as it was totally rejected by the Board of Control, and was never revised or sent to India. Here Mill brought forward the ideas that he had absorbed from thinkers

like Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Tocqueville over the last ten years: the importance of respecting traditional emotional attachments in political arrangements, the value of maintaining a learned elite or clerisy, and the dangers of creating a society totally dominated by middle-class values (in this case, the desire to get a good job by being educated in English). Zastoupil showed how these themes occurred both in the education despatch and in other writings of the 1830s. Finally, he linked the despatch to the personal crisis in Mill's life. In 1836, James Mill (who believed traditional Indian learning was nothing but hocus-pocus) was absent from the Company with what proved to be a terminal illness, and his son was asserting his own views more freely and shedding many of his father's prejudices.

Robin Moore, in his paper on a series of despatches concerning Oudh, spoke for the school that saw few of Mill's personal priorities in his work. He emphasized the fact that Mill worked in the Political Department, which dealt exclusively with relations between Britain and the remaining native states; he did not often have to write on education (a concern of the Public Department), and was never involved with the Revenue or Judicial and Legislative Departments, where the financial and legal policies of British India were shaped. Mill seemed a devotee of realpolitik in relation to the native states, content to maintain a kind of holding attitude, and pushing forward neither his own nor his father's ideas.

Nancy Cassells also argued that Mill had little scope for innovation in his department. However, he was involved with the issues of female infanticide, kidnapping, slavery, and Thuggee, all of which the British were attempting to discourage among their princely Indian allies. In Mill's despatches on these subjects Cassells found, mixed with a moral revulsion against slavery, a marked desire to uphold the chain of command in the Company: Mill reprimanded officers in the field who had exceeded their authority, even if they did so in attempts to prohibit slavery. Furthermore, he had no input into the legislation against slavery and Thuggee then taking shape in the Legislative department, and in fact did not seem to be aware of it. Cassells' conclusion was that in these despatches Mill showed himself to be a good interpreter of Company policy, but a very mild reformer indeed.

A similar conclusion about Mill's influence through his despatches was reached by Professor Ambirajan, an economist at the Indian Institute of Technology. (He was one of several delegates of Indian birth, who provided a much-needed non-Western perspective at the conference.) Ambirajan pointed out that though Mill was a famous economist, and indeed wrote part of the Principles of Political Economy on Company time, he was not involved in Indian economic matters at all until his last two years with the Company, as Examiner, at which time the statements he drafted were those of an "unimaginative and pompous middle-level bureaucrat." Mill exerted more influence through his published economic writings, which posited just the kind of contract economy that the British were trying to establish in India. His effect was not simple, however: those on both sides of an argument could and did cite Mill's works to support their views. Finally, Ambirajan argued for Mill's persuasive influence on the nationalist movement through the general spirit of his writings. Indian university calendars, even of Muslim

institutions, reveal that the Logic and the Political Economy were prescribed reading till the twentieth century; biographies and speeches show that On Liberty and Representative Government were studied avidly by educated Indians. It was through works like these, and not through his labours at India House, that Mill helped to shape the consciousness of the developing nation.

A final examination of Mill's attitudes to India was provided by Douglas Peers of Calgary, who looked at Mill's defence of the East India Company in 1958. The rule of the Company was consonant with Mill's general political theory, which held that when a society is not sufficiently mature for representative government, an alien despotism may provide the best conditions for advancement; and Mill often pointed out the securities against misrule provided by the "double government" of Crown and Company. One important idea for which Peers credited Eric Stokes's pioneering The English Utilitarians and India[3] was the compatibility between utilitarian ideas and those of the conservative school of Indian administrators represented by Thomas Munro and Mountstuart Elphinstone. Mill could approve of Company policy because, like these men, he emphasized above all security of government, under which reform might be introduced through native institutions. Pointing to policies such as ryotwari tenure, which Mill tended to support while ignoring symptoms of dissatisfaction with them, Peers concluded that Mill was not just a dutiful spokesman for Company views: by 1858, those views had become his own.

The three remaining papers at the conference dealt with somewhat wider topics. Dr. J. Majeed of Cambridge considered James Mill's History of British India in the light of early nineteenth-century linguistic and aesthetic attitudes, and found it to be informed by a distrust of the Coleridgean imagination, which to James Mill was the buttress of the revitalized conservatism of the British establishment. Joseph Hamburger lobbed a grenade into the conference by suggesting that, in On Liberty and elsewhere, while appearing to support a maximum of liberty and diversity, Mill really advocated the crushing of all "bad" individualism. Antisocial traits (such as greediness and selfishness) were to be discouraged, and altruism fostered, by the very sort of social pressure to conform that Mill theoretically deplored. Professor Ambirajan expressed the group's general resistance to this theory when he asked whether Indians had been reading Mill amiss for 130 years. Professor Hamburger resigned himself to the lonely eminence of the innovator.

Finally, Allison Dube of Calgary gave a very polished paper on utilitarian views of India. He examined Bentham's criteria for transferring laws from one country to another, which included a great "tenderness" for local customs, prejudices, and sensibilities, and argued that much of what is called utilitarian thought on India (for instance, by Stokes) does not accord with Bentham's programme and should be called at the most liberal. James and John Stuart Mill emerged from his paper as paternalistic and even at times authoritarian, with no practical agenda for the growth of indigenous democratic institutions on the sub-continent.

Looking back on the papers as a whole, one must conclude that Dube's rather negative judgment of Mill's Indian career was typical. But the papers also suggest that much inter-

esting work remains to be done in bringing that career into focus, and that perhaps even some mild advocacy would be appropriate by those sympathetic to the problems Mill faced and the limitations within which he worked. The conference was sponsored by the political science department at Calgary, but those in other disciplines such as history, military history, archival studies, literature, and the history of ideas, all had a valuable perspective to contribute. I at least came away from the convivial final banquet at an Indian restaurant with a sense of having learned much from the participants, and with the comforting though that the study of Mill's works will never be exhausted.

Notes

[1] Autobiography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 87.
[2] Ed. John M. Robson, Martin Moir, and Zawahir Moir (University of Toronto Press, 1990).
[3] (Oxford: Clarendon, 1959).

Writings on India

John Stuart Mill

Books

Fred Wilson. Psychological Analysis and the Philosophy of John Stuart Mill. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

No serious student of J.S. Mill's philosophy can afford to overlook this book. It is a work of first-class analysis based on thorough historical knowledge and an appreciation of Mill as a comprehensive, systematic, philosopher.

Wilson's study is both historical and systematic. Historically it treats Mill's philosophy mainly as a response to criticisms, Whig and Tory, of the philosophical radicals associated with Bentham. The problems run deeper though, in fact back to differences between Hobbes, who endorsed moral relativism and psychological egoism, and Clarke and Shaftesbury, who believed in the objectivity of value and the irreducibility of virtue. Wilson provides a detailed and insightful analytical account of these differences, as well as of their further development in Hutcheson, Butler, Hume, Price, and Reid.

