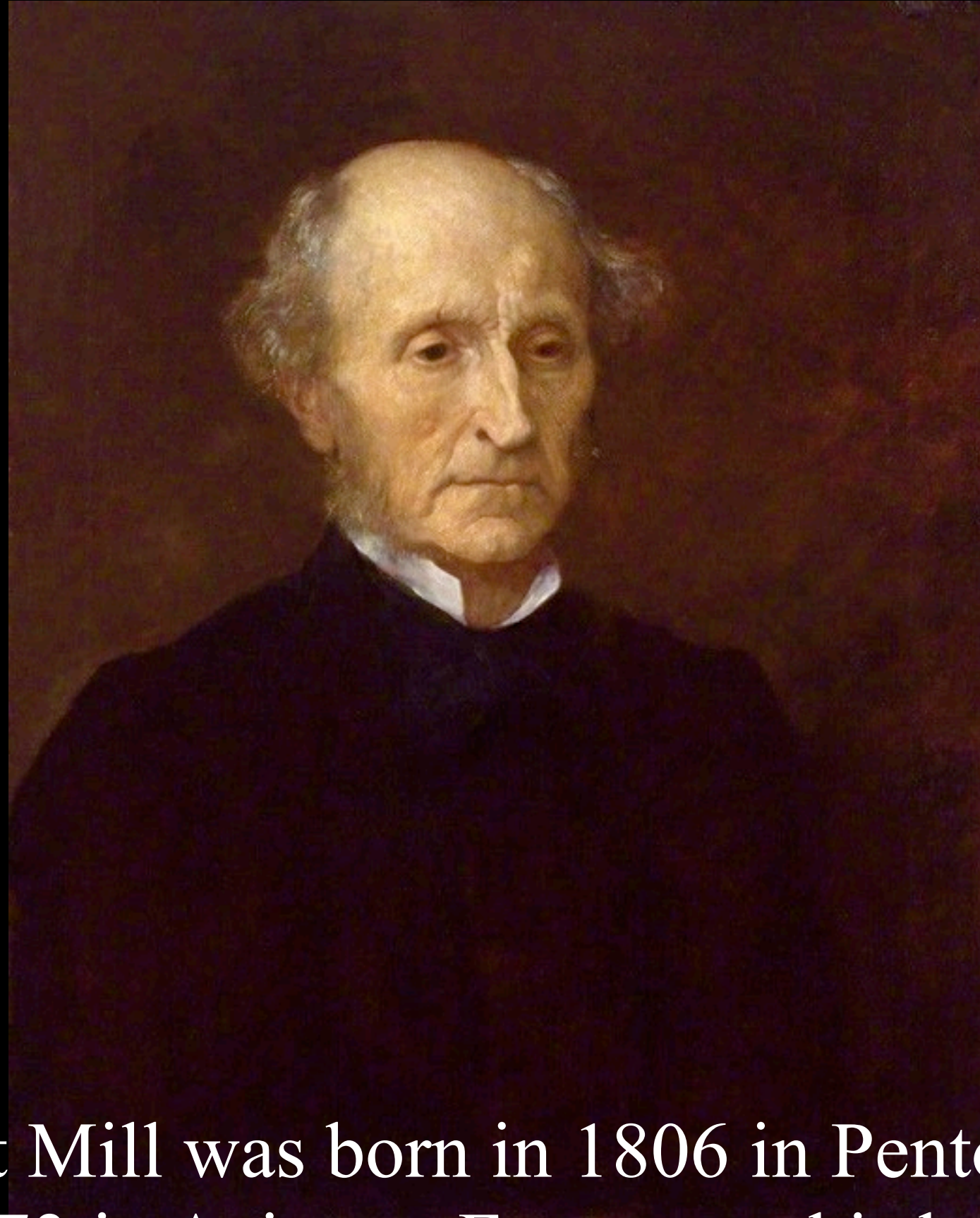


Making of the Western Mind Institute for the Study of Western Civilization Week 28, John Stuart Mill





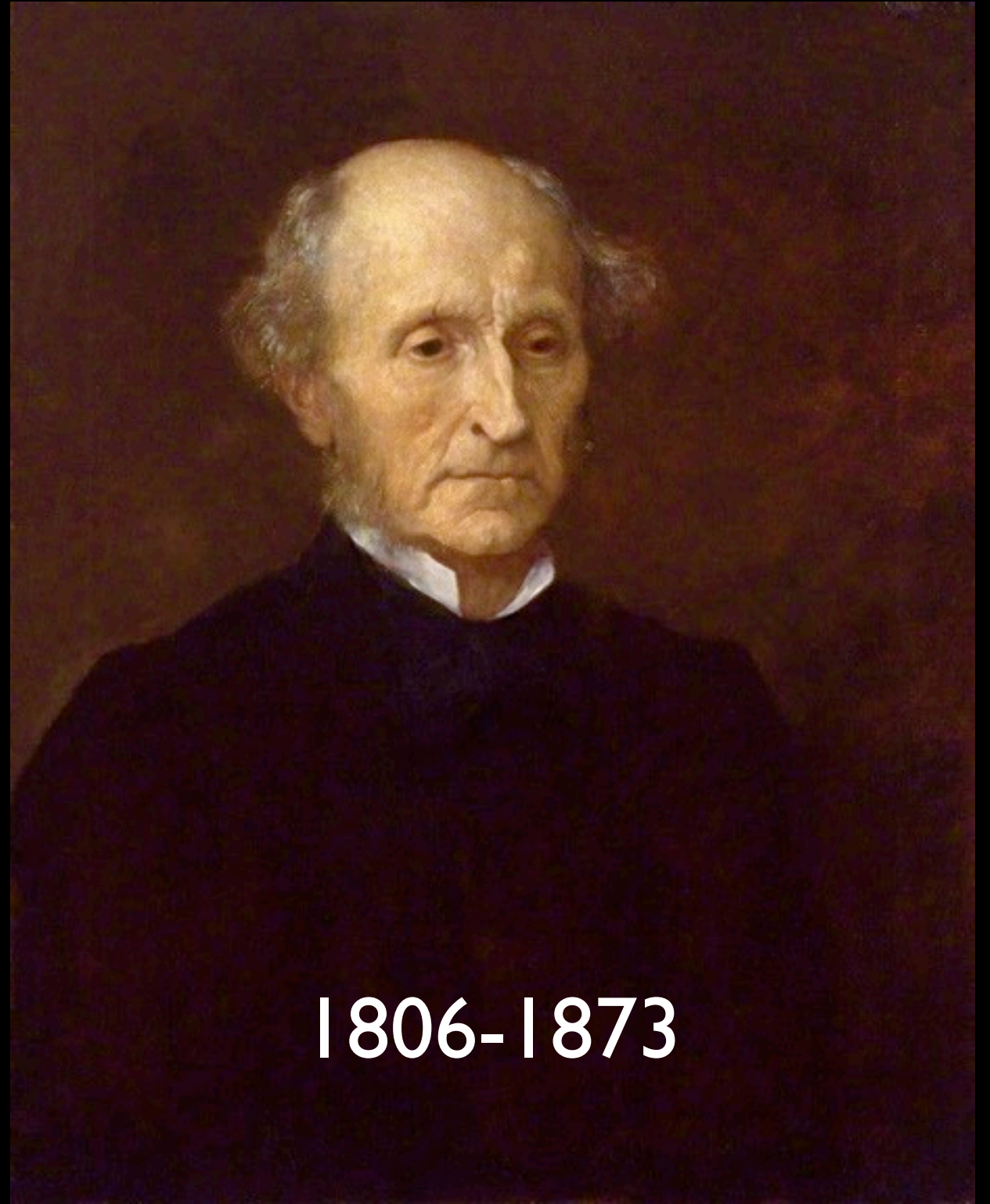
John Stuart Mill was born in 1806 in Pentonville, UK
died in 1873 in Avignon France, and is buried there.

Queen Victoria and John Stuart Mill

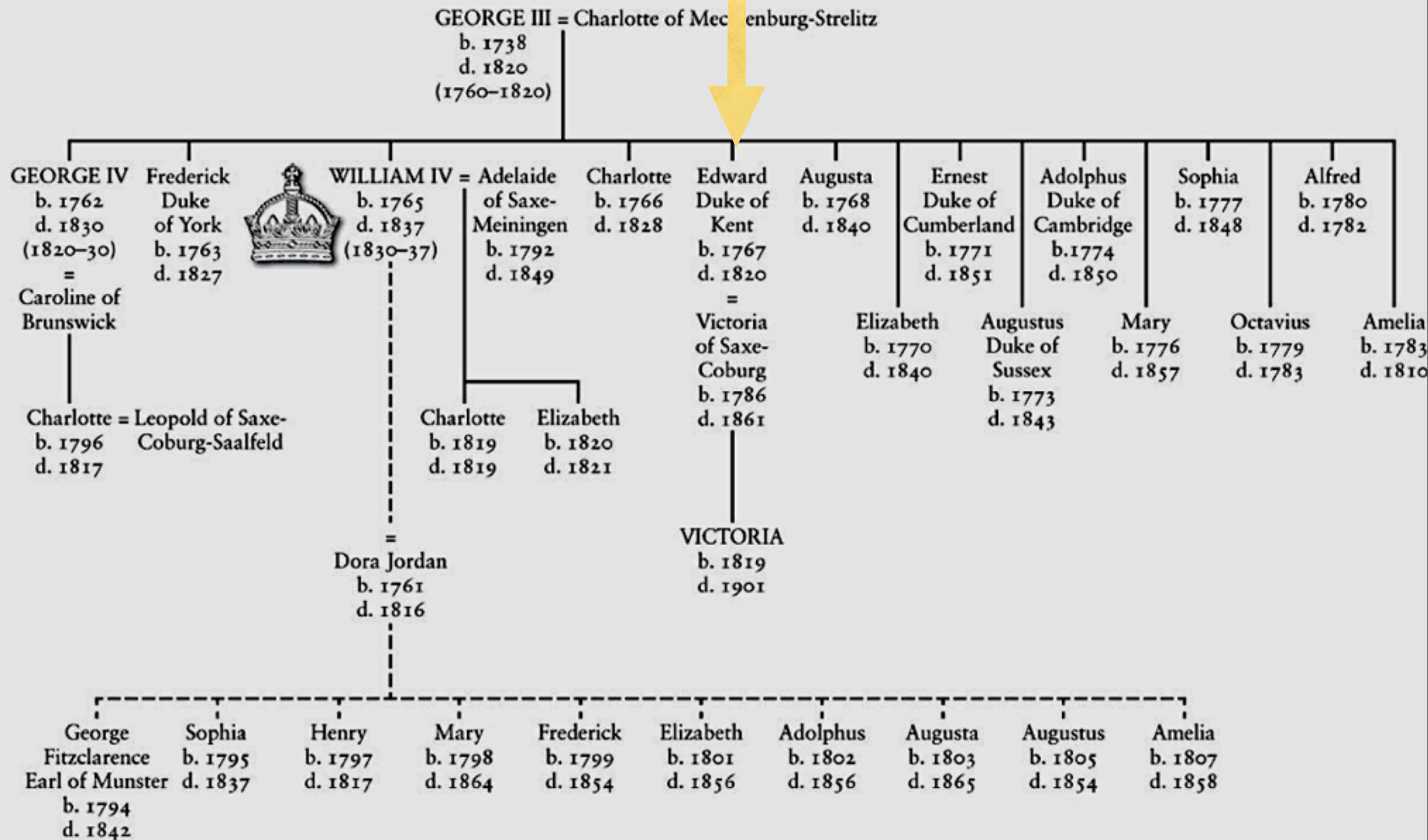
1819-
1901



1806-1873



NOV 1817, no young heirs.





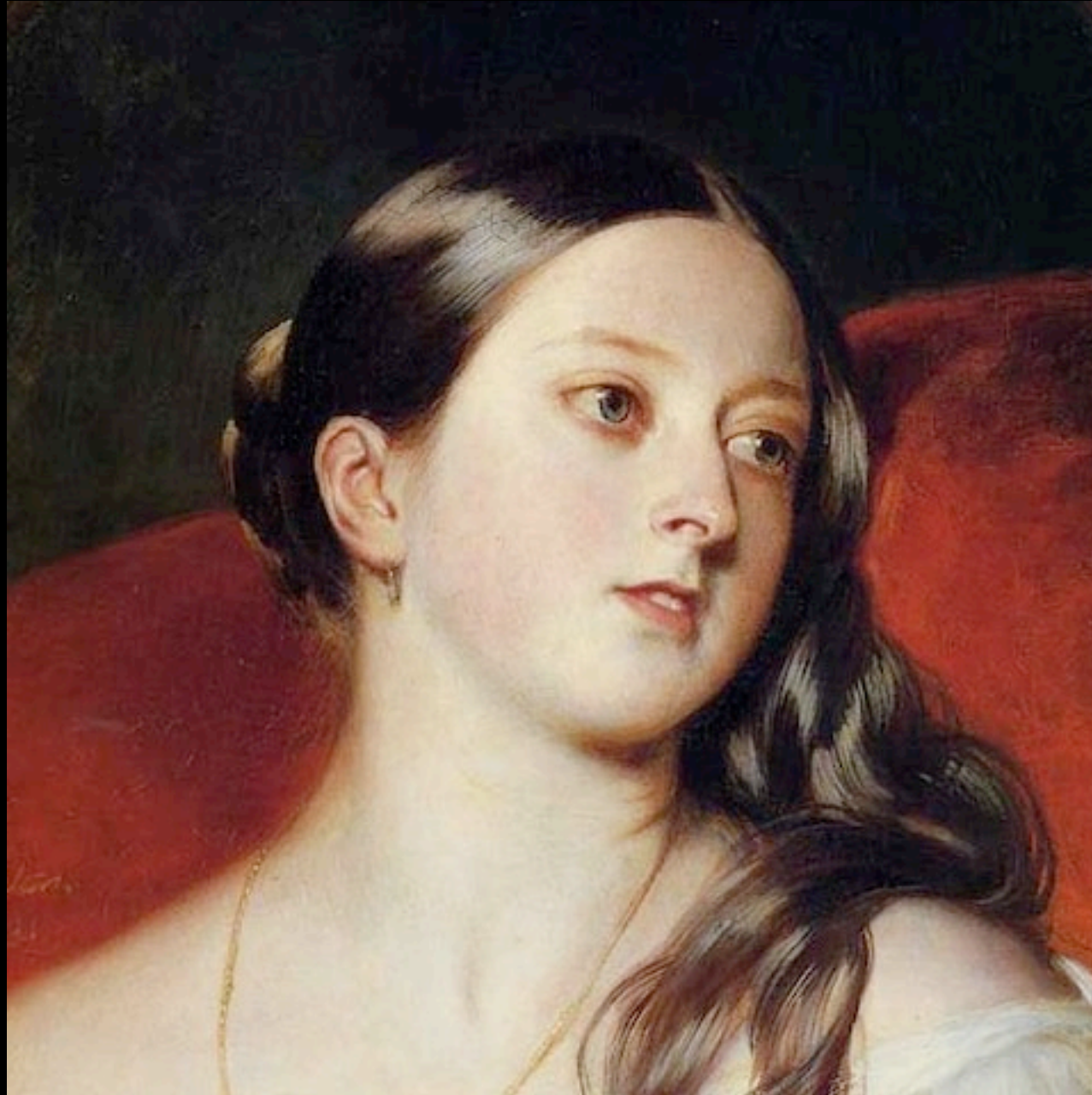
Edward
Duke of Kent
1767-Jan 23, 1820 (age 52)

wife: Princess Victoria of
Saxe-Coburg
daughter: Victoria



A miniature of the young Princess Alexandrina Victoria of Kent (the future Queen Victoria) as she appeared

THE AGE OF VICTORIA 1819-1901





Victoria

Born

24 May 1819

Kensington Palace,
London

WATERLOO JUNE 18, 1815





An aerial photograph of a coastal landscape. In the foreground, a sandy beach curves along the shore, bordered by a dark, forested cliff. To the left, green fields are separated by stone walls. The sea is a deep blue, and the background shows rolling hills under a clear sky.

1819
Great Britain
in the midst
of most
massive
transformation
since the
Reformation



1800

GB = 7 million

1900

GB = 30 million

Victoria will
watch her
country

More than
double its
Population in
her lifetime.

POPULATION ENGLAND

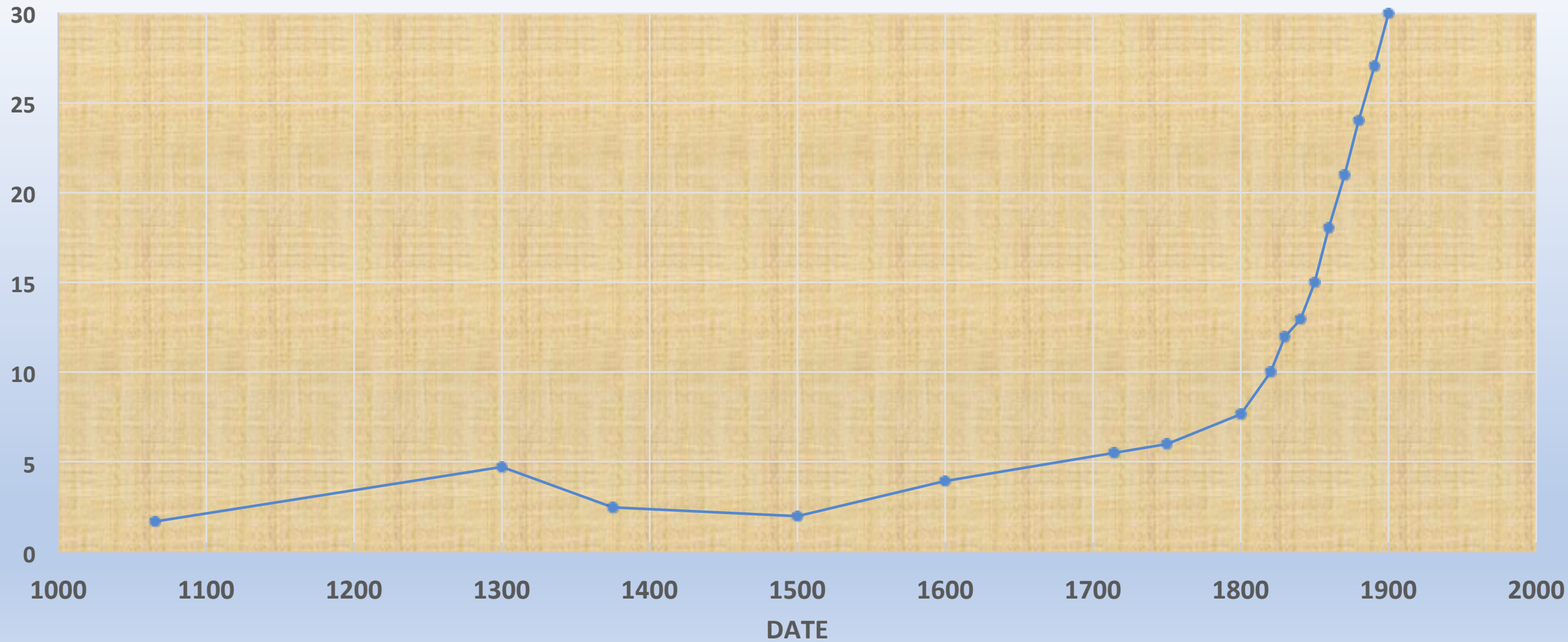
1066	1.7 million		
1300	4.7 million	1830	12 million
1375	2.5 million	1840	13 million
1500	2.0 million	1850	15 million
1600	4.0 million	1860	18 million
1714	5.5 million.	1870	21 million
1750	6 million	1880	24 million
1800	7.7 million	1890	27 million
		1900	30 million

in 1700

only 1 child in 4 survived

ENGLISH POPULATION 1000-1900

England's Population Growth Rate



1700-1900 Transformation of England from a primarily agricultural country to an urban one.


Population of London

1800	800,000
1811	1 million
1820	1.2 million
1830	1.5 million
1840	1.6 million
1850	2. million
1860	2.5 million
1870	3.2 million
1880	4 million
1890	4.5 million
1911	5 million

WHY?

1. better food.
2. cheaper food.
3. better medicine.
4. wider medical knowledge.
5. popular press with info.
6. infant mortality down.
7. women's movements
concentrate attention on needs.



A photograph of a flock of sheep in a green field. In the foreground, several sheep with thick, curly wool are looking towards the camera. Behind them, a wire fence runs across the field, and more sheep are visible in the background. The scene is set in a rural, hilly area with trees and a clear sky.

Agriculture will be totally transformed.
Bigger farms. More efficient. Fewer owners.
Unemployed farmers fleeing to the city.

183 | 1 million farm families
work farms
150,000 owners
700,000 workers

Manufacturing cities explode: Manchester, Birmingham.



New Urban life becomes the norm during life of Victoria.

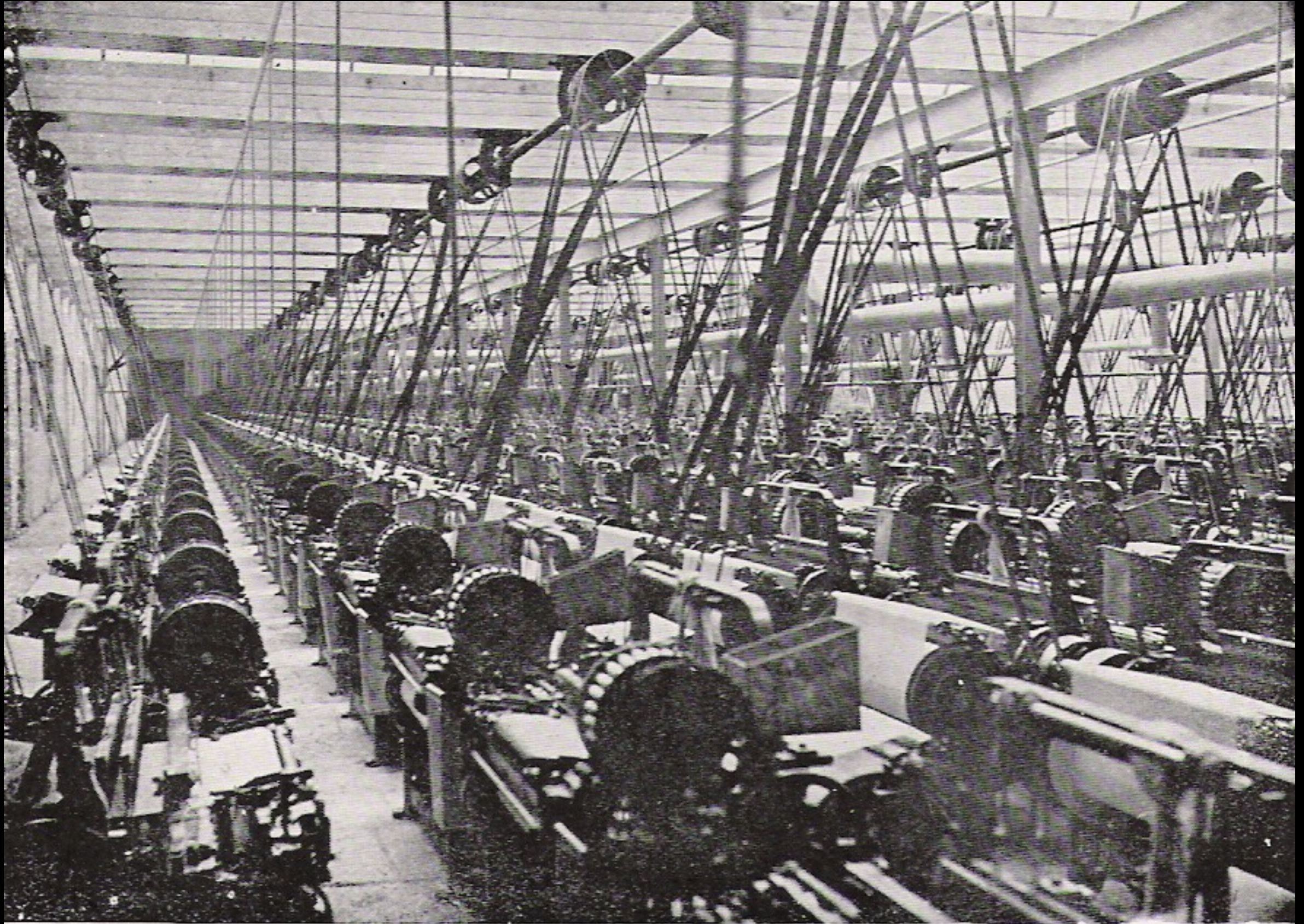
Convenience of coal.



