

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

**THE VEGETARIAN MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN c.1840-1901.
A STUDY OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, PERSONNEL
AND WIDER CONNECTIONS.**

Two volumes:

Volume One

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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS

HISTORY

Doctor of Philosophy

**THE VEGETARIAN MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN c.1840-1901. A STUDY OF ITS
DEVELOPMENT, PERSONNEL AND WIDER CONNECTIONS.**

By James Richard Thomas Elliott Gregory

This thesis examines in detail the British vegetarian movement in the Victorian era. The introduction charts the various historiographic sites within which it can be situated: medical history, food history, utopian studies, the history of social movements. The thesis is organised in six parts. The first contextualizes the movement by examining its relationship with medical orthodoxy and other medical unorthodoxies, its status as an ultra-temperance movement, its relationship with zoophilism and other campaigns against violence and pain, and its religious and occult dimensions. It concludes with an examination of vegetarianism's radical and 'fadical' aspects; examining the relationship between food reform and movements such as chartists, Owenite socialists and middle class radicals in the early Victorian period; and studies the general question of the relationship between personal or bodily reform; and political reform.

The second part of the thesis provides the first detailed documentation and analysis of the vegetarian movement as a British, provincial and metropolitan reform movement. It begins with an account of activity in the decade prior to the Vegetarian Society's formation in 1847. Whilst recognising the importance of Manchester and northern England to the early movement, as emphasised in earlier historiography, vegetarianism is examined as a metropolitan phenomenon in the period c.1847-1870, and during its late Victorian revival (from c.1875). Chapters establish the spatial location and document the activity of local societies. Although mostly short-lived, they are more numerous than might be thought, and involved local leaders of temperance and other reform movements. There has been no study of the movement as a *British* phenomenon, and chapters document and analyse locations and activity in Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

The third and fourth parts of the thesis further examine the spatial and social aspects of vegetarianism as a movement: its expression through restaurants and food stores; its press; class profile and class dimension, and the role of women. These chapters represent the first detailed treatment of these aspects and contribute respectively to the histories of urban feeding and retail; Victorian periodicals and the radical press; histories of thrift and philanthropy; and women's roles in the platform and organisations of reform movements.

The final aspect examined is the attitude of contemporaries. The practice and its movement are shown to have been frequent topics in the press; through examination of the national press and satirical journals, documentation of representation in a surprisingly numerous body of fictional work, and examination of the inevitability of dietetic reform as a topic in utopian texts. The analysis is supported by appendices providing a thorough listing of the personnel of the several national and many local societies, listing of serial literature and occupational profiles for the Vegetarian Society. The second volume includes a biographical index of Victorian vegetarians and food reformers. This forms the factual base for the charting of the movement's wider connections and social characteristics, providing a reference tool supplementing the thesis. It is included as an aid to future research.

The Vegetarian movement in Britain c.1840-1901.
A study of its development, personnel, and wider connections.

In two volumes,
with a supplementary biographical index
appended to volume II.

Volume I

Abstract

Acknowledgments

i-iv.

Abbreviations and Footnoting Conventions

v.

Chapter One: Introduction

pp.1-17.

I. *A survey of the literature.*

II. *The scope and focus of the thesis.*

III. *Methodology.*

Note. Definitions: vegetarians and food reformers

Chapter Two

pp.18-93.

2:1 Vegetarianism as a Health Reform Movement.

pp.18-38.

I. *Quackery and Physical Puritanism.*

II. *The vegetarian movement's relationship with other 'pathies'.*

III. *Vegetarianism as a health reform.*

IV. *The vegetarian movement's relationship with medical orthodoxy.*

2:2 Vegetarianism and Teetotalism.

pp.39-46.

2:3 Vegetarianism and Animal Welfare.

pp.47-61.

I. *The vegetarian movement as a humanitarian movement.*

II. *Against cruelty: the meat trade and cruel sports.*

III. *The relationship with mainstream zoophilist organisations.*

IV. *Vegetarianism and antivivisection.*

V. *Vegetarianism and humanitarianism.*

VI. *Conclusion: vegetarians, animals and the future state.*

2:4 Vegetarianism and Religion.

pp.62-78.

I. *The relationship between health reform and religion.*

II. *Religious affiliation in the vegetarian movement.*

III. *Vegetarianism, spiritualism, the esoteric and the occult.*

2:5 Radical and Fadical: radicalism, anti-everythingarianism and faddism.

pp.79-99.

I. *The relationship between health reform and political radicalism.*

II. *Owenite, freethought, chartist and late Victorian socialist connections.*

III. *'Moral Radical' connections.*

IV. *'Anti-everythingarianism'.*

- V. *The language of faddism.*
- VI. *Ancillary concerns: the vegetarian debate.*
- VII. *Radicalization through vegetarianism.*
- VIII. *The kinship of causes.*
- IX. *Personal reform.*

Chapter Three **pp.100-203.**

3.1 Vegetarianism in the 1840s. pp.100-116.

- I. *Sacred Socialism.*
Concordist propaganda.
Contemporary responses to the Concordium.
- II. *Owenite dietary reform.*
Chartism and diet reform.
- III. *Etzlerism and J.E. Duncan.*
- IV. *Goodwyn Barmby, Little Bentley and the White Quakers.*

3.2 James Simpson and the establishment of the Vegetarian Society. pp.117-121.

3:3 Northern England, Urban Life and Radicalism . pp.122-127.

- I. *The urban geography of vegetarianism.*
- II. *Vegetarianism and urban discipline.*
- III. *North and South: Manchester and London.*

3:4. Food Reform in the Provinces, 1847 to 1870. pp.128-149.

- I. *Meetings and associations in England.*
Vegetarianism in northern England.
Vegetarianism in Eastern England and the Midlands.
Vegetarianism in southern England.
- I. *Vegetarian activity in Scotland, Ireland and Wales.*
- II. *Other locations for vegetarian activity.*

3:5 London Vegetarianism c.1847-1870. pp.150-162.

- I. *A history of the organisations.*
- II. *Centres for dietetic radicalism.*
- III. *Analysis of the personnel.*
Class.
Gender.
- IV. *Assessment.*

3:6 London Vegetarianism, 1875-1901. pp.163-175.

- I. *The London Food Reform Society, National Food Reform Society and Auxiliary.*
- II. *The London Vegetarian Society.*
- III. *Other vegetarian locations.*
- IV. *Propagation of the vegetarian message.*
- V. *Demonstrating the vegetarian truth.*
- VI. *Size and social location of the London movement.*
- VII. *Assessment.*

3:7	Late Victorian Vegetarianism as a Provincial Movement.	pp.176-194.
I.	<i>Vegetarian organisations in northern England.</i>	
	<i>Vegetarian activity in the Midlands.</i>	
	<i>Vegetarian activity in southern England.</i>	
II.	<i>Other locations.</i>	
III.	<i>The provincial movement in the late 1890s.</i>	
	Note on numbers.	

3:8	Food Reform Societies in Wales, Scotland and Ireland.	pp.195-203.
I.	<i>Welsh vegetarianism.</i>	
II.	<i>Food reform in Scotland.</i>	
III.	<i>Ireland and food reform.</i>	

Chapter Four pp.204-227.

4:1.	Vegetarian Restaurants, Food Stores and the Vegetarian Movement	pp.204-213.
I.	<i>London vegetarian restaurants, 1876-1900.</i>	
II.	<i>Provincial restaurants.</i>	
III.	<i>Health food stores.</i>	
IV.	<i>Assessment.</i>	

4:2.	The Vegetarian Press, 1840-1901.	pp.214-227.
I.	<i>The readership.</i>	
II.	<i>The organs of a movement.</i>	
III.	<i>London journals.</i>	
IV.	<i>Specialist serial titles.</i>	
V.	<i>Assessment.</i>	

Chapter Five pp.228-256.

5:1	Vegetarianism, the Working Class and the Labour Movement.	pp.228-239.
I.	<i>The appeal to the working class.</i>	
II.	<i>Vegetarian an food thrift.</i>	
III.	<i>Vegetarianism, late Victorian socialism and co-operation.</i>	

5:2	Women and Food Reform.	pp.240-256.
I.	<i>Women and the vegetarian movement, 1847-1870.</i>	
II.	<i>Women and the vegetarian movement, 1870-1900.</i>	
III.	<i>The Women's Vegetarian Union.</i>	

Chapter Six pp.257-277.

6.	Vegetarianism and the Victorians.
I.	<i>Shelleyanism.</i>
II.	<i>Debates about vegetarianism in non-fictional writings.</i>
III.	<i>Anti-vegetarian tracts, essays and journals, c.1847-1870.</i>
IV.	<i>Vegetarianism in late Victorian newspapers and periodicals.</i>

- V. *Fictional responses to vegetarianism.*
- VI. *Utopia and scientific romances.*
- VII. *Vegetarians in the theatre and music.*
- VIII. *The foreign response to British vegetarians.*

Chapter Seven: Conclusions **pp.278-281.**

Volume II

Appendices A-F. **pp.282-340.**

- A. Occupational profile of the Vegetarian Society.
- B. Vegetarian restaurants and food reform stores, a listing.
- C. Vegetarian and pro-vegetarian journals, a listing.
- D. Officers of the Vegetarian Society, local and metropolitan societies, 1847-1901.
- E. Other food reform organisations.
- F. Officers and members of the Women's Vegetarian Union.