The historical dimension of Wilson's study also includes an account of perception, considered epistemologically and metaphysically, as Berkeley, Hume, Kames, and Reid developed it. The history of morals has parallels here, and Wilson reveals many of them. He considers Mill's contribution to economics in connection with Ricardo and Bailey, and he carries his historical commentary forward in ethics, economics, and psychology (including perception), remarking on major developments up to the present.

Systematically, the heart of the book is J.S. Mill's conception of psychological analysis. Wilson approaches it through an account of Mill's philosophy of science which, once again, he places in historical perspective. His account explains what Mill means by "the chemical mode of composition", a key concept for understanding what he means by "psychological analysis". Wilson explains what Mill's conception of psychological analysis is and shows how it transforms the philosophical introspective psychology of the earlier empiricists (Locke through James Mill) into a genuinely scientific psychology. He then demonstrates how the resulting conception enables a coherent empiricist, utilitarian, response to criticisms that could not be met--in the areas of economics, morals, and perception--by Mill's empiricist, utilitarian, predecessors.

In a little more detail, Wilson sees Mill's problem as follows. The earlier philosophical radicals were reformers whose argument was that "it is in the long-run interest of each to act on the utilitarian principle [and that more specifically] as a means to that end it is in the long-run interest of each to conform to the principles of justice, contract, and allegiance [and that] still more specifically, given the theorems of [classical economics], it is in the long-run interests of each to operate in an unregulated market"(5). According to critics like Macaulay this view was flawed. Its assumptions were psychological egoism (our voluntary actions are motivated by self-love) and psychological hedonism (our voluntary actions aim solely at pleasure or the avoidance of pain). Considered in this light, the earlier philosophical radicals really offered a recipe for revolution. The poor would not be enlightened utilitarians, but would

be led to theft, to the violation of property, and to the forced redistribution of political and economic power (to the violation of the principles of justice, contract, and allegiance). Psychological egoism and hedonism, the critics believed, were incapable of grounding moral principles, principles which do and ought to regulate economic and social life. Both Whigs and Tories argued that virtue (including respect for the above-mentioned principles) could be explained and justified only by reference to <u>specifically moral</u> sentiments, sentiments with the power to move us (a motivating power not reducible to any other passion or sentiment), sentiments which embody an instinctive or native or intuitive knowledge of objective moral truth.

J.S. Mill agreed that virtue is neither reducible nor capable of being accounted for on the assumption of psychological egoism. He held, however, that virtue is not native or instinctive or intuitive but that it is learned, learned by association with pleasure, as the Benthamites thought (Mill is a psychological hedonist). The association does not make a merely mechanical (conjunctive) bond between the principle learned and pleasure, however, but generates a qualitatively distinct moral sentiment. Virtue is thus not reducible. By associative learning, impartial moral sentiments develop in us. They are experienced as higher pleasures with the power to motivate and to regulate lower order (e.g., economic) desires.

This response was not open to the earlier utilitarians. Their conception of introspective analysis assumed that the genetic antecedents (simple ideas) of emergent (through association) mental phenomena (complex ideas) like moral sentiments were actual ("integrant") parts of those phenomena. For them moral sentiments were reducible; association was merely mechanical combination. J. S. Mill's advance was to see genetic antecedents as only dispositionally present ("metaphysical") parts of these phenomena. The phenomena were not reducible to their genetic antecedents, as they were on the earlier generations' conception, where the reduction was achieved through an introspective analysis governed by a prior philosophical view of what <u>must</u> be there (as an actual constituent of the complex). They were not reducible; <u>but from them</u> the genetic antecedents were (in principle) recoverable, this time by a genuinely scientific investigation of the specific process of chemical composition (association) that produced them. Mill had put introspective psychology on the road to science.

Besides enabling a utilitarian response to Whig and Tory critics, this change in the psychology carries implications for our understanding of Mill's ethics and his contribution to economics. Wilson spells out many of them.

My brief sketch gives, I hope, an idea of the scope and direction of Wilson's book. It does not give an adequate sense of the subtlety of Wilson's analysis or of the care with which he canvasses and evaluates alternative interpretations as he works dialectically forward. Wilson offers many insights and defends Mill where he is often thought most vulnerable, and he defends him in the way one imagines Mill would like to be defended--not as a romantic put permanently at odds with his nature by the empiricist orthodoxy of his of childhood, and not as an apostle of some uneasy eclecticism, but as an innovative empiricist committed to the

utilitarian cause.

Errol Aspevig
Ryerson Polytechnical Institute

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Thomas E. Blom. The Secret Lives of Richard André (1834-1907). A Lecture Given at the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, 2 November 1989. Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1990.

Who has heard of Richard André? Not many people, it's a safe bet. Who has heard of William Roger Snow, André's real name, or Clifford Merton, another alias? Still not many people. But this man in his various identities was the most prolific writer and illustrator of children's books in the 1880s, when he exceeded the output of Randolph Caldecott, Walter Crane, and Kate Greenaway combined; and his history, exhumed with the diligence and enthusiasm of the true Victorian sleuth by Thomas E. Blom, provides not only an intriguing plot for a sensational novel, but also useful information on the technology of nineteenth-century book illustration, and some sidelights on the moral conventions of visual representation.

The Secret Lives of Richard André is the second of the Helen E. Stubbs memorial lectures, given in the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, and published by the Toronto Public Library. It is a slim volume, but packed with genuine research. It includes the biography of the shape-shifting William Snow, painstakingly reconstructed from many sources; a history of his association with the children's writer, Juliana Horatia Ewing; an indexed bibliography of the works he wrote and illustrated; and a checklist of his works exhibited in the Osborne Collection in 1989.

The biographical part deals with the career and nefarious doings of Snow/ Merton/André as villain-hero. He was the eldest son of highly connected parents, and inherited a fortune which he managed to dissipate in a single year at Cambridge. He enlisted as a foot-soldier (he was subsequently commissioned), and took part in the Crimean War. He married and deserted a wife (who wrote her painful experiences into a novel, and later died of consumption like her own heroine). He dabbled in the theatre, and took successively two actress mistresses, and got into trouble with the husband of one of them. The dread word "divorce," attached to an officer, was enough to create a scandal from which he escaped by deserting, and changing his name. He lived a hand-to-mouth existence, writing and illustrating. One of his dramatic productions was a play, Unmasked, adapted from a sensational novel by Mary Elizabeth Braddon, and including the plot of changing identities which he practised in his own life. By the time he was working with Mrs. Ewing he showed exemplary working habits, and subsequently even admirable domestic traits (once he had married his mistress). Eventually he moved to the country, became a dedicated golfer (his house was called "The Bunker," and one of his late books was Colonel Bogey's Sketch Book) and a pillar of the community. Like Becky Sharp, he finally found himself a respectable booth in Vanity Fair.