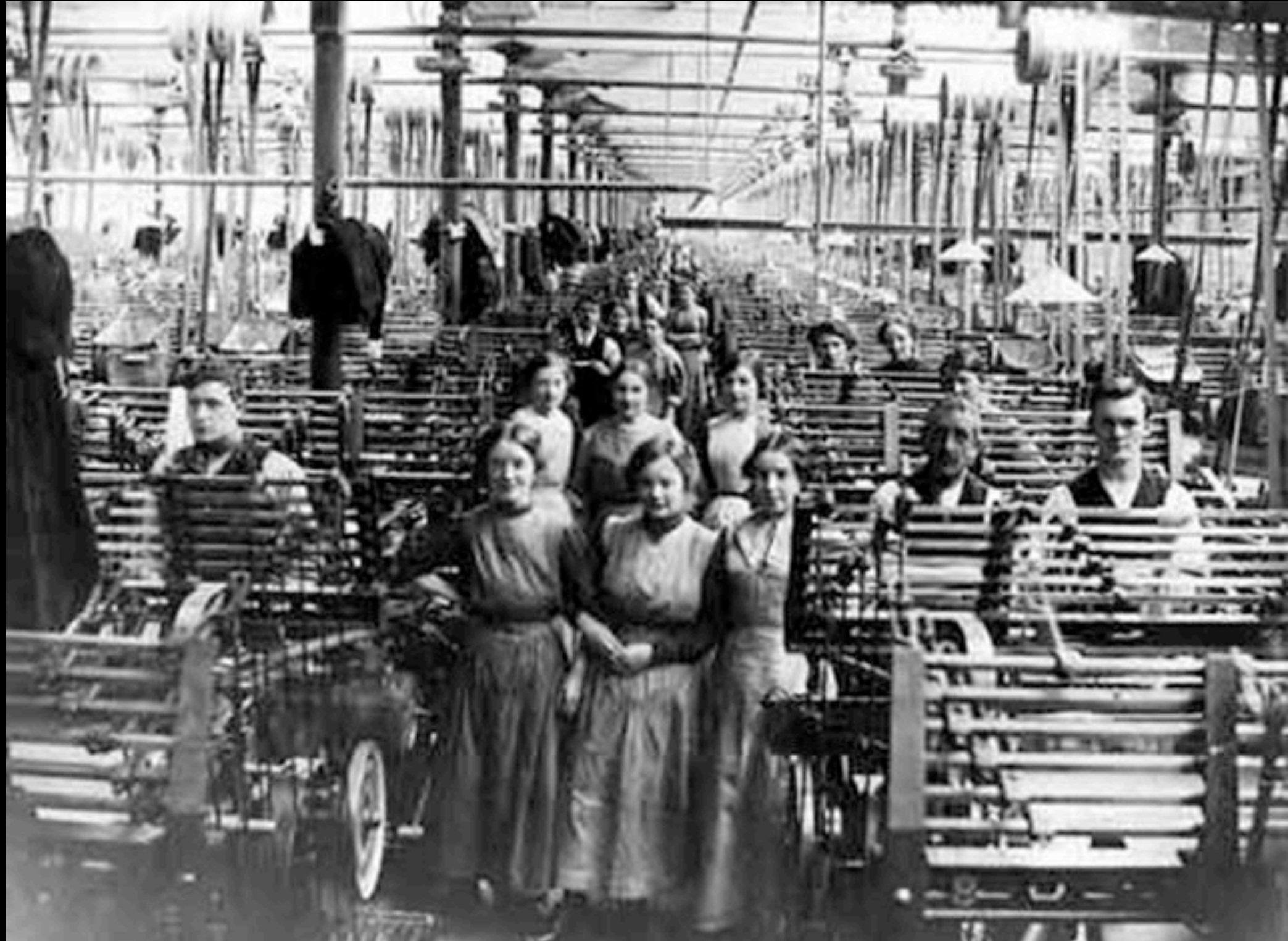
Pollution of coal.



The cotton mills of Lancashire



Men and women who so recently worked on farms
now spent their days in factories





1860: 2650 cotton mills in Lancashire
500,000 workers

1815: GB imports 82 million pounds of USA cotton

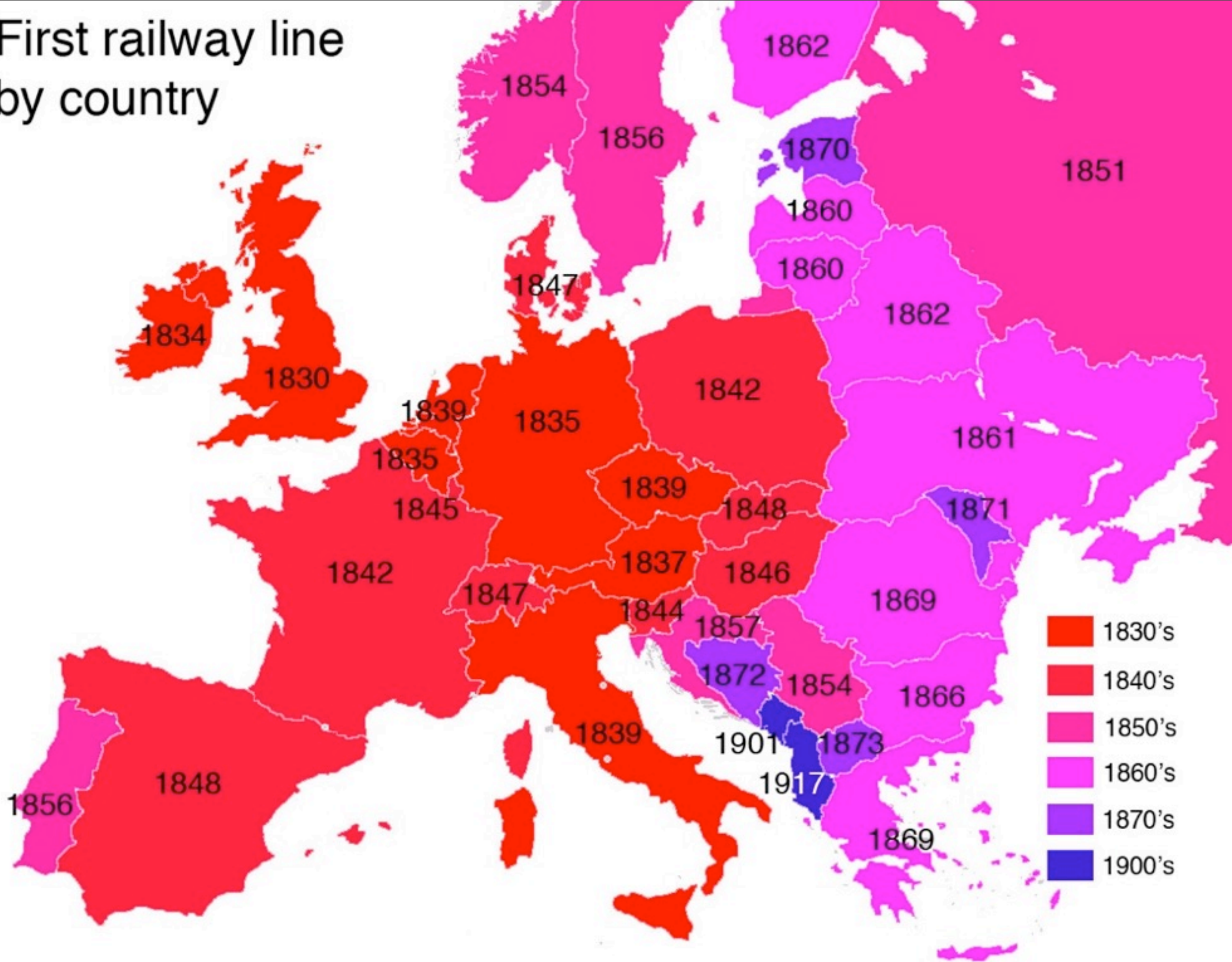
1860: GB imports 1000 million pounds USA cotton

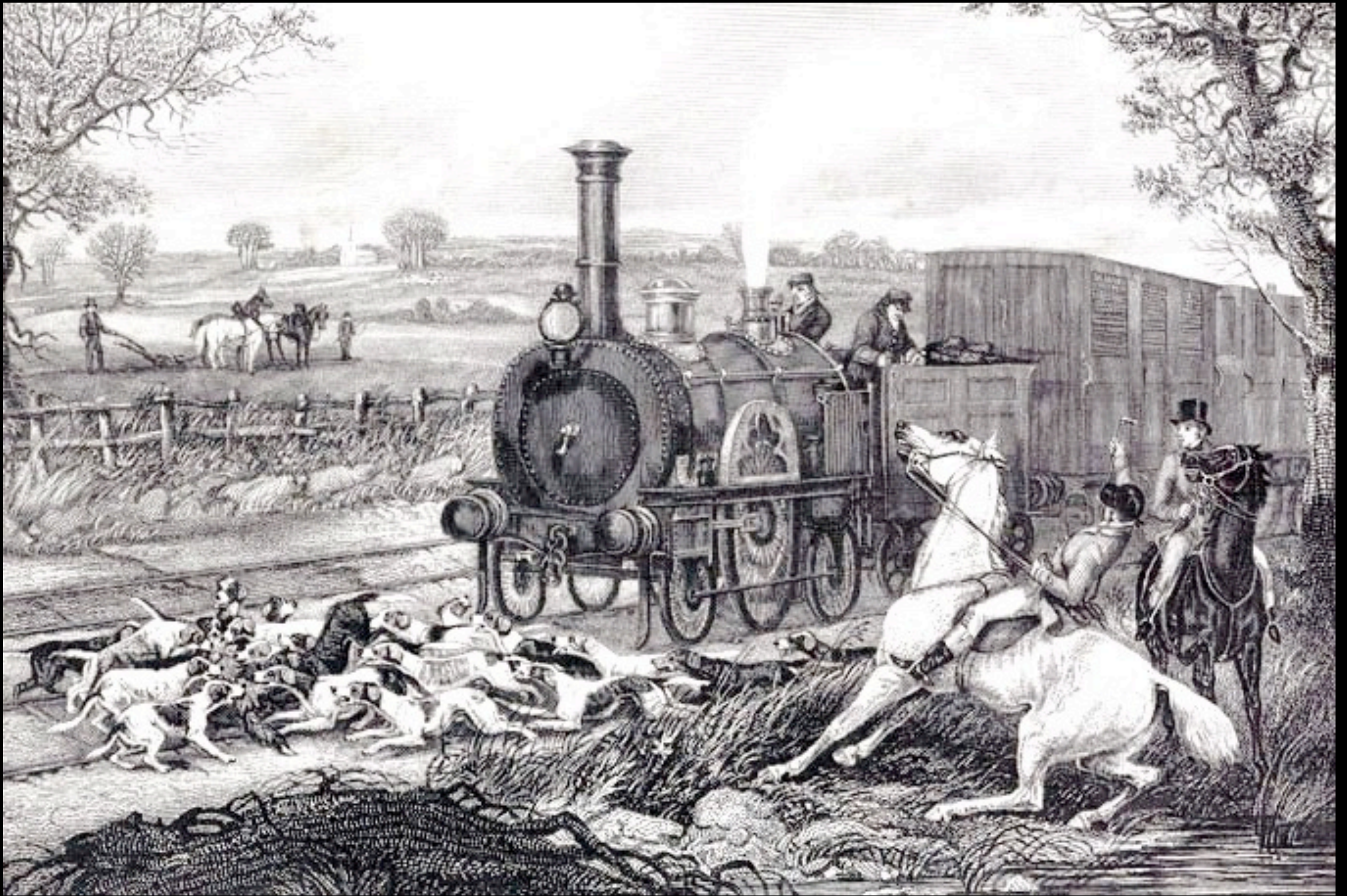
14th Century made Florence rich with wool

19th Century makes GB rich with cotton



First railway line by country





The Pleasures of the Railroad



The Pleasures of the Rail-Road. — Caught in the Railway !



The new architectural wonder: The Train Station







1750-1850: London will be totally transformed, 1779



1809 Gas lighting in London...a longer day, night life.



A PEEP AT THE GAS LIGHTS IN PALL-MALL.



A wide-angle photograph of a rural landscape. In the foreground, a lush green field is filled with numerous white sheep grazing. A dense line of trees and shrubs separates the field from the middle ground. In the background, rolling green hills are visible, with some small buildings and more trees scattered across the slopes. The sky is overcast and grey.

The Idyllic country farm life that is the
center of Jane Austen's world, gives
way to the noisy cities of Dicken's world.

Literacy 1700-1900 BOOKS NEWSPAPERS

Vast expansion of literacy in UK 1700-1900+

Driven by charity schools movement of the 18th C.
Begins with Dissenters setting up schools
Anglicans follow.

Examples:

The Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
Increasing trade and commerce(Export-Import) demanded
more clerks. Drives charity school movement.

Thousands of schools established and maintained with
foundations money.

In the Victorian Era the government gets into edu.
passes mandatory edu acts.

18th Century literature
Increasing literacy yields
Newspapers
Magazines

Coffee houses with newspapers
Explosion of 18th C theater

and the creation of the one great MODERN literary form:

THE NOVEL

Daniel Defoe the first great novelist but 18th C England
is the creator of the modern novel.

Daniel Defoe
Henry Fielding
Jane Austen

Politics: Wm Pitt addresses House of Commons 1793



1819-1914 Will produce total transformation of GB politics

1819-1914

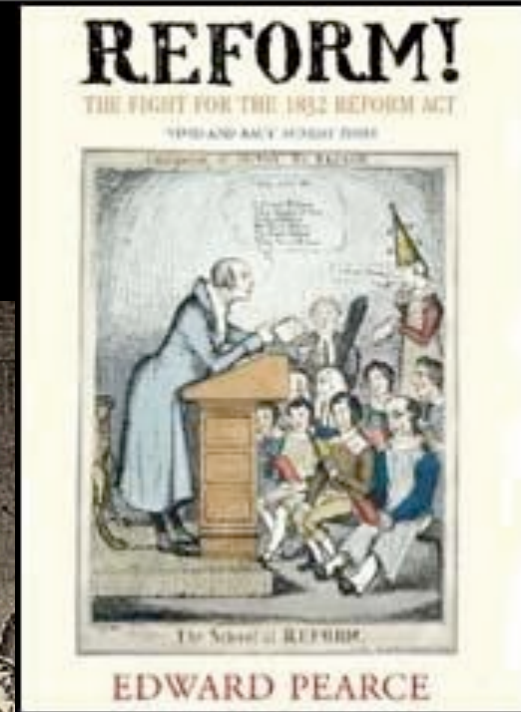
Total Transformation of British political institutions.

REFORM

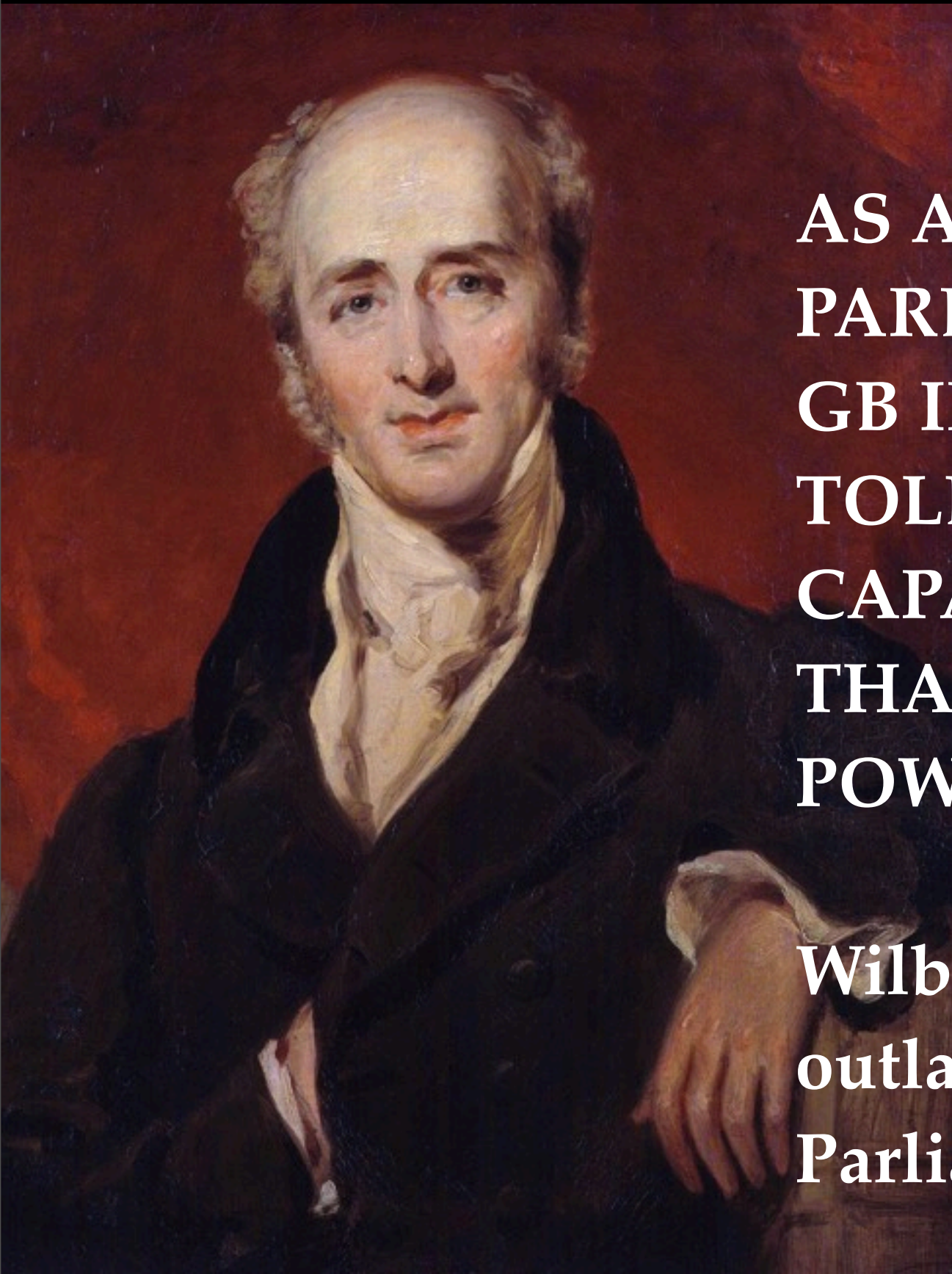
The central principle of all 18th C. politics:
**It is PROPERTY that is represented in
Parliament.**

In the 19th C. slowly, the Body Politic will recognize
that **it is PEOPLE who are represented in
Parliament.**

THE REFORM BILL OF 1832



LORD JOHN RUSSELL INTRODUCING THE REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.



1819-1914

AS A CONSTITUTIONAL
PARLIAMENTARY MONARCHY
GB IN 1819 ENJOYED A MORE
TOLERANT, ENLIGHTENED
CAPABLE OF REFORM GOV
THAN ANY OTHER EUROPEAN
POWER AT THE TIME.

Wilberforce will lead them to
outlaw slavery using
Parliamentary jurisdiction.



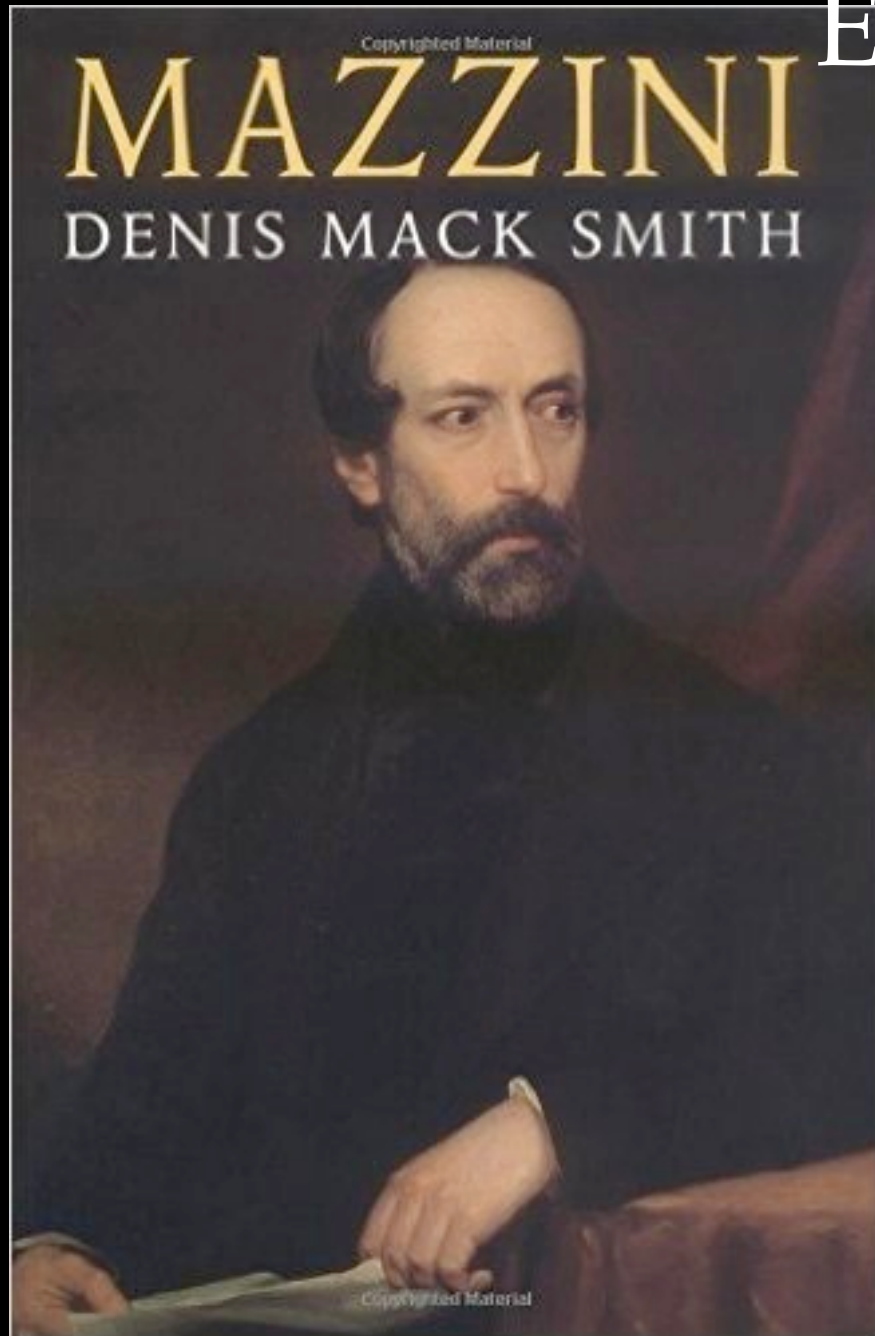
Robert Peel
1788-1850
a brilliant leader
a reformer
a brave man
good friend
of Prince Albert

THE NEW TORY PARTY

The rest of the world wanted to imitate GB.