Bibliography **pp.341-389.**

Supplementary material,
Separately paginated.

Biographical Index of Victorian Vegetarians and Food Reformers **pp.1-130.**

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James Gregory,

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Abbreviations and Footnoting Conventions

1. Societies

L.F.R.S. / N.F.R.S.	London/ National Food Reform Society
V.S.	The <i>Vegetarian Society</i> ; with prefixed name, a <i>local</i> society e.g. <i>Portsmouth V.S.</i>
L.V.S.	London Vegetarian Society
U.K.A.	United Kingdom Alliance
W.V.U.	Women's Vegetarian Union
W.I.P.U.	Women's International Progressive Union
V.F.U.	Vegetarian Federal Union

2. Archives

GMCRO-V.S.	Records of the Vegetarian Society, Greater Manchester County Records Office.
John Johnson	John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Department of Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford. Note: <i>the Box references refer specifically to the numbered boxes containing the collection of Vegetarian and Health-related societies.</i>
Allinson Papers	Allinson Papers, Special Collections, The Library, University of Edinburgh.
Baume Papers	Manx National Heritage, Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man (uncatalogued).

Others, less frequently cited, appear in full in the footnotes and are thereafter abbreviated.

3. Journals

<i>Dietetic Reformer</i>	DR
<i>Herald of the Golden Age</i>	HGA
<i>Herald of Health</i>	HH
<i>Medium and Daybreak</i>	MD
<i>New Moral World</i>	NMW
<i>Vegetarian Advocate</i>	VA
<i>Vegetarian Messenger</i> / ~ and <i>Health Review</i>	VM
<i>Weekly Times and Echo</i>	WTE

4. Other material

Forward, <i>History</i>	C.W. Forward, <i>Fifty Years of Food Reform. A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England</i> (1898).
Spencer, <i>Heretic's Feast</i>	C. Spencer, <i>The Heretic's Feast. A History of Vegetarianism</i> (London: Fourth Estate, 1993). (republished 2001 as <i>Vegetarianism: A History</i>).
DNB/ <i>New DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography/ New Dictionary of National Biography</i> . Note: since entries are easily located complete biographical references are not given.
Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement'	J.M. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement in England from 1847-1981: a study of the structure of its ideology' (Ph.D., London School of Economics, 1982).

All other journals are footnoted in full, apart from the dropping of initial articles (e.g. 'The...'). Where possible page references in the primary journals are accompanied with the date rather than the volume of the journal, as this is more useful. Material is fully cited when first appearing in footnotes and thereafter abbreviated to surname and short title in a subchapter. Apart from certain key texts- C.W. Forward's *Fifty Years of Food Reform*, J.M. Twigg's doctoral dissertation and Colin Spencer's *The Heretic's Feast. A History of Vegetarianism*, when a work is cited in subsequent chapter of the seven-chapter thesis, it is given in full. Where a later edition of a work is used, the date of first publication is given. I abbreviate New York and New Jersey to 'NY and 'NJ' respectively.

Chapter 1: *Introduction*

Organised British vegetarianism began in 1847 with the creation of the Vegetarian Society (hereafter V.S.). Although there had been a couple of English precursors in the early 1840s, this has rightly been seen as the first vegetarian society in the modern West. By 1899, when several other national vegetarian societies were also active in Britain, the V.S. had approximately 5, 800 members and associates. Since one member often represented a family group, and since throughout the period there was an unquantifiable number of experimenting 'considerers', the total number of self-consciously and deliberate vegetarians (as opposed to thousands practically vegetarian through poverty) was much higher. Institutionalized in national societies and provincial associations, creating its own public platform, press and journals, generating a demand for a range of alternative commodities, it deserves the label 'movement'. This thesis is the first detailed examination of the Victorian movement.

Situated within a broader world of *moral* and *social* reform; vegetarianism presented itself as the logical conclusion of efforts such as the temperance and peace movements. Study of the personnel shows that the vegetarians' claim to follow the ultimate reform, was often based on the trajectory of individuals' enthusiasms. It was also an extreme expression of wider tendencies such as puritanism, or sentimentalism about animals. Critics recognised its implications for theology. In their counter-arguments they addressed what they perceived as its serious ramifications for imperial might and racial vigour.

The association of vegetarianism with questions of racial strength is to be seen in a broader medical context. It was one of a number of 'isms' and 'pathies' such as homeopathy and mesmerism, forming a medical unorthodoxy which was characteristic of the period in making moral, social and political claims for allegiance and national consideration. It was recognised at the time that unorthodoxies in dietetic practice or medical belief intertwined with other heresies. In this thesis the movement is placed in the context of such broader issues and relationships. The survey of literature which follows examines these in more detail.

I

A survey of the literature.

The movement can be located in many historiographic sites. There is a large body of work on western vegetarianism, and obviously research on the Nineteenth century British movement can be classified as 'vegetarian history'.¹ Yet even this apparently specialist field has its own further

¹ No attempt is made here to survey this broader, non-historical literature. J.C. Dyer, *Vegetarianism: an Annotated Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ and London: Scarecrow, 1982), pp.3-9 provides an entrée into published work to c.1899.

'feminist-vegetarian' sub-classification.² Until recently, the scholarly examination of the British Nineteenth century movement has been limited. Like other movements of the era, there was an internal 'genealogical' impulse. Throughout the period vegetarian journals contained articles demonstrating the diet's antiquity. The recognition of a 'vegetarian canon', stressed from the start, was ably expressed in Howard Williams' *The Ethics of Diet* (1883).³ The V.S. was self-conscious about the novelty of its organised endeavour and keen to convey vigour and reach. Precociously, its organ in the 1850s, (the *Vegetarian Messenger*), collected material for a history of the first few years.⁴ Charles Forward's *Fifty Years of Food Reform. A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England* (1898), produced for the Society's jubilee in 1897, has been a key source and framework for subsequent treatment of the movement. Despite some sketchiness, reflecting its origins in a series of short articles, it was essentially accurate, and candid about the strains between the Manchester-based V.S. and the new London Vegetarian Society (hereafter L.V.S.), the two major vegetarian societies of the period.⁵ More insights concerning the London movement of the 1880s-1890s, were possible when he published recollections in the 1920s.⁶

Forward's history apart, there has been limited primary research on the movement, but the most comprehensive research has been undeservedly neglected.⁷ The pioneering modern study is J.M. Twigg's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, which brilliantly examines the ideology of the British movement c.1847-1983.⁸ Although the thesis is concerned primarily with analysing this ideology, the *general* history of the movement from 1847-1983 is authoritatively set out as part of the wider

² The key text is C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat. A Feminist-vegetarian Critical Theory* (NY and London: Polity/ Continuum, 1990; reprinted 2000).

³ H. Williams, *The Ethics of Diet: A Catena of Authorities deprecatory of the Habit of Flesh-eating* (Manchester: F. Pitman, 1883). A revised and enlarged edition was published in 1896. A good modern anthology is K.S. Walters and L. Portmess, eds., *Ethical Vegetarianism. From Pythagoras to Peter Singer*, (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1999). I am grateful to the editor of *Theosophical History* for inviting me to review it. The editors' second volume, *Religious Vegetarianism: From Hesiod to the Dalai Lama* (2001) does not include material relevant to the Victorian period.

⁴ *VM*, January- June 1851.

⁵ C.W. Forward, *Fifty Years of Food Reform. A History of the Vegetarian Movement in England* (London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1898). The V.S. requested its name be removed when it was published as a book because of objections to chapter 12.

⁶ 'Forty Years among the Faddists', serialised in *Vegetarian News* (the L.V.S. journal from 1921), from February 1922-1923. These articles have been neglected in the past.

⁷ Superficiality (with inaccuracies and unsupported assertions) characterizes the short survey by J. Gregerson, *Vegetarianism. A History* (Fremont, California: Jain, 1994), ch.13. J. Barkas' *The Vegetable Passion. A History of the Vegetarian State of Mind* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975), pp.79-99, is sketchy and inaccurate.

⁸ J. M. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement in England from 1847-1981: a study of the structure of its ideology', Ph.D., London School of Economics, 1982. The Nineteenth century historical sections draw on Forward's history in particular, but naturally reflect the scholarly interest in progressive movements and organisations of the later Nineteenth century, such as the 'Fellowship of the New Life'. Another unpublished examination of vegetarianism is E. Hill's undergraduate thesis (1998), 'Vegetarianism for Health: 1790-1860', but this superficial work is cited here only because it readily appears in the Wellcome Library for the History of Medicine catalogue.