I would have liked more illustrations to the book, as evidence of Blom's claim for an effective realism in André's illustrative work. For those who attended the lecture, the illustrations were of course all around them in the concurrent exhibition of

André's work. But the reader of the book lacks the examples that Blom discusses. I would also have appreciated some quotation from his writings. However, a lecture can't go on forever; and there are cost limitations for reproductions. One must be thankful for what is there. The volume does provide a coloured frontispiece of a rejected watercolour design for the cover of one of Ewing's books, Convalescence of 1885, as well as a couple of tone reproductions.

Why was the watercolour design rejected?--and if it was, why reproduce it? Of course there is a recognized genre of censored and rejected Victoriana, and this watercolour belongs to it. The girl it depicts is definitely bosomy, with a slender and well-corsetted waist. She is dressed in pink and white, and wears a becoming cap with a pink ribbon that sets off her blond hair. Her handkerchief and ruffles also suggestively conceal and reveal her bosom. She is reminiscent, in fact, of the way that Mr. B saw Pamela, or Alec D'Urberville saw Tess--as eminently desirable and consumable. This would not do.

Mrs. Ewing, writing for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, undertook to reform this iconographic rake. She objected that his work lacked "purity in [the] women & children," and that "he can't draw a lady" (27). And she proceeded to require revisions of his illustrations, with a view to refining the vulgarity of his representations. This is her commentary on his depiction of a scene of a mother and children in church:

> The lady was like a shop-girl in a hat & feathers--tight fitting jacket with skimpy fur edge (inexpressibly vulgar cheap-finery style!) kneeling with a highly developed figure backwards on to the spectator!! & with her eyes up in a theatrical gaze heavenwards. Little boy in his seat, with his hat on. ... I took courage & sent them back--having faith in the thoroughness which he so eminently works with. ... I sent him a sketch! said the lady must wear a bonnet in church, & her boys must take off their hats! That she must kneel forwards, be dressed in deep sealskin with heavy fox edge, & have her eyes down. (27)

We may snicker at Ewing's prudery in objecting to the "highly developed figure." But clearly André needed her advice, as he was evidently deficient in the sociology of church-going. In any case, although she had scruples

about requiring revisions of him, knowing that "the man is driven with work" (27), he accepted her advice gratefully, and made the required revisions without demur.

To satisfy my curiosity, I supplemented Blom's book with a visit of my own to the Osborne Collection, in order to compare the published designs with those rejected. The servant girl was bumped from the full-colour front cover of Convalescence (where she was replaced by a peg-legged sea-captain) to a blue-toned title page. She has lost some of her embonpoint, and has turned from pink to blue, from blond to dark; and her dress is modestly buttoned at the throat. To Mrs. Ewing's credit be it spoken that the text calls for no servant girl at all, though it does call for a sea-captain. The pretty girl reflected rather André's visual preferences than the requirements of the text. He seems to have had a taste for attractive young servant girls. (In Ewing's Dame Durden's Copper Kettle, the "old servant," Nance, is rendered as another blooming girl.) The praying family in A Soldier's Children has also been suitably revised. The mother is decorously presented from the front, and has downcast eyes. Perhaps Ewing's social guidance to the illustrator was a significant element in the moral reform of the man.

Dr. Blom comes to his study of André via his work on Ewing. (He and Margaret Blom are the editors of Ewing's Canadian letters.) It was the reference in her correspondence that set him off on his Inspector Bucket-like detective hunt for information on the scandals that this wily and talented artist never quite succeeded in shaking off.

Juliet McMaster
University of Alberta

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Thomas Hardy: Selected Letters. Ed. Michael Millgate. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990.

Prepared with the same fastidious scholarship as the seven-volume collected edition, Michael Millgate's selection of Thomas Hardy's letters gives both the general reader and the scholar an academic shortcut, one that leads more directly than the collected edition (edited by Purdy and Millgate) to the character and daily concerns of Thomas Hardy.

In some respects this Clarendon Press publication is more attractive physically than the volumes in the collected edition: the print is larger, the pages smaller, and less crowded. This grace to the reader in no way diminishes the necessary textual apparatus: an introduction, list of letters by correspondent and date, chronology, annotations at the end of each letter, editorial commentaries from time to time to give essential background information, helpful cross references, and, at the end, a detailed index.

What this fine volume does by omitting great numbers of tedious, routine, business-like letters to publishers and polite notices to attend or not attend social functions is to give the reader, more immediately than does the collected edition, an intimate impression of Thomas Hardy, his character, his family, his literary acquaintances, and, to some degree, his own observations upon his fiction and poetry.

The book provides excellent source material to support or question critical observations that others have made about Hardy and his work. Within its pages the letters reveal, for ex-

ample, how class conscious Hardy was; how lastingly sensitive he was to criticism of his work; his relations with Emma Gifford and Florence Dugdale--his first and second wife--and with Florence Henniker and Lady Grove; his detestation of suffering inflicted on animals; his opposition to war; and always a good deal about his daily round, whether at dinner parties in London, or visiting well-to-do friends in the country, or at home at Max Gate in Dorchester.

A recurrent subject throughout many of the letters is Hardy's complaint about the criticism directed at his pessimism and the immorality of characters like Tess Durbeyfield and Sue Bridehead. "Eminent critics", he told Edmund Gosse (10 December 1882), "... print the most cutting rebukes you can conceive--show me (to my amazement) that I am quite an immoral person." Four years later, in another letter to Gosse, he returns to the same subject saying, "I have suffered terribly at times from reviews--pecuniarily, & still more mentally" (44).

Hardy's sensitivity to the critics was in marked contrast to Robert Louis Stevenson's; he had met Hardy in 1885 and had corresponded with him and Gosse. Like Hardy, he, too, had reason to complain about reviewers, but he refuses to grieve. To his "Dear Weg," as he calls Gosse, he recommends in the spring of 1879 that they "have a commination day, and comminate publishers to the sound of religious music." Later (24 July 1879) he wonders who reviewed his Travels with a Donkey. "Whoever he was," he tells Gosse, "he cannot write; he is humane, but a duffer; I could weep when I think of him; for surely to be virtuous and incompetent is a hard lot."

Such light-hearted, memorable prose seldom lightens the burden of Hardy's correspondence. He emerges from his letters, as Professor Millgate says, "sometimes a disconcertingly 'ordinary' figure" (viii). But to apply this judgment generally is, of course, to do him an injustice. Despite his sensitivity, and caution, and reluctance to criticize, he frequently offers perceptive comments in his correspondence on his own work and on that of others as diverse as Lady Grove and Meredith, Shakespeare and Ezra Pound, Tennyson and Walter de la Mare, Havelock Ellis and Mrs. Oliphant. Then, there is his painful recollection of Emma Gifford, his "dearest Em": the romance at St Juliot, the love poems he wrote, and his anxiety lest he "had not treated her considerately in her latter life" (284).