Its ability to build stable gov AND reform.

Reformers like Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour all look to
England.



1847: Mazzini Meets Giuseppe Verdi (1813-1901) in London

1848 Revolutions



N^o 1319.

After Kappeler, bei Behningke & Kienrichsneider.

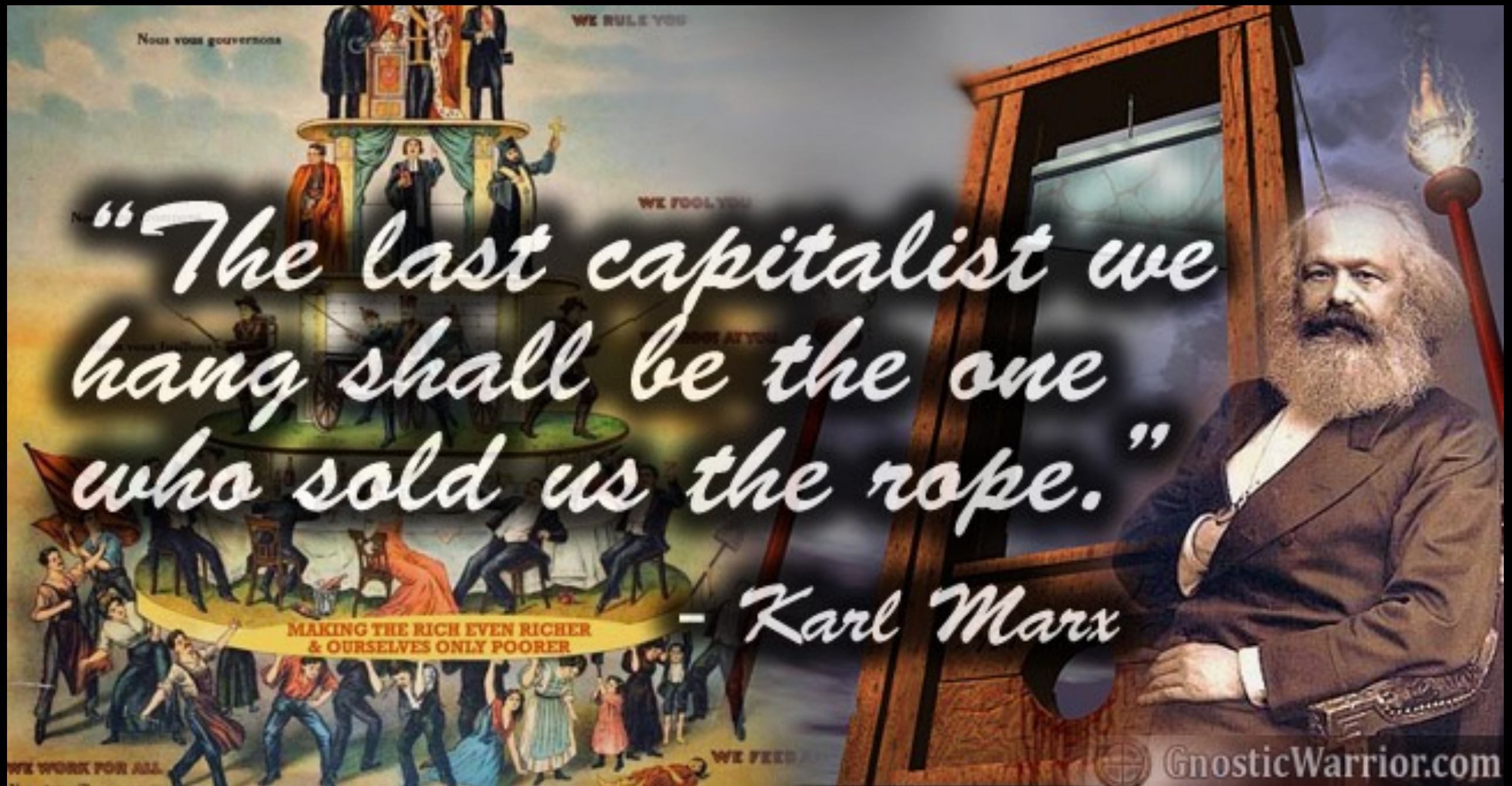
Berlins Aufstand.
Barricade in der neuen Königs Strasse am 19. März 1848.

The Revolutions of 1848

GREATEST
THREAT



1848:THE COMMUNISTS, 1848-1948, RED SCARE

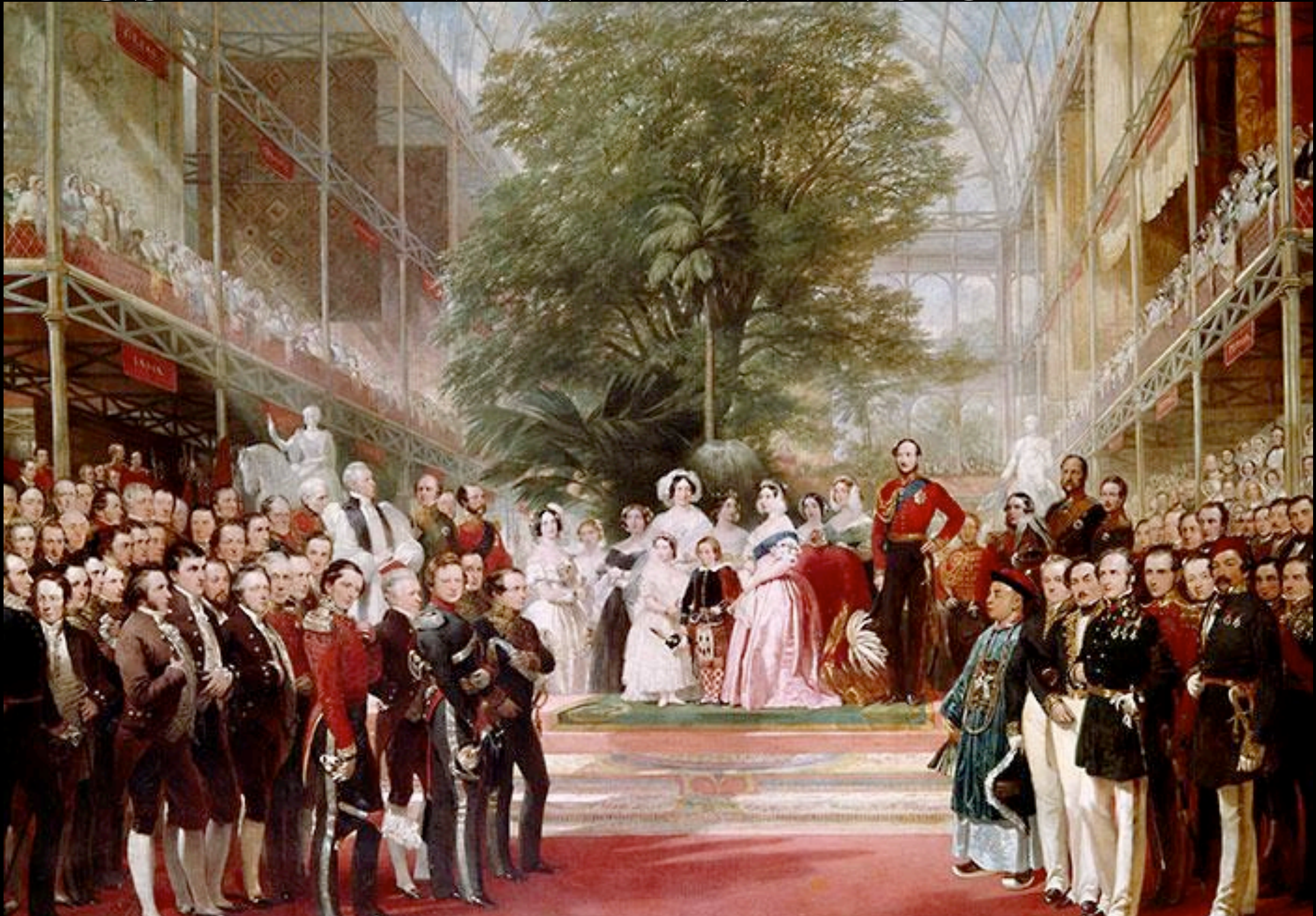


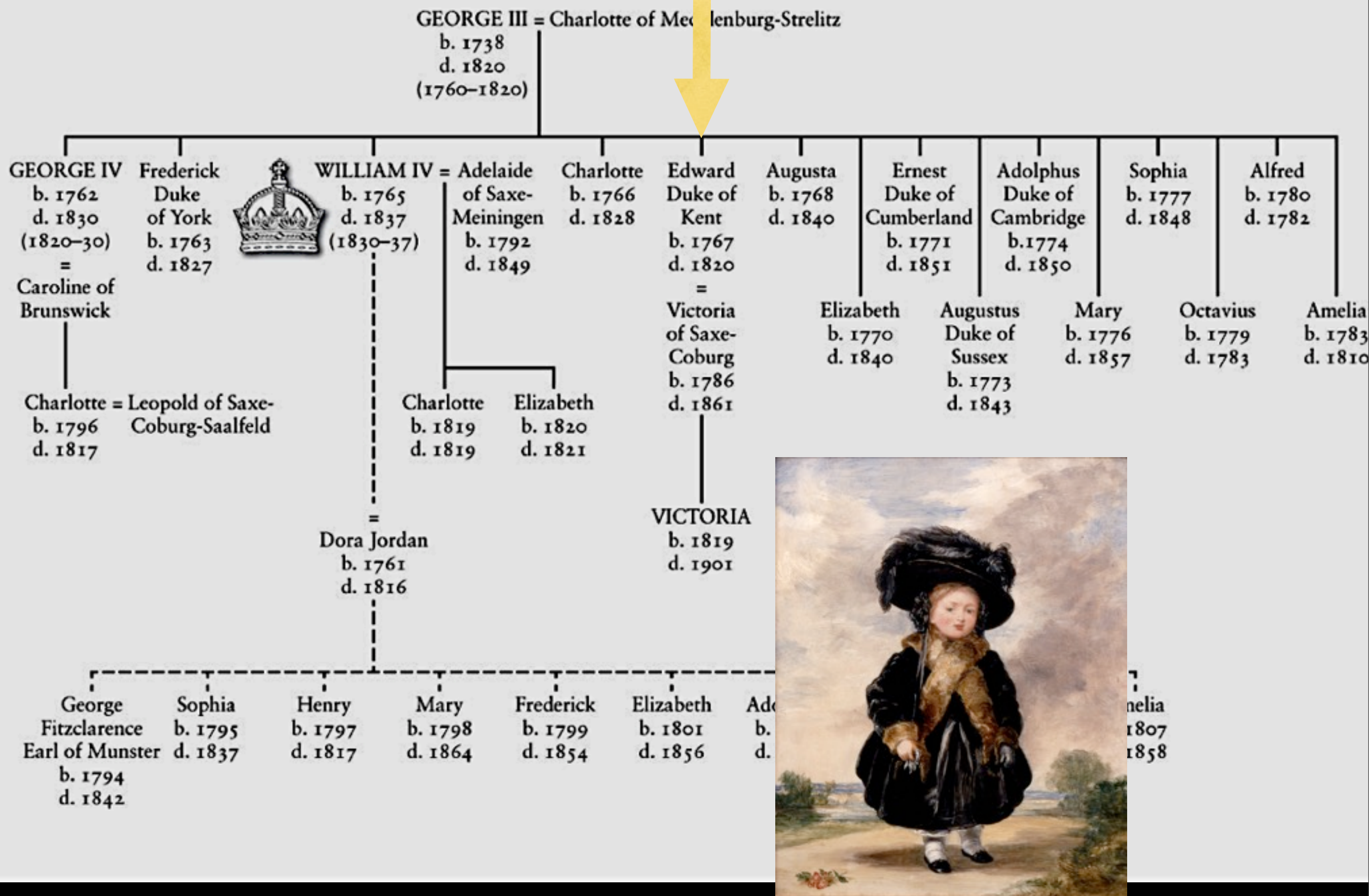
WHAT WAS THE FORMULA?

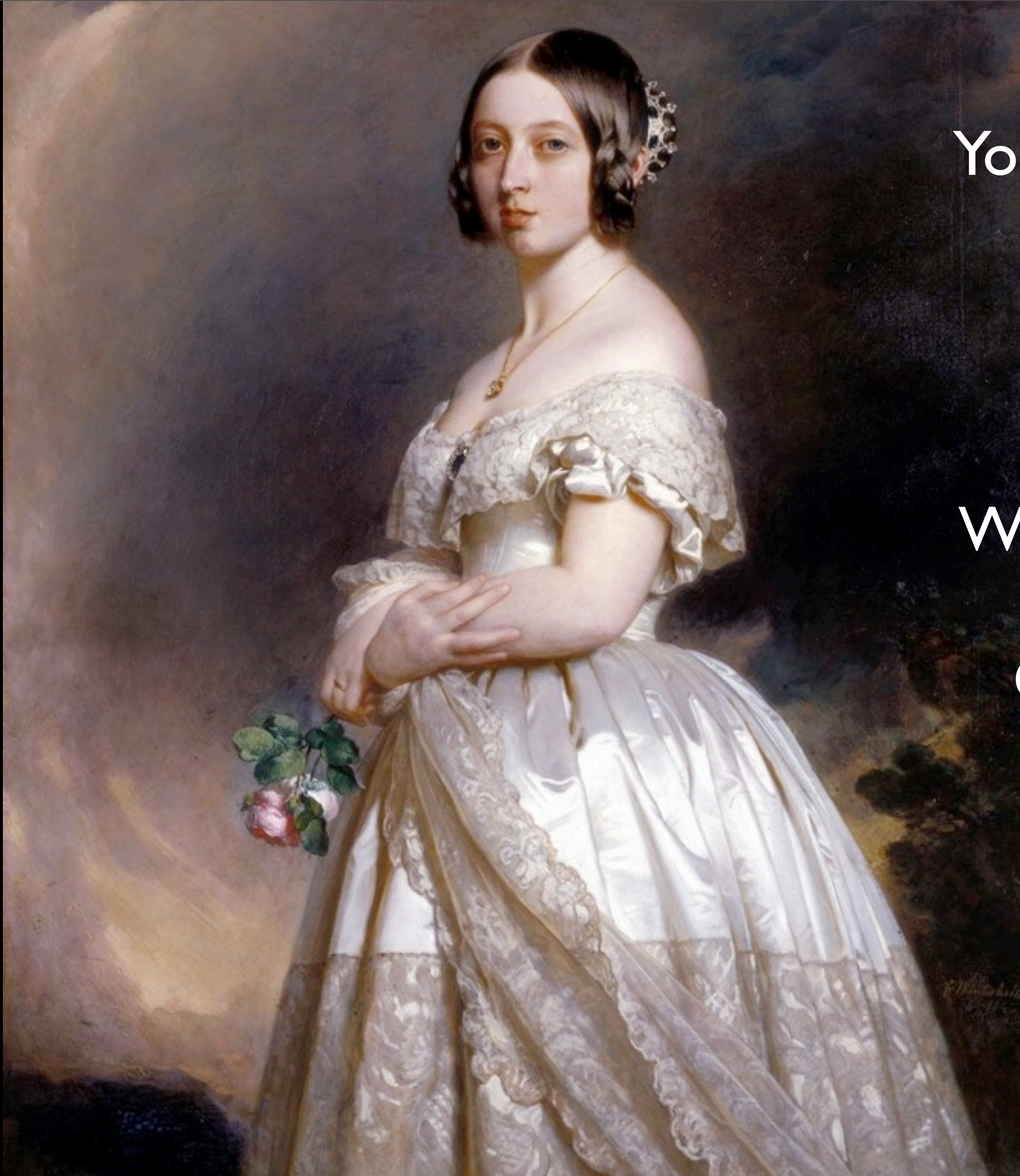
1. Parliament with regular elections & broadened suffrage (Reform Bill of 1832)
2. Political parties...both USA & GB resist..but becomes clear it is best way to org. pop opinion.
19thC: Tories and the Whigs (Liberals)
3. Cabinet gov. heads of departments meet report to Parliament, create gov. position.
4. admin bureaucracy to fulfill gov policies.
5. Constitutional Monarch.



THE ROCK UPON WHICH GB COULD BUILD ITS
GOV 1819-1910 WAS ROCK OF TWO PERSONS
TWO BRILLIANT LEADERS: MALE AND FEMALE
HUSBAND AND WIFE WITH 9 CHILDREN







Young Queen
Victoria
By
Franz
Xaver
Winterhalter
now at
Osborne
House
Isle of
Wight

VICTORIA AND ALBERT





October, 1839
Victoria was
astonished at how
handsome Albert
seemed three
years after her last
visit with him.
She specifically
noted how sexy
he was in his tight
white pants.



They behaved like besotted lovers. He took her hands in his, warming them, marveling at how small they were. He sat near her as she worked, blotting her ink when she asked. Victoria crept up behind him and planted her lips on his forehead, and chased him as he left, for one last kiss.

The Victorian Marriage.



Love and sex in marriage.



Love and sex in marriage and children.



The Victorian Marriage



1. Romantic love (Austen)
(Austen's books are revol
in their ideas about
love and marriage)
2. hot sex
3. mutual fidelity
(more and more in 19th C
a positive value, men cheat
less and less..cheaters like
Napoleon III less and less
admired..memory of
Geo IV reviled.)
3. family children
4. married in a church
5. education 6. social reform



After years of terrible royal confusion of a mad king who harassed and drove his children away with constant tyrannical criticism, then twenty years of a hopelessly corrupt admin of The Regent and then King Geo IV, and then further confusion of a doddering old William IV, now here were two young attractive people pledging to love each other forever and be faithful to each other “til death do us part.”

It was a social revolution.

THE MARRIAGE: Partners



Albert's impact on Victoria's politics: **Liberal** reform





1840-1861: Victoria and Albert. Liberal reform

Close to Robert Peel, Reformist Tory

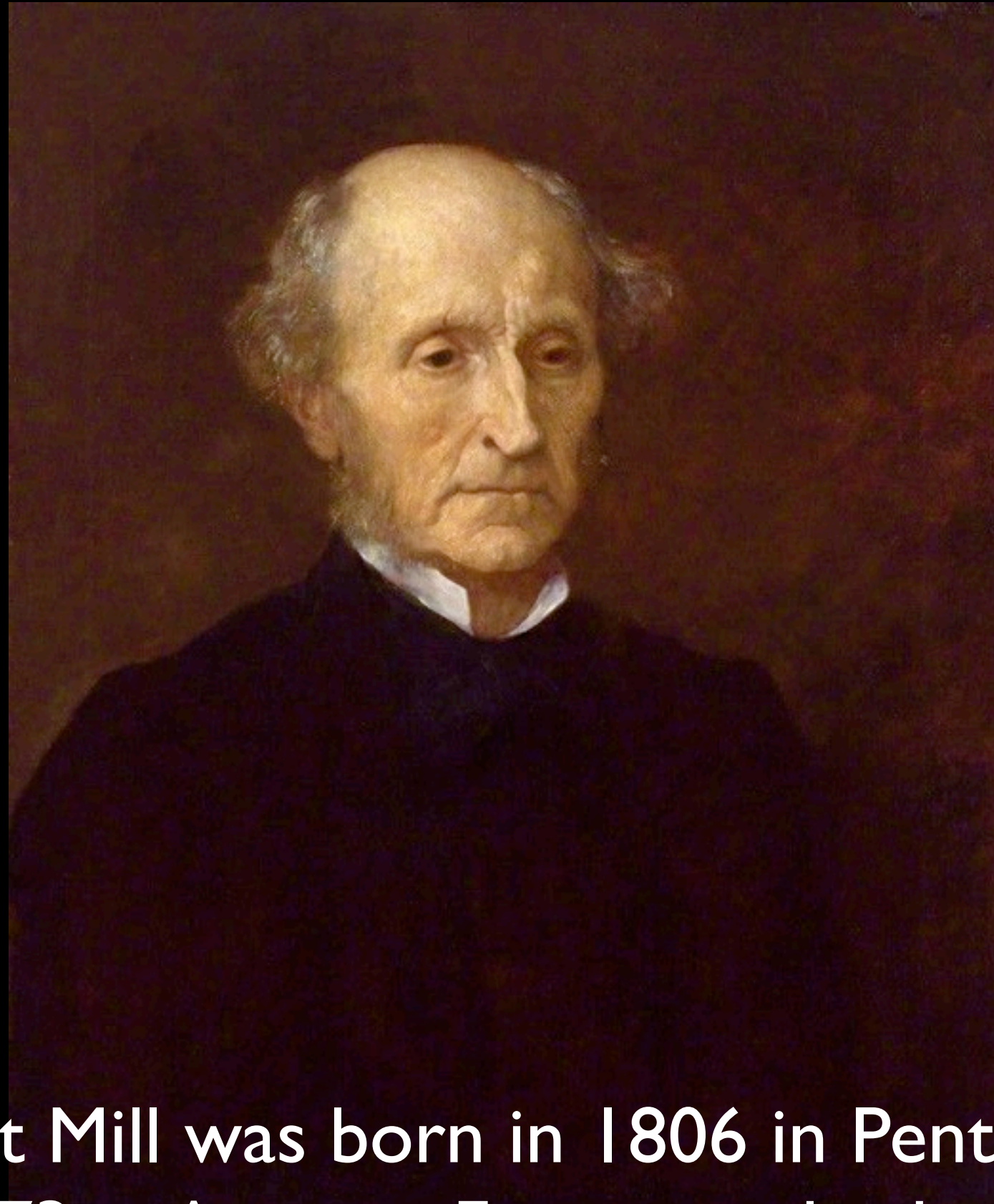
1. abolish slavery
2. reform social services, the poor relief
3. reform parliament (1832 +)
4. educational reform
5. industrial advance, Albert pro RR

Julia Baird: “The marriage between Victoria and Albert is one of the greatest romances of modern history. It was genuine, devoted, and fruitful. Together, they ushered in an era when the monarchy would shift from direct power to indirect influence, and from being the fruit of the aristocracy to becoming the symbol of the middle class. They restored and raised the stature of the monarchy, preserving it from the revolutions that toppled the aristocracies and royal families in Europe during the same years that Victoria and Albert were widely feted in Britain. Albert would grow to surpass his wife, for a short time, in influence, but not in longevity, stamina, or sheer will. Albert would soar; Victoria would endure.”