‘field of social relations’ giving it (the ideology) meaning. Given the study’s chronological scope, however, close examination of the vegetarian press (let alone a wider press) was clearly impossible, and the thesis is not concerned with a detailed study of the personnel, locations and institutions. Twigg published two important essays, reflecting her primary interest in the ideological aspects.⁹ The relevant chapters in a well-known recent survey history of vegetarianism are based heavily (with acknowledgment) on her work.¹⁰ Work on a core component of the early V.S. is represented by a short but useful monograph examining the vegetarian-teetotal Cowherdite Bible Christians (active in the Salford and Manchester area from the 1800s) and their role in the movement.¹¹ The sect is also explored in an article examining the career of one pastor, James Scholefield.¹² John Belchem’s brief essay on the ‘progressive’ journalism produced in the Isle of Man in the 1840s is another valuable piece of recent research, the first published treatment of a press which exploited legal loopholes to produce a range of serials including two vegetarian journals.¹³

Vegetarianism naturally forms part of a wider discipline of ‘food history’ and treatment of varying depth is found in histories of taste, diet and nutrition. Despite some standard studies of British food and diet there is still much to be researched: the examination of the vegetarian restaurants and food stores that forms part of this thesis contributes to the history of food retail in the urban environment. Vegetarianism was characteristic of a wider philanthropy in its efforts to find cheap and wholesome new foods. Nineteenth century food adulteration, a major issue which vegetarians attempted to exploit, continues to attract research.¹⁴

⁹ J.M. Twigg, ‘Vegetarianism and the Meanings of Meat’ in A. Murcott ed., *The Sociology of Food and Eating* (Aldershot: Gower, 1983), pp.18-30; and ‘Food for Thought: Purity and Vegetarianism’ *Religion* 9 (Spring 1979), pp.13-35.

¹⁰ C. Spencer, *The Heretics Feast. A History of Vegetarianism* (London: Fourth Estate, 1993), now republished (2001) as *Vegetarianism: A History*. It also forms the basis of a less accurate essay, A.P. Ouedraogo, ‘The social genesis of western vegetarianism to 1859,’ in R. Dare, ed., *Food, Power and Community. Essays in the History of Food and Drink* (Adelaide: Wakefield, 1999), pp.154-166. His essay, ‘De la secte religieuse à l’utopie philanthropique. Genèse sociale du végétarisme occidental’, *Annales HSS* 55:4 (July-August 2000), pp.825-843, adds nothing significant, but makes accessible to francophonic scholars the established work on British vegetarianism.

¹¹ D. Antrobus, *A Guiltless Feast. The Salford Bible-Christian Church and the Rise of the Modern Vegetarian Movement* (Salford: Salford City Council, 1997). Mr Antrobus informs me (e-mail, February 2001), that he is investigating the local influence of the sect further.

¹² P.A. Pickering and A. Tyrrell, ‘“In the Thickest of the Fight”: the Reverend James Scholefield (1790-1855) and the Bible Christians of Salford’, *Albion* 26:3 (Fall 1994), pp.461-482.

¹³ J. Belchem, ‘“Temperance in all things”: Vegetarianism, the Manx press and the alternative agenda of reform in the 1840s’ in M. Chase, I. Dyck eds., *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), pp.149-162; and J. Belchem, ‘The Neglected “Unstamped”: The Manx Pauper Press of the 1840s’, *Albion* 24: 4 (Winter 1992), pp.605-616.

¹⁴ On the symbolism of meat and other foods, see Twigg’s thesis; C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*; and N. Fiddes, *Meat. A Natural Symbol* (London: Routledge, 1991); D. Lupton, *Food, the Body and the Self* (London: Sage, 1996). On food in this period, see J.C. Drummond and A. Wilbraham, *The Englishman’s Food. A History of Five Centuries of English Diet* (1939; revised and expanded edn by D. Hollingsworth, London: Jonathan Cape, 1957 and 1964); J. Burnett, *Plenty and Want: a Social History of Diet in England from 1815 to the Present Day* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1966); J. Burnett and D. Oddy, *The Origins and Development of Food Policies in Europe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1994); K. J. Carpenter,

Through its nutritional and hygienic claims, it falls within medical history and the study of unorthodox belief and practice. A range of unorthodoxies, labelled 'physical puritanism' in 1852 by an essayist who associated them with other unorthodoxies such as political radicalism, have been the subject of a number of monographs over the last three decades.¹⁵ The anti-vaccination movement, hydropathy, medical botany and mesmerism have had their histories.¹⁶

Vegetarianism frequently positioned itself as 'ultra temperance'. Like many studies on physical puritan movements, this study owes much to the work of Brian Harrison who forty years ago emphasised the interconnections with other interests, including vegetarianism, within the temperance leadership. His biographical temperance index and his study of the temperance press have been the inspiration for important parts of this thesis.¹⁷ Temperance supporters provided the core of the anti-tobacco movement and many teetotal-vegetarians were also active in this health reform.¹⁸ The temperance aspect is inadequately appreciated in most previous work on

Protein and Energy. A Study of Changing Ideas in Nutrition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); S. Freeman, *Mutton and Oysters. The Victorians and their Food* (London: Gollancz, 1989); S. Mennell, *All Manners of Food. Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985); T. McLaughlin, *A Diet of Tripe. The chequered history of food reform* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1978); R. Perren, *The Meat Trade in Britain. 1840-1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978); C. Petersen, ed. A. Jenkins, *Bread and the British Economy, c.1770-1870* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1995). On adulteration as a test of market morality, G.R. Searle, *Morality and the Market in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

¹⁵ An unsigned article by Dr Samuel Brown (1817-1856), 'Physical Puritanism', *Westminster Review* 57 (April 1852), pp.405-442 (reference to the reform's radical logic, p.438).

¹⁶ On medical unorthodoxy in general, see W.J. Sheils, ed., *The Church and Healing* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); W.F. Bynum and R. Porter, eds., *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); R. Cooter, ed., *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan/St Anthony's College, 1988); R. Porter, *Health for Sale. Quackery in England 1660-1850*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989). See P.S. Brown, 'Medically Qualified Naturopaths and the General Medical Council' *Medical History* 35 (1991), pp.50-77; M.R. Finlay, 'Quackery and Cookery: Justus von Liebig's Extract of Meat and the theory of nutrition in the Victorian Age', *Bulletin of History of Medicine* 66 (1992), pp.404-418; M. Clement, 'Physical Puritanism and religious dissent: the case of John Young (1820-1904), Sunderland chemist and druggist and methodist lay preacher', *Social History of Medicine* 11:2 (August 1998), pp. 197-212; and A.L. Scott, 'Physical Purity Feminism and State Medicine in Late Nineteenth-century England', *Women's History Review* 8:4 (1999), pp.625-653. Important studies of specific movements are: R. Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organisation of Consent in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and Cooter, *Phrenology in the British Isles. An Annotated Historical Bibliography and Index* (Metuchen, N.J and London: Scarecrow, 1989); D. Porter and R. Porter, 'The Politics of Prevention: Anti-Vaccination and Public Health in Nineteenth Century England' *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp.231-252; N. Durbach, 'Working class resistance to compulsory vaccination', *Social History of Medicine* 13:1 (2000), pp.45-62. Standard works on British medicine and health are R. French, A. Wear, eds, *British Medicine in an Age of Reform* (London: Routledge, 1991); B. Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusett: Harvard University Press, 1978); F.B. Smith, *The People's Health. 1830-1910* (London: Croom Helm, 1979); C. Webster, ed., *Biology, Medicine and Society. 1840-1940*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). An important regional study is M.H. Marland, *Medicine in Wakefield and Huddersfield, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

¹⁷ B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); B. Harrison, *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography* (Coventry: Society for the Study of Labour History, Bulletin Supplement, 1973); and B. Harrison, "'A world of which we had no conception.': Liberalism and the Temperance Press, 1830-1872," *Victorian Studies* 13: 2 (1969-1970), pp.125-158.

¹⁸ See S. Lock, L. A. Reynold, E.M. Tansey, *Ashes to Ashes: the History of Smoking and Health*, Clio

vegetarianism, one exception being Belchem's recent essay which serves as an introduction to the career of William Horsell (1807-63). The research on vegetarian periodicals for this thesis has involved a more detailed and extended study of his career.¹⁹

Rather than view the diet as an extension of temperance principles, vegetarianism has frequently been treated as the extreme extension of 'humane' feeling towards animals. Vegetarianism has important implications for the relationship of man and nature, and discussion is to be found in the history of natural science, animal rights and welfare, and eco-history.²⁰ The 'bloodless diet' needs to be seen in the larger context of developments in the relationship between man and the natural world. Many vegetarians were also antivivisectionists and 'zoophiles'. Vegetarians certainly feature in studies of animal rights, antivivisection, and the late Victorian 'Humanitarian League' which united concerns about the suffering of humans and animals.²¹

For an understanding of the rise of a movement attracting support on ethical as well as therapeutic grounds, the question of *suffering* and *pain* is central, just as it has been recognised in study of the animal protection and animal rights movement. Vegetarians supported campaigns against violent and capital punishment. Vegetarianism as an organised society took off at the same time as a revived anti-capital punishment movement, and believed itself to languish as a public movement for similar reasons in the 1850s.²²

There were vegetarian groups in Britain before 1847, some of whom stressed this question of suffering. It figures in recent, 'greening', studies of Romanticism, particularly Timothy Morton's ingenious literary-historical work on Shelley and his circle c. 1790-1820.²³ For Shelley, carnivorous

Medica 46 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998); R. B. Walker, 'Medical Aspects of Tobacco Smoking and the Anti-Tobacco Movement in Britain in the Nineteenth century', *Medical History* 24 (1980), pp.391-402.