Likewise, it would be unwise to use Hardy's own word, "prosy" (89, 167, 280), as a label for his letters. That there is much domestic trivia in their course becomes at times very obvious. But many letters remain in the reader's memory: the anecdote in the letter to his sister Katharine (122); the remarks about the "Will" in the letter to Henry Newbolt (172); the account of Henry Moule's funeral (173-4); the statement on fiction to Arthur Symons (182); the reference to the cholera years in Fordington (33-4); the letter to Sydney Cockerell that touches upon folk songs (376-7); and the cadence of the sentence describing the death of Martha Browne, "I remember what a fine figure she showed against the sky as she hung in the misty rain, & how the tight black silk gown set off her shape as she wheeled half-round & back" (404).

That Thomas Hardy seldom let his heart out of bounds in his correspondence may perhaps be attributed, as Professor Millgate suggests, to "his

life as being primarily and continuously one of work" (ix). And I think, too, his own character, his need for privacy, his dislike of "quizzing impertinence" (399)--in a phrase, his essential Englishness--made the gossipy, friendly letter that came so naturally to Robert Louis Stevenson an impossibility for so serious a person as he was.

But if these letters generally lack intimacy and warmth, they succeed, nevertheless, in making Thomas Hardy more nearly familiar and bring the reader close to his life and his work. This edition of selected letters is an admirable literary source to place alongside Michael Millgate's other books on this great English novelist and poet.

Alexander M. Ross
University of Guelph

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Adrian Desmond. The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine, and Reform in Radical London. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989.

Adrian Desmond's masterly dissection of radical London science in the 1830s contributes to the growing body of scholarship focussing on the social context of scientific thought. Past studies by social historians of science have illuminated the nature of establishment science, offered by the scientific gentry and Oxbridge clergy as a recipe for social stability and Anglican supremacy, and scholars have explored the significance of middle-class scientific naturalism, which in the latter half of the century drew upon evolutionary theory to challenge the authority of the Tory-Anglican establishment. Desmond's history of biology "from below" fills an obvious gap in our understanding of nineteenth-century English science, for it draws our attention to the hitherto invisible social worlds wherein the mass of people lived. What Desmond finds there will shock those who believe that public support for evolution came only after the publication of Darwin's Origin of Species (1859). For Desmond convincingly demonstrates the existence of a significant band of radical evolutionists flourishing in the secular anatomy schools and Nonconformist colleges of London.

Desmond's compelling story of how the radicals exploited evolutionary thought features a huge cast of characters, offers up dramatic descriptions of behind-the-scenes power struggles within the medical community, and, most importantly, is set against the backdrop of the 1830s, a time of social and political upheav-

al. Desmond asserts that "no decade in the nineteenth century was so racked by political uncertainty" (10). It began with the Whigs finally coming to power during a period of agricultural riots, manufacturing unrest, and pauper press sedition. The passage of the Reform Bill (1832) and the New Poor Law (1834) contributed to this sense of "political uncertainty," while the close of the decade saw the rise of Chartism. As the Tory-Anglican establishment fought to retain its hold on British society, Whigs, middle-class Dissenters, and working-class radicals championed reform. The larger political situation was mirrored in the tensions within the London medical community. Medical reformers attacked the Tory-supported Royal College of Physicians in Pall Mall and the Royal College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields as undemocratic, nepotistic extensions of the aristocratic system of privilege.

Desmond's drama contains two acts. The first centres on the evolutionary theory of the radicals and the more moderate reformers from the mid-twenties to the late thirties. Act two, to which I shall return, deals with the attempt of the Tory-Anglican establishment, during the late thirties and early forties, to develop a new idealistic science as a response to the radicals.

In act one Desmond discusses how Scottish anatomists like Robert Grant, influenced by the theories of the French scientists Lamarck and Geoffroy, were recruited by London University. Benthamite lawyers and merchants backing the medical school, critical of Oxbridge and its Anglican natural theology, deliberately looked to men like Grant with their pro-French naturalist anatomy. But Grant's evolutionary theories also attracted the support of radicals, socialists, and atheists interested in weakening Anglican power and Tory corporation authority. Promoted by the radical medical journal *The Lancet*, Grant believed with Lamarck and Geoffroy that animals developed and changed through the operation of natural laws. There was no need for God in Grant's conception of nature. Furthermore, the inexorable progress of all beings in nature through harmony and cooperative striving implied to Grant that society progressed through cooperation, education, emancipation, technological advance, and democratic participation.

Founded by Dissenters, the new "private" or non-hospital medical schools emerging after the late 1820s also became breeding grounds for the Continental anatomies established at the university. Like the secularists, the radical Dissenters were challenging the dominance of establishment medical institutions and demanding recognition and say in the government of medicine--a medical "emancipation" of sorts. Even moderate liberals, disaffected non-Oxbridge professionals at London University like William Benjamin Carpenter and Thomas Southwood Smith, found in a less radical version of Grant's theories the basis for a scientific position from which to attack the conservative Anglicans when no medical reform bill appeared in the 1830s.

Desmond has laid out the book so that he moves from the ultraradicals at the extreme left, through more and more moderate positions until he arrives at the conservative Tory-Anglican response in act two of his drama. He has an uncanny ability to distinguish clearly between each rival medical clique and the class and religious interests at play in their selection of scientific theo-

ries. Here he presents a nuanced analysis of the construction of a new idealist comparative anatomy by Richard Owen of the Royal College of Surgeons.

Desmond treats Owen as a corporation conservative whose reaction to radical Geoffroyism was to "fashion an equally sophisticated rival, a biology with the same morphological sweep, but which would return sovereignty to the Godhead and authority to the traditional elite" (237). Owen perceived that Paley's teleology was inadequate for meeting the threat of the new radical anatomy. Influenced by J. H. Green and Coleridge, Owen hit upon a brilliant strategy--to reinterpret this anatomy in ideal terms in such a way that it could provide a conservative bulwark against the godless radicals.

Throughout the decade of 1831-41 Owen also identified and successfully attacked the weak points of Lamarckian evolutionism, in particular the central tenet of the serial continuity of life. Owen sought in his scientific work to undermine the whole radical view of nature as containing self-developing energies. For Owen, Desmond comments, "nature sanctioned no upward delegation of power; it supported no radical ideal of inexorable democratic advancement. Rather it justified a 'decensive' spiral of power and deference to traditional authority" (333). Since his work appealed to the Tories, and later to wealthy liberals, Owen was handsomely rewarded for his scientific support of the clerisy's social stratified cosmos. He was appointed Hunterian Professor at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1836, received more than his fair share of grants from the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and was honoured with a pension by Peel in 1842.