VICTORIA AND ALBERT

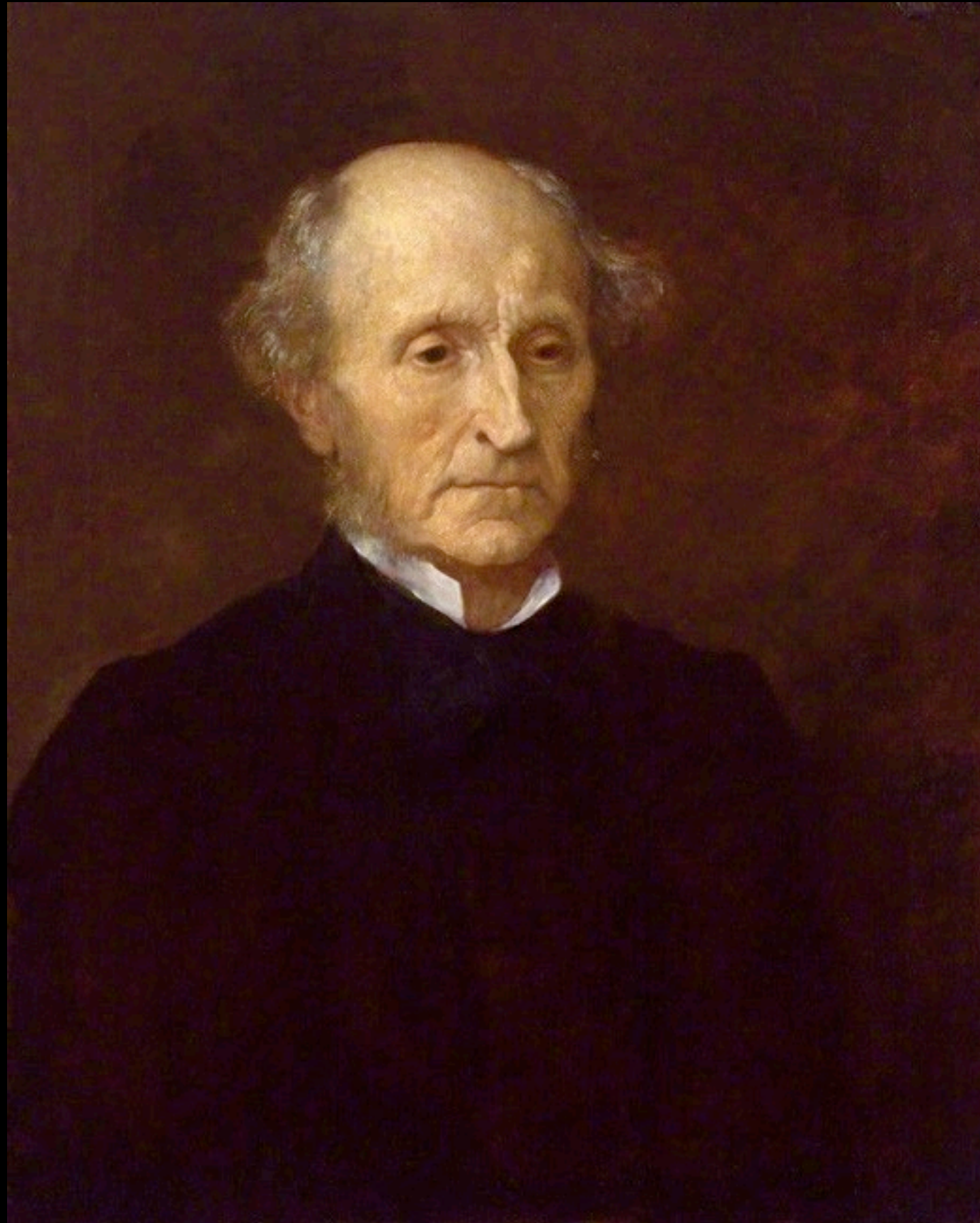


1806-1873

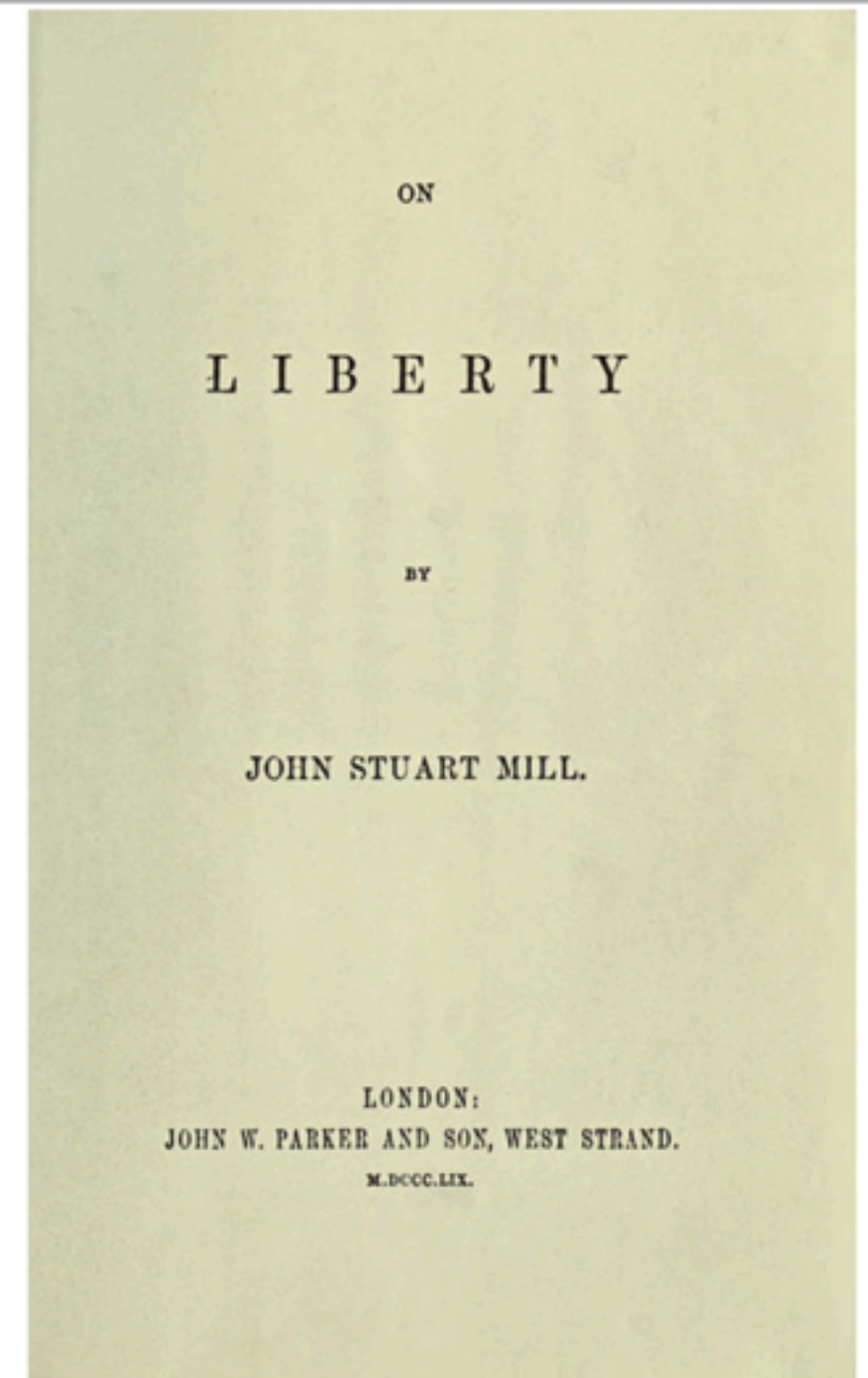


John Stuart Mill was born in 1806 in Pentonville, UK
died in 1873 in Avignon France, and is buried there.

Publication of *On Liberty*, 1859



On Liberty



The title page of the first edition, published 1859

His father James Mill



James Mill, 1773-1836



In October 1798, he was ordained as a minister of the Church of Scotland, but met with little success. According to John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography*, his father though educated in the creed of Scotch Presbyterianism, had by his own studies and reflections been early led to reject the various creeds of Christianity. He was a secularist: human beings can explain the world with their intellect.



In 1802, he left
Scotland and came
to London.

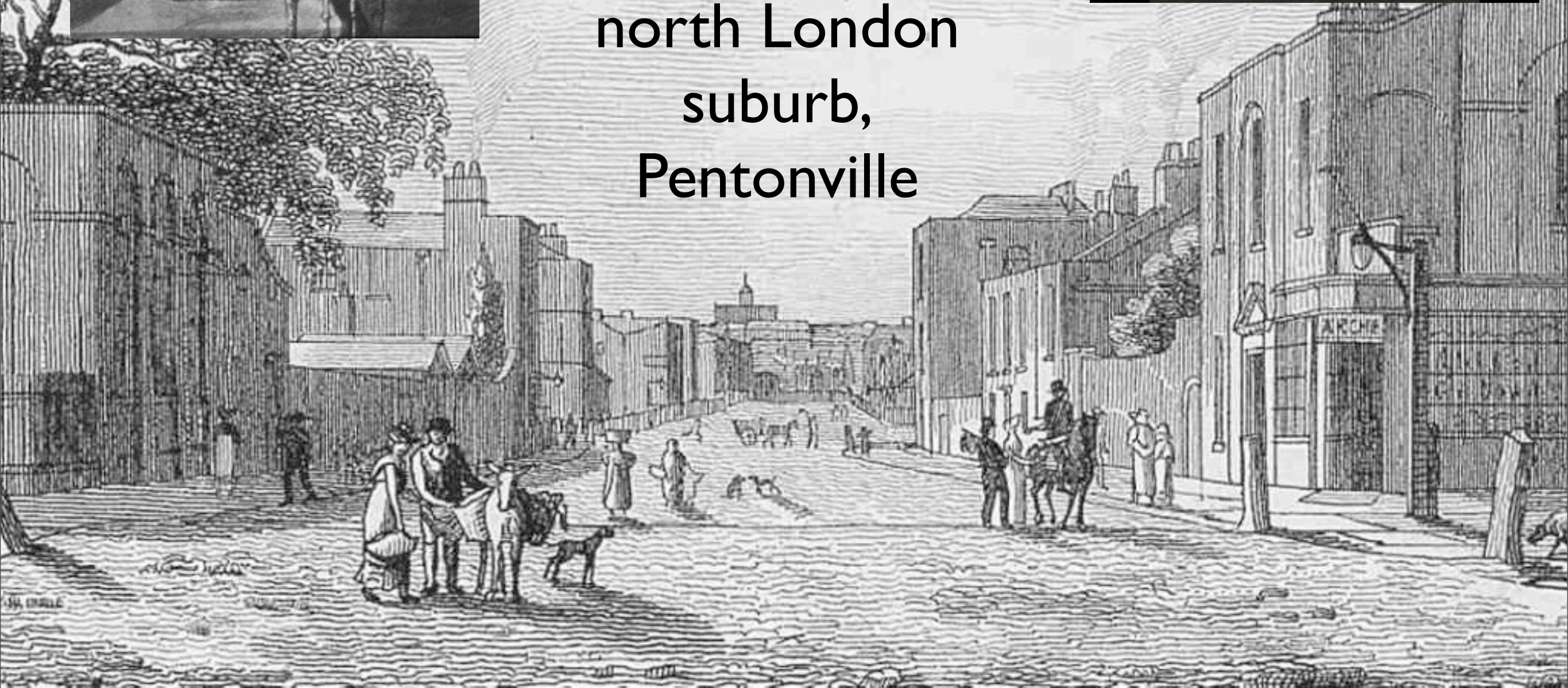
**There was very
little call for a
minister in the
Presbyterian
church of
Scotland who did
not believe in God.**



In 1802, he left Scotland and came to London. **There was very little call for a minister in the Presbyterian church of Scotland who did not believe in God.** From 1803 to 1806, he was editor of an ambitious periodical called the *Literary Journal*, which professed to give a summary view of all the leading departments of human knowledge. The Review was the quintessential example of the Enlightenment frame of mind. Increased knowledge would solve all the world's problems.



1806
Birth of
John
Stuart
Mill,
lives in
north London
suburb,
Pentonville





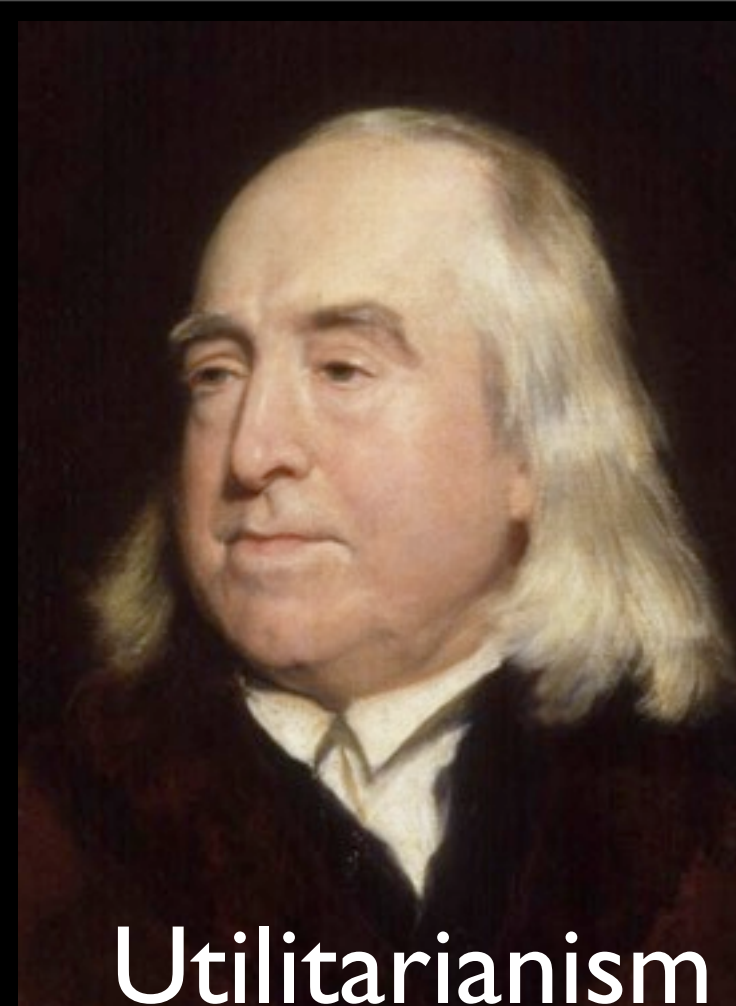
James Mill, 1773-1836

James Mill took upon himself the task of writing the monumental *History of British India*, a classic of colonial self-congratulation which contains a complete denunciation and rejection of Indian culture and civilization and which both exhorts and extolls the civilizing mission of the British in the subcontinent. He was the first writer to divide Indian history into three parts: Hindu, Muslim and British.



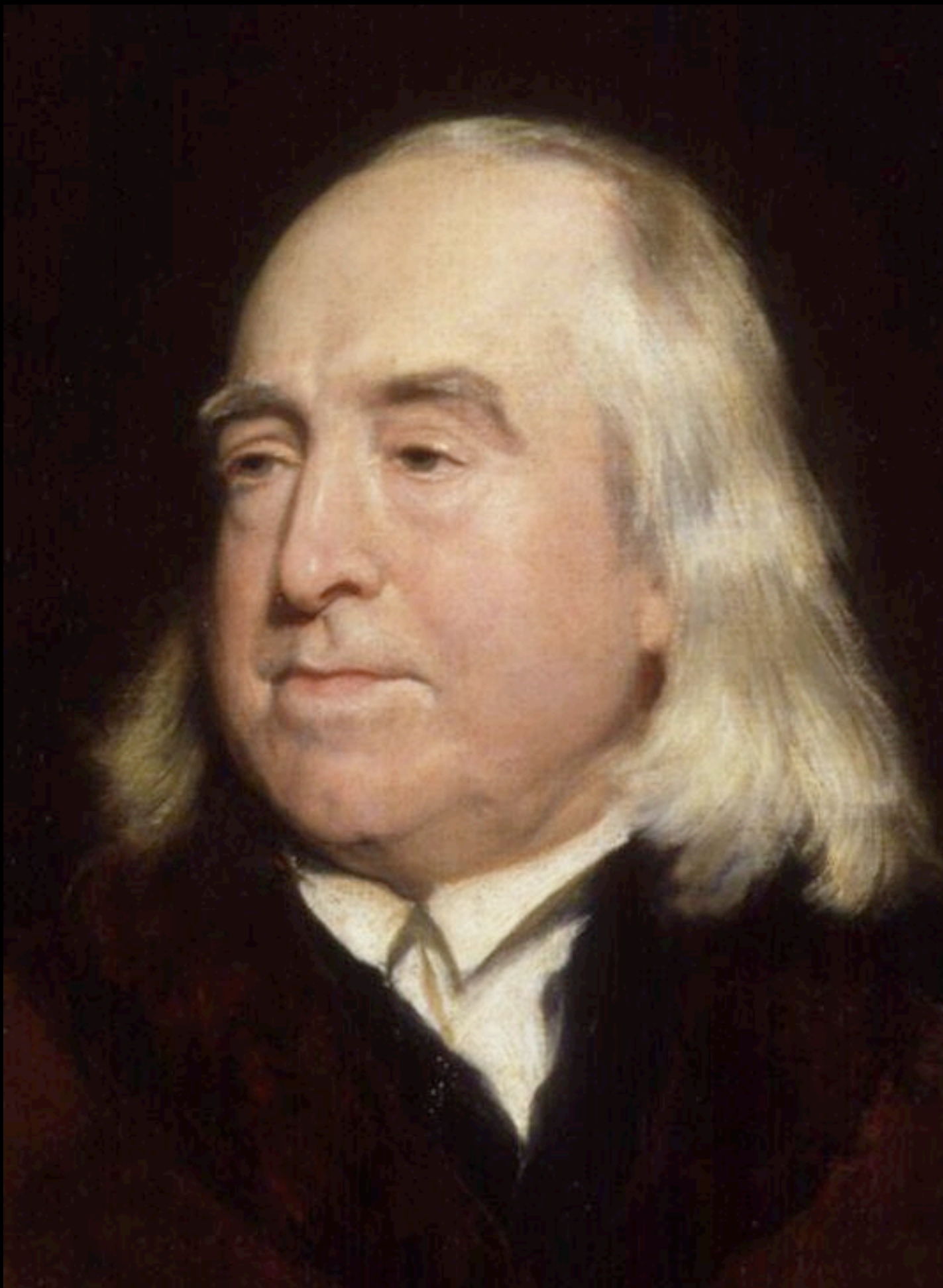
At the same time,
he took on the
task of educating
his brilliant son:
single handed.
Home school
No schools.
No other
teachers.
Not at first.
It would be
James and John.

James Mill, 1773-1836

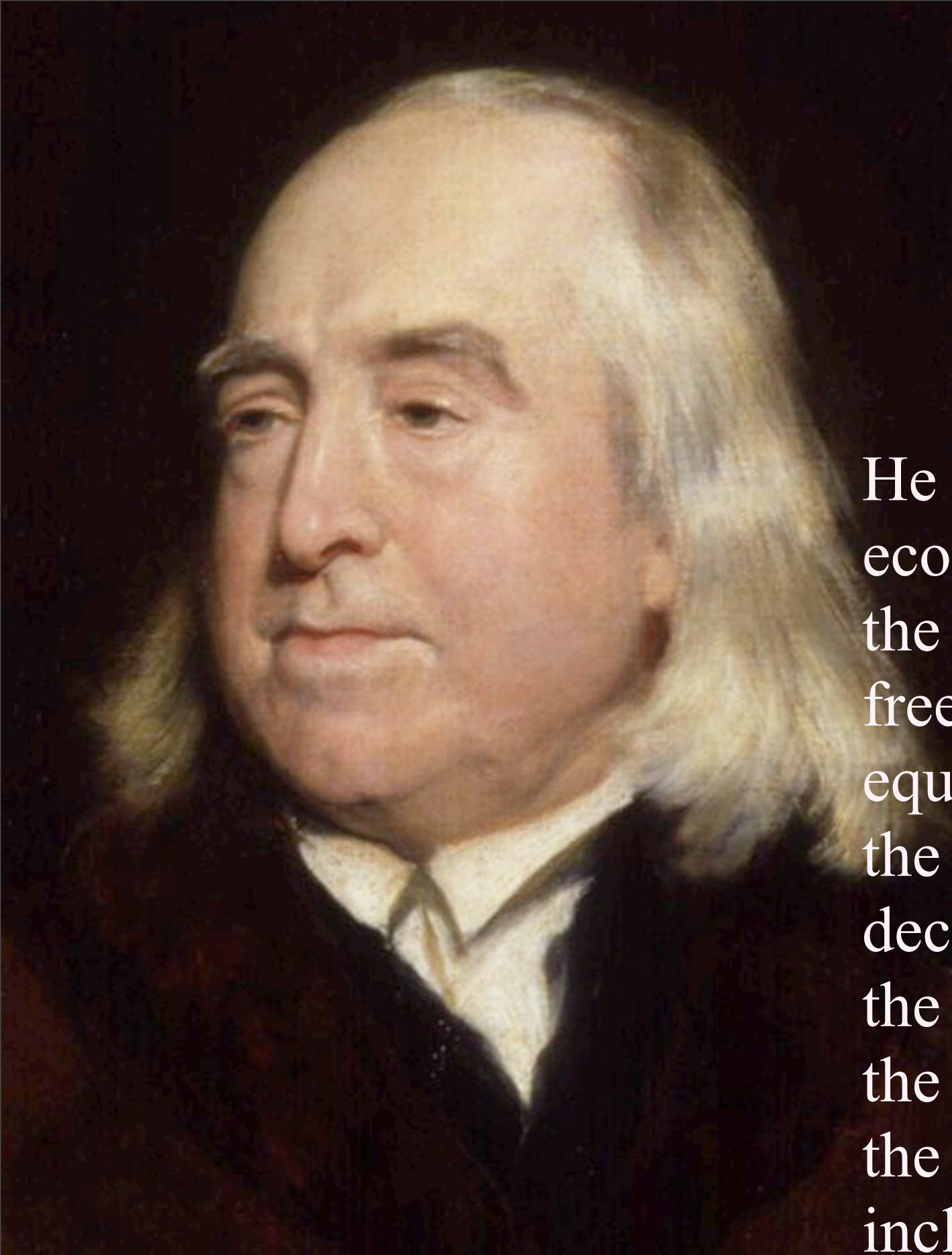


Utilitarianism

In 1808, James Mill became acquainted with Jeremy Bentham, and was for many years his chief companion and ally. He adopted Bentham's principles in their entirety, and determined to devote all his energies to bringing them before the world. Between 1806 and 1818, he wrote for the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, the *British Review* and *The Eclectic Review*; but there is no means of tracing his contributions. In 1808, he began to write for the *Edinburgh Review*, to which he contributed steadily till 1813, his first known article being "Money and Exchange."