¹⁹This research is summarized in my entry on Horsell for the *New DNB* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

²⁰On attitudes to animals and nature, see J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1980); K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World. Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983); H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate. The English and other creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1987); and H. Kean, *Animal Rights. Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion, 1998). See also G.B. Tennyson and U.C. Knoepfelmacher, eds., *Nature and the Victorian Imagination* (London: University of California Press, 1977); and M. Ferguson, *Animal Advocacy and Englishwomen, 1780-1900. Patriots, Nation and Empire* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1998). On environmentalism and 'green politics', see J. Ranlett, 'Checking Nature's Desecration: late Victorian environmental organization' *Victorian Studies* 26 (Winter 1983), pp.197-222; and P.C. Gould, *Early Green Politics. Back to nature, Back to the Land, and Socialism in Britain, 1880-1900* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1988).

²¹R.D. French, *Anti-vivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society* (London: Princeton University Press, 1975); N. Rupke, ed., *Vivisection in Historical Perspective* (1987; London: Routledge, 1990); D. Weinbren, 'Against all Cruelty: the Humanitarian League, 1891-1919', *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994), pp.86-101; and H. Kean, 'The "Smooth Cool Men of Science": The Feminists and Socialist Response to Vivisection,' *Historical Journal* 40 (1995), pp.16-38.

²²J.R.T.E. Gregory, 'The movement against capital punishment in Britain, c.1846-1868,' unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, June 1997.

²³T. Morton, *Shelley and the Revolution in Taste, The Body and the Natural World* (Cambridge: Cambridge

was the 'root of all evil' but until recently his vegetarian prose and poetry have not been studied seriously. The association of Romantic vegetarianism with political and social radicalism was also apparent at a time of great radical ferment in the 1840s. John Belchem rightly suggests that Brian Harrison's study of teetotal-chartism raises further questions on the chartist 'new move' which have still to be examined.²⁴ Vegetarianism forms one of the strands of this 'new move' in the late 1840s. The contemporaneous so-called 'moral radicalism' of the Quaker Joseph Sturge (1793-1859) and his followers, identified by Alex Tyrrell, provides one middle class location for vegetarian sympathies, along with antislavery, antiwar, anti-capital punishment, temperance and other social, moral and 'physiological reforms'. These were in fact the 'anti-everythingarians', a phrase with more currency at the time than 'moral radicals'.²⁵

Studies of utopian literature (fictional and prospective) and utopian colonies inevitably encounter dietetic experimentation and radicalism.²⁶ Food reform surfaced in several utopian experiments in England and America in the 1840s. Vegetarianism is an under-explored aspect of Owenism and the radical world of the 1840s-1850s, though readers of G.J. Holyoake's contemporary account of the Owenite community at Harmony Hall will know about the vegetarians' table.²⁷ The fascinating Alcott House Concordium (c.1838-1849) visited by Owenites but not an Owenite community, has received some study before, but has had to await J.E.M. Latham's research for the most detailed, accurate and sensitive treatment of the Concordists' physiological, sexual and pedagogical reform, inspired by the 'sacred socialist' James Pierrepont

University Press, 1994); O. Oerlemans, 'Shelley's Ideal Body: Vegetarianism and Nature', *Studies in Romanticism* 34:4 (Winter 1995), pp.531-552; M. Kipperman, 'Absorbing a Revolution: Shelley Becomes a Romantic, 1889-1903', *Nineteenth Century Literature* 47:2 (September 1992), pp.187-211; and B. Shaaban, 'Shelley and the Barmbys', *Keats-Shelley Journal* 41 (1992), pp.122-138. See introduction, and texts reprinted in T. Morton, ed., *Radical Food. The Culture and Politics of Eating and Drinking. 1790-1820*, 3 vols., vol. I, *Ethics and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000).

²⁴J. Belchem, ' "Temperance in all things"...', fn.26.

²⁵A. Tyrrell, 'The "Moral Radical Party" and the Anglo-Jamaican campaign for the Abolition of the Negro Apprenticeship System' *English Historical Review* 99 (July 1984), pp.481-502; A. Tyrrell, 'Making the Millennium: The Mid Nineteenth Century Peace Movement' *Historical Journal* 21 (1978), pp.75-95. I am grateful to Alex Tyrrell for sending me a copy of his paper, 'The Anti-everythingarians and the Moral Radical party in early and mid-Victorian Britain' (Leeds conference on Radical Cultures, July 1998).

²⁶For a good study of beliefs related to daily life in American colonies, including food, see S.R. Kester, *Utopian Episodes. Daily Life in Experimental Colonies Dedicated to Changing the World* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1993).

²⁷J.F.C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. The Quest for the New Moral World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), B. Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem. Socialism and Feminism in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Virago History, 1983); G. Claeys, *Citizens and Saints. Politics and Anti-politics in Early British Socialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); E. Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millenium: A Study of the Harmony Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); and J.C. Langdon, 'Pocket Editions of the New Jerusalem: Owenite Communitarianism in Britain. 1825-1855', D. Phil., University of York, Department of History, February 2000. See also W. H. G. Armytage, *Heavens Below. Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961); and D. Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Longman, 1979). A detailed bibliography appears in 3:1.

Greaves (1777-1842).²⁸ The back-to-the-land movement of the late Nineteenth century provided a location for vegetarian activity.²⁹ At the same time, there were a number of colonies espousing vegetarianism in North America and South America.³⁰ By the 1890s vegetarianism was a *cliché* of utopian fiction.³¹

From the late 1870s a reviving movement enjoyed unparalleled vigour and publicity. Ignorance about earlier activity meant that newspapers and journals frequently treated it as a *new* fad. It took its place in the context of 'an unusual amount of activity of radical-eccentric nature'. This so-called 'late Victorian revolt' - continuing in the Edwardian period - included the Society for Psychical Research, the Theosophical Society, the Hermetic Order of the Golden Age, anti-vaccination and antivivisection societies.³² It also included socialism. The reformed diet became a topic for debate in the socialist press and clubs, not least because some leading socialists were sympathetic. 'Merrie England' did not necessarily have to be a return to a Cobbett-esqe idyll of ale, roast beef and pudding.³³

It was certainly acknowledged as a feature of the *fin de siècle* in the classic early studies by R.C.K. Ensor (himself vegetarian) and Holbrook Jackson, though surprisingly, the recent encyclopedia of the *Eighteen Nineties* edited by G. A. Cevasco neglects vegetarianism as a separate entry.³⁴ *Fin de siècle* efforts to create a new morality involved food reform, and so vegetarianism is occasionally mentioned *en passant*, as in the Mackenzies' study of the early Fabians. Members such as Bernard Shaw and E.M. Nesbit were vegetarian. An unpublished thesis by Norman Brady examines

²⁸J.E.M. Latham, *Search for a New Eden, James Pierrepont Greaves (1777-1842): The Sacred Socialist and His Followers* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999). K. Gleadle, '“Our Several Spheres”: Middle class Women and the Feminisms of Early Victorian Radical Politics, in K. Gleadle and S. Richardson, eds., *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), is based on a more superficial study of the Concordium and consequently stresses Fourier's influence rather than Greaves'.

²⁹P.C. Gould, *Early Green Politics*.

³⁰See A.E. Bestor, *Backwoods Utopia. The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (London: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), for the history of American colonies in general.

³¹W.H.G. Armytage, *Yesterdays Tomorrows. A Historical Survey of Future Societies* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968); V.L. Parrington, *American Dreams. A Study of American Utopias* (2nd, enlarged edn., NY: Brown University Studies, Russell and Russell, 1964).

³²S. Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), ch.5, (p.135). 'England Arise!', J.F.C. Harrison's chapter on the reform ferment, in *Late Victorian Britain. 1875-1901* (London: Fontana, 1990), pp.141-156, identifies vegetarianism as one of the era's characteristic reform movements [p.156].

³³N and J. Mackenzie, *The First Fabians* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977); S. Pierson, *British Socialists. The Journey from Fantasy to Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1979); S. Yeo, 'A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain. 1883-1896', *History Workshop Journal*, 4 (Autumn 1977), pp.5-56; S. Rowbotham and G. Weeks, *Socialism and the New Life. The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis* (London: Pluto Press, 1977). See also M. Bevir, 'The Rise of Ethical Anarchism. 1885-1900', *Historical Research* 69 (1996), pp.143-165.