The final two chapters provide a satisfying ending to Desmond's story. In "Grasping the Nettle: Some Concluding Remarks," he ridicules the scholarly myopia caused by an exaggerated emphasis on Darwin's thought and calls for more studies of non-Darwinian evolution in different kinds of social contexts. Only then, Desmond argues, can we "do real justice to past scientists by exploring the dialectical relationship between their views on nature and their specific professional, religious, and class interests" (374). But for those Darwin scholars curious as to how this study of the anatomists sheds light on Darwin, Desmond offers an afterword where he accounts for Darwin's long delay in publishing The Origin of Species. According to Desmond, since evolutionary theory was closely associated with radicalism in the thirties and early forties, Darwin feared that he would be lumped together with Dissenting and atheistic activists or, even worse, that his work would be appropriated by the radicals. But, as Desmond reminds us, Darwin's brand of evolution was appropriated by middle-class liberal intellectuals who were attracted to the Malthusian view of nature wherein the powerful survived by exploiting and culling the weak. The radicals of the thirties abhorred Malthus' doctrines and the callous anti-working-class legislation passed in his name. Their brand of evolution, which stressed inexorable progress for all through harmony and cooperative striving, was more a rival to Darwin's.

Desmond's Politics of Evolution is a great achievement. Through meticulous research into manuscript sources and medical journals of the period, he has given us a vivid picture of radical evolutionists previously ignored by scholars. We should also be grate-

ful to Desmond for providing a successful model of how to move from discussions of political events to the debates within scientific communities both shaping and shaped by those events. The result is an important book which represents the coming of age of the contextualist approach to studying the history of science.

Bernard Lightman
York University

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Ever Yours, Florence Nightingale: Selected Letters. Ed. Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

> Parthe says that I blow a trumpet --that it gives her an indigestion--that is also true. Struggle must make a noise--& every thing that I have to do that concerns my real being must be done with struggle. (50)

This sentiment, voiced by Florence Nightingale in 1851, summarizes the 461-page journey Martha Vicinus and Bea Nergaard take us on. The 175 letters (and some private notes) in this volume dated between 1837 and 1897 are only a fraction of the estimated 10,000 letters held at the British Library and the 3000 to 4000 held by individuals and other libraries. Along with the editors we can only surmise that this single volume of selected letters will provide "a brief sketch of this complex, contradictory and brilliant woman" (1). While this is true to an extent, the editors often stress that their selection is part of a reconsideration of Nightingale which seeks to redirect emphasis from her Crimean work to her work for sanitary reform. The letters represent all of Nightingale's interests and reflect her private conflicts and public duties, each of which was dominated by struggle.

Nightingale's early letters stress her immersion in family life and social pleasure, coupled with a growing awareness of their limitations and her own religious doubts. In 1837 Nightingale had a mystical experience--God called her to His service--and for a number of years her life was one of flux between a burgeoning social reputation and a determination to discover where her destiny lay. The correspondence with family members suggests that the Unitarian and progressive atmosphere in which Nightingale was raised held more sway than the rigid social responsibilities of upper-class life; she often coerced her mother into allowing her to nurse sick relatives rather than attend social functions. Nightingale's correspondence to women who encouraged introspection (such as the Evangelical Hannah Nicholson) appears honest and frank, while her letters to her parents and sister, Parthe, are often manipulative, self-serving and critical of the expectations they placed on her. Nightingale's frustrations reached a peak in 1850 when her request to train at Kaiserwerth was denied:

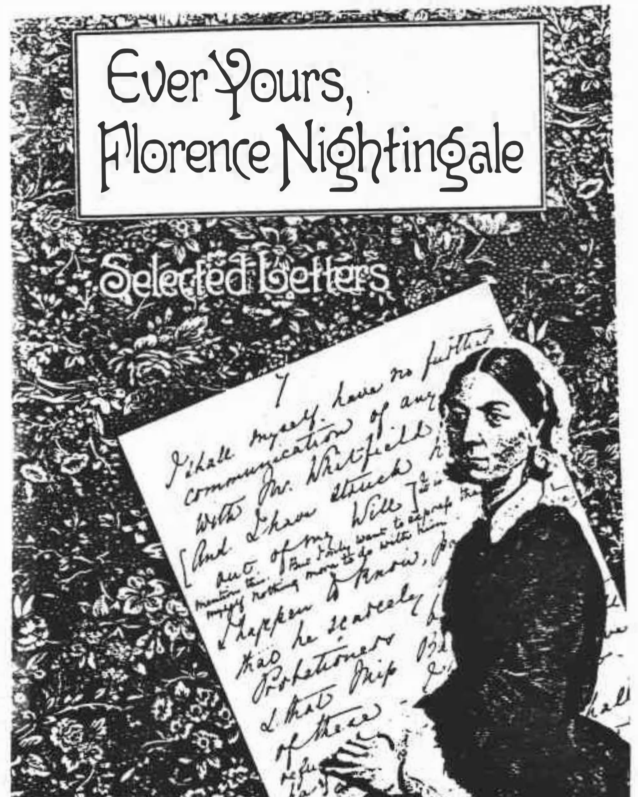
> Why do I wish to leave this world? God knows I do not expect a heaven beyond--but that He will set me down in St. Giles' at a Kaiserwerth, there to find my work & my salvation in my work, that I think will be the way, if I could but die. (44-5)

After she had secured her parents' consent to three months' training at Kaiserwerth, Nightingale chose life over death, but never allowed her family to forget how damaging she believed their restrictions had been:

> I am glad to think that my youth is past & rejoice that it never never can return, that time of follies & of bondage, of unfulfilled hopes & disappointed inexperience when a man possesses nothing, not even himself. ... I am glad to have lived though it, it oft has been a life which, except as the necessary preparation for another, few would accept. (57)

Family stress intensified the problems in Nightingale's Crimean and post-Crimean years when she attempted to centralize medical care and gain government support for the Royal Commission on the Sanitary State of the Army. The editors stress that as Nightingale had manipulated her family to get her way, so too she attempted the same in the Crimea: "when I entered into service here, I determined that, happen what would, I never would intrigue among the Com'tee. Now I perceive that I do all my business by intrigue. ... I am now in the hey-day of my power" (74). She struggled with the women she attempted to organize, with Mother Frances Bridgeman who refused to allow her Irish nuns to take orders from Nightingale, and with government bureaucracy and the military whose administrative incompetence and disorganization she had exposed. Although she emerged from the Crimea as a heroine, Nightingale viewed her accomplishments as incomplete, and turned her energies towards sanitary reform in India, workhouse and voluntary nursing, the Poor Law and hospital architecture.