Jeremy Bentham
1748-1832
English Utilitarianism



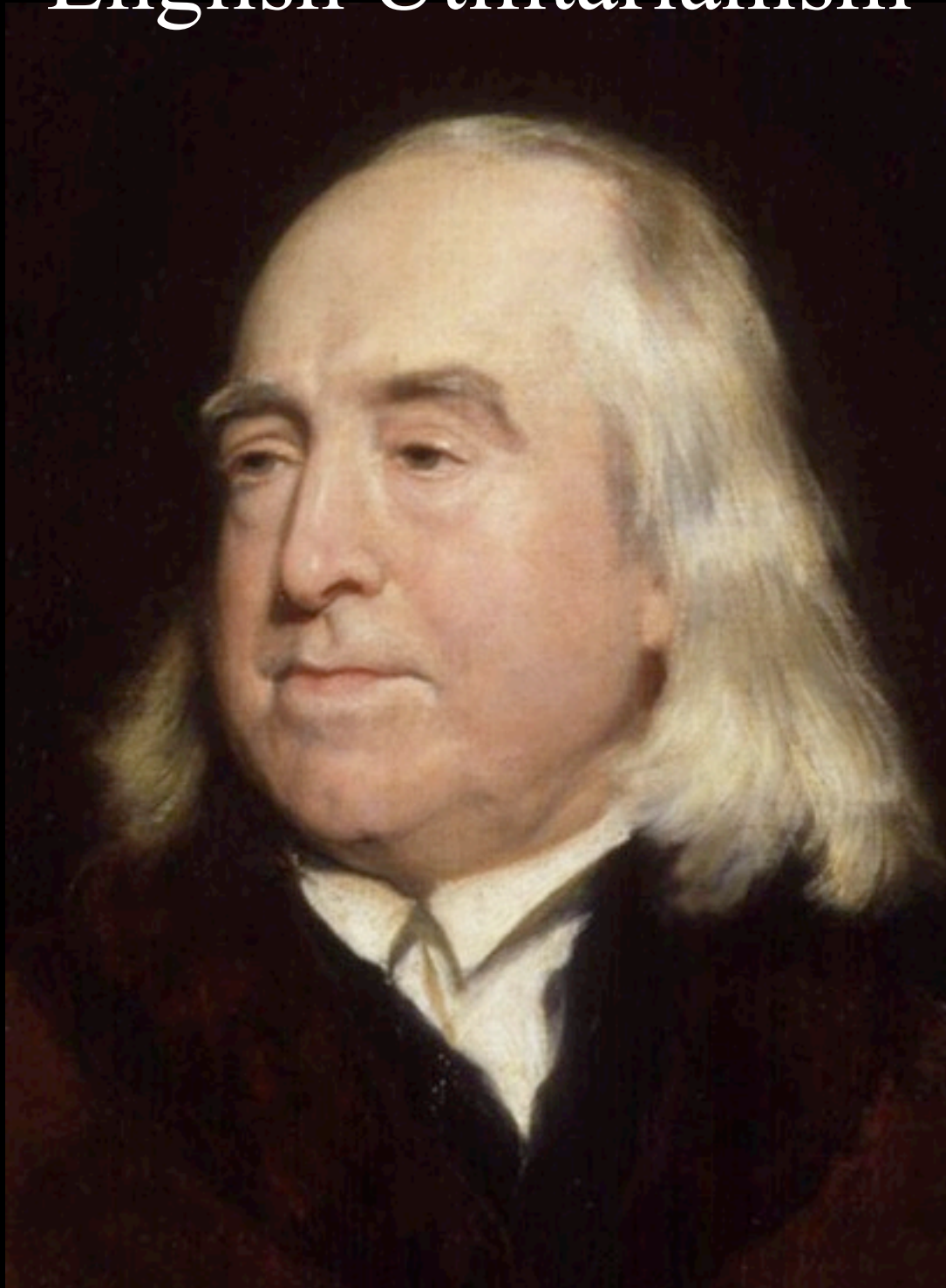
Jeremy Bentham

1748-1832

English Utilitarianism

He advocated individual and economic freedom, the separation of church and state, freedom of expression, equal rights for women, the right to divorce, decriminalizing of homosexual acts. the abolition of slavery, the abolition of the death penalty, the abolition of physical punishment, including that of children.

Jeremy Bentham
1748-1832
English Utilitarianism



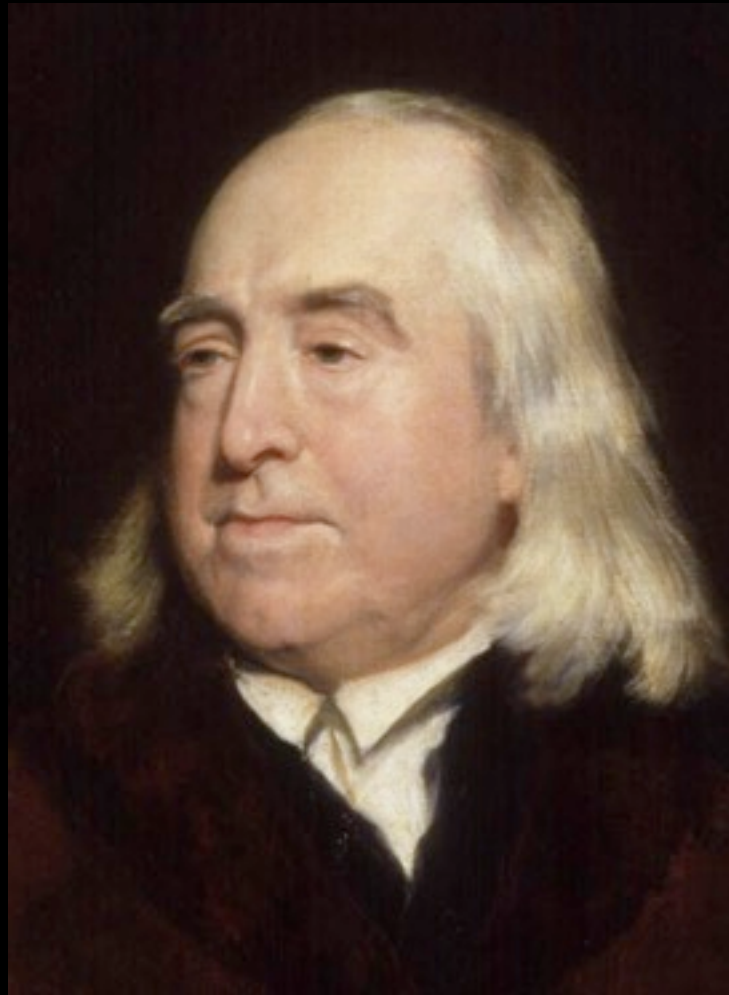
Bentham defined as the
"fundamental axiom"
of his philosophy the
principle that:
**"it is the greatest
happiness of the
greatest number that
is the measure of right
and wrong".**

Pursuit of Happiness

Bentham: the greatest happiness for the greatest number. Jeremy Bentham's rallying cry, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," actually was formulated by two philosophies of the Enlightenment, Francis Hutcheson in Scotland and Cesare Beccaria in Italy.

Bentham worked it into a philosophy of enlightened self-interest derived from Epicurus and Lucretius and adapted to the reform politics of Britain.

1808-1826, J.S. Mill grows up with Utilitarianism as creed.



1826-1827, Crisis for John age 20



A passage in a book I read moved me. A vivid conception of the scene and its feelings came over me, and I was moved to tears. From this moment my burden grew lighter. The oppression of the thought that all feeling was dead within me was gone. I was no longer hopeless: I was not a stock or a stone. I had still, it seemed, some of the material out of which all worth of character, and all capacity for happiness, are made. Relieved from my ever-present sense of irremediable wretchedness, I gradually found that the ordinary incidents of life could again give me some pleasure

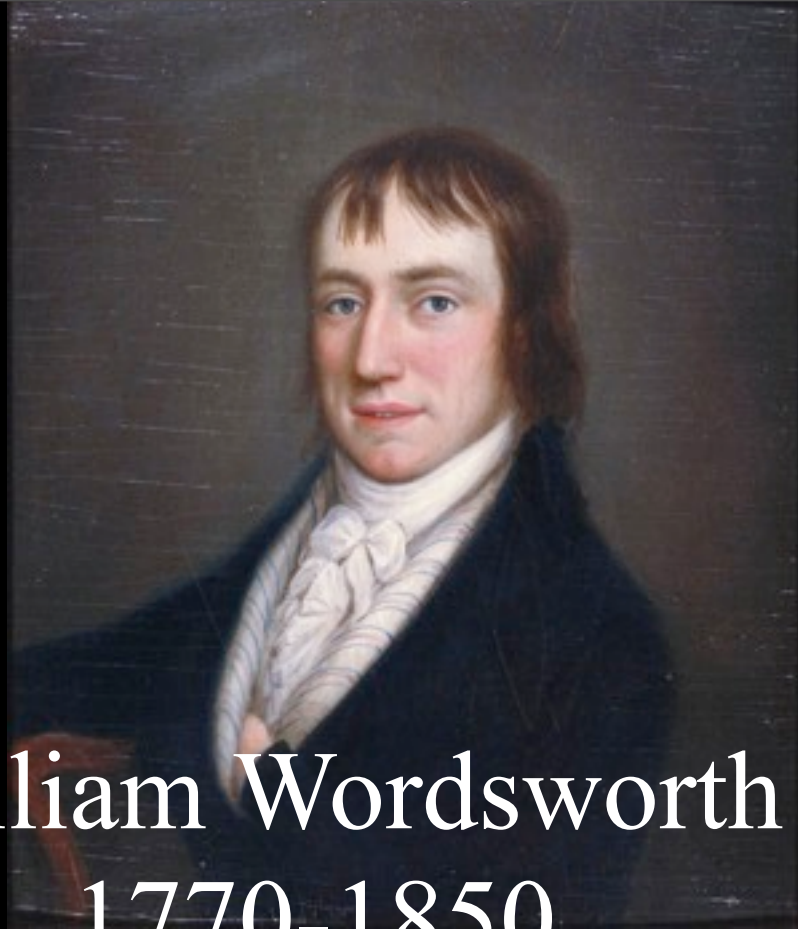
My education has been all **analysis, logic.**
No feeling.

. . . to know that a feeling would make me happy if I had it, did not give me the feeling. My education, I thought, had failed to create these feelings in sufficient strength to resist the dissolving influence of analysis, while the whole course of my intellectual cultivation had made precocious and premature analysis the inveterate habit of my mind. I was thus, as I said to myself, left stranded at the commencement

THE GREAT ENLIGHTENMENT PROJECT NOW
CRASHED INTO THE GREAT ROMANTIC DISCOVERY.

Man/woman is both logic and feeling. Education and Spirit.

Now I began to find new meaning in the things, which I had read or heard about the importance of poetry and art as instruments of human culture. But it was some time longer before I began to know this by personal experience. The only one of the imaginative arts in which I had from childhood taken great pleasure, was music; the best effect of which (and in this it surpasses perhaps every other art) consists in exciting enthusiasm; in winding up to a high pitch those feelings of an elevated kind which are already in the character.



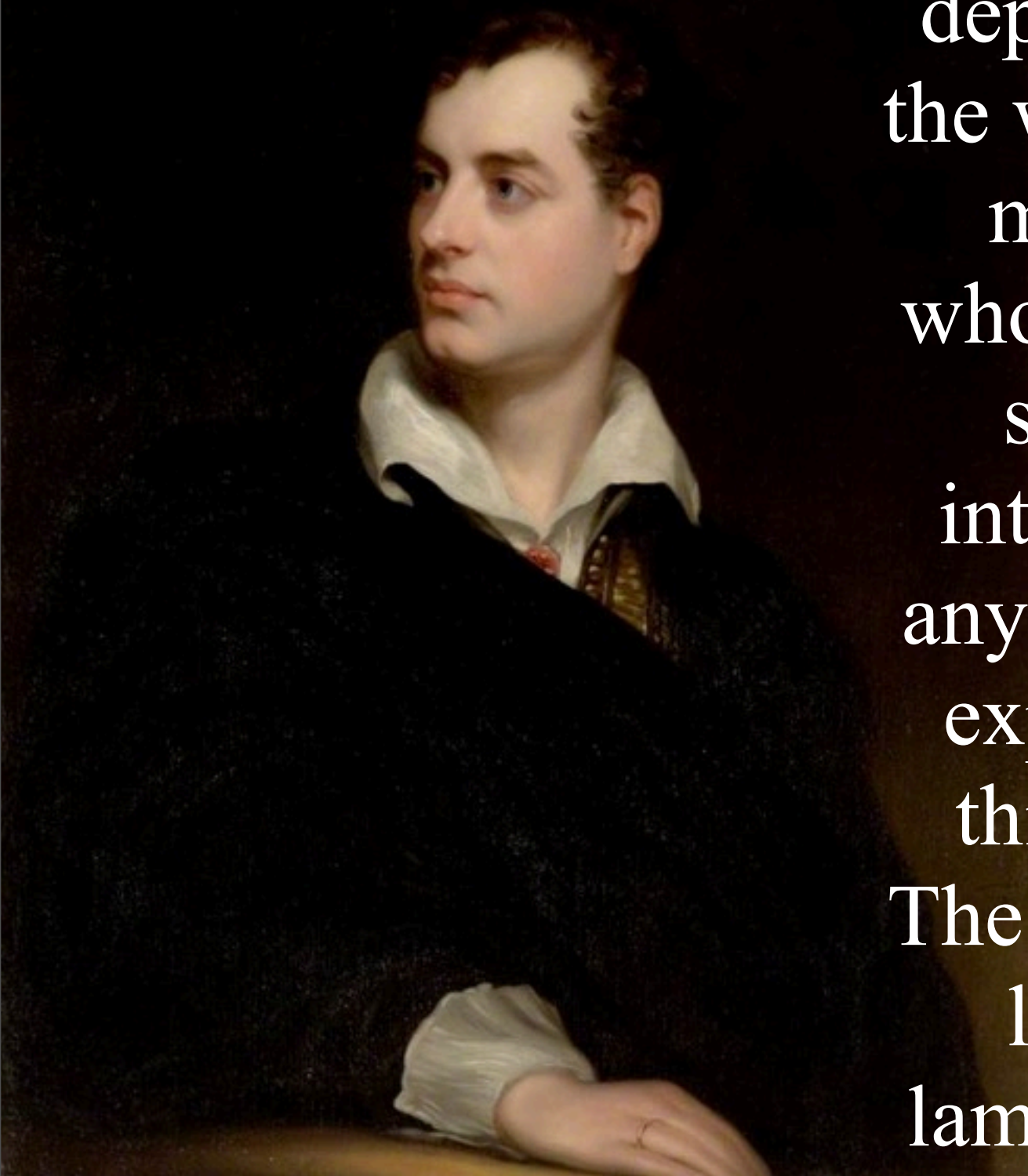
William Wordsworth
1770-1850



"This state of my thoughts and feelings made the fact of my reading Wordsworth for the first time (in the autumn of 1828), an important event of my life. I took up the collection of his poems and it changed my life." *Autobiography*

Byron

“In the worst period of my depression, I had read through the whole of Byron (then new to me), to try whether a poet, whose peculiar department was supposed to be that of the intenser feelings, could rouse any feeling in me. As might be expected, I got no good from this reading, but the reverse. The poet's state of mind was too like my own. His was the lament of a man who had worn out all pleasures.”



Byron



His Harold and Manfred had the same burden on them which I had; and I was not in a frame of mind to desire any comfort from the vehement sensual passion of his Giaours, or the sullenness of his Laras. But while Byron was exactly what did not suit my condition, Wordsworth was exactly what did.



His Harold and Manfred had the same burden on them which I had; and I was not in a frame of mind to desire any comfort from the vehement sensual passion of his Giaours, or the sullenness of his Laras. But while Byron was exactly what did not suit my condition, Wordsworth was exactly what did.

Daffodils, or 'I wandered lonely as a cloud'

I wandered lonely as a cloud
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,
When all at once I saw a crowd,
A host, of golden daffodils;
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.

Continuous as the stars that shine
And twinkle on the milky way,
They stretched in never-ending line
Along the margin of a bay:
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.



The waves beside them danced; but they
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:
A poet could not but be gay,
In such a jocund company:
I gazed—and gazed—but little thought
What wealth the show to me had brought:

For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils.



"In the first place, these poems addressed themselves powerfully to one of the strongest of my pleasurable susceptibilities, the love of rural objects and natural scenery; to which I had been indebted not only for much of the pleasure of my life, but quite recently for relief from one of my longest relapses into depression. In this power of rural beauty over me, there was a foundation laid for taking pleasure in Wordsworth's poetry."

1830



J. S. Mill the new Romantic Revolutionary

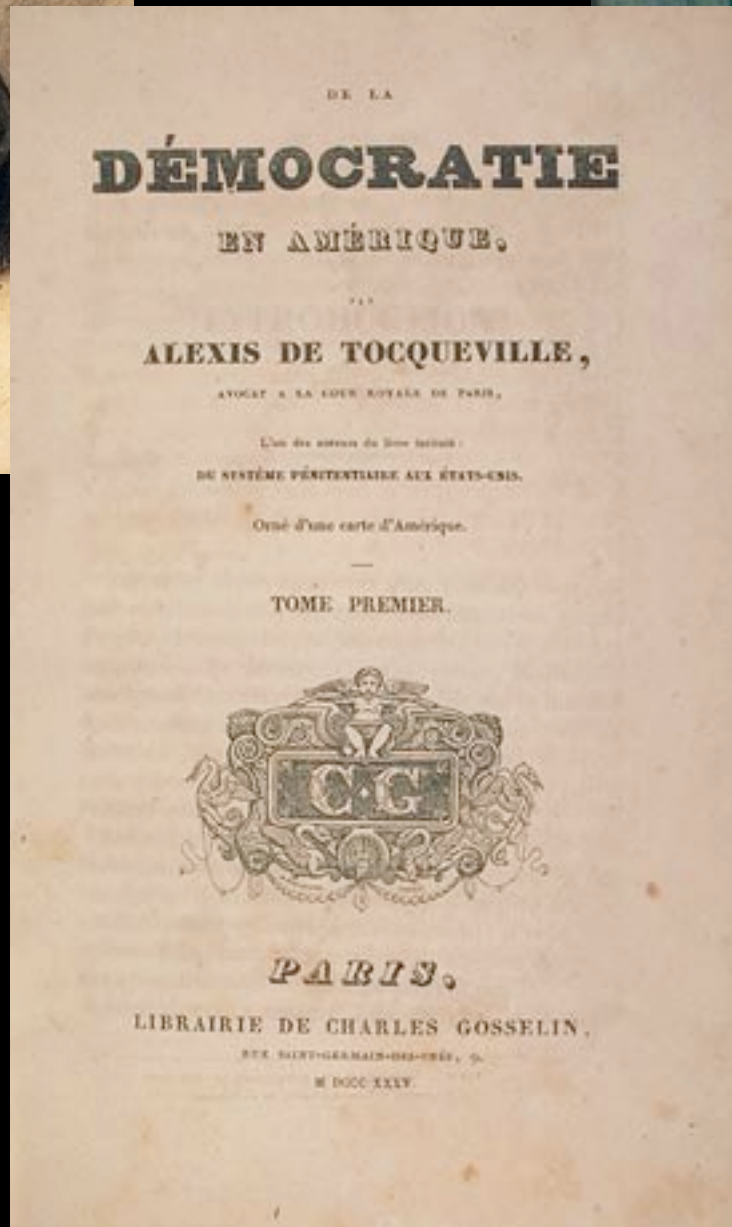
“In this frame of mind the French Revolution of July 1830 found me: It roused my utmost enthusiasm, and gave me, as it were, a new existence. I went at once to Paris, was introduced to Lafayette, and laid the groundwork of the intercourse I afterwards kept up with several of the active chiefs of the extreme popular party. After my return I entered warmly, as a writer, into the political discussions of the time; which soon became still more exciting, by the coming in of Lord Grey's Ministry, and the proposing of the Reform Bill. For the next few years I wrote copiously in newspapers.”



1835

Alexis de Tocqueville Democracy in America

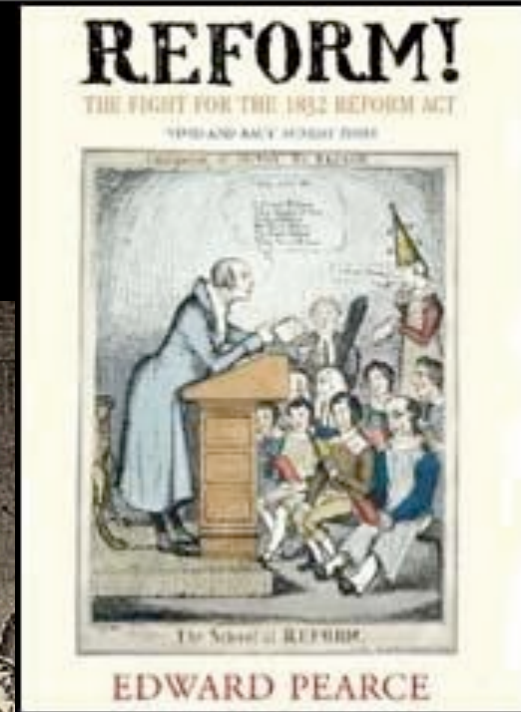
Cavour
considered
it the most
remarkable
book of
modern
times.



1830

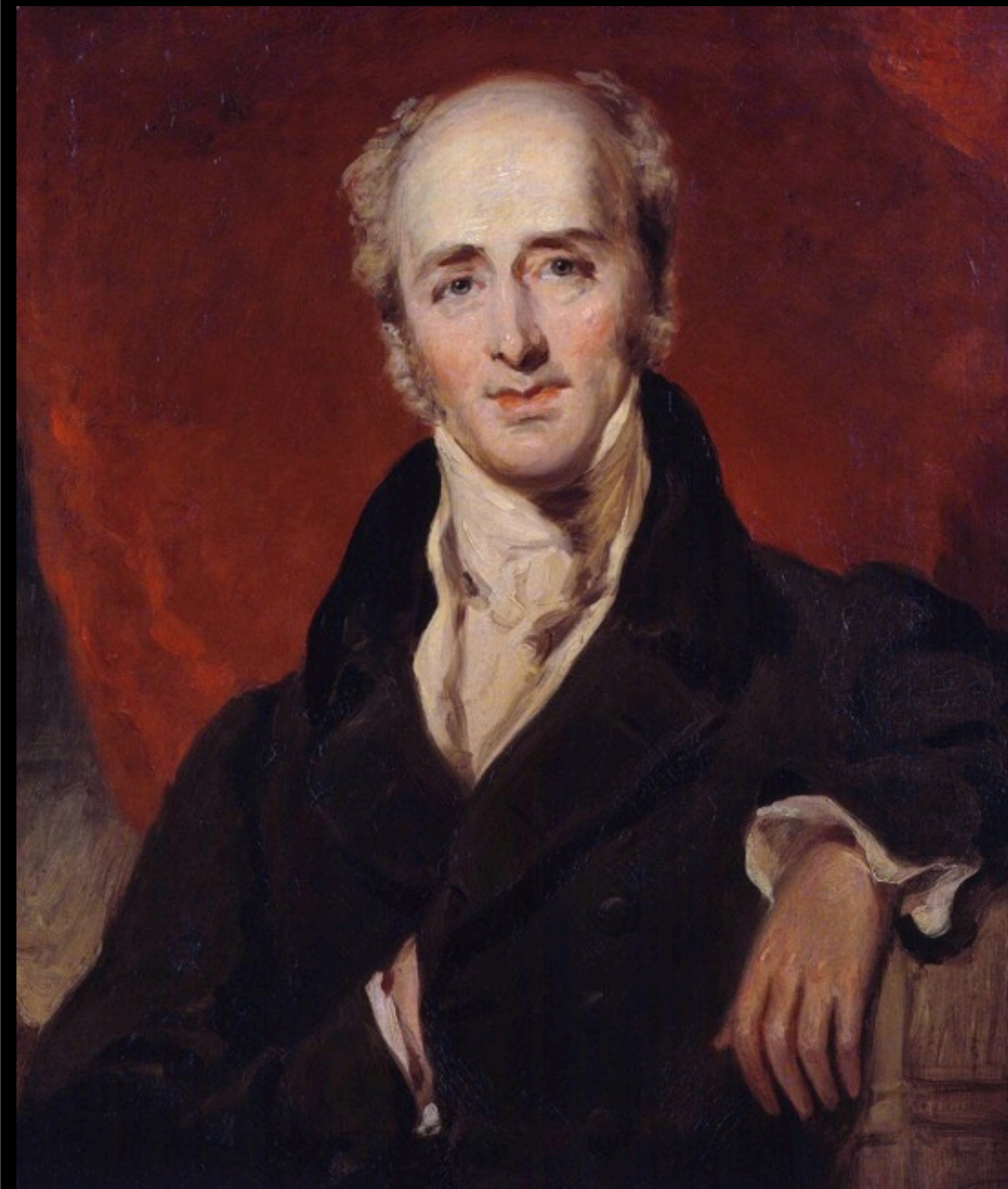


THE REFORM BILL OF 1832



LORD JOHN RUSSELL INTRODUCING THE REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Charles Grey (Earl Grey) and the Reform Bill



REFORM!