³⁴G.A. Cevasco, ed., *The 1890s. An Encyclopedia of British Literature, Art and Culture* (New York and London: Garland, 1993). It does not feature in K. Beckson, *London in the 1890s. A Cultural History* (NY and London: W.W. Norton, 1992). For a sense of vegetarianism as part of metropolitan culture, the only detailed published account an article on Gandhi's London years, see footnote 47.

one 'advanced' location of food reform discussion, the shadowy Margaret Shurmer Sibthorpe's feminist, pro-labour, vegetarian journal *Shafts* (1892-1899).³⁵ A recent article looks specifically at vegetarianism in relation to the late Victorian-Edwardian suffragettes.³⁶

Max Nordau interpreted it as yet another sign of civilisation's degeneracy.³⁷ Far from being a degeneration, its advocates long claimed it as an essential means to personal and social regeneration. Like temperance, vegetarianism was frequently advocated on the basis of self improvement and self-help. As a subject for discussion in athenaeums and mutual improvement institutions it figures in Tylecote's study of early Victorian institutions in Lancashire and Yorkshire.³⁸ It featured as a debating topic in the Whittington Club, a mid-Victorian metropolitan institution designed by its middle class radical founders as a plebeian social and progressive institution.³⁹

One movement possessing a strong plebeian following was spiritualism. Plebeian or otherwise, spiritualism was closely connected with food reform and movements such as antivaccination, as merely a glance through the pages of the leading spiritualist paper, *The Medium and Daybreak* (1870-1895), shows. Studies of the spiritualist world mention this interest in diet, as part of a range of 'progressive' concerns for a self-styled 'advanced' movement. It was an important concern for a major figure in the British spiritualist world, James Burns (1835-1894).⁴⁰ Historians of late Victorian esoteric movements which attracted women as members and leaders, cannot ignore the vegetarian dimension. This is particularly the case with Anna Kingsford (1846-1888).⁴¹ The association with spiritualism prefigures vegetarianism's association with the modern 'New Age' (though it is interesting that the Concordists, and a late Victorian spiritualist, produced a journal entitled *The New Age*).⁴²

³⁵N. Brady, '“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality: an examination of the Woman Question in the 1890s as seen through the pages of a contemporary journal', unpublished MA thesis, University of Warwick, 1978.

³⁶L. Lenemen, 'The Awakened Instinct: vegetarianism and the women's suffrage movement in Britain', *Women's History Review* 6:2 (1997), pp.271-287.

³⁷Nordau (Simon Maximilian Suedfeld, 1849-1923) published his highly controversial work in 1892, an English translation, *Degeneration*, appeared 1895. See chapter 6 for further reference.

³⁸M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), p.218, and listed as subject for discussion, Appendix X.

³⁹K. Gleadle, *The Early Feminists. Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Right Movement. 1831-51* (London: Macmillan, 1995).

⁴⁰J. Oppenheim, *The Other World. Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); L. Barrow, *Independent Spirits: Spiritualism and English Plebeians. 1850-1910* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986); and A. Owen, *The Darkened Room. Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England* (London: Virago, 1989).

⁴¹See B.T. Gates, *Kindred Nature. Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), ch.5.

⁴²See P. Heelas, *The New Age Movement. The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralisation of Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996).

Quite apart from the deprivation and severe discipline sometimes associated with community experiments, it must not be thought that vegetarianism's association with the radical and progressive made it a liberating trend. As its identification as a key component of 'physical puritanism' suggests, vegetarianism was an important component of a more general 'puritanism'. Asceticism or 'neo-puritanism' - as an important exploratory article by Raphael Samuel suggests - were enduring tendencies.⁴³

Advocated by many as a *necessary* way of living on small wages (though with the beneficial result of using the savings for self-improvement), and as a cheap but wholesome dietary for soup philanthropy, working class critics thought vegetarianism played into employers' hands. It can be related to campaigns to encourage thrift and economy, although Victorian food thrift has not been explored in any detail.⁴⁴ A more general, non-vegetarian 'food reform', was concerned with teaching the working classes about food values, economic recipes and substitutes at times of economic hardship. Vegetarians attempted to attract support, through lectures, pamphlets and classes, by appealing to the malnourished poor.

Obviously the biographies of eminent Victorians who were vegetarian provide some discussion of Nineteenth century food reform. The original *Dictionary of National Biography* included 51 subjects whose vegetarianism was identified, this ignored vegetarianism as a phase in the lives of others.⁴⁵ The commitment to broadening the *Dictionary* has involved the inclusion of many more. The most sustained and sophisticated discussion of Shelley's vegetarianism is in Timothy Morton's work. The best treatment of Bernard Shaw's vegetarianism is in the biography by Holroyd.⁴⁶ A study of Gandhi's connections in 1890s London explores his metropolitan vegetarian connections.⁴⁷

Gandhi's association with the L.V.S. is the most famous episode in a sustained dialogue between vegetarians in Britain and in the subcontinent. Vegetarianism was no parochial movement; from its earliest days there were connections with the international elite of ultra-temperance and other reform movements.⁴⁸ Grahamism, an American health movement based on the ideas of

⁴³ See R. Samuel, 'The Discovery of Puritanism, 1820-1914: A Preliminary Sketch', pp. 276-322, in A. Light with S. Alexander and G. Stedman Jones, eds., *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain*. Vol. II *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York: Verso, 1998).

⁴⁴ B. Kirkman Gray, *A History of English Philanthropy. From the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the Taking of the First Census*, (London: P.S. King, 1905) ch. 11; and Burnett, *Plenty and Want*.

⁴⁵ 'Victorians' identified as vegetarians in the original *Dictionary* included: George Arliss, John Bellows, Edward Carpenter, Charlotte Despard, T.I.M. Forster, F.J. Furnivall, J.P. Greaves, Edward Greenly, A.E.W.M. Herbert, S. Hibberd, A.F. Hills, James Haughton, Anna Kingsford, William Lambe, George Miller DD, W.W. Newbould, F.W. Newman, C.K. Paul, Isaac Pitman, William Robinson, H.S. Salt, G.B. Shaw, John Snow, H.S. Sutton, A.R. Wallace, Thomas Mann, F.A. Maxse, J.E.B. Mayor, George Meredith, A.V. Waller.

⁴⁶ M. Holroyd, *Bernard Shaw*, 3 vols., I: 1856-1898. *The Search for Love* (New York: Vintage, 1988)

⁴⁷ S. Hay, 'The Making of a late Victorian Hindu: M.K. Gandhi in London, 1888-1891', *Victorian Studies*, 33:1 (1989), pp. 74-98.

⁴⁸ The standard study of one important exchange of ideas and personnel is F. Thistlethwaite, *America and the*

Sylvester Graham (1794-1851), and incorporating vegetarianism, has been the focus of several studies. Its heyday was in the 1830s and there were links with the pioneer British vegetarians before 1847.⁴⁹ How far the popularity of this and other health reforms can be related to a 'social anxiety thesis' is a question which has particularly concerned historians of *antebellum* America. One recent study of the American reform world incorporates discussion of vegetarianism as a latter phase in a sequence of national reform endeavours by 'religious virtuosos' or visionaries, and emphasizes the religious dimension rather than reduce motivation to the material or psychological.⁵⁰ The German 'Natural Living' movement has been studied.⁵¹ Attitudes to animals in France, where vegetarianism failed to flourish, have been examined.⁵² More ambitiously there is a project to investigate western vegetarianism in general.⁵³

This interest by scholars in Britain and internationally, demonstrates a new seriousness in treatment of the movement. Though it would be grotesque to argue that vegetarianism became, in public opinion, a *major* reform to rank with opposition to slavery it is no longer possible for the historian to argue that the movement was small beer, and its concerns somewhat trivial in the broader world of reform. Accusations of hyperbole might be justifiable, if all that ought to be examined is the basic evidence of opposition to the eating of meat on various grounds (noting the debate in tracts, newspapers and quarterlies for instance), without looking at the social base of the movement, its personnel, location and broader connections. Vegetarians were never *simply* vegetarians. What makes a detailed study of the movement important is the entry it provides into a broader world of reform of the body, of habits and manners, and of society.

Moreover, 'life reforms' have received academic attention. For several decades sociologists have been examining organisations which appear to make non-materialist concerns about 'personal

Atlantic Community. Anglo-American Aspects, 1790-1850 (New York and Evanston: Harper Torchbooks, 1959). An important exploration of interconnections between naturopathists is P.S. Brown, 'Nineteenth century American Health Reformers and the Early Nature Cure Movement in Britain,' *Medical History* 32 (1988) pp.174-194.