The editors include a cross section of letters which address Nightingale's problems with feminism and developments in the professionalization of women in medicine. Nightingale was not averse to new roles for women, as long as they did not challenge her own ideas. Suggestions from Elizabeth Garrett Anderson that women receive medical education and become doctors rather than nurses, and the British Nursing Association's attempts in the early 1890s to introduce registration for nurses, earned Nightingale's wrath. When Nightingale



felt her control waning it became difficult for her to handle problems tactfully; she felt betrayed, abandoned by those who did not give her the dedication she required of them. When Sidney Herbert failed Nightingale in the Crimea her letters to him were contemptuous; her letters to women who left nursing show the same intolerance. Agnes Jones became a saint upon her death from fever, but Elizabeth Torrance committed the worst of sins by throwing away a promising future as a nurse in order to marry "that wretched little [Dr.] Dowse" (338). Nightingale had sacri-

ficed herself to the cause, and she had great difficulty understanding why others could not do the same. Her problems and inflexibilities with her nurses resulted from an inability to realise that not all women shared her devotion to duty or her decision not to marry.

The editors believe Nightingale's narrow-mindedness stemmed from her relationship with her mother and Parthe, out of which she developed psychoneurosis. Illness allowed Nightingale to shield herself from people she did not wish to see, to concentrate on nursing and sanitary reform; increasingly it intensified her criticism of others and narrowed her views. Few women ever reached Nightingale's ideal nurse: "To be a good Nurse one must be a good woman" (385), and her definition of both was a purely formulaic rendition of what the ideal nineteenth-century lady would be--patient, forbearing, sensitive to the needs of others, ready and willing to obey. The editors stress that Nightingale's inflexibility with scientific innovation was influenced not only by her self-imposed isolation, but also by her Crimean experience. Nightingale clung to the miasmic theory of disease: the new germ theory could undermine the campaign for cleanliness, for now germs could appear in sanitary surroundings. Nightingale's contribution to medicine was the implementation of sanitation, not the innovation of theory connected with it, yet the editors never depreciate her role as activist rather than thinker.

Vicinus and Nergaard portray Nightingale neither as a bully, nor as the mythic lady with the lamp, but as a reformer struggling to get her recommendations accepted. It is also nice to note that this portrait of a woman does not revolve around feminist analysis. The selected letters, which read like a who's who of nineteenth-century England, illuminate the human qualities and foibles of a great sanitary and nursing reformer. The editors are determined to demonstrate that there was more to Nightingale than her Crimean work, yet at times the magnitude of her interests overwhelms the chronological structure of the work. I often found myself confronted with a fascinating letter detailing reform only to discover it was followed by comments on a completely different issue. Some areas, such as hospital architecture, warranted further discussion, but because of the nature of a one-volume work relying on limited resources, this was often impossible. Nonetheless, apart from historical comment, the editors never intrude on Nightingale's own words; she is the one who describes Victorian society, the army and medicine, and exposes the inefficiency of government bureaucracy and the frustration of reform.

Lori Williamson
Graduate student
University of Toronto

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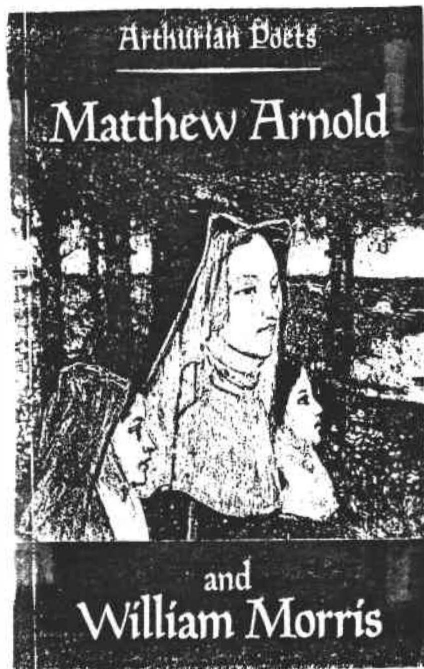
<u>Arthurian Poets: Matthew Arnold and William Morris</u>. Intro. James P. Carley. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1990.

<u>Arthurian Poets: A.C. Swinburne</u>. Intro. James P. Carley. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1990.

To begin at the outside, the books are well produced and have exceptionally well chosen cover illustrations. The painting of "Princess Iseult of Brittany" by Hugh Wallis (c. 1904), showing her with her two children, is altogether appropriate to Matthew Arnold's "Tristram and Iseult" (1852), in which for once they figure. The

rich opaque watercolour by Dante Gabriel Rossetti of "Sir Tristram and La Belle Yseult Drinking the Love Potion" (1867) precedes the poem "Tristram of Lyonesse" by Rossetti's young friend Algernon Swinburne by many years, but the two belong together as parts of the same literary-pictorial matrix of late-Victorian Arthurianism.



Professor Carley's introductions (he is not named as editor) are short, pointed, helpful to the general reader, and provided with up-to-date selections of critical readings. With Arnold it is important to learn or to be reminded that this first Arthurian poem of the Victorian revival was based on mediaeval French sources and not on Malory, that the influence of the Keats of "La Belle Dame" and "The Eve of St. Agnes" is strong, and that the two Iseults of the poem bear some relation to two women in Arnold's life. What I liked especially in the introductory pages on Morris was the mention of thirteenth-century illuminations as contributing to Morris's colour imagery in "The Defence of Guenevere" and the discussion of "King Arthur's Tomb" in relation to Rossetti's picture. Morris's use of, and departures from, Malory are also noted, as are the Arthurian elements of other poems by Morris not included here--though why excluded is not explained: the collection has only 84 pages and there are three blank sheets at the end.

The brief introduction to the very substantial Swinburne collection places Swinburne's several Arthurian poems in relation to Arnold's and Morris's (I think the "renditions" of Rossetti referred to must be pictures, not poems). "The Day before the Trial" (1857-58) revisits and recasts Morris's "Defence"; and "Lancelot" contrasts with both "Sir Galahad, a Christmas Mystery" and "King Arthur's Tomb." It is good to see quoted Swinburne's letter to Burne-Jones of 4 November 1896 and his letter to Arnold (date not given), and, especially, the delightful letter to Rossetti, of 22 December 1869, where he wickedly refers to Tennyson's poem as "Morte d'Albert."

One vexatious matter should be raised with the publisher, who has assumed the role of editor of these volumes. Both books in their preliminaries say "<u>All rights reserved</u>" and spell out what must not be done in the way of use "without the prior permission of the copyright owner." Fair enough. However, when the texts are examined, it is apparent that the Arnold poem is in one type-face and the Morris poems in another, and that the originals from which they have been photocopied are not identified. One assumes that they are out of copyright, but one is curious to know whether they have any authority. I have spent some time supplying this deficiency.