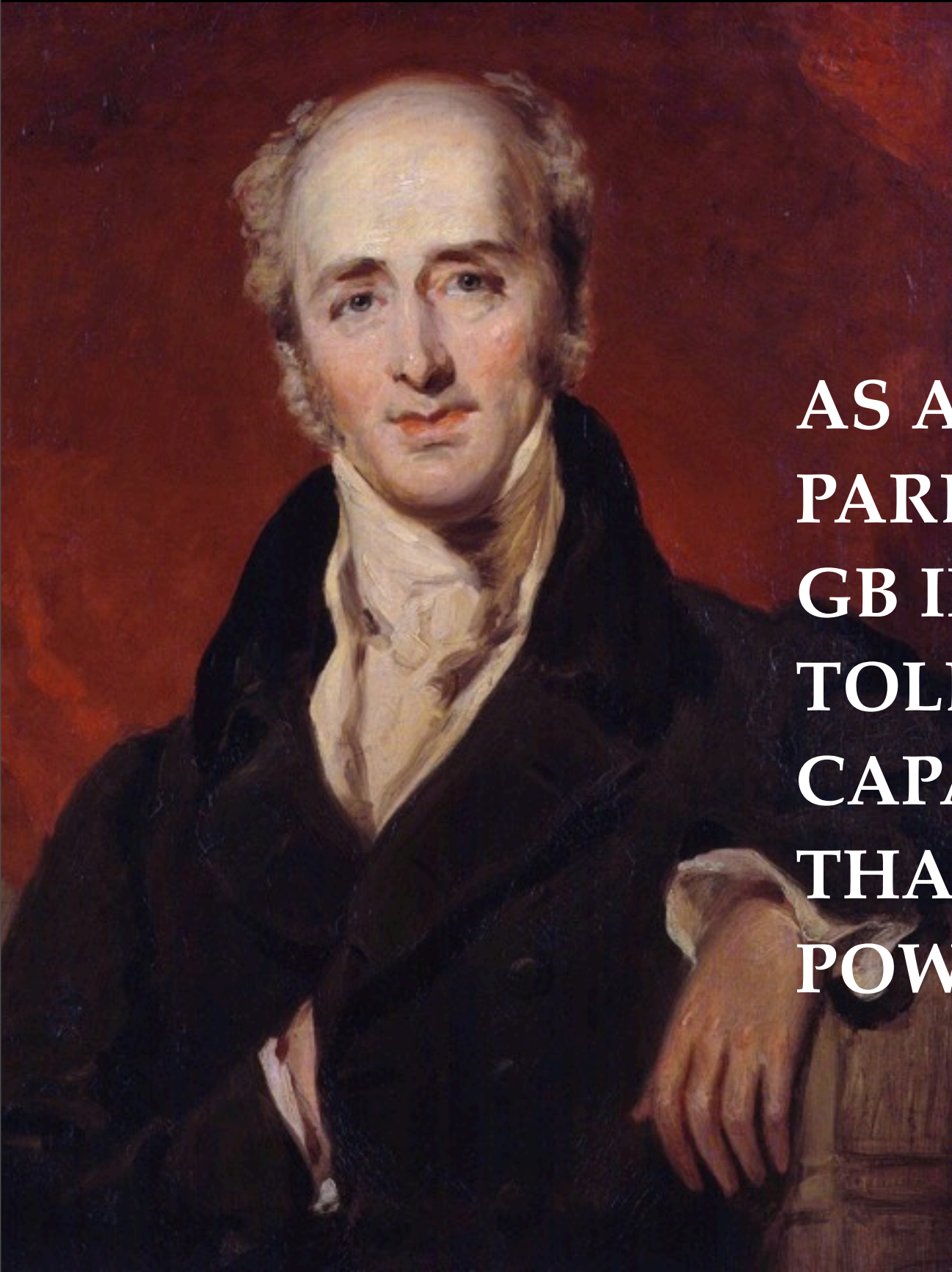
THE FIGHT FOR THE 1832 REFORM ACT

"VIVID AND RACY" SUNDAY TIMES



EDWARD PEARCE





1819-1914
AS A CONSTITUTIONAL
PARLIAMMENTARY MONARCHY
GB IN 1819 ENJOYED A MORE
TOLERANT, ENLIGHTENED
CAPABLE OF REFORM GOV
THAN ANY OTHER EUROPEAN
POWER AT THE TIME.

Forces of Change



1. Tories esp House of Lords
block all reforms.

2. Whigs move gradual
reform

such as Grey, Reform Bill
& Wilberforce on slavery
with help of Victoria and
Albert.

3. Radicals.

demonstrations, posters,
meetings, petitions,
scare the conservatives.



Revolution. Romanticism, Romance

"It was the period of my mental progress which I have now reached that I formed the friendship which has been the honor and chief blessing of my existence, as well as the source of a great part of all that I have attempted to do, or hope to effect hereafter, for human improvement. My first introduction to the lady who, after a friendship of twenty years, consented to become my wife, was in 1830, when I was in my twenty-fifth and she in her twenty-third year."

Meeting future Mrs J. S. Mill, 1830 Mrs Harriet Taylor



"With her husband's family it was the renewal of an old acquaintanceship. His grandfather lived in the next house to my father's in Newington Green, and I had sometimes when a boy been invited to play in the old gentleman's garden. He was a fine specimen of the old Scotch puritan; stern, severe, and powerful, but very kind to children, on whom such men make a lasting impression. Although it was years after my introduction to Mrs. Taylor before my acquaintance with her became at all intimate or confidential, I very soon felt her to be the most admirable person I had ever known."

Death of James Mill, June 23, 1836



His health had been declining: his symptoms became unequivocally those of pulmonary consumption, and after lingering to the last stage of debility, he died on the 23rd of June, 1836. Until the last few days of his life there was no apparent abatement of intellectual vigour; his interest in all things and persons that had interested him through life was undiminished, nor did the approach of death cause the smallest wavering (as in so strong and firm a mind it was impossible that it should) in his convictions on the subject of religion.

John Stuart Mill's friendship with Mrs. Harriet Taylor





1840's

"Among the pleasures of this period the principal one was was the incomparable friend of whom I have already spoken. At this period she lived mostly with one young daughter, in a quiet part of the country, and only occasionally in town, with her husband, Mr. Taylor. I visited her equally in both places; and was greatly indebted to the strength of character which enabled her to disregard the false interpretations liable to be put on the frequency of my visits to her while living generally apart from Mr. Taylor."



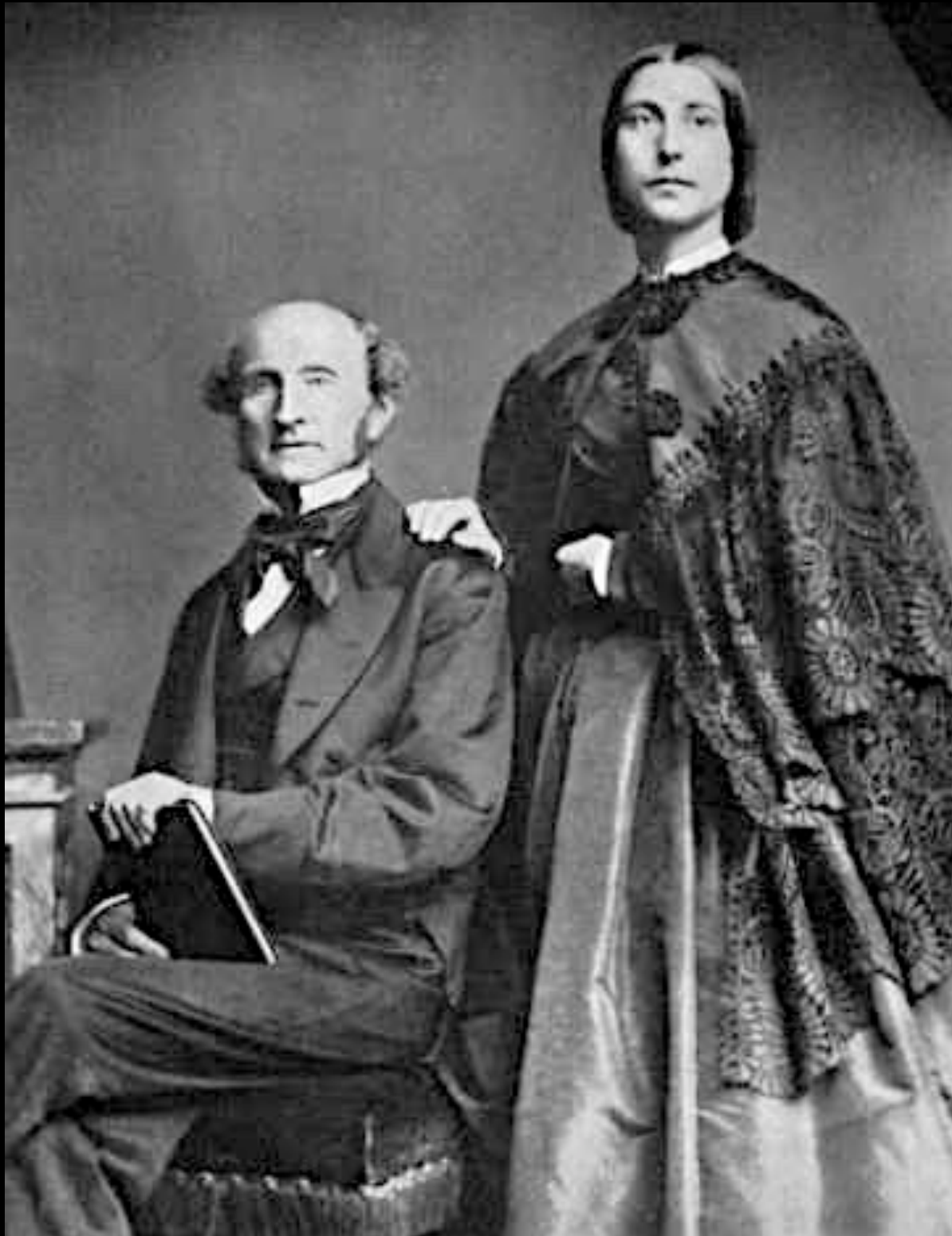
"We sometimes traveled together, though in all other respects our conduct during those years gave not the slightest ground for any other supposition than the true one, that our relation to each other at that time was one of strong affection and confidential intimacy only. For though we did not consider the ordinances of society binding on a subject so entirely personal, we did feel bound that our conduct should be such as in no degree to bring discredit on her husband, nor therefore on herself."



In 1833, both Mill and Taylor wrote essays on marriage. 'On Marriage' in 1833. In these essays, Taylor and Mill discuss the ethical questions of marriage, separation and divorce. Taylor insists that what needs to be done to 'raising the condition of women' is 'to remove all interference with affection, or with anything which is, or which even might be supposed to be, demonstrative of affection'. She criticizes the fact that 'women are educated for one single object, to gain their living by marrying'; (remember Jane Austen) that 'to be married is the object of their existence'; and 'that object being gained they do really cease to exist as to anything worth calling life or any useful purpose'. She also criticises the hypocrisy and unfairness of the fact that any girl who is seen as 'suitable' for marriage is - because only virgins are seen as suitable - by that very fact completely ignorant as to what marriage entails. She argues for rights to divorce, asking 'who would wish to have the person without the inclination?'.

1833 Paris Lovers

In late September, or early October, 1833, Taylor's husband agreed to a trial separation. She went to Paris where, after what appears to have been an initial onset of cold feet regarding the possible repercussions of such a move for his, and her, reputation, Mill joined her. Despite evidently being extremely happy there with Mill, Taylor was conscience-stricken regarding her husband, keenly feeling the pain, and possible public humiliation, she was putting him through. Eventually, she decided to return to London, and her husband, agreeing to live 'as his wife in his house' but foregoing any sexual intimacy with either him or Mill.



After John Taylor died in 1849, Taylor and Mill waited two years before marrying in 1851. Taylor was hesitant to create greater scandal than the pair already had.



1857
While the Mills are
living in Avignon
France,
Harriet falls ill
and dies in 1858
leaving Mill all
alone and devastated
after losing his wife and
philosophical partner.



Harriet Taylor Mill died in the Hotel d'Europe in Avignon, France, on November 3, 1858 after developing severe lung congestion.

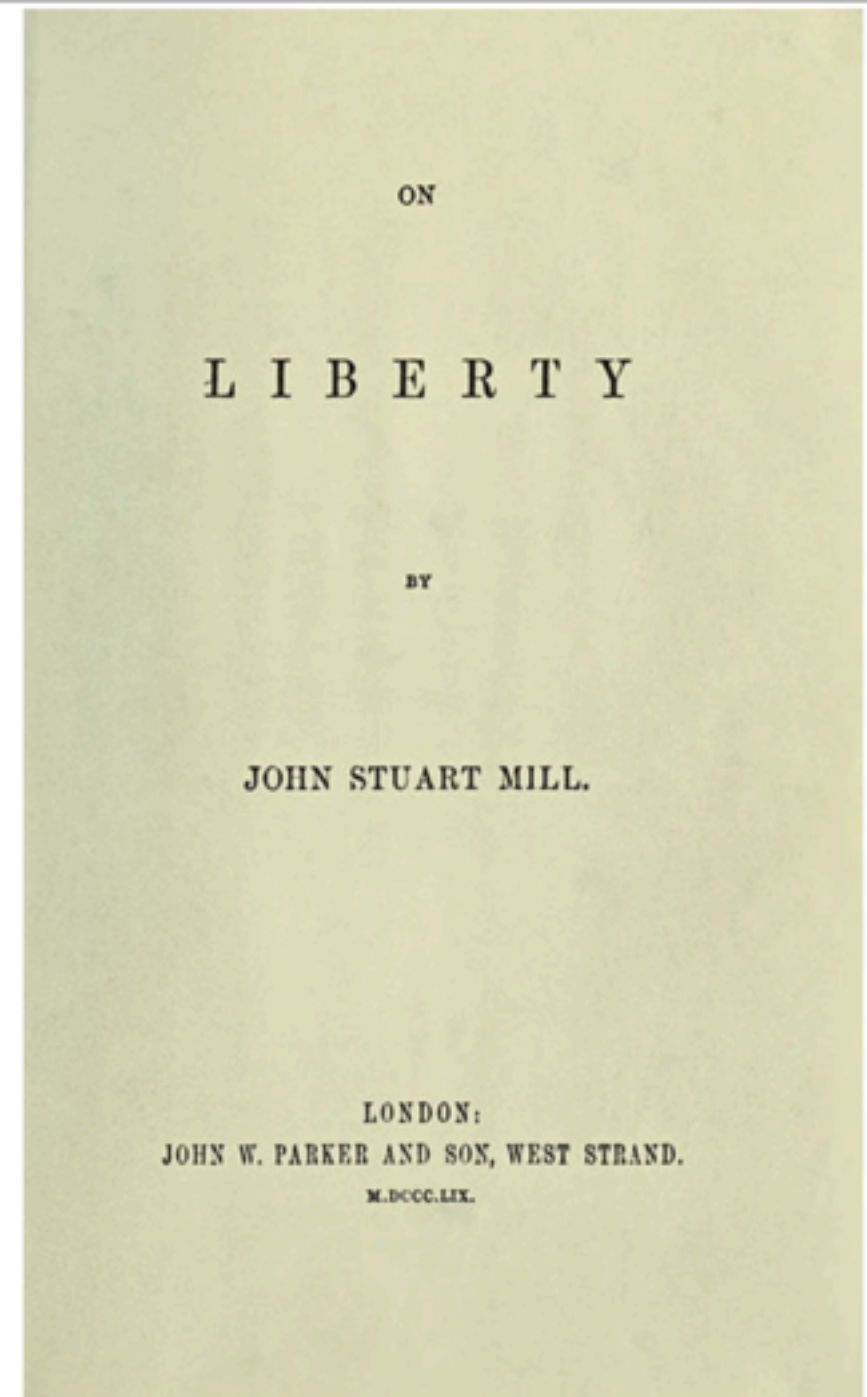
The tomb of Harriet Taylor, Avignon



PENGUIN  CLASSICS

JOHN STUART MILL
On Liberty and The Subjection of Women

On Liberty



The title page of the first
edition, published 1859

On Liberty

ON
LIBERTY

BY

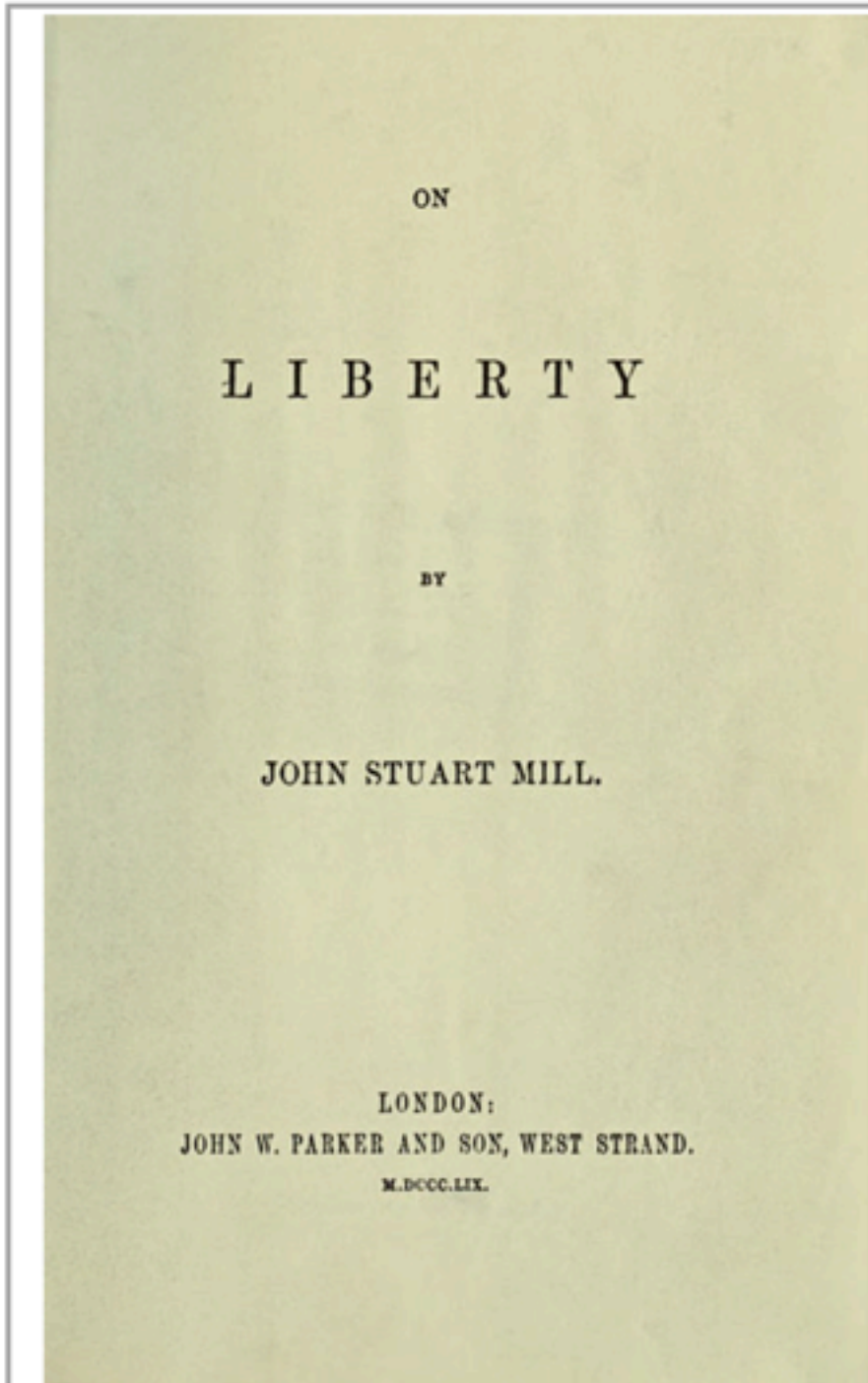
JOHN STUART MILL.

LONDON:
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON, WEST STRAND.
M.DCCC.LIX.

The title page of the first
edition, published 1859

On Liberty is a philosophical essay by the English philosopher John Stuart Mill. Published in 1859, it applies Mill's ethical system of utilitarianism to society and state. Mill suggests standards for the relationship between authority and liberty. He emphasizes the importance of **individuality**, which he considers prerequisite to the higher pleasures—the *summum bonum* of utilitarianism. Furthermore, Mill asserts that democratic ideals may result in the *tyranny of the majority*. Among the standards proposed are Mill's three basic liberties of individuals, his three legitimate objections to government intervention, and his two maxims regarding the relationship of the individual to society. *On Liberty* was a greatly influential and well-received work. The ideas presented in *On Liberty* have remained the basis of much political thought. It has remained in print since its initial publication. A copy of *On Liberty* is passed to the president of the British Liberal Democrats as a symbol of office.

