

NOTES

Introduction

1. Michael St. John Packe, *The Life of John Stuart Mill* (New York: Macmillan, 1954); Nicholas Capaldi, *John Stuart Mill: A Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
2. *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill* (henceforth cited as *CW*), vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, ed. John M. Robson and Jack Stillinger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), Appendix G, 612–13.
3. Bruce Mazlish, *James and John Stuart Mill: Father and Son in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); P.J. Glassman, *J.S. Mill: The Evolution of a Genius* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1985).
4. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 79.
5. Janice Carlisle, *John Stuart Mill and the Writing of Character* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 99.
6. F.A. Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Friendship and Subsequent Marriage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), chapters 2 and 3.
7. Packe, *Life of John Stuart Mill*, 115–32, 137–54.
8. Capaldi, *John Stuart Mill*, 102–11, 113–17.
9. Josephine Kamm, *John Stuart Mill in Love* (London: Gordon and Cremonesi, 1977).
10. Phyllis Rose, *Parallel Lives: Five Victorian Marriages* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 95–140.
11. Jo Ellen Jacobs, *The Voice of Harriet Taylor Mill* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2002).
12. Some significant contributions to this literature—in addition to the works by Hayek, Packe, Rose, and Jacobs cited above—include: H.O. Pappé, *John Stuart Mill and the Harriet Taylor Myth* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1960); J.M. Robson, “Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill: Artist and Scientist,” *Queen’s Quarterly* 73 (1966): 167–86; Jack Stillinger, “Who Wrote J.S. Mill’s Autobiography?” *Victorian Studies* 27 (1983): 7–23.
13. See, for example, Julia Annas, “Mill and *The Subjection of Women*,” *Philosophy* 52 (1977): 179–94; Barbara Caine, “John Stuart Mill and the English Women’s Movement,” *Historical Studies* 18 (1978): 52–67; Mary L. Shanley, “Marital Slavery and Friendship: John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women*,” *Political Theory* 9 (1981): 229–47; Gail Tulloch, *Mill and Sexual Equality* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989); Susan Mendus, “John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor on Women and Marriage,” *Utilitas* 6 (1994): 287–99; Maria H. Morales, *Perfect Equality: John Stuart Mill on Well-Constituted Communities* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 1996).
14. Fred Kaplan, *Thomas Carlyle: A Biography* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983).
15. Emery Neff, *Carlyle and Mill: Mystic and Utilitarian* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924); republished as *Carlyle and Mill: An Introduction to Victorian Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1926).

16. R.K. Pankhurst, *The Saint Simonians, Mill and Carlyle: A Preface to Modern Thought* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1957).
17. John Skorupski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Mill* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

One The Father, the Son, and the Manly Spirit

1. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 5.
2. Jo Ellen Jacobs, ed., *The Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998), 375.
3. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 175–77. Mill's formal treatment of the problem is found in *CW*, vols. 7–8, *A System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), vol. 8, 836–43.
4. The literature on the difficulties presented by Mill's *Autobiography* is substantial. The field is headed by Jack Stillinger, whose relevant publications include: "The Text of John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 43 (1960): 220–42; his edition of *The Early Draft of John Stuart Mill's Autobiography* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1961); "Who Wrote J.S. Mill's *Autobiography*," *Victorian Studies* 27 (1983), 7–23; and "John Mill's Education: Fact, Fiction and Myth," in *A Cultivated Mind: Essays on J.S. Mill Presented to John M. Robson*, ed. Michael Laine (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 19–43. A number of other scholars have made significant contributions to the discussion: Robert D. Cumming, "Mill's History of His Ideas," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 25 (1964): 235–56; William Thomas, "John Stuart Mill and the Uses of *Autobiography*," *History* 56 (1971): 341–59; Alan Ryan, *J.S. Mill* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), chapter 1; James McDonnell, "Success and Failure: A Rhetorical Study of the First Two Chapters of John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 45 (1976): 109–22; Jonathan Loesberg, *Fictions of Consciousness: Mill, Newman, and the Reading of Victorian Prose* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1986); John M. Robson, introduction to the Penguin edition of Mill's *Autobiography* (London: Penguin, 1989). There is also much of interest on the *Autobiography* in Janice Carlisle's *John Stuart Mill and the Writing of Character*, and in Regenia Gagnier, *Subjectivities: A History of Self-Representation in Britain, 1832–1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
5. The most ambitious study of the father/son relationship is Mazlish's *James and John Stuart Mill*; its psychoanalytical interpretation has generally not found favor among Mill scholars.
6. Alexander Bain, *James Mill: A Biography* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882), 3–5.
7. Graham Wallas, *The Life of Francis Place, 1771–1854* (London: Longmans, Green, 1898), 70n–71n.
8. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 5.
9. Bain, *James Mill*, 59.
10. Bain, *James Mill*, 60. Francis Place, who came to know the Mills in 1817, immediately recognized the incompatibility of the couple: "Mrs. Mill is a patient, quiet soul, hating wrangling, and although by no means meanly submissive, manages to avoid quarrelling in a very admirable manner." Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, 73.
11. See James Mill's essay "Education" (1819), in *Essays* (London: printed Innes [1825]), and his *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, 2 vols. (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1829).
12. Anna J. Mill, "The Education of John—Some Further Evidence," *Mill News Letter* 11 (Winter, 1976): 11. Having stood no chance of winning the race for Wilhelmina's hand, he welcomed the prospect of competing with William Forbes on a level playing field when it came to "the education of a son."

13. Anna J. Mill, "The Education of John," 11–12. This letter, dated 26 February 1820, was written to a Colonel Walker; for a valuable record of the readings that made up this education, see *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, Appendix B, 551–81.
14. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 33.
15. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 35.
16. Wallas, *Life of Francis Place*, 74.
17. See Bain, *James Mill*, 95–96.
18. Elie Halévy, *The Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, trans. Mary Morris (London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928), 251.
19. In a letter of July 1812, written when John Mill was six years old, Bentham, who had himself been a child prodigy, offered to become the boy's guardian and complete his education in the event of James Mill's dying during John's childhood. James Mill gratefully accepted this offer, stipulating that its implementation, if necessary, "shall be as good as possible; and then we may perhaps leave a successor worthy of both of us." Bain, *James Mill*, 119–20.
20. The analysis and categorization of motive claimed Bentham's attention in both *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1780) and *A Table of the Springs of Action* (1817).
21. Quoted in John Dinwiddy, *Bentham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 24.
22. See Halévy, *Growth of Philosophic Radicalism*, 403–12.
23. Dinwiddy, *Bentham*, 30.
24. See John Dinwiddy, "Bentham's Transition to Political Radicalism, 1809–10," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1975): 683–700.
25. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 67.
26. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 67, 69.
27. "If I had been by nature extremely quick of apprehension, or had possessed a very accurate and retentive memory, or were of remarkably active and energetic character, the trial would not be conclusive; but in all these natural gifts I am rather below than above par." *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 33.
28. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 31.
29. Anna J. Mill, "The Education of John," 11–12.
30. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 33.
31. Quoted in William Thomas, *The Philosophic Radicals: Nine Studies in Theory and Practice, 1817–1841* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 132.
32. Anna J. Mill, "The Education of John," 13.
33. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 49.
34. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 49.
35. The case for the continuing influence of this upbringing on James Mill's moral outlook has been powerfully set forth by William Thomas in his chapter on James Mill in *Philosophic Radicals*, 95–146, especially at 98–100. For a valuable investigation of James Mill's "civil religion," see Terence Ball, *Reappraising Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 131–57.
36. For a comprehensive discussion of Mill's response to Socrates and ancient Athens, see Nadia Urbinati, *Mill on Democracy: From the Athenian Polis to Representative Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002). See also F.E. Sparshott, introduction to *CW*, vol. 11, *Essays on Philosophy and the Classics*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); Frank Turner, *The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Geraint Williams, "J.S. Mill on the Greeks: History Put to Use," *Mill News Letter* 17 (Winter 1982): 1–11; Eugenio Biagini, "John Stuart Mill and the Model of Ancient Athens," in *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, Radicals, and Collective Identities in the British Isles, 1865–1931*, ed. Eugenio Biagini (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 21–44; and T.H. Irwin, "Mill and the Classical World," in *Cambridge Companion to Mill*, ed. Skorupski, 423–63.
37. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 41.

38. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 45.
39. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 45, 47.
40. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 47.
41. *CW*, vols. 28–29, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, ed. John M. Robson and Bruce L. Kinzer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), vol. 28, 38.
42. *CW*, vols. 14–17, *The Later Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1849–1873*, ed. Francis E. Mineka and Dwight N. Lindley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), vol. 16, 1483; *The Times*, 11 November 1868, 5.
43. For Mill's *Three Essays on Religion*, see *CW*, vol. 10, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 369–489.
44. Samuel Bentham knew something of John Mill's accomplishments before his arrival in France, chiefly from what Jeremy said in his letters to his brother. When the plan for sending John over was taking on a serious look, Jeremy told Samuel that when John turned up Samuel could "shew him for 6d a piece and get rich." *The Correspondence of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. 9, ed. Stephen Conway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 380–81. James and John Mill had in fact met Sir Samuel on two occasions before John's stay in France. In 1813 they had visited him at his house in Gosport when they were doing a tour of southwest England; the following year they saw the entire family at Ford Abbey. See *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 55, 57. In later life George Bentham recalled the experience of meeting John Mill in August 1813, when the latter was seven. "He was then in some respects a prodigy. He had a wonderfully precocious mind; his father, a cold Scotchman with more ability than principle, whilst neglecting his wife and younger children, took the greatest pains in developing John's mind without caring for his manners. At this time at the age of six [*sic*] he was a Greek and Latin scholar, a historian, and a logician, and fond of showing off his proficiency without the slightest reserve." Marion Filipiuk, ed., *George Bentham: Autobiography, 1800–1834* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 9.
45. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 37.
46. *CW*, vols. 12–13, *The Earlier Letters of John Stuart Mill, 1812–1848*, ed. Francis E. Mineka (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), vol. 13, 540. George Bentham, in his autobiography, indicates that John Mill's hosts were pleased with their guest: "he struck us much by the quickness of his perceptions and the powers of his mind . . . I find, among my notes made at the time memoranda of his rapid progress in French, of his readiness at difficult algebraic problems . . . His visit was also on many counts a pleasant one to us, and we had every reason to be satisfied with his conduct, disposition and principles during the seven or eight months he remained with us." Filipiuk, ed., *George Bentham: Autobiography*, 63.
47. See Anna J. Mill, ed., *John Mill's Boyhood Visit to France: A Journal and Notebook* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960). The editor provides a valuable introduction to this journal.
48. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, Appendix G, 612–13.
49. *CW*, vols. 26–27, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), vol. 27, 642. When J.S. Mill edited and reissued, in 1869, his father's *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, he publicly voiced the sentiments he had confided to his journal fifteen years before. His preface to this edition included the following passage: "It is to the author of the present volumes that the honour belongs of being the reviver and second founder of the Association psychology. Great as is this merit, it was but one among many services which he rendered to his generation and mankind. When the literary and philosophical history of this century comes to be written as it deserves to be, very few are the names figuring in it to whom as high a place will be awarded as to James Mill. In the vigour and penetration of his intellect he has had few superiors in the history of thought: in the wide compass of the human interests which he cared for and served, he was almost equally remarkable: and the energy and determination of his character, giving effect to as single-minded an ardour for the improvement of mankind and of human life as I believe has ever existed, make his life a memorable example." *CW*, vol. 31, *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. John M. Robson

- (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 99. No account of “the literary and philosophical history” of the nineteenth century endorses J.S. Mill’s view of his father’s importance.
50. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 53.
 51. *The Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, ed. Piero Sraffa, vol. 7, *Letters 1816–1818* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 301–02.
 52. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 53.
 53. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 53.
 54. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 55.
 55. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 33.
 56. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 31.
 57. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 65.
 58. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 67.
 59. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 77, 79. For valuable studies of Austin, see W.L. Morison, *John Austin* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1982), and Lotte and Joseph Hamburger, *Troubled Lives: John and Sarah Austin* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).
 60. Sarah Austin’s tendency to gossip about Mill’s “friendship” with Harriet Taylor subsequently soured his relations with Mrs. Austin. For Mill’s disparaging comments in the “Early Draft,” see *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 186.
 61. John Clive observes that “Austin’s strong personality appears to have been one of the few by which even Macaulay, always formidable himself, was awed.” See John Clive, *Macaulay: The Shaping of the Historian* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 63.
 62. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 79.
 63. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 81.
 64. See Percy Craddock, *Recollections of the Cambridge Union 1815–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 169–70.
 65. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 79.
 66. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 67.
 67. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 69.
 68. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 71.
 69. James Mill, *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, 2 vols. (London: Baldwin and Craddock, 1829), vol. 1, 70.
 70. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 81; Mill persuaded Bentham’s then amanuensis, Richard Doane, to join the group, and Doane secured a room in Bentham’s house for the purpose.
 71. Mill gave a playful and detailed account of recent happenings “in the Utilitarian world” in a letter to George and Harriet Grote dated 1 September 1824. See *CW*, vol. 32, *Additional Letters of John Stuart Mill*, ed. Marion Filipiuk, Michael Laine, and John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 1–7.
 72. This capacity for acting on his beliefs evidently extended to the dissemination of birth control pamphlets that got him into a scrape in 1823. For discussions of the incident, and its long-lived repercussions, see W.D. Christie, *John Stuart Mill and Abraham Hayward, QC: A Reply about Mill to a Letter to the Rev. Stopford Brooke, Privately Circulated and Actually Published* (London: King, 1873); N.E. Himes, “John Stuart Mill’s Attitude Toward Neo-Malthusianism,” Suppl. to the *Economic Journal* 4 (1929): 457–84; Pedro Schwartz, *The New Political Economy of J.S. Mill* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972), Appendix 2, 245–56; F.E. Mineka, “John Stuart Mill and Neo-Malthusianism, 1873,” *Mill News Letter* 8 (Fall, 1972), 3–10.
 73. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 197; of course this is said in the section where he seeks to contrast his own limitations with Harriet Taylor’s prodigious range of abilities.
 74. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 65, 67.
 75. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 9n.
 76. From 1858 until his death Mill spent six months of each year in Avignon, where Harriet was buried. For twelve of these years, Napoleon III, whose regime Mill loathed, was in power. He

- did not interpret this regrettable dominance to mean, however, that the French people had become “quiet and contented slaves.”
77. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 336.
 78. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 83. The accuracy of this observation is confirmed by Company records—see Martin Moir’s introduction to *CW*, vol. 30, *Writings on India*, ed. John M. Robson, Martin Moir, and Zawahir Moir (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), xiii.
 79. Bain, *James Mill*, 207.
 80. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 85.
 81. *CW*, vol. 30, *Writings on India*, xvii–xviii.
 82. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 85.
 83. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 84n.
 84. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 87. A number of able scholars ascribe far greater significance to Mill’s India House career than he himself did. The standard work in this sphere: Lynn Zastoupil, *John Stuart Mill and India* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994); see also the essay collection, *J.S. Mill’s Encounter with India*, ed. Martin I. Moir, Douglas M. Peers, and Lynn Zastoupil (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). For a valuable treatment of the problem that more closely fits Mill’s own assessment, see Trevor Lloyd, “John Stuart Mill and the East India Company,” in *A Cultivated Mind*, ed. Laine, 44–79.
 85. According to Janice Carlisle, Mill was so far from “indifferent” to this exclusion that his consciousness of it greatly contributed to his crisis of the second half of the 1820s. Although I do not find her interpretation persuasive, she unquestionably argues her case with notable force. See Carlisle, *John Stuart Mill and the Writing of Character*, 63–75.
 86. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 93.
 87. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 85.
 88. For an excellent examination of Mill’s early journalism, see Ann P. Robson’s introduction to *CW*, vols. 22–25, *Newspaper Writings*, ed. Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), vol. 22, xxxi–xli; for Mill’s debating speeches, see the penetrating analysis of John M. Robson in his introduction to *CW*, vols. 26–27, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, vol. 26, xviii–xlili.
 89. *CW*, vol. 22, *Newspaper Writings*, 44.
 90. Roebuck noted in his autobiographical account: “I became . . . a pupil of John Mill, who, although younger than myself, was far in advance of me in philosophy and politics.” R.E. Leader, ed., *Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck, with Chapters of Autobiography* (London: Arnold, 1897), 28.
 91. Speaking of his friendship with Mill and Graham, Roebuck observed that his “intimacy [with Mill] increased day by day, and was strengthened by the fact that Graham and myself became sworn friends—brothers, in fact—and with John Mill formed a triumvirate which we laughingly called the ‘Trijackia,’ all of us being named John.” Leader, ed., *Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck*, 28.
 92. Alexander Bain, *John Stuart Mill, a Criticism: With Personal Recollections* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882), 39–40.
 93. The record of this episode derives from “some memoranda of conversations” Bain “had with Roebuck not long before his death”; from “a recollection” Bain elicited from J.S. Mill’s surviving siblings; and from Roebuck’s published reminiscences, which states that James Mill “took occasion to remark to myself especially, that he had no great liking for his son’s new friends. I, on the other hand, let him know that I had no fear of him who was looked upon as a sort of Jupiter Tonans.” Roebuck remembered that John Mill protested against his father’s treatment of his friends, “but the result was that we soon ceased to see John Mill at his home.” Leader, ed., *Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck*, 28–29.
 94. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 143.
 95. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 137, 139.