⁴⁹S. Nissenbaum, *Sex, Diet and Debility in Jacksonian America. Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980); G. Carson, *Cornflake Crusade* (London: Gollancz, 1959); C. Nelson, 'Care in feeding: vegetarianism and social reform in Alcott's America', in C. Nelson and L. Vellone, eds., *The Girls Own. Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl, 1830-1915* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp.11-33. See also J.C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness. The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); and S.E. Cayleff, *Wash and Be Healed. The Water Cure Movement and Women's Health* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987). Vegetarian colonies are discussed in R. Hickman, 'The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies', *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, 2: 4 (1933) pp.377-385.

⁵⁰R.H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

⁵¹E. Meyer-Renschhausen and A. Wirz, 'Dietetics, health reform and social order: vegetarianism as a moral physiology. The example of Maximilian Bircher-Benner (1867-1939)', *Medical History* 43 (1999), pp.323-341.

⁵²C. Crossley, 'Attitudes towards Animals and Vegetarianism in Nineteenth Century France,' in M. Cornish and C. Crossley, eds. *Problems in French History* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), pp.81-103.

⁵³Dr A.P. Ouedraogo is working on a general examination of modern western vegetarianism.

identity' and 'lifestyle' the focus of politics, the so-called 'New Social Movements' (feminism, ecological movements, peace movements, lesbian and gay movements) which, it has been argued, are a development of post-industrial western societies. Concern to reform lifestyle is, of course, no modern/ 'post-modern' development: critics have shown that these movements descend from or reiterate Nineteenth century concerns.⁵⁴ Current research on radical middle-class women and the private sphere has also emphasised the *political* nature of health reforms.⁵⁵ Vegetarians themselves, competing in the marketplace of reforms, emphasised the radical or fundamental nature of their reforms for society.

Though vegetarianism surfaces in a range of fields of inquiry relating to the Nineteenth century, the movement remains one of the few under-explored British reform movements of the Nineteenth century. It remains practically ignored by the popular historiography on the period. This thesis argues that the movement was a significant phenomenon.

II

The thesis: its scope and focus.

Having identified the locations for discussion of vegetarianism in existing scholarship, it is now necessary to state what the thesis concerns itself with. What this research is *not* is a study of the *ideology*, though it draws on the valuable insights of Twigg, C.J. Adams, N. Fiddes etc., on the rationale behind abandonment of a meat diet. It is not a history of food, though study of Victorian 'foodways' is important in considering the vegetarian practice in the domestic or public arena. Nor does it dwell at length on animal rights. Instead it is conceived as a contribution to our understanding of several important aspects of the Victorian era: the development of 'humanitarianism', the location and nature of progressive and radical cultures, the worlds of temperance and philanthropy.

The thesis examines the social basis of the movement. Beyond the particular Cowherdite location, this has been inadequately researched before. The result has been an over-reliance on the V.S.'s own statistical analyses, and the thesis that the movement is to be characterized by a declining working class membership so that by the late Victorian period it was essentially middle class.⁵⁶ The

⁵⁴See N. A. Pichardo, 'New Social Movements: A Critical Review,' *Annual Review of Sociology* 23 (1997), pp.411-430; and C. Calhoun, 'What's new about new social movements? The early 19th century reconsidered,' *Social Science History* 17 (1993), pp.385-427. Calhoun makes specific reference to 'temperance and various dietary and lifestyle movements'.

⁵⁵I am grateful to Dr Kathryn Gleadle of London Guildhall University, for allowing me to look at drafts of research entitled ' "the age of physiological reformers": Rethinking Gender and Domesticity in the Age of Reform', to appear as a chapter in A. Burns and J. Innes eds. *Rethinking the Age of Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

⁵⁶Twigg, 'The Vegetarian Movement', pp.87-88; and pp.384-387.

reality is more complicated. Attempts to relate the movement to modernization, urbanization and secularization cannot be convincing without this prosopographical work.

To that end, the thesis has built on considerable biographical research. This database is crucial when considering questions about *who* the people were attracted to the movement, and allows us to consider whether they fit into a particular type, and psychology. For instance, did becoming vegetarian represent a youthful idealism, or a particular phase in the career of a radical? Collection of detailed data on the personnel is important for an understanding of its geography, numerical growth and gender, age and socio-economic characteristics. This resource is made available as a supplementary volume which it is hoped will be a tool for further research on Nineteenth century reform worlds.⁵⁷

Until recently vegetarianism has been popularly seen as a comical and perverse investment of energies and enthusiasms in the trivial. Another critical observation, that vegetarianism forms part of a *gatherumomnium* of radical or extreme positions, is more accurate. A tendency to 'anti-everythingarianism' has been noted by historians of Victorian radicalism, but has not received close treatment. This is hardly surprising, given the detailed research that is required. Study of the vegetarian movement is especially fruitful as a means of investigating this phenomenon. The movement allows a helpful and obvious introduction to this tendency for several reasons. Firstly, as an acknowledged 'ultra' position it often followed that its supporters *did* interest themselves in a range of other 'ultra' positions'. As an extreme, it attracted fewer supporters than more mainstream reform, and so provides the researcher with a more manageable group to deal with. Thirdly, because what was involved was a reform of *life* style, the serial titles contain (through obituaries, testimonies and interviews) detailed biographies of many supporters, and membership lists, in contrast, for instance, to the paucity of rank and file information for the antivivisection movement.

How the movement was received is also an important field of inquiry. A seemingly 'fringe' concern introduces issues of broader relevance to Victorian culture. Several pejorative labels surface repeatedly in the contemporary reception of the movement, adjectives that appear in criticism of other 'anti' movements. It was identified with 'faddism', 'crankishness', 'crotchetism', 'eccentricity', and 'maudlin sentimentalism'. Study of a 'fringe' movement is important for understanding what the margins were, and where they were located. They might appear to be less marginal after close study: it will certainly illuminate the conventional and the customary.

The first part of the thesis provides the context for an understanding of the movement, in subchapters on physical puritanism and vegetarianism's relationship with medical orthodoxy; the relationship between vegetarianism and the most important physical puritanism, temperance;

⁵⁷This was advertised as such in J. Gregory, 'The Vegetarian Movement in Britain, c.1830-1901', *Wellcome History* 16 (2000), p.6.

vegetarianism as an animal welfare movement; its status as a religious movement and its relationship with spiritualism; its radicalism and 'anti-everythingarian' tendency. The latter subchapter emphasises how categories were blurred not simply as a propagandist convenience, but because followers were not monomaniacs with a dietetic obsession. The first section then, is an attempt to define the movement, with the conclusion that like temperance and other health reforms, the movement was a personal physiological reform, a moral crusade and a social movement. Food has always been politicised (quality, availability, price, metaphorical role) and the movement can therefore be seen as necessarily possessing a political aspect; specifically it possessed a political dimension (explicit or implicit) in the context of an empire in which western food habits encountered the dietetic 'other'. Though the movement lacked a 'Meat Bill' and any realistic likelihood of prohibition it did occasionally lobby government and politicians. The problem of human-animal relations is a further 'political' level which a few vegetarians came to address directly. Vegetarianism's animal-welfare orientated 'humanitarian' aspect also made it a moral crusade.

The second part of the thesis provides a narrative, and geography of the movement. It examines the background to organised vegetarianism and the establishment of the V.S., through a detailed survey of activity from c.1840-1846. It then outlines the British provincial movement from 1847-1870 (including Wales, Scotland and Ireland) and looks in detail at London vegetarianism 1847-1870. Subsequent subchapters present and analyse the provincial movement c.1870-1900, and London vegetarianism from the 'Food Reform Society' of the 1870-1880s to the varied activities of the 1890s. The narrative ends with the Edwardian period. [This section is supported by appendices].

The provincial activity, not studied in detail before, uncovers new local leaders of progressive reform (or indicates others' hitherto unknown dietetic open-mindedness) and grassroots dietetic experimentalist circles. The movement's provincial centres of strength are identified. The detailed examination of metropolitan vegetarianism also addresses a major gap in the historiography. Work in the past (Twigg, Antrobus) on the period 1847-1860 has focused on activity in Manchester and the 'industrial north'. The two strands- metropolitan and provincial- both show the movement to have inhabited a radical /progressive world, and addressed itself to social problems as an additional force in mainstream philanthropic dissemination of 'bread and knowledge'.

The third part of the thesis explores the movement's physical manifestation in print, commodity and restaurant. The serial titles of Victorian reform are a vast and still under-explored resource. The vegetarian press emerges as by no means a negligible phenomenon. Study of the supporters of vegetarianism reveal a number of provincial progressive papers (listed in the appendices). The examination of restaurants continues the exploration of vegetarianism's geographical and institutional locations. Their roles in vegetarian activism and as locations for allied

radicalisms are examined. Study of the restaurants' growth and fortunes provides evidence about the social base and growth of the movement.

The fourth part of the thesis takes this analysis of the social base further. It examines the relationship between vegetarianism and social class, considering attempts to attract working class support. The role of women is examined, through study of gender roles in the movement in general and consideration of the Women's Vegetarian Union (established 1895) in particular.