On Liberty



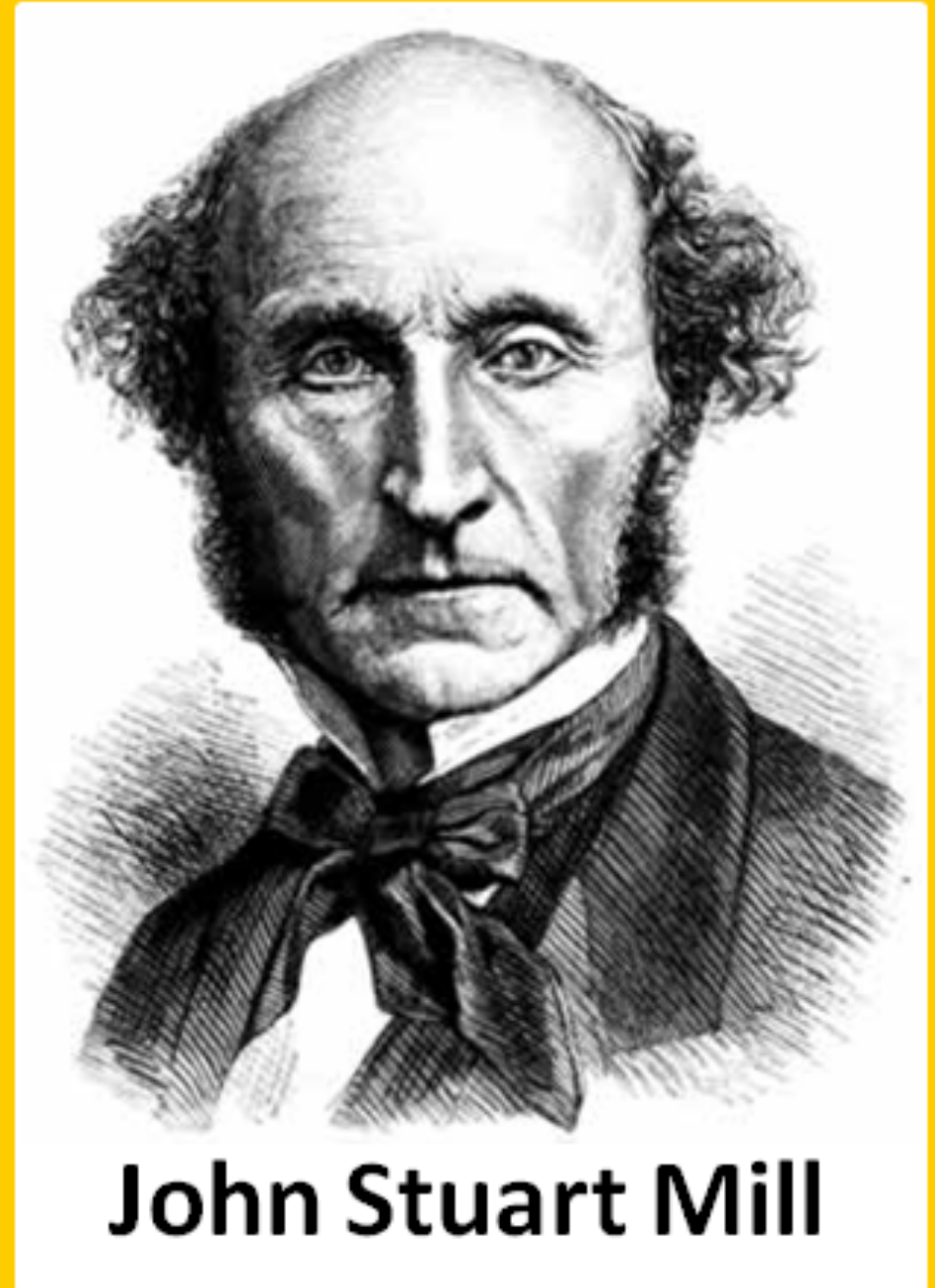
The title page of the first
edition, published 1859

On Liberty continues to
inspire those who
consider themselves
"classic liberals"
ie 19th C liberals.
In our own political
world, commentator Dave
Rubin considers himself a
"classical liberal."

What is liberalism?

CLASSIC 19TH CENTURY LIBERALISM

People understand their own business, and their own interests better, and care for them more, than the government does or can be expected to do.



Graphic by Mark Pack / www.MarkPack.org.uk

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTORY.

The subject of this Essay is not the so-called Liberty of the Will, so unfortunately opposed to the misnamed doctrine of Philosophical Necessity; but Civil, or Social Liberty: the nature and limits of the power which can be legitimately exercised by society over the individual. A question seldom stated, and hardly ever discussed, in general terms, but which profoundly influences the practical controversies of the age by its latent presence, and is likely soon to make itself recognized as the vital question of the future. It is so far from being new, that, in a certain sense, it has divided mankind, almost from the remotest ages, but in the stage of progress into which the more civilized portions of the species have now entered, it presents itself under new conditions, and requires a different and more fundamental treatment.

On Liberty

The struggle between Liberty and Authority is the most conspicuous feature in the portions of history with which we are earliest familiar, particularly in that of Greece, Rome, and England. But in old times this contest was between subjects, or some classes of subjects, and the government. By liberty, was meant protection against the tyranny of the political rulers. The rulers were conceived (except in some of the popular governments of Greece) as in a necessarily antagonistic position to the people whom they ruled. They consisted of a governing One (for ex: Augustus), or a governing tribe or caste, who derived their authority from inheritance or conquest; who, at all events, did not hold it at the pleasure of the governed, and whose supremacy men did

On Liberty

A time, however, came in the progress of human affairs, when men ceased to think it a necessity of nature that their governors should be an independent power, opposed in interest to themselves. It appeared to them much better that the various magistrates of the State should be their delegates, whose authority was revocable at their pleasure. In that way alone, it seemed, could they have complete security that the powers of government would never be abused to their disadvantage. By degrees, this new demand for elective and temporary rulers became the prominent object of the exertions of the popular party, wherever any such party existed; and superseded, to a considerable extent, the previous efforts to limit the power of rulers. As the struggle proceeded for making the ruling power emanate from the periodical choice of the ruled, some persons began to think that too much importance had been attached to the limitation of the power itself. What was now wanted was, that the rulers should be identified with the people; that their interest and will should be the interest and will of the nation. The nation did not need to be protected against its own will. There was no fear of its tyrannizing over itself. Let the rulers be effectually responsible to it.

On Liberty

John Stuart Mill opens his essay by discussing the historical "struggle between authority and liberty,

He describes the tyranny of government, which, in his view, needs to be controlled by the liberty of the citizens.

He divides this control of authority into two mechanisms: necessary rights belonging to citizens, and the "establishment of constitutional checks by which the consent of the community, or of a body of some sort, supposed to represent its interests, was made a necessary condition to some of the more important acts of the governing power."
(CONSTITUTION)

John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859 Conclusions

1. Human beings are most creative when free.

2. Human beings are happiest when free. (?)

3. freedom of speech

4. freedom of print (no restrictions)

(John Milton, Puritans 1641)

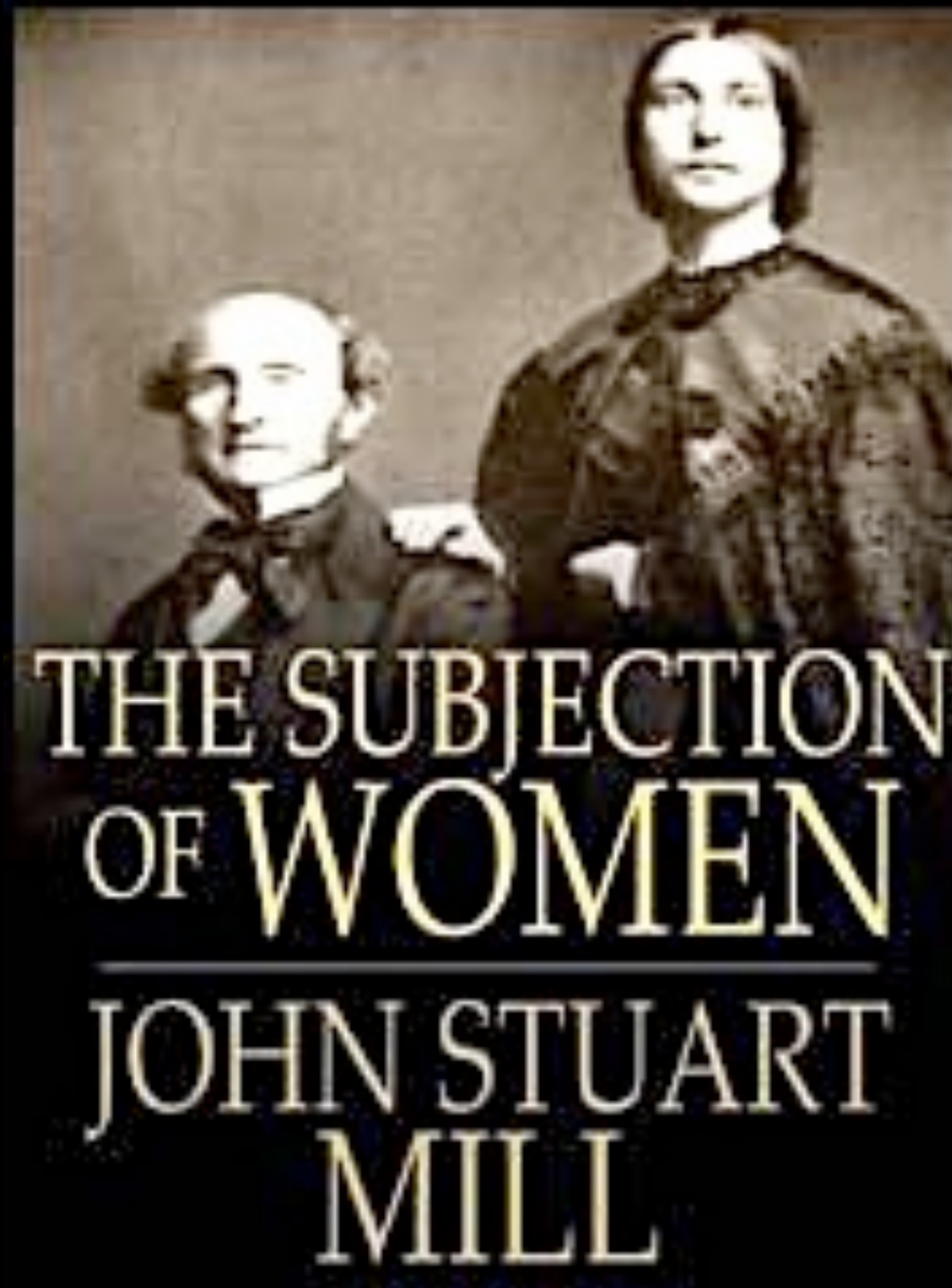
US Constitution 1st Amendment)

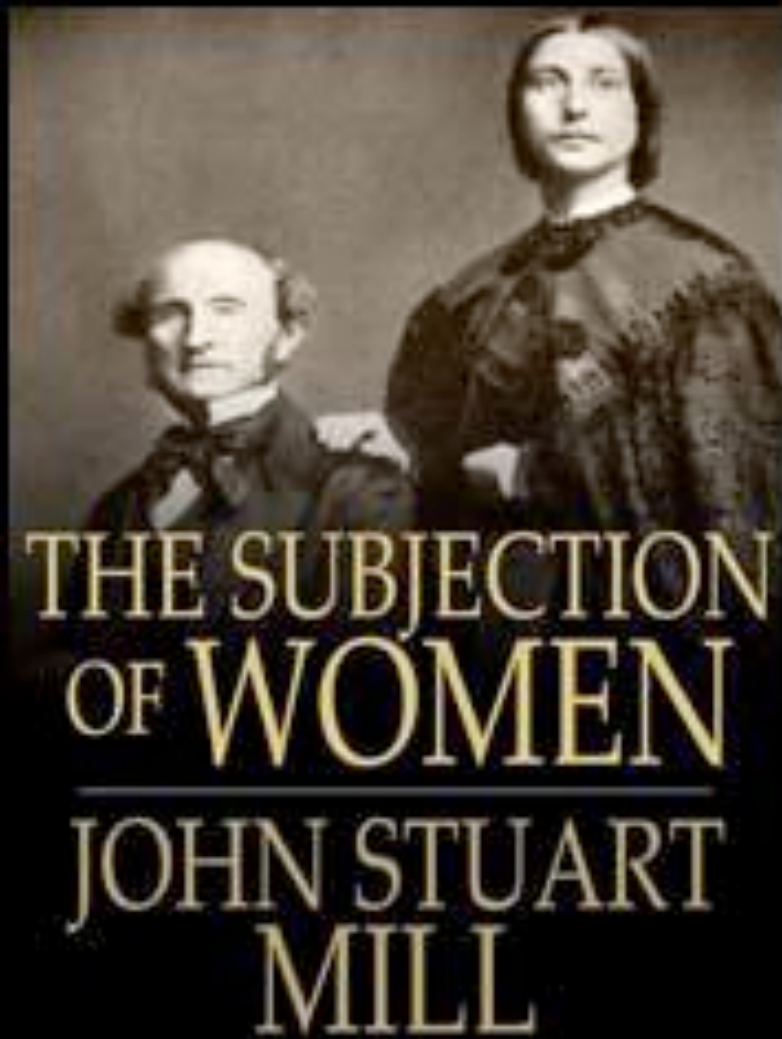
5. freedom of association

6. freedom of sexes, equality

7. women's equality and women's vote

1. Babylon, Egypt, no rights
2. Greece, Miletus, varieties of democracy
3. Athens Pericles 450-429 pure democracy
4. Roman Republic, written Constitution
5. Barbarian tribes, blood rights
6. 12thC Henry II, parliament
7. 1215 Magna Carta, Constitutional rights
8. Parliament, 1300s, when meet, who elected
9. 1531, Henry VIII & Parliament partners
10. Charles I: arrest MPs Civil War
1649: Parliament Supreme
11. Confirmed 1688: Bill of Rights
- 12 1776 no taxation w/ rep USA:Declar & Const.
13. 1789 French Rev Rousseau Social Contract
14. 19th C Civil War; Free the slaves
15. 1989-1991 Freedom for all.





In 1866, Mill became the first person in the history of Parliament to call for women to be given the right to vote, vigorously defending this position in subsequent debate.

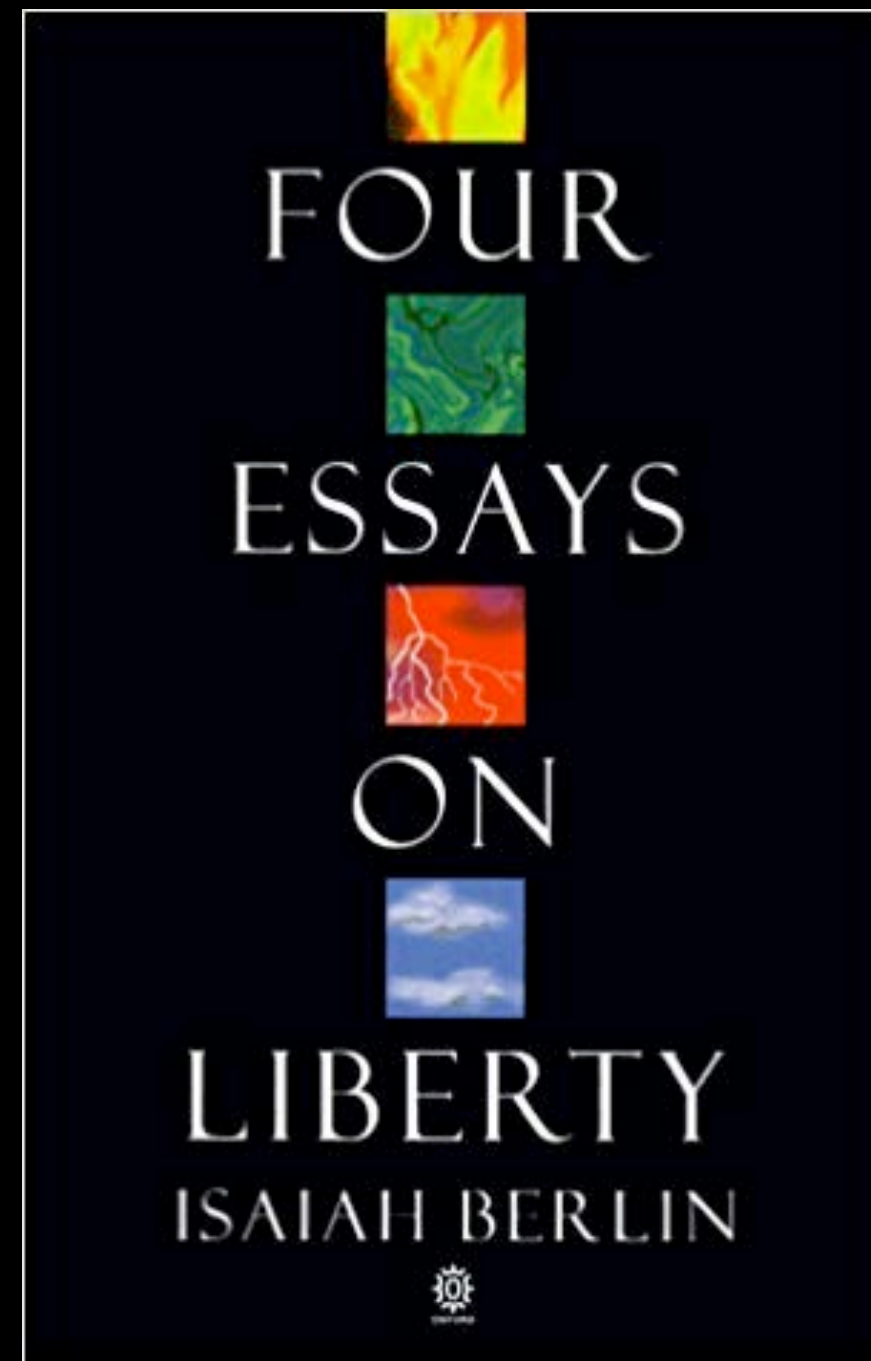
Harriet Taylor Mill



We deny the right of any portion of the species to decide for another portion what is and what is not their 'proper sphere.' The proper sphere for all human beings is the largest and highest which they are able to attain to.

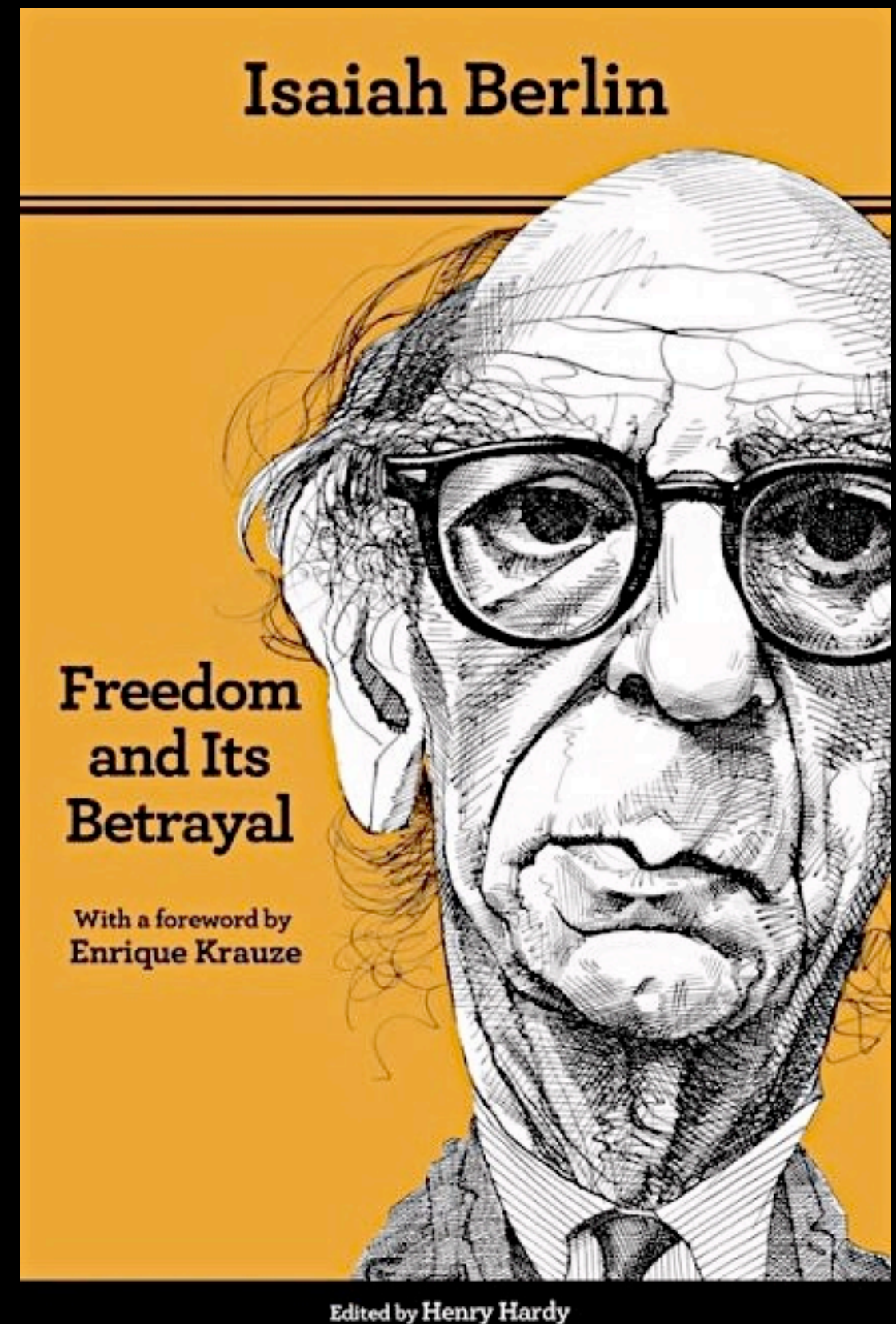
AZ QUOTES

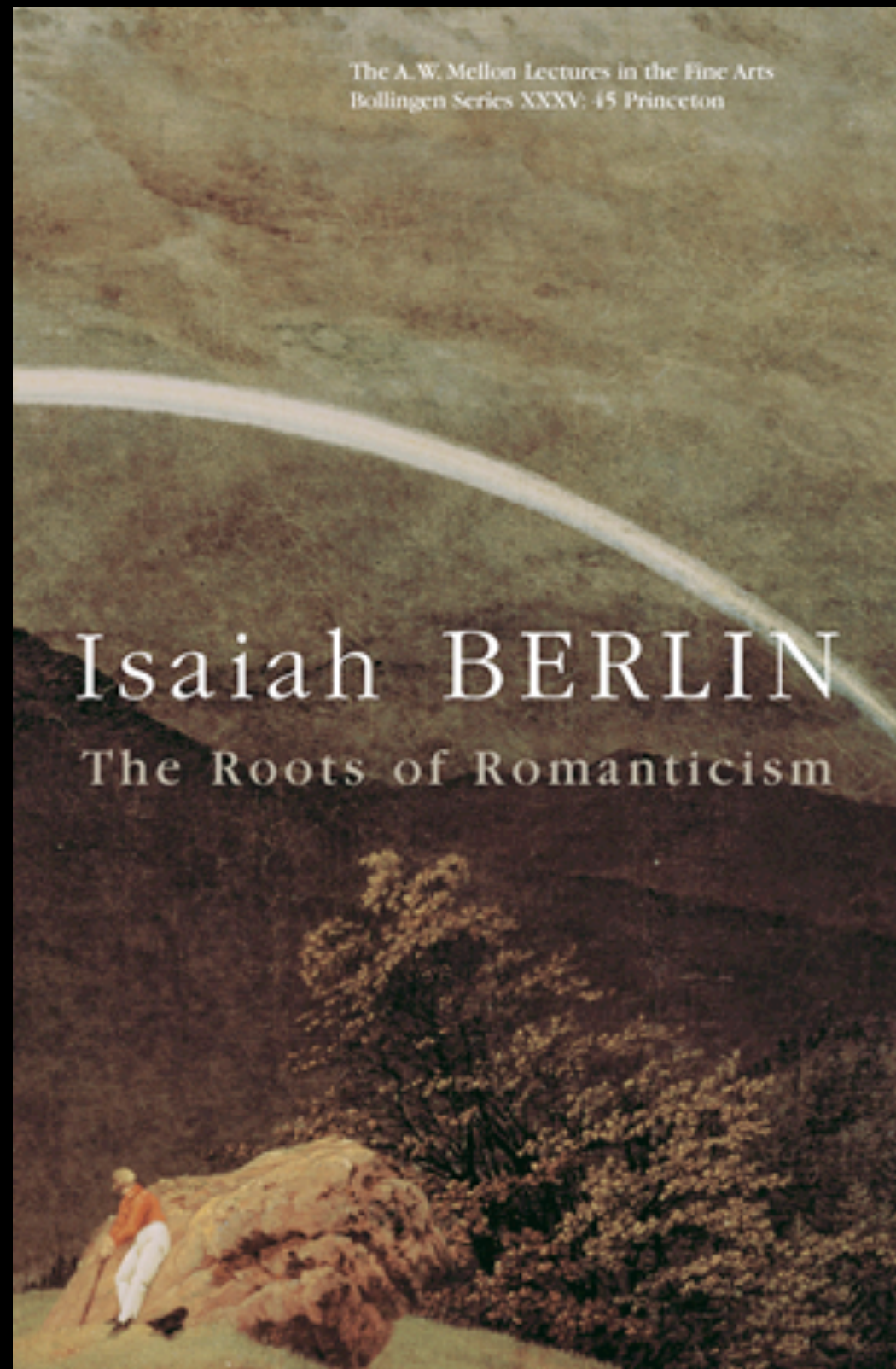
Perhaps the most brilliant essay on Mill is that of the great British philosopher Isaiah Berlin: "John Stuart Mill and the Ends of Life":