The Arnold poem was easy to identify. The Poetical Works of Matthew Arnold (London: Macmillan, 1898) prints "Tristram and Iseult" on pages 138-65, same pagination and type, and to clinch it, on the first page of both texts is footnote number 8, though one must go to the original to see what it refers to. The Morris passages are photographic reproductions from The Early Romances of William Morris, Everyman's Library, first published in 1907 and long in print, though now not.

One would think the tracking down of Swinburne would be similarly easy; one would be wrong. Swinburne's Collected Poetical Works (London: Heinemann, 1924) have supplied the photocopied "Tristram of Lyonesse" and "The Tale of Balen." That leaves five shorter poems in a strongly contrasting type-face. This very distinctive type led me to The Complete Works of Algernon Charles Swinburne, ed. Sir Edmund Gosse and Thomas James Wise (London: Heinemann, 1925), the "Bonchurch Edition," and, sure enough, four are there, though only three--"Queen Yseult," "Lancelot," and "Joyeuse Garde," all in Volume One, match the photographed pages; "King Ban" in Volume Six does not match, and "The Day before the Trial" is not to be found. It may be that "King Ban" has been taken from its first printing, in Lady Maisie's Bairn (1915), but I have not seen this.

The force of this remonstrance is that, after the posted warning of "All rights reserved," the scholarly reader's bibliographical conscience ought not to have been so burdened--nor the student's so blunted. We should know what we are reading.

A tiny anthology, to whet the appetite for the poems. Arnold's poem has a strange close. After the story of Tristram and the two Iseults has come to an end, Iseult of Brittany tells her children the story of Merlin and Vivian, ending the poem thus:

> And in that daised circle, as men say,
> Is Merlin prisoner till the judgment day;
> But she herself whither she will can rove--
> For she was passing weary of his love.

Now Morris, from "King Arthur's Tomb": Lancelot relives his life in agitated reverie:

> The stars shone out above the doubtful green
> Of her boddice, in the green sky overhead;
> Pale in the green sky were the stars I ween ...

And Swinburne, the end of "Joyeuse Garde":

> For I remember, as the wind sets low,
> How all that peril ended quietly
> In a green place where heavy sunflowers blow.

William Blissett
Professor Emeritus of English
University of Toronto

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Sarah Freeman. Mutton and Oysters: The Victorians and Their Food. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1989.

In her preface, Sarah Freeman notes that the "alternative title [for this book] might have been The First Food Revolution--the second being in progress now." Clearly, she is concerned not with "a straight comprehensive survey of Victorian food and eating

habits," but rather with a study of the Victorians themselves, and by analogy, ourselves. By investigating standardization and mass production in shopping, marketing, and preparation, Freeman traces the history, albeit condensed, of the Victorian people.

Mutton and Oysters is presented as a "how-to" book, its chapters leading one logically and progressively from food procurement to consumption. (Its format reminds me very strongly of the typical eighteenth-century conduct book which was the invaluable guide for all eighteenth-century females.) One begins with a chapter on "Shops and Shopping Customs" (1), moves on to "Markets, Fairs and Street-Sellers" (2), with a consideration of the "Produce" (3) and "Products" (4) to be procured there, to "Cooking" (6) and the "Cooks" (7) themselves and "The Cookery Writers" (8). The preparations finished, Freeman then moves to a consideration of daily meals and more special entertaining menus (9). In the final sections, she turns her attention to "special diets," those for children (10) and vegetarians (12), and concludes, with great fanfare, to present "Eating Out: A Matter of Necessity Rather than Pleasure" (13) as the final menu of the Victorian eater.

Freeman's initial chapters are fact-filled and belie her claim that she does not consider socio-political-economic concerns that are important not only to food production and consumption but also to the ideology of the Victorian people. In "Produce," for example, she notes: "Much less importance was attached to the production of milk than beef at this stage [mid-century]: traditionally, dairy work was done by women, which it is tempting to see ... as symbolic of its secondary status" (64). This "secondary status," she continues, is best noted in the dairy works' "almost complete lack of innovation" (64)--a hallmark of the Victorian males' concept of the female. Further, Freeman goes on to note that cheese, peas and potatoes were "class conscious" foods--that is, only the poor consumed these items because of their abundance and inexpensiveness; they were also considered indigestible by some palates. Unfortunately, such succinct observations are not as frequent as a serious scholar of the Victorian world would like, and Mutton and Oysters is more a study of food itself than a consideration of its symbolic nutritional and nurturing value.

Disappointments aside, Freeman's description and analysis of the conditions of markets, produce, and products is noteworthy--especially that of bread in Chapter 4. Ironically, she links the production of bread, the staff of life, to death through disease. Much of the bread problem, Freeman concludes, is due to the water problem: bacteria-infested water was used in its preparation, even though the "relation between cholera and dirty water had already been established beyond reasonable doubt" (82).

A grocer's shop at Christmas, 1850 (*Illustrated London News*)

Proscriptions on drinking water certainly helped those Victorians who thought alcohol "as natural and necessary for survival as food" (94), yet Freeman has to conclude that "average consumption per head was rather less than today" (97), even though drunkenness was more in evidence. Freeman argues that the consumption of spirits, like food, was determined by one's social class and place.

The introduction of French wines significantly changed the drinking habits of the smaller upper class, who were also the first to experiment with French cooking. Of course, even before such delicacies can be discussed, one must consider cooking implements, and here again, as in the case of the dairy, innovation was slow to come, with the most important new help being the introduction of gas cooking (by Soyer) and refrigeration. It was Soyer again who also first wrote cookery books for the rising middle class; Isabella Beeton's famous Household Management was to follow soon after.

From a consideration of Mrs. Beeton, Freeman moves easily to the "Aspiring Heroines and Artistes": the cooks. Mid-century marked a crisis in the cook situation, and advertisements for a "good plain cook" were numerous. Freeman suggests that the background of the servants combined with the up-bringing and education of the mistresses was the reason for the sudden paucity of good plain cooks. Freeman is at her best in this section as she explores the socio-economic and political problems of finding, training and maintaining a good cook. (The Freemason's Girls' School in London, for example, was established to teach "domestic science".)

She continues to explore this same plight in Chapter 8, "The Cookery Writers," acknowledging that "since both knowledge of cookery and earning money were unacceptable for ladies, cookery writing was doubly so" (156), forcing them to publish anonymously. Eliza Acton with her Modern Cookery is the first exception; Isabella Beeton (who introduced the now standardized formula for the presentation of the recipe) continued the tradition.