96. Only those who know something of Bentham's method and handwriting can begin to appreciate what this project entailed. Mill's discussion of the matter in the *Autobiography*, however, gives some idea of the magnitude of the undertaking. "Mr. Bentham had begun this treatise three times, at considerable intervals, each time in a different manner, and each time without reference to the preceding; two of the three times he had gone over nearly the whole subject. These three masses of manuscript it was my business to condense into a single treatise; adopting the one last written as the groundwork, and incorporating with it as much of the other two as it had not completely superseded. I had also to unroll such of Bentham's involved and parenthetical sentences, as seemed to overpass by their complexity the measure of what readers were likely to take the pains to understand. It was further Mr. Bentham's particular desire that I should, from myself, endeavour to supply any *lacunæ* which he had left; and at his instance I read, for this purpose, the most authoritative treatises on the English Law of Evidence, and commented on a few of the objectionable points of the English rules, which had escaped Bentham's notice. I also replied to the objections which had been made to some of his doctrines, by reviewers of Dumont's book, and added a few supplementary remarks on some of the more abstract parts of the subject, such as the theory of improbability and impossibility." *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 117.
97. From Martin Moir's introduction to *CW*, vol. 30, *Writings on India*, xv.
98. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 121, 123.
99. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 141.
100. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 141.
101. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 145.
102. See, especially, A.W. Levi, "The 'Mental Crisis' of John Stuart Mill," *Psychoanalytic Review* 32 (1945): 86–101, and Mazlish, *James and John Stuart Mill*.
103. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 147.
104. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 151.
105. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 147.
106. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 13.
107. For his reference to music, see *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 147.
108. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 151.
109. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 147.
110. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 145, 147.
111. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 49.
112. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 145.
113. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 49.

Two Gathering Truths, 1826–30

1. See Norman Gash, *Aristocracy and People: Britain 1815–1865* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 21–22.
2. In 1816 Parliament declined to renew the income tax, the wars against Napoleon having ended the previous year. As for the matter of status and income, Boyd Hilton notes that "in order to have pretensions to upper-middle-class gentility it was necessary to have an income of at least £200 per annum and preferably £300." See Boyd Hilton, *A Mad, Bad, & Dangerous People? England 1783–1846* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 126, 128.
3. *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 9, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1981), 20.
4. Quoted in Gash, *Aristocracy and People*, 24.
5. *CW*, vols. 18–19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), vol. 18, 193.

6. *The Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 5, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1976), 398.
7. Caroline Fox, *Memoirs of Old Friends, Being Extracts from the Journals and Letters of Caroline Fox, from 1835 to 1871*, ed. H.N. Pym, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1882), vol. 1, 138.
8. Henry Taylor, *Autobiography*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, 1885), vol. 1, 78.
9. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 39.
10. Quoted in Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor*, 32.
11. Henry Solly, *These Eighty Years*, 2 vols. (London: Simpkin and Marshall, 1893), vol. 1, 147.
12. See Anna J. Mill, "John Stuart Mill's Visit to Wordsworth, 1831," *Modern Language Review* 44 (1949): 342.
13. Henry Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol. 1, 159.
14. Charles Greville, *The Greville Memoirs*, 8 vols., ed. Lytton Strachey and Roger Fulford (London: Macmillan, 1938), vol. 2, 58.
15. Bain, *John Stuart Mill*, 189.
16. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 5, 398.
17. Henry Taylor, *Correspondence of Henry Taylor*, ed. Edward Dowden (London: Longmans, Green, 1888), 28. In his *Autobiography* Taylor both acknowledges Mill's conversational power and notes an intense deliberateness on the part of the speaker—a characteristic that no doubt affected Greville's estimate. Taylor said that Mill "took his share in conversation, and talked ably and well of course but with such a scrupulous solicitude to think exactly what he should say and say exactly what he thought, that he spoke with an appearance of effort and as if with an impediment of mind." Henry Taylor, *Autobiography*, vol. 1, 79.
18. Mill's approach to conversation had nothing in common with the great talkers of his age—Sydney Smith, Carlyle, and Macaulay, for example—who preferred monologue to dialogue. Smith, when asked about the caliber of Macaulay's performance after the two of them had entered the conversational ring together, said his adversary had been "unusually brilliant, some splendid flashes of silence." Mill, Bain tells us, enjoyed this story, and offered one of his own about "two Frenchmen of this species, pitted against each other. One was in full possession, but so intent was the other upon breaking in, that a third person watching the contest, exclaimed, 'If he spits, he's done.'" Bain, *John Stuart Mill*, 189n. Bain avers (188) that Mill "had humour and lightness, and did not restrain their display."
19. Henry Cole's Diary is located in the National Art Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum.
20. Cole's Diary refers frequently to such visits to India House during these years. Cole went on to become one of the most distinguished civil servants of his generation. His career included central involvement in the mounting of the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the founding of what became the Victoria and Albert Museum.
21. Cole's entry for 4 September 1828 notes: "Drank tea with John Mill & employed the evening in the examination of his Botanical Specimens of which his liberality made me several presents Sundries, etc." The entry for a fortnight later similarly reads: "Passed the evening and drank tea with John Mill who most liberally from his collection of Plants contributed to mine."
22. Cole's Diary, 19 November 1828.
23. Cole's Diary, 29 June 1830. In January 1831 Mill sent to William Jackson Hooker, the director of Kew Gardens, a specimen of "Lilium martagon, a plant new to the British flora, but certainly wild, & as far as it is possible to judge, indigenous." *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 69.
24. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 85n.
25. Cole's Diary, 19 April 1829.
26. Cole's Diary, 3 February 1830.
27. There are five extant journals of John Mill's walking tours. Apart from the two already mentioned, these pertain to Sussex for some ten days in the summer of 1827; to Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, and Surrey in the first half of July 1828; and to western Cornwall for a week in October 1832. See *CW*, vol. 27, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, 455–637.

28. Lotte and Joseph Hamburger, *Troubled Lives*, 65.
29. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 83. In 1830–31 Mill and Graham had the idea of collaborating on a series of essays dealing with various technical aspects of economic theory; this became a solo venture for Mill when Graham took issue with certain lines of argument being advanced by his friend. See *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 125.
30. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 83, 99, 105, 161.
31. *CW*, vol. 32, *Additional Letters*, 3.
32. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 158.
33. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 161.
34. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 133.
35. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 4, ed. Kathleen Coburn (London and Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 500.
36. See Merrill Distad, *Guessing at Truth: The Life of Julius Charles Hare* (Shepherdstown, West Virginia: Patmos, 1979), 39.
37. Distad, *Guessing at Truth*, 47.
38. See John M. Robson's introduction to *CW*, vols. 26–27, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, vol. 26, xxxi–xxxii; for Mill's speech, see *Journals and Debating Speeches*, vol. 26, 434–42. Richard Monckton Milnes, another Cambridge man and Apostle, was present for the debate, and wrote to his father that "Sterling spoke splendidly, and Mill made an essay on Wordsworth's poetry for two and three-quarter hours, which delighted me." Thomas Wemyss Reid, *The Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton*, 2 vols. (London: Cassell, 1890), vol. 1, 62.
39. *CW*, vol. 26, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, 441.
40. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 163.
41. Quoted in Kaplan, *Thomas Carlyle*, 373.
42. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 161, 163.
43. Circumstances did not allow Mill and Sterling to see much of each other. By 1830 Sterling had become involved in a high-minded yet crackpot scheme aimed at overthrowing the tyrannical regime of Spain's Ferdinand VII. The ill-fated invasion to which it gave rise resulted in the summary execution of many of Sterling's coconspirators. Sterling himself held back, his romantic impulses having been diverted in a non-Iberian direction shortly before the expedition sailed. He had fallen deeply in love with the sister of a fellow Apostle, and he married her in early November 1830. Shortly thereafter he suffered a serious pulmonary attack, and this led him to accept an invitation to manage a West Indian sugar estate in which he and his family had an interest. Although he returned to England in August 1832, he spent little time in London in the several years that followed. None of this kept Mill and Sterling from sharing thoughts and feelings with one another in the letters they exchanged.
44. *CW*, vol. 10, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, 132.
45. *CW*, vol. 10, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, 138. This quotation adheres to the 1840 text of Mill's "Coleridge"; see variants at foot of 138.
46. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 42.
47. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 161.
48. Richard Holmes, *Coleridge: Darker Reflections, 1804–1834* (New York: Pantheon, 1998), 281n.
49. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 123.
50. Kant is not mentioned in Mill's *Autobiography*, and of the four hundred plus pages of the "Index of Persons" compiled for Mill's entire corpus, Kant and his writings claim less than half a page; see *CW*, vol. 33, *Indexes to the Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, ed. Jean O'Grady (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 229–30.
51. With regard to Carlyle's articles on German literature written for the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Foreign Review and Continental Miscellany*, Mill stated that "for a long time I saw nothing in them . . . but insane rhapsody." *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 169.
52. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 169.

53. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 84.
54. See Mill's speech on "Perfectibility," in *CW*, vol. 26, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, 429–30. Mill stated: "I will even say, that so far from its being a mark of wisdom to despair of human improvement there is no more certain indication of narrow views and a limited understanding, and that the wisest men of all political and religious opinions, from Condorcet to Mr. Coleridge, have been something nearly approaching to perfectibilians."
55. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 10, *On the Constitution of the Church and the State*, ed. John Colmer (London and Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), xiii.
56. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 6, *Lay Sermons*, ed. R.J. White (London and Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 216–17.
57. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 6, *Lay Sermons*, 221–23.
58. *Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, vol. 10, *On the Constitution of Church and State*, 42–43.
59. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 75–76.
60. Joseph Hume, Francis Place, George Grote, and Henry Brougham, among others, also played an important part in the creation of the University of London.
61. Lotte and Joseph Hamburger, *Troubled Lives*, 33.
62. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 185.
63. In a letter to Gustave d'Eichtal of May 1829, Mill alluded to "the very worst point in our national character, the disposition to sacrifice every thing to accumulation, & that exclusive & engrossing selfishness which accompanies it." *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 31.
64. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 185.
65. See Morison, *John Austin*, 20–21.
66. For an excellent treatment of Austin's influence on Mill's series of articles titled *The Spirit of the Age*, see Richard B. Friedman, "An Introduction to Mill's Theory of Authority," in *Mill: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. J.B. Schneewind (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1969), 379–425.
67. John Austin, *The Province of Jurisprudence Determined; and, The Uses of the Study of Jurisprudence* (New York: Noonday Press, 1954), 73.
68. Austin, *Province of Jurisprudence Determined*, 79.
69. For d'Eichtal's impression of Mill on this occasion, see his diary entry, printed in "Condition de la classe ouvriere en Angleterre (1828)," *Revue Historique* 79 (1902), 84.
70. Comte would have much more to say about his *science positive*, just as Mill would have much more to say about Comte's achievements and limitations; moreover, the two men would carry on an important correspondence during the 1840s.
71. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 34–38.
72. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 40.
73. Iris Wessel Mueller, *John Stuart Mill and French Thought* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 69–70.
74. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 38–43.
75. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 44–49.
76. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 48.
77. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 45–46.
78. For Mill's speech, see *CW*, vol. 26, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, 443–53.
79. Mill refers to Sterling's departure from the London Debating Society in the Early Draft of the *Autobiography*. See *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 162: "One vehement encounter between Sterling and me, he making what I thought a violent and unfair attack on the political philosophy I professed, to which I responded as sharply, fixed itself particularly in my memory because it was immediately followed by two things: one was, Sterling's withdrawing from the society; the other, that he and I sought one another privately much more than before, and became very intimate."
80. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 29.

81. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 45.
82. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 189.
83. Bain, *James Mill*, 334.
84. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 189.
85. The visitor was J. Crompton, a classmate of James Bentham Mill's at the University of London. This typescript, kindly shown to me by Ann P. Robson, derives from notes taken by A.S. West of an April 1875 conversation with the Rev. J. Crompton, who was then living in Norwich. The original manuscript is located in the Library of King's College, Cambridge.
86. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 189.
87. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 169.
88. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 169.
89. Quoted in J.H. Burns, "The Light of Reason: Philosophical History in the Two Mills," in *James and John Stuart Mill: Papers of the Centenary Conference*, ed. John M. Robson and Michael Laine (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 16.
90. *Works and Correspondence of David Ricardo*, vol. 7, 195–96.
91. Quoted in Burns, "The Light of Reason," 17.
92. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 11.
93. Quoted in Burns, "The Light of Reason," 14.
94. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 76.
95. Two such collections of James Mill's essays appeared, the first consisting of four articles, the second of seven. Neither volume provides a year of publication. Current thought is that the first collection appeared in 1823 and the second in 1825. See Jack Lively and John Rees, eds., *Utilitarian Logic and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 52. Mill's essay is reprinted in *Utilitarian Logic and Politics*, 53–95.
96. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 107.
97. Quoted in Stefan Collini, Donald Winch, and John Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Intellectual History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 100. Leslie Stephen aptly stated that James Mill, in his *Essay on Government*, "speaks as from the chair of a professor laying down the elementary principles of a demonstrated science." Leslie Stephen, *The English Utilitarians*, 3 vols. (London: Duckworth, 1900), vol. 2, 75.
98. *Essay on Government*, in *Utilitarian Logic and Politics*, 57.
99. *Essay on Government*, in *Utilitarian Logic and Politics*, 79–80. The scope of James Mill's commitment to a democratic suffrage has been a subject of scholarly debate. Some historians maintain that for tactical reasons he refrained from advocating universal manhood suffrage, his true preference, because he knew the great bulk of propertied Englishmen strenuously opposed it. Others argue that he preferred a restricted suffrage, one that would place real power in the hands of the middle classes. The major contributions to this debate: Joseph Hamburger, "James Mill on Universal Suffrage and the Middle Class," *Journal of Politics* 24 (1962): 167–90; W.E.S. Thomas, "James Mill's Politics: The 'Essay on Government' and the Movement for Reform," *Historical Journal* 12 (1969): 249–84; W.R. Carr, "James Mill's Politics Reconsidered: Parliamentary Reform and the Triumph of Truth," *Historical Journal* 14 (1971): 553–80; W.E.S. Thomas, "James Mill's Politics: A Rejoinder," *Historical Journal* 14 (1971): 735–50; W.R. Carr, "James Mill's Politics: A Final Word," *Historical Journal*, 15 (1972): 315–20.
100. Clive, *Macaulay*, 47.
101. For the impression Macaulay made at the Union, see Clive, *Macaulay*, 46–50.
102. "The Present Administration," *Edinburgh Review* 46 (1827): 261.
103. "Mill's Essay on Government: Utilitarian Logic and Politics," *Edinburgh Review* 49 (1829): 160–61.
104. "The Present Administration," 262.
105. "The Present Administration," 263.

106. Lord Grey, the venerable Whig leader, detested Canning, and would not accept office in his administration.
107. "The Present Administration," 261.
108. For a stimulating treatment of James Mill's attempts to exploit this fear in the interest of the reform cause, see Joseph Hamburger, *James Mill and the Art of Revolution* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1963).
109. The friendship of James Mill and Henry Brougham, both graduates of the University of Edinburgh, lasted from the early nineteenth century until Mill's death in 1836. In personality they were polar opposites, Brougham being emotionally demonstrative, and ready for others to respond in kind. James Mill seems to have felt a real affection for him, and certainly valued his political services. In 1833, at a time when Brougham, as Lord Chancellor, was undertaking sweeping reforms of the legal system in a Benthamite spirit, he got appreciative and encouraging words from James Mill: "I hope you consider one duty, the care of your health. I know not when the time was, in the history of our species, that more depended on the health of one man, than depends at this moment on yours. The progress of mankind would lose a century by the loss of you." Bain, *James Mill*, 371. Brougham would have heartily concurred in this estimate of his own importance.
110. "The London University," *Edinburgh Review* 43 (1826): 315–41. It has been forcefully argued, in fact, that Macaulay was drawn to certain aspects of Utilitarian thought; see William Thomas, *The Quarrel of Macaulay and Croker: Politics and History in the Age of Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 70–73.
111. "Periodical Literature: *Edinburgh Review*," *Westminster Review* 1 (1824): 206–49 and 505–41.
112. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 312–13.
113. "Mill's Essay on Government: Utilitarian Logic and Politics," 161, 162.
114. "Mill's Essay on Government: Utilitarian Logic and Politics," 185–86.
115. "Mill's Essay on Government: Utilitarian Logic and Politics," 188–89.
116. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 165.
117. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 165, 167.
118. *CW*, vol. 7, *System of Logic*, 452.
119. *CW*, vol. 18, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 22.
120. Quoted in Collini, Winch, and Burrow, *That Noble Science of Politics*, 103.
121. *CW*, vol. 7, *System of Logic*, 603.
122. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 189.
123. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 177.
124. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 29–30.
125. Tooke had acted as the initial conduit between the Saint-Simonians and Mill. After dining with d'Eichthal on 30 May 1828, Tooke led his Parisian guest to the meeting of the London Debating Society at which d'Eichthal witnessed Mill's powerful mind in action.
126. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 44–45.
127. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 83.
128. *CW*, vol. 32, *Additional Letters*, 9.
129. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 245. What did Mill make of the demons that drove Eyton Tooke to take his own life? In his letter to Nichol, he attributed his friend's "malady" to "intense and unremitting study." On the specific nature of the "malady" itself he did not elaborate. More than six decades after the event a book appeared that offered an explanation of Tooke's suicide. Henry Solly, in his memoir *These Eighty Years*, asserted that Tooke had fallen desperately in love with Solly's sister and had killed himself in the mistaken belief that she had rejected him (*These Eighty Years*, vol. 1, 134–38). We have no means of knowing whether Mill was aware of this turbulent emotional entanglement. Nor, of course, can we know how large a role it played in the tragic outcome. The letter Mill wrote Nichol in 1834 implied that Mill's personal inquest into the death of Eyton Tooke had issued in a verdict of "Broken Mind" rather than "Broken Heart."