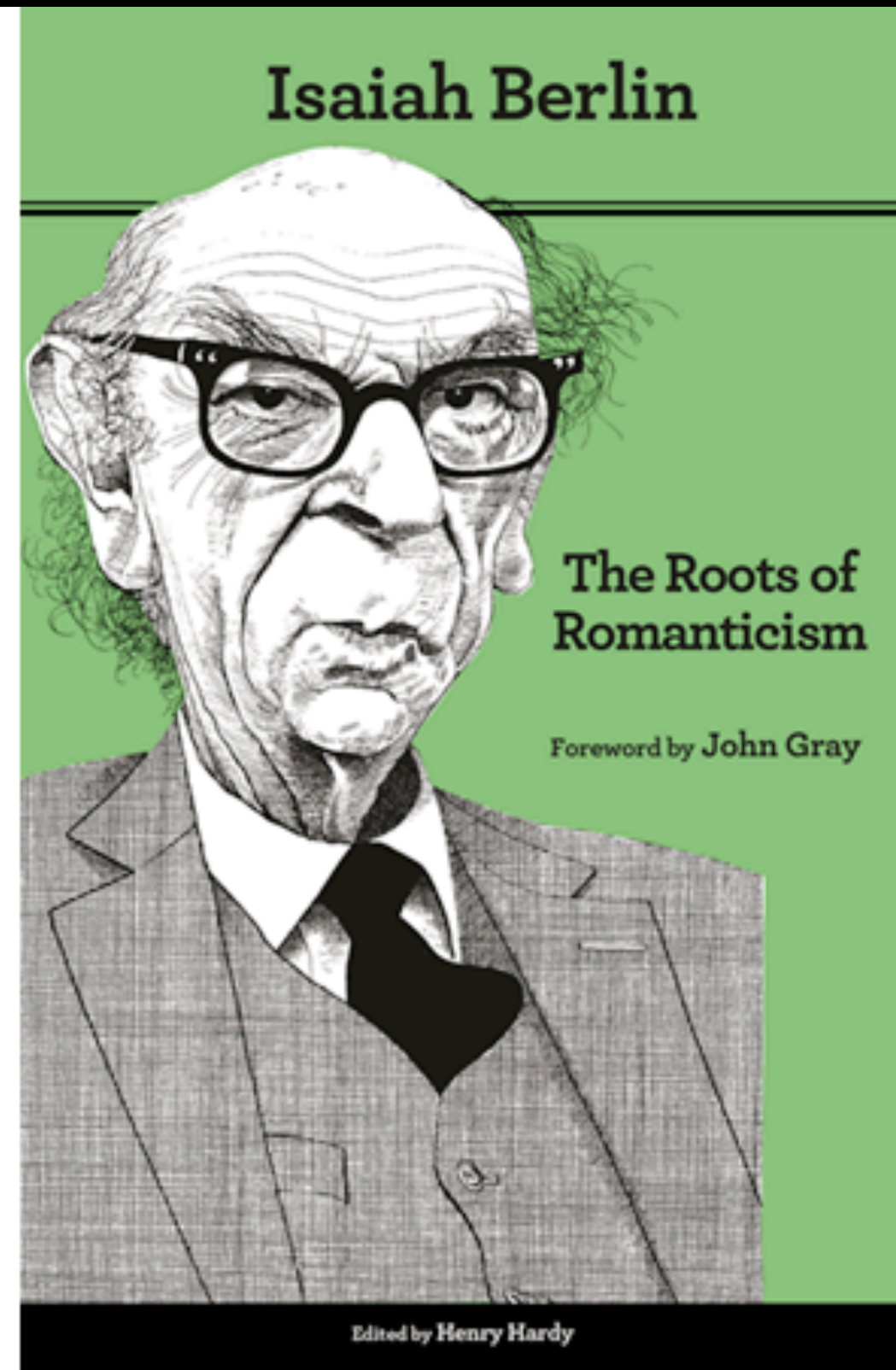


Born in Riga, Latvia, in 1909, he moved to St Petersburg, Russia, at the age of six, where he witnessed the revolutions of 1917. In 1921 his family moved to the UK, and he was educated at St Paul's School, London, and Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1932, at the age of 23, Berlin was elected to a prize fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford. He translated works by Ivan Turgenev from Russian into English and, during the war, worked for the British Diplomatic Service. From 1957 to 1967 he was Chichele Professor of Social and Political Theory at the University of Oxford.





2001 Edition



2013 Edition

Isaiah Berlin: "John Stuart Mill and the Ends of Life":

- "He continued to profess that happiness was the sole end of human existence, but his conception of what contributed to it changed into something very different from that of his mentors, for what he came to value most was neither rationality nor contentment but diversity, versatility, fullness of life—the unaccountable leap of individual genius, the spontaneity and uniqueness of a man, a group, a civilization... For him man differs from animals primarily neither as the possessor of reason, nor as an inventor of tools and methods, but as **a being capable of choice, one who is most himself in choosing and not being chosen for.**"

Berlin: "He was committed to the view that we can never tell (until we have tried) where greater truth or happiness (or any other form of experience) may lie.

Finality is therefore in principle impossible: all solutions must be tentative and provisional. This is the voice of a disciple of both Saint-Simon and Constant or Humboldt.

It runs **directly counter to eighteenth-century utilitarianism**, which rested on the view that there exists an unalterable nature of things, and answers to social, as to other, problems, can, at least in principle, **be scientifically discovered once and for all.**

The notion of a single true doctrine carrying salvation to all men everywhere, contained in natural law, or the revelation of a sacred book, or the insight of a man of genius, or the natural wisdom of ordinary men, or the calculations made by an elite of utilitarian scientists—**this is bound to be mistaken."**

(bad news for Christians, so you see this credo is one for the secular society)

Isaiah Berlin:

"Mill believes that **the human being is spontaneous, ...**
has freedom of choice,
moulds own character,
that as a result of the interplay of the human
being with nature and with other men &
women something novel continually arises,
and that this novelty is precisely what is
most characteristic and most human in the
whole community of human beings..

Because Mill's entire view of human nature turns out to rest not on the notion of the repetition of an identical pattern, but on his perception of human lives as subject to perpetual incompleteness, self-transformation, and novelty, his words are today alive and relevant to us;

whereas the works of James Mill, and of Buckle and Comte and Spencer, remain huge half-forgotten hulks in the river of nineteenth-century thought."

**Notice Mill in the above echoes Kierkegaard:
essence of human life is choice.
modern Existentialism.**

Berlin

"Mill is not interested in actuarial calculations. At the center of his thought and feeling lies, not his utilitarianism, nor the concern about enlightenment, nor about dividing the private from the public domain—but

his attempt to fuse rationalism and Romanticism;

The same aim as Goethe
The aim of all thinkers in the second
half of 19th C.

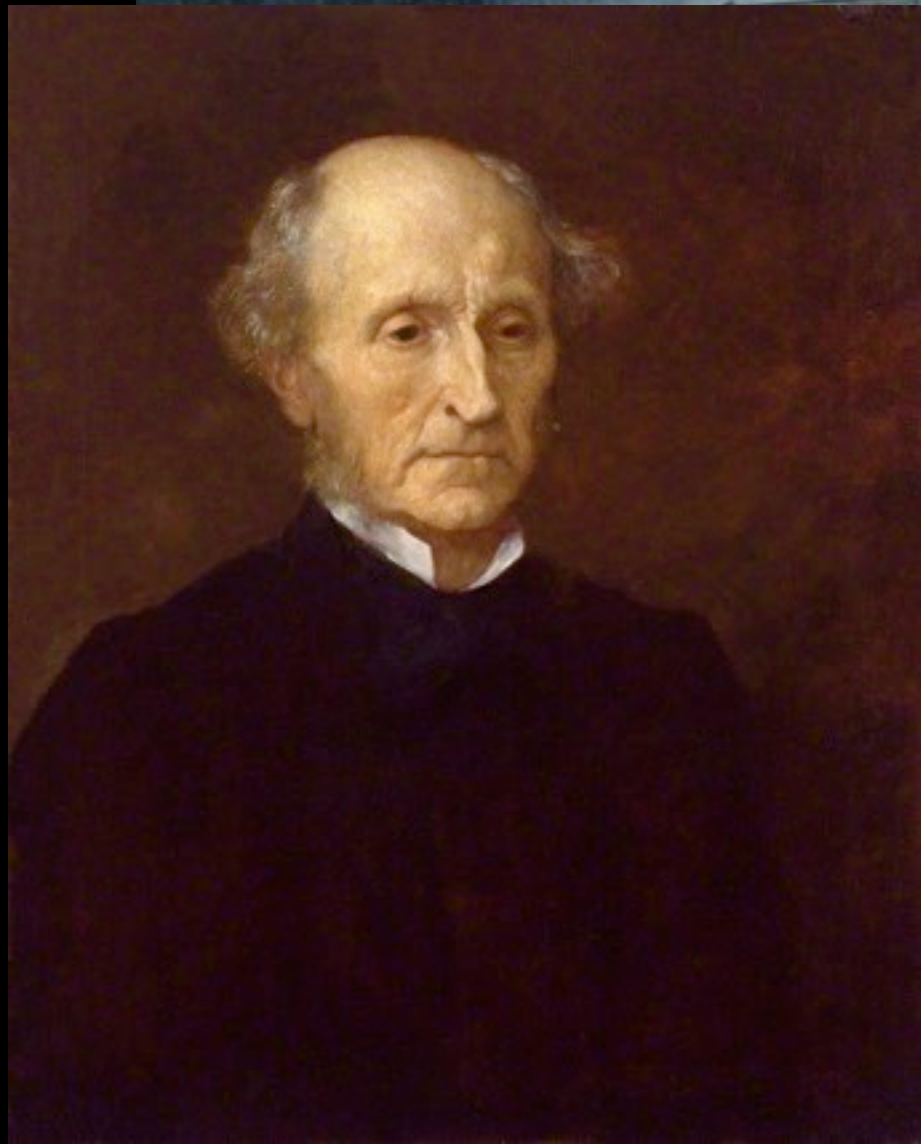
J.S. Mill greatness:
In the 19th Century he wanted to fuse the scientific drive
of the Enlightenment with
the spirit and emotion of Romanticism.

a rich, spontaneous, many-sided, fearless, free, and yet
rational, self-directed character.

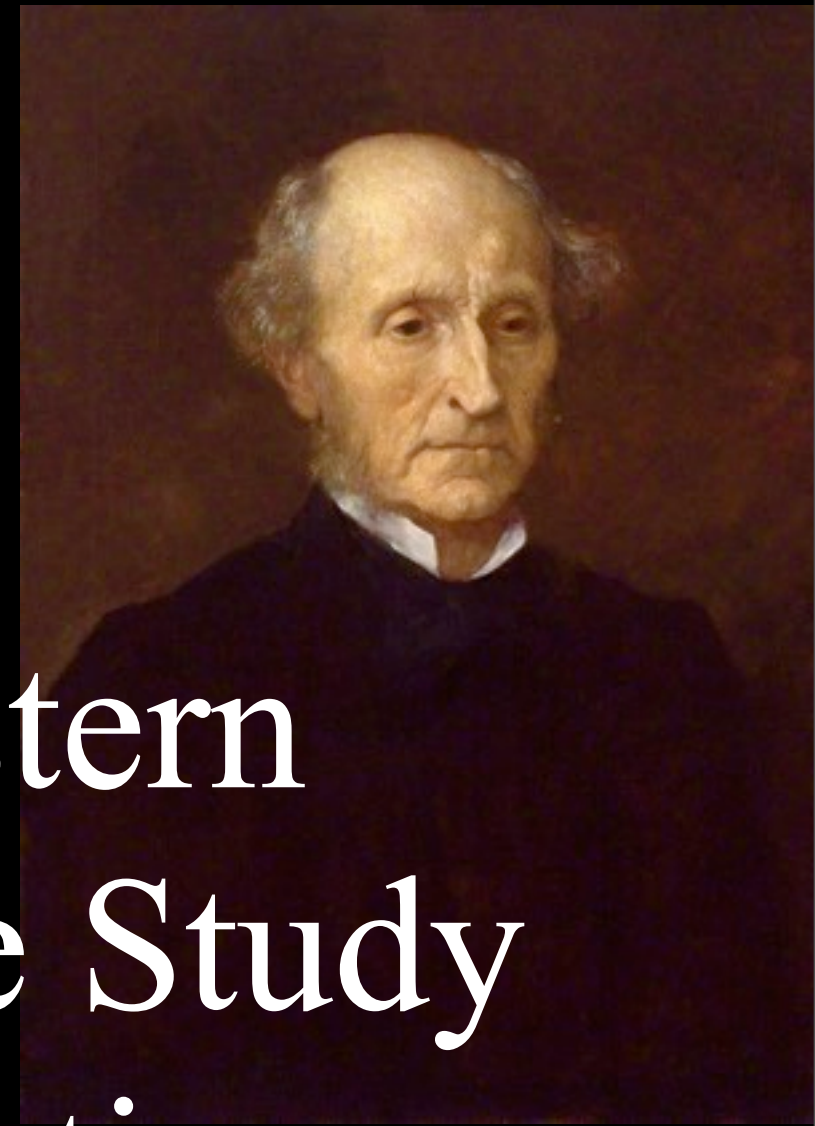
He perceived something profound and essential about the
destructive effect of man's most successful efforts at self-
improvement in modern society."

The human being: a Free, Imperfect Being

Berlin: "The Millian image of man is a creative being, incapable of self-completion, and therefore never wholly predictable: fallible, a complex combination of opposites, some reconcilable, others incapable of being resolved or harmonized; unable to cease from his search for truth, happiness, novelty, freedom, but with no guarantee, theological or logical or scientific, of being able to attain them: a free, imperfect being, capable of determining his own destiny in circumstances favorable to the development of his reason and his gifts."

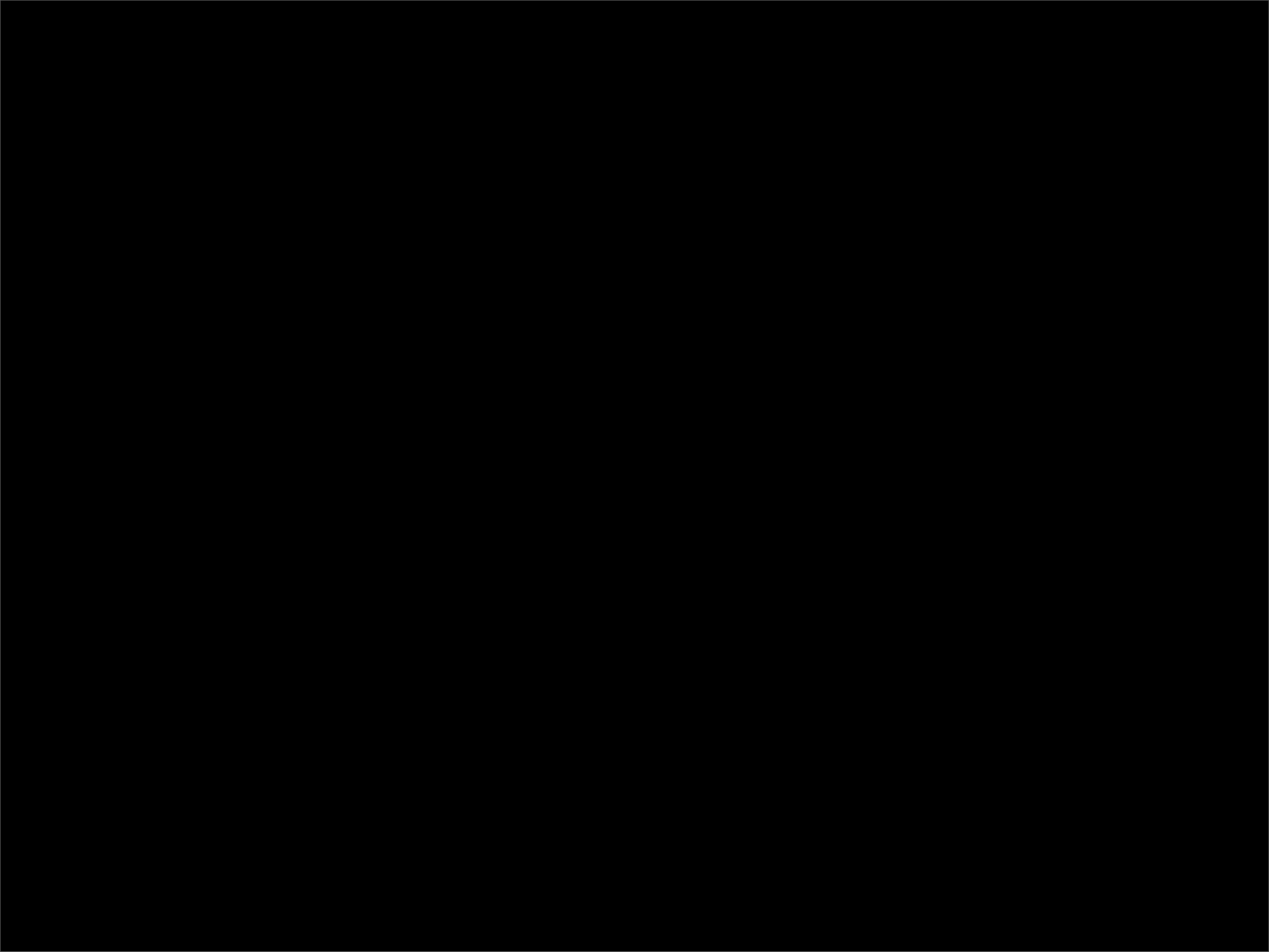


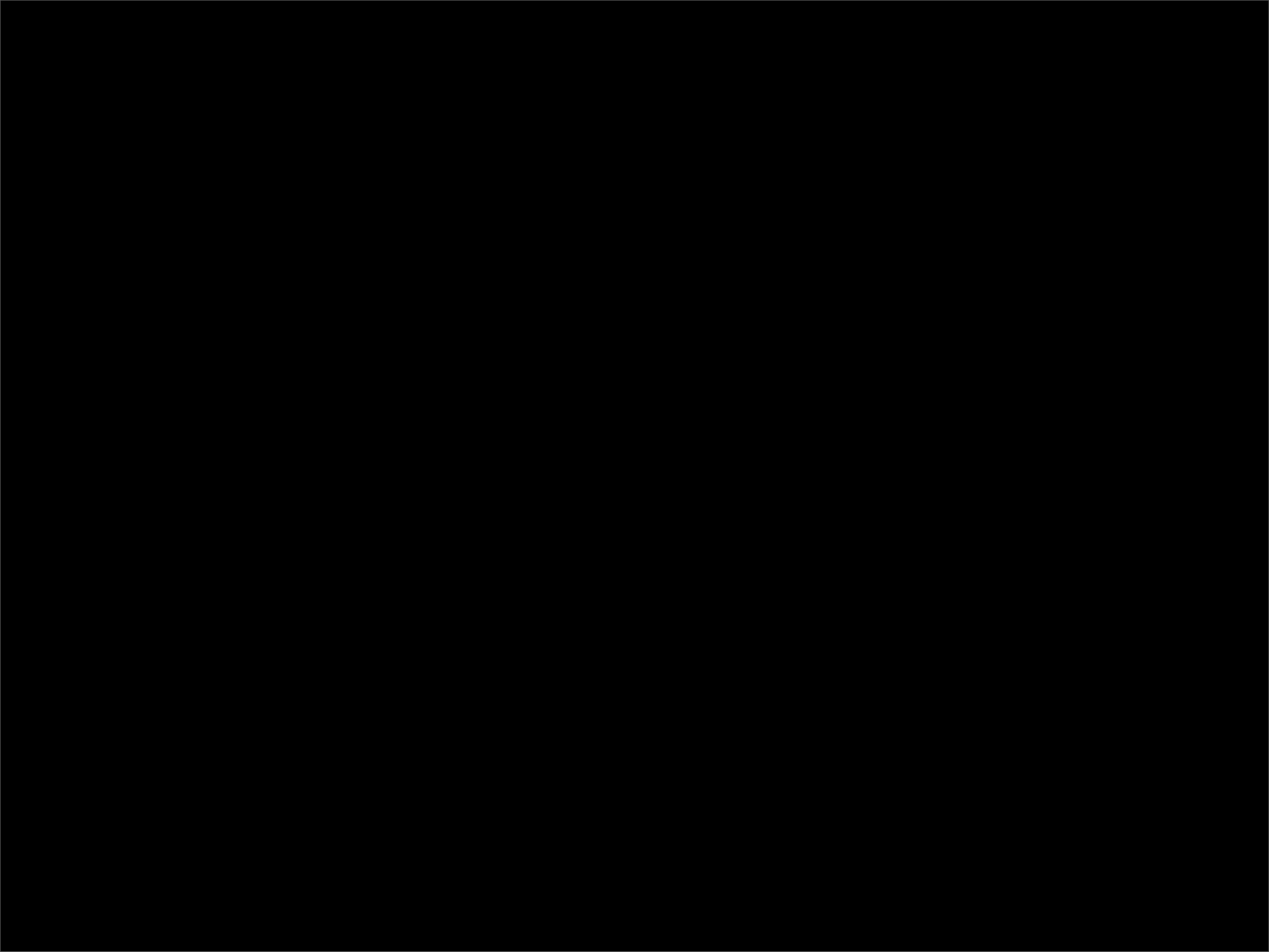
John Stuart Mill died in 1873 in Avignon France,
and is buried next to his wife Harriet there.



Making of the Western Mind Institute for the Study of Western Civilization Week 28, John Stuart Mill







this is a 2 hour presentation
part I: J S Mill
part II: On Liberty

FREEDOM OF SPEECH
ADD TUCKER CARLSON
ON ACLU DEFENSE OF
FREEDOM OF SPEECH
AS HE SAYS THIS IS THE FOUNDATION OF
ALL THE OTHER FREEDOMS
WITHOUT IT YOU HAVE NO FREEDOM