The thesis concludes with a study of literary responses to vegetarianism. Literary representations of the diet and its practitioners are examined, and it is demonstrated that the figure of the vegetarian in prose and poetry was more visible than one might assume from the limited material assembled by C.J. Adams in her attempt to construct a 'canon' of vegetarian literature. Fictional representations, the inevitability of vegetarianism as a subject in utopian writing, its treatment in works of philosophy, are all considered. As the necessary context for the earlier treatment of the vegetarian press and its progressive sympathisers, the treatment of the movement in national and local newspapers is also examined.

III

Methodology.

The core of the research for this thesis is a detailed study of the serial titles and journals produced by vegetarians, largely through copies held by the British Library at St Pancras and the Newspaper Library at Colindale. The books and pamphlets produced by the societies and by individuals have been studied.

A more limited corpus of manuscript material has been used. The surviving minute books of the V.S., London Vegetarian Auxiliary, L.V.S., and St Pancras branch, held by the Greater Manchester County Records Office, have been studied. These records are extensive, but the lack of minutes from the earliest years (1847-1855) is unfortunate. The only surviving provincial branch minutes, those of the Dundee society (1877-1883), were examined. Many other reports were published in the vegetarian press. Printed reports for the 'Women's Vegetarian Union' are preserved in the British Library and as manuscripts, in the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera in the Bodleian Library. Further material on other national and local vegetarian organisations forms part of this collection. The Manchester archives, Dundee material, and the material in the John Johnson collection have not been exploited before in examining the movement. Primarily, however, provincial activity has been traced through the vegetarian press, and coverage in the local press.⁵⁸

⁵⁸The National Register of Archives only lists the Dundee archives in this period. Exeter, Portsmouth, Reading, areas of sustained vegetarian activity in the later Nineteenth century, have no documents relating to

Since the thesis involves study of the parallel and ‘cognate’ reform movements for an assessment of food reform’s status in the wider reform worlds, some of these movements’ periodicals (for instance temperance and anti-tobacco, peace, phonetic and spiritualist) have also been closely examined: constraints of time have meant a more cursory survey of zoophilite journals, and precluded detailed examination of religious journals. Radical journals from the 1840s-1900s have been extensively studied.

Because many who were not simply reforming their diet for purely personal health reasons were concerned with other causes (though being the former did not exclude the latter), the broader survey has been crucial for understanding this particular group of so-called anti-everythingarians. These ‘ultras’ were not however, merely agitators for a nexus of *negatives*. This is made clear by the study of archives relating to individuals who were vegetarian. It is regrettable that the papers of James Simpson (1812-1859) and Arnold Hills (1857-1927), the early and late Victorian leaders of the movement respectively, have not survived. Letters from Simpson survive in the earliest existing minute book, it is likely that earlier material formed part of his private papers. It has been a privilege to study the privately-owned material relating to the London vegetarian George Dornbusch (1820-1873), and the teetotal-vegetarian publisher Job Caudwell (1820-1908). Sadly no papers belonging to William Horsell, Caudwell’s brief publishing partner, and the first secretary of the V.S., exist. A unique view of vegetarian and associated radical circles in London is provided by the recently discovered papers of the eccentric Pierre Baume (1797-1875). Lord Mount Temple (1811-88) and his wife Georgiana were moral reformers, spiritualists and vegetarians; their archive at the University of Southampton has been the focus of detailed study. The papers of T.R. Allinson (1858-1918), the late Victorian naturopath, in Edinburgh University, include a rare archive of vegetarian ephemera (fliers, posters, circulars). Constraints of time have precluded research in a few other archives: those of W.E.A. Axon (1846-1913) and his son Ernest Axon (1859-1947), in the John Rylands Library, Manchester; the uncatalogued papers of Joseph Edwards (1864-1946) and the papers of H.L. Jackson Jones (1869-1936) at the Liverpool Records Office.⁵⁹

As this thesis is concerned with uncovering the unfamiliar and exploiting new material, a concentration on the activities and archives of well-known vegetarians such as Edward Carpenter (1844-1929) and Bernard Shaw was avoided. The result has been that some fairly detailed biographies of now forgotten ‘moral radicals’ and ‘physical puritan’ reformers such as the Shelleyan J.E. Duncan (fl.1822-1851), Dornbusch and his colleague Horsell, have been constructed. These

local societies in their local studies collections or Records Offices. This of course, is not an unusual situation, since the spiritualist movement, for instance, has only preserved the papers of one provincial branch.

⁵⁹Photocopied material from the F.E.B. Mayor papers, Trinity College, Cambridge; and the R.C. Buist papers, University of Dundee, was kindly sent to me. The catalogue of the papers of H.S. Clubb, an early vegetarian who emigrated to America and led the later Nineteenth century American vegetarian movement, has been studied.

underpin the thesis, even when their careers cannot be set out in detail. For the humbler, rank-and-file vegetarians who appear in this study, and are listed in the biographical index, much was derived from a close study of obituaries in the vegetarian press, and those of other reform movements. Examples of individuals whose diverse interests can be reconstituted in this way include a later metropolitan vegetarian, the clock maker Charles Delolme (fl.1837-1892). The last decade has seen a prolific growth in Internet-aided family history research and some material, including the diary of one mid-Victorian provincial vegetarian, has also been obtained through contacting descendants through this medium.⁶⁰

Where necessary biographical information appears in the body of the thesis, otherwise the information (indicated by asterisk) is in the index. The index itself is an edited version which comprises entries only on those about whom more is known than the mere name, date of involvement and occupation. A total of some 1470 numbered entries comprise the index, although these often include references to several family members.

Note: *Definitions of vegetarians and food reformers.*

‘Food reform’ and ‘dietetic reform’ were labels employed by many vegetarians throughout the period. It will be clear from what was said about the discourse of thrift and economy, that vegetarianism was not the only dietary reform movement.⁶¹ The term ‘food reform’ was partly a defensive posture to avoid instant identification with cabbages and other common vegetables, but it was also used by non-vegetarians concerned with improving the technologies of food production and preparation. A further context for the movement is this wider interest in improving food. In the process of examining her vegetarian connections the career of the feminist food reformer ‘Amelia Lewis’ (Louisa Freund, fl.1829-1880) has been studied.⁶²

‘Vegetarian’ is a coinage antedating the V.S.’s establishment, reflecting food reform at Alcott House Concordium in the early 1840s. There was a certain amount of contemporary debate on the meaning and value of the word ‘vegetarian’ within the movement.⁶³ A fanciful classical derivation, still peddled, was adduced in the 1870s to divert popular attention away from misconceptions about mere greens. As one vegetarian pointed out (Kenneth Romanes, in the German *Vegetarische Warte*) an etymology derived from the Latin for spirit- ‘vegetus’- was ‘entirely an after-thought of the scholars and ... had no place whatever in the minds of the originators of modern vegetarianism’.⁶⁴ Controversies over the name echoed differences of opinion over rationale and emphases, reflecting ethical, medical and (what one vegetarian called ‘breeches

⁶⁰Charles Walker of Worcester, Diary for 1851. Transcribed by Jean Day.

⁶¹See Appendix E: Other food reform organisations, entry VIII, on the bread reform movement and its relationship with vegetarianism.

⁶²See my entry on Freund in the *New DNB*, forthcoming.

⁶³The attempt to replace ‘vegetarian’ by ‘dietetic reform’ was inaugurated in the *VM*, September 1854, pp.76-78, to indicate its concern with the ‘whole question of dietetic habits’.

⁶⁴*VM*, October 1895, p.409.

pocket Vegetarianism’⁶⁵) economic motivations. A neat divide for individuals, and in vegetarian literature, often does not exist. This reflects the strategy of any reform movement to have the advantage of *all* arguments, more essentially it represents the tangle of motivations for individuals. Internal debates about what constituted the best diet, morally or physiologically led to ‘fruitarianism’, a coinage of the later 1870s; and stricter definitions of a bloodless diet brought ‘veganism’, coined in the 1940s. Efforts at greater consistency in diet existed well before the latter term became current.

⁶⁵E.J. Baillie, *VM*, January 1892, p.10.

2:1 *Vegetarianism as a Health Reform Movement*

In this first section the movement's status as a health reform is examined.¹ This dimension is complex. Its hygienic claims, a 'siege train of physiological intimidation,' were many.² It disputed orthodox medical opinion (and general assumption) concerning the best or 'natural diet of man'. Vegetarians marshalled physiological evidence to demonstrate unimpaired physical and mental efficiency. Meat was shown to be responsible for diseases such as tuberculosis.³ Vegetarianism's role as a curative, prophylactic or reliever of specific (or all) diseases was rehearsed, in the knowledge that 'dietetics' had traditionally been an important aspect of medical treatment. Concerns about diseased and adulterated food allowed vegetarianism to be presented as a public health question. 'Physico-moral effects' of flesh-eating were stressed, and helped define it as a 'moral reform' movement. Meat was a stimulant according to both vegetarians and non-vegetarians, but the former emphasised that this included *sexual* stimulation. In America, before the V.S. was established, in Grahamism and the writings of W.A. Alcott, vegetarianism had formed part of a 'Christian physiology' concerned with purity and chastity- the religious dimension to health in general is examined in 2:4- as supporters of 'social purity' vegetarians continued to be important. Health reform merged with political and social reform, in part because Owenites, chartists and freethinkers supported the medical fringe too: this interconnection is explored in 2:5.