Clearly, Freeman reaches her stride in the second half of the book. Her chapter on "Meals and Entertaining" (9) I find to be the most interesting in the entire work, for in it she investigates the eating patterns of the Victorians. I was amazed to read of the quantities and selections of foods offered at dinner parties (depending on whether the service was à la Francaise or à la Russe). In this chapter Freeman goes on to consider workhouse diets, together with concerns about over-eating, slimness and cholesterol. The claim she makes in her "Preface" concerning our similarities to the Victorians is most substantiated here.

Freeman offers no concluding chapter, which I personally find annoying. Her bibliography, however, is extensive. And one can only conclude by wishing "Bon appetit" to all readers.

Mary Anne Schofield
Visiting Professor
University of Tulsa

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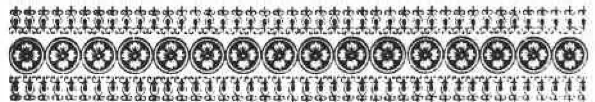

Frank Atkinson. Victorian Britain: The North East. London: David and Charles, 1989.

Frank Atkinson was the founder of the North of England Open Air Museum in 1970, and he remained as its director and driving force until he retired in 1987. This highly regarded museum is concerned with the material culture of the North in the relatively recent past, the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is located on a large site at Beamish, near Chester le Street in County Durham, where more than forty buildings--mostly Victorian and mostly from the immediate area--have been re-erected and furnished with artifacts of their period. A Gateshead tramcar from 1925 operates on the grounds, where one can also find a working Victorian pub from Bishop Auckland, a number of exhibits relating to coal mining, a North Eastern Railway Co. station, several locomotives, and a farm where herds of rare Durham Shorthorn cattle and Teeswater sheep are being built up. There is as well a very large collection of photographs at Beamish, some of which are probably reproduced as illustrations for this book.

Atkinson's point of view in this book is decidedly that of the director of a history museum anxious to attract as many visitors as he can. He certainly does not want to frighten anyone away with intimidating shows of scholarship; he refers in his bibliography to "the British Library with its Parliamentary papers and other contemporary publications" as "getting rather deep for a beginner!" A reader whose curiosity is aroused, however, might sometimes regret the almost ostentatious absence of scholarly apparatus in this book. The photographs constitute a case in point. Their sources are never identified, and more often than not they are entirely without any indication of date. Of course, this book is not directed at scholars. Nor is it a beginner's introduction to the social history of the North East, although at first glance it might appear to be so. Chapters focus on the principal nineteenth-century industries of the area, on agriculture, on towns (particularly Newcastle and Middlesborough), on public health, education, religion, transportation, popular recreation, and prisons. These are all familiar categories in social and economic history as it is conceived by mainstream academic historians. But Atkinson does not treat these subjects in the manner of academic history. He is not much interested in relations among people, nor is he much concerned with the dynamic elements in history, the causes and processes of change. He writes almost nothing in this book about social organization of any sort. Politics and power are untouched; community, oppression and resistance do not appear. We learn almost nothing of the social implications of the engineering or shipping industries and nothing of the social structure of colliers' villages or the ways religion touched their lives. Nor does Atkinson think of his work as a local case study that will add to the larger historical picture of the nation. It is unlikely that Edward Thompson could be moved to say of this book, as he said of another that dealt with Methodism and the Durham miners, "And fookin Amen to that!"

In a sense this is not a work of history at all. Atkinson approaches his subject as a museum curator, not as an historian. He looks on Northumberland, Tyne and Wear, Durham and the northern part of Cleveland (his North East) as if it constituted a great open air museum. This book is his guide to the Victorian things in that

museum, and a very good guide it is. Atkinson's writing style was evidently formed by long experience of producing short interpretations for discrete museum exhibits not connected to each other in an intellectually complicated way. His book is concise (too concise; one often wishes for much more), detailed, lucid, straightforward and precise. It contains no general thesis or argument. Like the North East-as-museum that it describes so amiably, this book is a richly stocked reservoir of things that scholars of the nineteenth century will find interesting. There is a serious consideration of the brilliant illustrator, Thomas Bewick. Or, for example, there is the tale of the fate of the Free Chapel on High Street in Gateshead that became a music hall called "Theatre Royal" in about 1860, eventually went over to films, and finally ended its career as a Woolworth's store. Or the Bowes Academy in Bowes that Dickens drove out of business when he satirized it as Dotheboys Hall in Nicholas Nickleby. The early nineteenth-century house now contains seven flats; its owners call it Dotheboys Hall, presumably because they think the name good for business. Or the puzzling little poem on a Sunderland-ware jug produced for a local wedding in 1827: "A little health, a little wealth,/A little house with freedom./And at the end a little friend,/With little cause to need him."

Atkinson's book is particularly useful to anyone interested in Victorian material culture who has the opportunity to travel in the North East. It includes an alphabetically arranged "Gazetteer of the Nineteenth Century North East," a handy reference guide to the many Victorian milestones, bridges, cottages, industrial sites, and so on that are scattered through the area. The book also contains a list of the museums in the North East along with their telephone numbers.

It is one of the strengths of Atkinson's book that he deals a little with the recent history of many of the objects and places he discusses. He makes a convincing case for considering the North East, and particularly Newcastle, as a likely candidate for museum status. Much of Victorian Newcastle is still intact. Atkinson sees so little of "property developers" that he is able to put inverted commas around them. He points out that when the National Coal Board took over the mines in 1948 there were 128 pits operating in the Newcastle hinterland. At the time of writing Victorian Britain there were only eight remaining. Historical preservation is one of the benefits of economic decline.

Richard Helmstadter
Victoria College
University of Toronto

RILEY'S BELIEVE IT OR NOT

Number of works (great and small) composed by John Stuart Mill: **841**

Number of private letters written by John Stuart Mill that have been retrieved for his Collected Works: **2,720**

Number of volumes in the Collected Works: **33**

Number of pages in the Collected Works: **17,372**
Pages of introductions and contents: 1,497
Pages of text: 12,497
Pages of appendices and indexes: 3,378

Number of works in Bibliography of Works on John Stuart Mill (published 1982): **1,971**

Year the Mill Edition was formally inaugurated: **1960**

Staff of Mill Project (since 1976):
1 General Editor; **1** Postdoctoral Fellow; **1** Research Assistant: **1** Editorial Assistant (half-time); **2** graduate assistants (10 hours a week)

Approximate amount of aid provided by Canada Council/SSHRC since 1976: **$1,300,000.00**

Number of titles sold by 1991: **33,248**

Most popular work:
Principles of Political Economy (3,297 copies)

Next most popular:
A System of Logic (2,911 copies); Earlier Letters (2,861 copies)

Number of titles now out of print and available only from University Microfilms: **7**

Price of Essays on Economics and Society (2 vols.):
when published in 1967: **$25.00**
in reprint edition from University Microfilms in 1990: **$227.50**