Three Mill and Harriet Taylor: The Early Years

1. This oration was given while Smith stood before Bentham's corpse, which lay on the dissecting table, Bentham having bequeathed his body to science.
2. Quoted in Hayek, *John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor*, 25. Harriet Taylor's slight build may have made her appear taller than she was; her passport, issued in 1838, listed her height at 5 feet 1 inch (see Mill-Taylor Collection, British Library of Political and Economic Science, Box III/68).
3. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 440.
4. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 437.
5. Bain, *John Stuart Mill*, 164n.
6. Bain, *John Stuart Mill*, 164n.
7. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1977), 269.
8. See Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson, eds., *Sexual Equality: Writings by John Stuart Mill, Harriet Taylor, and Helen Taylor* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), xvi.
9. See R.K. Webb, "William Johnson Fox (1786–1864)," in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 20, 690.
10. We lack firm evidence for the date of this fateful dinner. The year we know from what Mill says in the *Autobiography*—"My first introduction to the lady who, after a friendship of twenty years, consented to become my wife, was in 1830" (*CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 193), and from a letter written by Harriet Taylor Mill to her second husband in 1854, when the first draft of the *Autobiography* was under construction—"Should there not be a summary of our relationship from its commencement in 1830." Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 375.
11. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 245–46.
12. All this by way of offering some kind of rational explanation for that unalterably nonrational phenomenon—romantic love.
13. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 195.
14. *CW*, vol. 23, *Newspaper Writings*, 436.
15. Moncure Daniel Conway, *Centenary History of the South Place Society* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1894), 89.
16. For Conway's obituary of Mill, see *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 47 (1873), 528–34.
17. In contending that there are ample grounds for skepticism regarding the tale of a marriage proposal, I do not mean to suggest that Mill was incapable of developing a romantic attachment to anyone other than Harriet Taylor, either before or after 1830. His feelings for Eliza Flower very probably included sentiments of a romantic nature; the circumstances of the case, however, do not fit the notion of his having acted on those sentiments. Yet another woman—another Harriet yet—has been mentioned in connection with Mill's susceptibilities in this sphere: Lady Harriet Baring (wife of William Bingham Baring, second Lord Ashburton). Well known is Charles Greville's allusion to this connection in the immediate aftermath of Lady Harriet's death in 1857. "Two men were certainly in love with her, both distinguished in different ways. One was John Mill, who was sentimentally attached to her, and for a long time was devoted to her society. She was pleased and flattered by his devotion, but as she did not in the slightest degree return his passion, though she admired his abilities, he at last came to resent her indifference; and ended by estranging himself from her entirely, and proved the strength of his feeling by his obstinate refusal to continue even his acquaintance with her." (*Greville Memoirs*, vol. 2, 52; the second man named by Greville was Charles Buller.) Greville tends to be a reliable source, in the sense that he was uncommonly well-informed and did not

write what he knew or suspected to be untrue. He himself had known Lady Harriet fairly well, as he had Charles Buller. Of course Greville's informant could have been given to wild exaggeration. Packe accepts that Mill knew her, but supposes that any romantic feelings on Mill's side could not have been held after 1830. "Although the tradition is that Charles Buller introduced Mill to Lady Harriet Baring, and Charles Buller did not himself meet her until 1837, it is hard to believe that Mill can have behaved in the manner described by Greville so long after the events of the summer of 1830." *Life of John Stuart Mill*, 110n. In the seven volumes of Mill's printed letters, Harriet Baring's name does not appear. Yet there is evidence of a correspondence between them in the 1840s. An editorial footnote in the Carlyles' *Collected Letters* quotes a letter from Mill to Lady Harriet Baring dated August 1843 (the passage in question praises John Sterling's recently published *Strafford: A Tragedy*). The location given for this manuscript letter is "MS: Marquess of Northampton." See *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 17, ed. Clyde de L. Ryals and Kenneth J. Fielding (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1990), 42n. A letter from Jane Carlyle to her husband, dated 31 July 1843, also links Mill and Lady Harriet Baring. According to Mrs. Carlyle, Mill had arranged for Giuseppe Mazzini to meet Lady Harriet Baring. She reported to her husband, whose own infatuation with Lady Harriet caused Jane Carlyle no end of misery, that "Mazzini's visit to Lady Baring (as he calls her) went off wonderfully well. I am afraid my dear this Lady Baring of yours and his and John Mill's and everybody's is an arch coquette"; she attributed to Mazzini the words "John Mill appeared to be *loving* her very much, and taking great pains to show her that his opinions were the right ones." *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 16, ed. Clyde de L. Ryals and Kenneth J. Fielding (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1990), 329. A number of highly intelligent men found Lady Harriet Baring's company intoxicating. I do not have a hard time believing that Mill was one of them.

18. Norton made a verbatim record of this conversation, which is included in Sarah Norton and M.A. Dewolfé Howe, eds., *The Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), vol. 1, 496–97.
19. Leader, ed., *Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck*, 38.
20. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 114.
21. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 158.
22. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 159.
23. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 323–24.
24. The paper on which Mill wrote his essay carries a watermark of 1831; Harriet Taylor also conveyed her thoughts to Mill on the subject, on paper watermarked 1832. For a discussion of the rationale for dating these compositions to late 1832 or early 1833, see John M. Robson's textual introduction to *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), lviii–lx.
25. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 37. The essay opens with the words quoted.
26. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 253n.
27. Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, ed. J.H. Burns and H.L.A. Hart (London: Athlone, 1970), 245n. Among notes Bentham wrote in response to James Mill's *Essay on Government* is one that alludes to "the already universally existing tyranny of the male sex over the female." See Bhikhu Parekh, ed., *Bentham's Political Thought* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), 312.
28. A letter John Mill wrote to Sir Samuel Bentham in 1819 reported that his sister Wilhelmina, then eleven years old, had read "some Cæsar; almost all Phædrus, all the Catiline and part of the Jugurtha of Sallust, and is now reading the Eclogues of Virgil." As for his sister Clara, then nine years old, she "had begun Latin also. After going through the grammar, she read some Cornelius Nepos and Cæsar, almost as much as Willie of Sallust, and is now reading Ovid. They are both tolerably good arithmeticians; they have gone so far as the extraction of the

cube root. They are reading the Roman Antiquities and the Greek Mythology, and are translating English into Latin from Mair's Introduction to Latin Syntax." *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 10.

29. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 312.
30. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 107.
31. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 253n.
32. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 40.
33. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 41.
34. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 42.
35. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 42.
36. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 43.
37. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 44.
38. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 44.
39. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 44–45.
40. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 45.
41. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 46.
42. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 46–47.
43. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 47.
44. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 48.
45. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 48.
46. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 49.
47. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 39.
48. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 375.
49. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 375–76.
50. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 376.
51. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 376.
52. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 376.
53. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 377.
54. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 377.
55. *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, Appendix A, 377.
56. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 187.
57. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 144.
58. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 144.
59. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 174–75.
60. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 327–28.
61. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 331.
62. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 187.
63. In a letter to Carlyle of 5 October 1833, Mill noted that he was “going to Paris probably at the end of the week.” He expected his stay to last five weeks (as much time as his autumn vacation from India House would permit). See *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 180.
64. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 187.
65. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 185–86.
66. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 187.
67. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 187–88.
68. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 189.
69. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 188.
70. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 329.
71. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 330.
72. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 330.
73. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 215.
74. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 213–14.
75. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 174.

76. Sarah Austin was at this time carrying on a passionate correspondence with Prince Hermann Puckler-Muskau (Prince Pickling Mustard to certain London wags); perhaps one of several reasons for her keen interest in the Mill-Taylor story.
77. Leader, ed., *Life and Letters of John Arthur Roebuck*, 38.
78. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 236.
79. Quoted in Sarah Wilks, "The Mill-Roebuck Quarrel," *Mill News Letter* 13 (Summer, 1978): 10.
80. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 227.
81. See Francis E. Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent: The Monthly Repository* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 188–97.
82. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 227–28.
83. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 227n.
84. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 330–32.
85. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 332–33.
86. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 331.
87. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 199.
88. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 198.
89. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 198.
90. Harriet Taylor's careful reading of this passage probably had something to do with its removal from the text. It did not appear in the final version of Mill's *Autobiography*.

Four Mystifying the Mystic: Mill and Carlyle in the 1830s

1. The best modern biography is Kaplan's *Thomas Carlyle*.
2. See D.A. Haury, *The Origins of the Liberal Party and Liberal Imperialism: The Career of Charles Buller, 1806–1848* (New York: Garland, 1987).
3. Not until the summer of 1825 did Carlyle learn from Jane Welsh that she had "once passionately loved" Irving; see Kaplan, *Thomas Carlyle*, 114.
4. Carlyle had become fed up with Mrs. Buller, whose treatment of him he thought inconsiderate. She apparently had a hard time figuring out where she wanted to reside. In mid-1824 the choice lay between London, Cornwall, and Boulogne. She eventually opted for the last, and Carlyle did not find this prospect palatable. For one thing, it would render more difficult his pursuit of Jane Welsh, with whom he shared his relief at being freed from the Bullers, in a letter dated 22 July 1824. "We parted good friends, as I positively declined accompanying them to France, and myself advised the sending of their son to Cambridge immediately. Mrs Buller cannot now shift my residence and plague me with the consequences of her ignorant caprice from week to week; the dead-hearted fashionable frivolity of her and hers are now their own concern: I am a free man; let any arid, gaudy, drivelling male or female dandy come within wind of me to fret me and disgust me with their inanities if they dare!" *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 3, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1970), 114.
5. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 1, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1970), 389.
6. Quoted in C.F. Harrold, *Carlyle and German Thought* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1934), 184.
7. Quoted in G.B. Tennyson, *Sartor Called Resartus: The Genesis, Structure, and Style of Thomas Carlyle's First Major Work* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), 91. The synopsis presented in this paragraph draws heavily on Tennyson's superb study.

8. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 5, 235n.
9. "Signs of the Times," *Edinburgh Review* 49 (1829): 458–59.
10. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 4, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1970), 335.
11. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 4, 390.
12. "Characteristics," *Edinburgh Review* 54 (1831): 382.
13. In 1847 Empson succeeded Macvey Napier as editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, a position he held until his sudden death from influenza in 1852.
14. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 5, 379.
15. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 5, 398.
16. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 5, 428.
17. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 85–86.
18. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 101.
19. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 163.
20. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1977), 196.
21. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 113.
22. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 111.
23. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 237.
24. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 128.
25. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 143–44.
26. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 329; for Carlyle's treatment of this idea, see "Characteristics," *Edinburgh Review* 54 (1831): 357–63, 367–68, 372–73.
27. Adams became the husband of Sarah Flower in 1834.
28. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 369–70.
29. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 377.
30. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 153–54.
31. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 154.
32. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 400–01.
33. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 161.
34. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 163. Mill's first formal statement of the relation between science and art appeared in his essay "On the Definition of Political Economy," which he published in the *London and Westminster Review* in 1836. The initial draft of this essay was probably written in the autumn of 1831, and then revised during the summer of 1833. Mill reprinted the piece in 1844, as the concluding item of his *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*. For his discussion in the essay of "the line of separation . . . between science and art," see *CW*, vols. 4–5, *Essays on Economics and Society*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), vol. 4, 331n.
35. See *CW*, vol. 7, *System of Logic*, textual introduction, lviii.
36. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 8. Carlyle added, however, that Mill was "much too exclusively logical. I think, he will mend: but his character is naturally not large, rather high and solid."
37. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 437.
38. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 439.
39. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 190–97.
40. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 54–55.
41. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 204–05.
42. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 204.
43. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 206.
44. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 207–08.
45. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 72–73.
46. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 183.

47. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 219.
48. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 152.
49. Edward Lytton Bulwer, *England and the English*, 2 vols. (London: Bentley, 1833), vol. 2, Appendix B, 321–44.
50. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 207.
51. *CW*, vol. 10, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, 12.
52. *CW*, vol. 10, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, 15.
53. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 172.
54. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 236.
55. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, Appendix G, 613.
56. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 175.
57. Jacobs, ed., *Complete Works of Harriet Taylor Mill*, 327.
58. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, Appendix G, 612.
59. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 446–47.
60. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 184.
61. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 152.
62. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 327.
63. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 174.
64. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 245–46.
65. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 259–60.
66. Carlyle wrote: “We are to dine there on Tuesday, and meet a new set of persons, said, among other qualities, to be interested in *me*. The Editor of Fox’s Repository (Fox himself) is the main man I care for.” See *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 260.
67. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 269–70.
68. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 326–27. The Carlyles’ fascination with Harriet Taylor did not end in 1834; in early 1835 Jane Carlyle, in a postscript to a letter her husband wrote his brother John, archly commented: “There is a *Mrs. Taylor* [*sic*] whom I could really love; if it were safe and she were willing—but she is a dangerous looking woman and engrossed with a dangerous passion and no useful relation can spring up between us.” *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1981), 15.
69. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 65.
70. *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 58.
71. *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, 4–5.
72. *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, 99.
73. For a concise and illuminating discussion of Carlyle’s conception of history, see A.L. Le Quesne, *Carlyle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 33–35; for a valuable extended treatment of this subject, see J.D. Rosenberg, *Carlyle and the Burden of History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1985).
74. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 24.
75. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 6, 446.
76. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 181–82.
77. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 45.
78. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 7, 236.
79. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 12.
80. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 53.
81. Portion of Carlyle’s Journal entry for 7 March 1835; see *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 67n.
82. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 76.
83. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 253.
84. Packe, *Life of John Stuart Mill*, 151n.

85. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 10, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1985), 47–48.
86. See *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, vol. 1, 496.
87. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 68n.
88. For an account of the exchange between Harriet Isabella Mill and Carlyle, see *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 252n.
89. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 68n.
90. Quoted in *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 68n.
91. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 253. For Carlyle's offer, see *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 72. He kindly observed: "I think of all men living you are henceforth the least likely to commit such an oversight again."
92. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 70, 71.
93. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 252.
94. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 8, 74, 74n.
95. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 257.
96. *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, 133.
97. Long after this friendship ended Carlyle fondly recalled the assistance Mill provided and the value Carlyle placed on this assistance. "Mill was very useful about 'French Revolution;' lent me all his books, which were quite a collection on that subject; gave me, frankly, clearly, and with zeal, all his better knowledge than my own (which was pretty frequently of use in this or the other detail); being full of eagerness for such an advocate in that cause as he felt I should be." See Carlyle's *Reminiscences*, ed. James Anthony Froude (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1881), 409–10.
98. This review forms part of *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, 131–66.
99. *Collected Letters of Thomas and Jane Welsh Carlyle*, vol. 9, ed. Charles Richard Sanders (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1981), 255.
100. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 427.
101. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 49.
102. Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, ed. C.F. Harrold (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1937), 266–67.
103. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 449.
104. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 183.
105. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 198.

Five Mill and the Secret Ballot

1. See *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 311–39, especially 331–38. The section on the ballot in *Considerations on Representative Government*, also in *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 488–95, is, in large measure, drawn directly from *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*.
2. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 332–33.
3. Joseph Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics: John Stuart Mill and the Philosophic Radicals* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).
4. James Mill, *The History of British India*, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1820), vol. 3, 451–52.
5. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 331n–32n.
6. James Mill, "The Ballot," *Westminster Review* 18 (1830): 1–39. For brief commentaries on this article, see William Thomas, *Philosophic Radicals*, 140–45, and Bruce L. Kinzer, *The Ballot Question in Nineteenth-Century English Politics* (New York: Garland, 1982), 11–12.
7. *Westminster Review* 18 (1830): 8.
8. Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics*, 30–75.

9. Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics*, 68–71.
10. All of these essays are included in *CW*, vol. 18, *Essays on Politics and Society*.
11. *CW*, vol. 18, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 25–26.
12. *CW*, vol. 18, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 26.
13. Mill had already referred to the effective use made by the Tories at the recent election of the illegitimate electoral influence in their possession under the system of open voting.
14. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, ed. John M. Robson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 300–01.
15. *CW*, vol. 12, *Earlier Letters*, 317.
16. See Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 37.
17. *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser., vol. 39 (1837): cols. 65–73.
18. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 410.
19. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 411.
20. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 412.
21. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 413.
22. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 465–95.
23. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 469.
24. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 475–78.
25. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 479.
26. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 481.
27. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 482.
28. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 483.
29. The most widely read of the Chartist newspapers, the *Northern Star*, reflected this point of view shortly before the 1839 ballot debate. “The Ballot, so far from extending the franchise, would curtail it, inasmuch as property being the standard, the owners of property would take care not to arm a masked battery [the labourers] against themselves . . . Once pass the Ballot, and no more scrutiny into the acts of your trustees—no more deference by the trustee to popular opinion!” *Northern Star*, 15 June 1839. For a discussion of Chartist suspicion of middle-class radicals who gave high priority to the ballot, see Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 47–50.
30. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 481–82.
31. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 410.
32. See *Mill News Letter* 6 (Spring, 1971): 15–20. Discussing, in Book V of the *Logic*, the ambiguity in the common expression “influence of property,” Mill observes that it “is sometimes used for the influence of respect for superior intelligence, or gratitude for the kind offices which persons of large property have it so much in their power to bestow; at other times for the influence of fear; fear of the worst sort of power, which large property also gives its possessor, the power of doing mischief to dependents.” Mill then remarks that “to confound these two, is the standing fallacy of ambiguity brought against those who seek to purify the electoral system from corruption and intimidation.” Following this statement in the first and second editions (1843 and 1846), but omitted from the third (1851) and subsequent editions, is a sentence in which Mill, when referring to the statement “The influence of property is beneficial,” remarks: “granted; if the former species of influence and that alone be meant; but conclusions are thence drawn in condemnation of expedients which (like secret voting, for example,) would deprive property of some of its influence, though only of the latter and bad kind.” See *CW*, vol. 8, *System of Logic*, 811, 811n. Robson seems fully justified in concluding that the omission of this sentence in 1851 can only be explained as resulting from a change of mind on the ballot.
33. For Mill’s *Daily News* articles, see *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1101–04, 1104–07, 1107–09.
34. *CW*, vol. 14, *Later Letters*, 103.
35. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 261.
36. *CW*, vol. 14, *Later Letters*, 222.
37. Cobden was largely responsible for the formation of the Ballot Society in early 1853. See Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 55–64.

38. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 251, 253.
39. *CW*, vol. 14, *Later Letters*, 221.
40. *CW*, vol. 14, *Later Letters*, 218.
41. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 331.
42. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 331, 331n–32n.
43. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 333.
44. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 332.
45. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 607–08.
46. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 608.
47. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 558–59.
48. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 335.
49. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 337.
50. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 333–34.
51. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 336. For a suggestive analytical consideration of Mill's theoretical defense of public voting, see Urbinati, *Mill on Democracy*, 104–22.
52. For a discussion of the opposition to secret voting, see Bruce L. Kinzer, "The Un-Englishness of the Secret Ballot," *Albion* 10 (1978): 237–56.
53. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections*, vol. 8, Q. and A. 6462 (1868–69).
54. Quoted in Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 80–81.
55. Quoted in Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 81.
56. David Cresap Moore, *The Politics of Deference: A Study of the Mid-Nineteenth Century English Political System* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1976).
57. Moore, *Politics of Deference*, 425–27.
58. Moore, *Politics of Deference*, 405.
59. Moore, *Politics of Deference*, 442.
60. *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary and Municipal Elections*, vol. 8 (1868–69).
61. See Norman Gash, *Politics in the Age of Peel: A Study in the Technique of Parliamentary Representation 1830–1850* (London: Longman, 1953), especially 176–77.
62. T.J. Nossiter, *Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England: Case Studies from the North East 1832–1874* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1975), 162.
63. Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 57–58.
64. Charles Stuart Parker, *Life and Letters of Sir James Graham*, 2 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1907), vol. 2, 171.
65. Quoted in Kinzer, *Ballot Question*, 58.
66. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 245.

Six Mill and the Problem of Party

1. Henry Sidgwick, *The Elements of Politics*, 4th ed. (London: Macmillan, 1929), 590.
2. A.H. Birch, *Representative and Responsible Government: An Essay on the British Constitution* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 114.
3. Dennis F. Thompson, *John Stuart Mill and Representative Government* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1976), 118–21, 187.
4. Urbinati, *Mill on Democracy*, 102.
5. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 455.
6. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 456.
7. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 373.
8. John M. Robson, *The Improvement of Mankind* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 191–99.

9. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 348.
10. Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics*.
11. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 165.
12. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 315.
13. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 467.
14. *CW*, vol. 10, *Essays on Ethics, Religion and Society*, 163.
15. Mill held that the Toryism of Peel's Conservative party, let alone that of Derby and Disraeli, had little in common with Coleridge's speculative Toryism. Although Mill recognized the obvious superiority of Peel to the mass of his followers, and was indeed prepared, in "Reorganization of the Reform Party," to regard Peel as the legitimate representative of Conservative principle in national politics, he did not have a high opinion of the Tory leader. In 1837 Mill wrote: "What gives Sir Robert Peel his personal influence? What makes so many adhere to him? The opinion, a greatly exaggerated one, entertained of his capacity for business . . . If Radicalism had its Sir Robert Peel, he would be at the head of an administration within two years: and Radicalism must be a barren soil if it cannot rival so sorry a growth as that; if it cannot produce a match for perhaps the least gifted man that ever headed a powerful party in this country . . . He does not know his age; he has always blundered miserably in his estimate of it. But he knows the House of Commons, and the sort of men of whom it is composed. He knows what will act upon their minds, and he is able to strike the right chord upon that instrument. He has, besides, all that the mere routine of office-experience can give, to a man who brought to it no principles drawn from a higher philosophy, and no desire for any." *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 404. It is perhaps ironic that in 1846 Disraeli's criticism of Peel resembled Mill's assessment of the Conservative leader, while Peel probably then shared Mill's view of the rank and file of the Tory party.
16. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 672.
17. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 452n. Mill did not claim that all Conservatives were silly and stupid, only that the conduct of the party tended to reflect the silliness and stupidity characteristic of most of its members. "Is it not surprising that Conservatives have no sense or appreciation of Conservative principles? Conservatism with us means a blind opposition to change. I know no Conservatives who are really so but the Saturday reviewers whose adherence is to *principles* of stability & principles of unjust domination so far as now practically maintainable, but who have no mere instinctive attachment to details as they are." See *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 667–68.
18. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 22.
19. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1101–04, 1104–07, 1107–09.
20. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1103–04.
21. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 452n.
22. The idea that the political landscape of these years lacked sharp party definition was expressed by a number of well-informed men. In the autumn of 1855 Palmerston invited Lord Stanley, the son of the leader of the Conservative party, to join his ministry. Although Stanley declined the offer, he admitted, in his reply to Palmerston, that "of late years, the lines of demarcation which separate political parties have been finely drawn, and have even at times appeared to be altogether effaced." See J.R. Vincent, ed. *Disraeli, Derby and the Conservative Party: The Political Journals of Lord Stanley, 1849–69* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978), 138. In 1864 Lord Robert Cecil, the Tory politician and future prime minister (as Lord Salisbury), praised Palmerston's House of Commons for having "done that it is most difficult and most salutary for a Parliament to do—nothing." (This statement appears in an article Cecil wrote for the *Quarterly Review* 116 [1864]: 245.) In 1856 Gladstone wrote an article, "The Declining Efficiency of Parliament," in which he stated: "The interval between the two parties has, by the practical solution of so many contested questions, been very greatly narrowed." See *Quarterly Review* 99 (1856): 562.

23. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 448–66.
24. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 363.
25. For a treatment of the 1865 Westminster contest, see Bruce L. Kinzer, Ann P. Robson, and John M. Robson, *A Moralist In and Out of Parliament: John Stuart Mill at Westminster, 1865–1868* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 22–79.
26. See *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1005–07.
27. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 34.
28. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1122.
29. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1138.
30. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later letters*, 1197.
31. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 275.
32. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 276.
33. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 75–83.
34. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 279.
35. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 58–68.
36. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 105–13, 151–62, 247–61.
37. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 323.
38. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 336.
39. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 361.
40. For treatment of the 1868 Westminster contest, see Kinzer, Robson, and Robson, *A Moralist In and Out of Parliament*, 218–68.
41. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1463.
42. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1488. The working men's candidates Mill had in mind were probably Edmond Beales, Charles Bradlaugh, George Howell, and W.R. Cremer, all of whom were defeated at this general election. The "University Liberals" were men who professed strong liberal opinions and had close ties to the old universities. Their political views in the 1860s were best exemplified in the articles that made up the volume, edited by Leslie Stephen, *Essays on Reform* (London: Macmillan, 1867). Those who can be so classified, and who unsuccessfully sought election in 1868, included G.C. Brodrick, E.A. Freeman, Auberon Herbert, George Young, Godfrey Lushington, and Charles Roundell. For an excellent study of the university liberals, see Christopher Harvie, *The Lights of Liberalism: Liberals and the Challenge of Democracy* (London: Allen Lane, 1976).
43. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1493.
44. *CW*, vol. 17, *Later Letters*, 1547n–48n.
45. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 65.
46. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1479.
47. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1514.
48. *CW*, vol. 17, *Later Letters*, 1697.
49. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 482–87.
50. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 483.
51. This is not to deny that Mill assigned an important administrative and educative function to an intellectual elite, an elite that through its expertise, wide-ranging vision, and persuasive powers would secure for itself, in certain spheres, a measure of deference from all elements participating in the political system. But this was, at least in Mill's eyes, a nonclass elite, one whose authority would be acknowledged by both middle and working classes.
52. Thompson, *John Stuart Mill and Representative Government*.
53. See Michael Barker, *Gladstone and Radicalism: The Reconstruction of Liberal Policy in Britain, 1885–1894* (Hassocks, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1975); J.P. Parry, *Democracy & Religion: Gladstone and the Liberal Party 1867–1875* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); and Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
54. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 35.

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1. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 327.
2. *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 170.
3. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 288.
4. *The Times*, 23 December 1868.
5. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 278–79.
6. See Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics*; Thomas, *Philosophic Radicals*, 147–205; Ann P. Robson and John M. Robson, “Private and Public Goals: John Stuart Mill and the *London and Westminster*,” in *Innovators and Preachers: The Role of the Editor in Victorian England*, ed. J.H. Wiener (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 231–57.
7. See Mill’s 1837 article “Parties and the Ministry,” his 1838 articles “Radical Party and Canada: Lord Durham and the Canadians,” “Lord Durham and His Assailants,” and “Lord Durham’s Return,” and his 1839 article “Reorganization of the Reform Party,” in *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 381–495.
8. Hamburger, *Intellectuals in Politics*.
9. In retrospect, Mill might have concluded that the material he had worked on was almost as intractable as that Disraeli claimed to have worked on in the late 1860s. Mill, however, would not concede that Disraeli genuinely made such an effort.
10. Mill’s correspondence in the late 1830s shows a preoccupation with the politics of the day. See *CW*, vols. 12–13, *Earlier Letters*, 248–414, *passim*.
11. Most of the first draft of the *Logic* was finished before the publication of William Whewell’s *Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, 2 vols. (London: Parker, 1840), whose helpfulness in the completion of the project Mill acknowledges in *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 231.
12. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 406.
13. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 229.
14. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 468–79.
15. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 468.
16. *CW*, vol. 18, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 197–98.
17. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 483.
18. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 544.
19. *CW*, vol. 8, *System of Logic*, 926.
20. *CW*, vol. 8, *System of Logic*, 927.
21. For a superb discussion of Mill as public moralist, see Stefan Collini, *Public Moralists: Political Thought and Intellectual Life in Britain 1850–1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 121–69.
22. The brief manuscript “What Is to Be Done with Ireland” and the pamphlet *England and Ireland*, *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 497–502, and 505–32, respectively.
23. *CW*, vol. 18, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 205–11.
24. See *CW*, vol. 24, *Newspaper Writings*, 879–1035.
25. For useful discussions of Mill’s response to the famine, see Lynn Zastoupil, “Moral Government: J.S. Mill on Ireland,” *Historical Journal* 16 (1983): 707–17, and Bruce L. Kinzer, *England’s Disgrace? J.S. Mill and the Irish Question* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 44–86.
26. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 507.
27. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 544.
28. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 642.
29. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 243.
30. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 710.

31. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 711–15.
32. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 715.
33. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 482.
34. *CW*, vol. 13, *Earlier Letters*, 533.
35. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1110–12; *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, 317–63.
36. For an illuminating examination of Mill and the 1848 French Revolution, see J.C. Cairns's excellent introduction to *CW*, vol. 20, *Essays on French History and Historians*, lxxxiii–xci.
37. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1112.
38. For various perspectives on the impact of the events of 1848 and the relation between Chartism and middle-class radicalism, see Roland Quinault, "1848 and Parliamentary Reform," *Historical Journal* 31 (1988): 831–51; Margot Finn, *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), chapter 2; and Miles Taylor, *The Decline of British Radicalism 1847–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 106–23.
39. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1101–04, 1104–07, 1107–09.
40. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1103.
41. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1109.
42. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1105–07.
43. *CW*, vol. 25, *Newspaper Writings*, 1105.
44. *CW*, vol. 14, *Later Letters*, 34.
45. *CW*, vol. 14, *Later Letters*, 45.
46. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 245.
47. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 235, 237.
48. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 239.
49. *CW*, vol. 27, *Journals and Debating Speeches*, 662.
50. Mill's retirement at this time was prompted by the passage of the India Act of 1858, which, to his deep regret, dissolved the East India Company as an agency of government in India.
51. For an excellent examination of Helen Taylor's importance in Mill's life between 1858 and 1873, see Ann P. Robson, "Mill's Second Prize in the Lottery of Life," in *A Cultivated Mind*, ed. Laine, 215–41.
52. See Stefan Collini's splendid introduction to *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, viii–xix.
53. The two volumes of *Dissertations and Discussions* included those previously published essays (now revised) that Mill considered of permanent value. As a commercial proposition, *Dissertations and Discussions* was rendered attractive to Mill and his publisher (Parker) by the great success enjoyed by *On Liberty*.
54. To Helen Taylor, Mill wrote: "The truth is that though I detest society for society's sake yet when I can do anything for the public objects I care about by seeing & talking with people I do not dislike it . . . I believe the little additional activity & change of excitement does me good, & that it is better for me to try to serve my opinions in other ways as well as with a pen in my hand. With such people as Hare and Fawcett it is a pleasure." *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 675. For a valuable consideration of the circle that formed around Mill during this phase of his life, see Jeff Lipkes, *Politics, Religion and Classical Political Economy in Britain: John Stuart Mill and His Followers* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1999).
55. See chapter 5 above for my discussion of Mill and the ballot.
56. See *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 322–28.
57. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 261.
58. This is the mode recommended in *Thoughts on Parliamentary Reform*. Mill found it set forth in James Garth Marshall, *Minorities and Majorities; Their Relative Rights. A Letter to Lord John Russell, M.P. on Parliamentary Reform* (London: Ridgway, 1853).
59. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 543–44.
60. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 324–25.

61. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 476.
62. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 288–89.
63. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 478.
64. Also reviewed in this essay were John Austin's *A Plea for the Constitution* (London: Murray, 1859) and James Lorimer's *Political Progress Not Necessarily Democratic; or, Relative Equality the True Foundation of Liberty* (London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1857). For Mill's essay, see *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 341–70.
65. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 608.
66. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 653.
67. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 343.
68. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 358–67.
69. For an able analysis of the central role played by the principles of participation and competence in Mill's theory of representative government, see Thompson, *John Stuart Mill and Representative Government*.
70. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 364.
71. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 448–66.
72. *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 653–54.
73. From the last letter written by Cobden before his death (to T.B. Potter, on 22 March 1865). See John Morley, *The Life of Richard Cobden*, 2 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1908), vol. 2, 493–94.
74. Mill had some misgivings about Hare's penchant for unsuitable quotations. Commenting to Helen Taylor in February 1860 on a recent paper by Hare in *Fraser's Magazine*, Mill observed: "On a subject which ought to be studiously presented in the most eminently practical light, his paper is overlaid with quotations of rhapsody from Carlyle & generalities from Maurice & Ruskin, as applicable to any subject as to this." *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 667.
75. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 370.
76. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 457.
77. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 473.
78. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 477. Statements in a similar vein can be found at 443, 446, 478, 479, 508, 512, and 514.
79. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 239.
80. *CW*, vol. 19, *Essays on Politics and Society*, 313, 314.
81. See his articles "The Contest in America" and "The Slave Power," in *CW*, vol. 21, *Essays on Equality, Law, and Education*, 125–42 and 143–64. The pro-Southern sympathies of most of the English governing class disgusted Mill. "I never before felt so keenly how little permanent improvement had reached the minds of our influential classes and of what small value were the liberal opinions they had got into the habit of professing." *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 267. Conversely, Mill found much to admire in the response of the Lancashire working classes to the 1862 cotton famine. On learning that there was to be a pro-Union demonstration in Manchester, Mill contrasted the "moral greatness" of "the suffering operatives of Lancashire" with "the mean feeling of so great a portion of the public on this momentous subject." *CW*, vol. 15, *Later Letters*, 813. Mill and John Bright fought on the same side in the quest to win over English public opinion, a prologue to their alliance on the issues of parliamentary reform and Jamaica in 1866 and 1867.
82. See Kinzer, Robson, and Robson, *A Moralist In and Out of Parliament*, 80–112.
83. For a different view of Palmerston's "liberalism," one that considers him a notably constructive political force, see E.D. Steele, *Palmerston and Liberalism 1855–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).
84. For examples of the compliments Mill paid Gladstone during these years, see *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 58, 89, 97–98, 323, 355–56, 360–61, 364–66.
85. *CW*, vol. 17, *Later Letters*, Appendix II, 2010–11.
86. See *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 99–100, and *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1186.

87. See *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 278, and *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 103–04.
88. See *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1242–43, and *CW*, vol. 28, *Public and Parliamentary Speeches*, 103–04.
89. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1191–92.
90. See John Vincent, *The Formation of the Liberal Party, 1857–1868* (London: Constable, 1966), 159.
91. For Mill's account of his connection with the Jamaica Committee, see *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 280–82. For studies of the controversy that pay considerable attention to Mill's role, see Bernard Semmel, *The Governor Eyre Controversy* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1962), especially chapter 3, and R.W. Kostal, *A Jurisprudence of Power: Victorian Empire and the Rule of Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Kostal provides by far the most comprehensive treatment of the debate in his important work, which, among other things, criticizes aspects of the commentary on Mill's part given by Kinzer, Robson, and Robson in *A Moralist In and Out of Parliament*, chapter 6.
92. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1126.
93. *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission* 30 (1866): 489–531.
94. See Kinzer, Robson, and Robson, *A Moralist In and Out of Parliament*, 192–93.
95. For an account of the meeting that elected Mill chairman of the Jamaica Committee, see *The Times*, 10 July 1866.
96. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 282.
97. *CW*, vol. 16, *Later Letters*, 1365.
98. The secondary literature on Mill and the Irish question is substantial: E.D. Steele, "J.S. Mill and the Irish Question: The Principles of Political Economy, 1848–1865," *Historical Journal* 13 (1970): 216–36; E.D. Steele, "J.S. Mill and the Irish Question: Reform and the Integrity of the Empire," *Historical Journal* 13 (1970): 419–50; R.N. Lebow, "J.S. Mill and the Irish Land Question," in *John Stuart Mill on Ireland*, ed. R.N. Lebow (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1979), 3–22; Lynn Zastoupil, "Moral Government: J.S. Mill on Ireland"; T.A. Boylan and T.P. Foley, "John Elliot Cairnes, John Stuart Mill and Ireland: Some Problems for Political Economy," *Hermathena* (1983): 96–119; and Kinzer, *England's Disgrace?*
99. For the reaction to Mill's pamphlet, see Kinzer, *England's Disgrace?* 185–99.
100. *CW*, vol. 6, *Essays on England, Ireland, and the Empire*, 532.
101. Steele, "J.S. Mill and the Irish Question: Reform and the Integrity of the Empire," 437–46.
102. Zastoupil, "Moral Government: J.S. Mill on Ireland."
103. Kinzer, *England's Disgrace?* 171–85.
104. *CW*, vol. 1, *Autobiography and Literary Essays*, 278–79.

I N D E X

- Abbreviations used: TC = Thomas Carlyle; HT = Harriet Taylor; JM = James Mill; JSM = John Stuart Mill
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