For orthodoxy (medical and non-medical), its health implications were clear. Conventional thought believed that a diet which excluded animal foods was debilitating and ultimately fatal. Death being 'regarded as by no means distant or improbable' *whatever* motivated someone to become vegetarian, it was a health issue for relatives, friends and family doctors.⁴

I

Quakery and Physical Puritanism.

A writer described England in 1844 as a 'Paradise of Quacks' due to tolerance by government, press and public. If it was a paradise, it was because of demand: 'Victorians worshipped the goddess Hygeia, sought out her laws, and disciplined themselves to obey them'.⁵ 'Mens sano in corpore sano' was as important a concept as thrift and self-help for the Nineteenth century (though often

¹ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian Movement', examines the ideology's 'pure body' component, Part III: c., and discusses medical aspects at pp.175-182.

² *The Times*, 15 December 1883, p.9.

³ One lurid tract was *Pork and its Perils*, see C.H. Worsnop* for one convert through this.

⁴ H.S. Salt, *A Plea for Vegetarianism and Other Essays* (Manchester: V.S., 1886), p.7.

⁵ B. Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978) p.3. Haley's study is the major examination of the intelligentsia's obsession with health.

interrelated). Unprecedented population growth, rapid urbanization and a concomitant new scale of problems made public health a political issue. Health and medicine provided powerful metaphors. Carlyle- hypochondriac and (a characteristic Victorian ailment) dyspeptic- famously used the metaphor of physician and universal quack medicine when lambasting radicals, social theorists and contemporary society in general.⁶ Vegetarianism's promotion as a panacea for social and moral ills led one observer to call it a 'Holloway-Pill' movement.⁷ It was also treated as a quackery for its hygienic claims.

In 1851, *The Lancet* reported a lecture on quackery, by which the lecturer meant phrenology, mesmerism, hydropathy, teetotalism, vegetarianism and homeopathy.⁸ This was typical in ignoring a distinction between plain commercial fraud and promotion of the medically 'nonconventional'. The latter's labelling as 'quackeries', 'heresies', 'fads' was partly due to men asserting the status, and public authority, of a nascent 'profession'. The 'faculty' could not yet claim to be more successful than alternatives.⁹ Sensitivity about the denigratory and relative nature of terminology employed by opponents of the unconventional (and often by historians) is required.¹⁰

The competition for authority is apparent from numerous articles on quackeries or 'medical delusions' in orthodox medical journals such as *The Lancet*. These attributed their persistence or emergence to popular discomfort at (and consequent resistance to) being left behind by advancing science. People were 'ready to turn their attention to any system which they think they can comprehend'.¹¹ A new 'pathy' or 'ism' was simply 'a new medical sect struggling to supplant the old one in general esteem' rather than false science.¹² The public lacked the education to discriminate, but developed (partly via the medium of popular texts by medical men) a

⁶ He was acquainted with vegetarianism before the V.S. was established; see reference to 'a most toilsome, all-but "impossible" return to Nature' in 'Morison's Pill', *Past and Present*, 1: 4 (first published 1843). See J.E.M. Latham, 'Carlyle and the "Blockhead" James Pierrepont Greaves', *Carlyle Studies Annual* 2000, pp.33-47.

⁷ 'Harold', *British Controversialist*, 1850, p.432.

⁸ R.M. Glover, *Lancet*, 11 January 1851, pp.34-38, cited in R.Cooter, *Phrenology in the British Isles. An Annotated Historical Biobibliography and Index* (Metuchen, N.J., and London: Scarecrow Press, 1989).

⁹ W.F. Bynum and R. Porter, eds., *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy. 1750-1850* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); Cooter, ed., *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan/ St Anthony's College, 1988); L. Barrow, 'Why were most medical heretics at their most confident around the 1840s? (The other side of mid-Victorian medicine)', in R. French and A.Wear, eds., *British Medicine in an Age of Reform*, (London: Routledge, 1991), pp.165-182. On Anglo-American connections see P.S. Brown, 'Nineteenth Century American Health Reformers and the Early Nature Cure Movement in Britain' *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp.174-194. On the 'fringe' at provincial level, but with useful comments on the fringe in general, see M.H. Marland, *Medicine in Wakefield and Huddersfield, 1780-1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). For the Eighteenth century, see R. Porter, *Health for Sale: Quackery in England 1660-1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989).

¹⁰ See R. Jütte, 'The Historiography of Nonconventional Medicine in Germany', *Medical History* 43 (1999), pp.342-358.

¹¹ B.W. Richardson, 'On Medical Delusions and Charlatanic Practices', *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 29 October 1851, pp.594-596.

¹² *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 17 September 1851, p.527.

‘self-sufficient judgement’ which was the ‘pabulum’ for quackery and lack of respect for the ‘profession’.¹³ It was recognised that patronage and practitioners came not from uneducated plebeians alone, but also from clergymen, gentry and aristocrats.¹⁴

Vegetarianism was not quackery, but early (and later) opponents used the label. As a therapy, or part of a larger hygienic regimen, it was explicitly an alternative to ‘allopathy’. As an organised health movement, with national society, branches, propagandist press, it followed temperance/teetotalism, and the ‘big four’ of herbalism, hydropathy, homeopathy and mesmerism. Its message of temperance and natural cure, had been familiarised by these. Its kinship, not as quackery but as a health movement concerned with purity, was identified in an important essay in the *Westminster Review* in 1852 (anonymous, but by Samuel Brown) investigating the hygienic, moral, social and political implications of homeopathy, hydropathy, mesmerism, teetotalism and- the focus of discussion- vegetarianism.

Brown’s label (often employed now), was ‘physical puritanism’.¹⁵ ‘Physiological reform’ was one of a confusing array of ‘signs of the times’, along with political, religious, scientific and industrial developments. Indeed, however else it could be described, the age was pre-eminently one of physiological reform. Brown’s treatment of the various movements was studiously even-tempered but critical. Vegetarianism was ‘a physiological heresy, and consequent project of reform, among the militant ideas and practices of the present century.’ He revealed his own short trial inspired by Shelley, Dr Lambe and J.F. Newton. His circle included six vegetarians: a physician, electrician, painter, barrister, radical gentleman, lady-farmer and authoress. Brown was clear that the practice was not restricted to Cowherdite fanatics (as he saw them), or visionaries such as J.P. Greaves and his disciples but was spreading amongst ‘men of the people, phrenologists, natural-religionists, general reformers’ (p.408). For the moment vegetarianism was ‘puny’, but he wondered how many thousand were ‘considerers’.

Brown saw a wider significance to physiological reform which was ‘not inexpressive of certain of the wants and aspirations of society’. The various movements were allies as ‘a rooted and far-spreading conspiracy against orthodoxy’. Perceptively, he noted that Owenism and atheism ‘among the illuminated artisans of our great cities, is all in favour of the bodily virtues now under discussion’. Greater social and political implications were stressed. At stake was the Empire’s health and therefore future. Despite errors of enthusiasm and extremism, physical puritanism involved the social body’s salvation from ‘long indulgence in the use of poisonous and excessive pleasures’. It was

¹³ *Lancet*, 10 April 1847, p.391.

¹⁴ *Lancet*, 20 November 1847, p.555; *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 25 December 1850, pp.708-709.

¹⁵ ‘Physical Puritanism’, *Westminster Review*, 1852, pp.405-442. He was an unsuccessful candidate for the Chair of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh (see *DNB*).

an unparalleled 'vigorous, many-handed, and almost universal reaction against the final catastrophe'. Predicting an Anglo-Saxon contest with European tyranny in the later-nineteenth century, Brown welcomed physiological reform's recuperative role. What was questionable was a claim that extreme asceticism rather than reform of the 'arts of life', education and government, was the engine for progress. Temperance, as an exercise in will power, was morally better than total abstinence.

The article (reprinted in America¹⁶) naturally antagonised the various medical heresies. Yet the result was not necessarily harmful. The *Teetotal Progressionist* believed it to be fair and impartial and 'productive of beneficial results'¹⁷ and a leading teetotaler, F. R. Lees, claimed that:

The Vegetarian doctrine is better stated than that of the Teetotalers, simply because it is better understood by the writer, indeed, it is so fairly stated, that the Reviewer himself is fairly at a loss how to answer many of the arguments in its favour, and has, to our own knowledge, made several experimental converts to the system.¹⁸

II

The vegetarian movement's relationships with other alternative 'pathies'.

In order to situate vegetarianism in this wider world of medical unconvention, its associations with each alternative 'pathy' should be considered. Their often overlapping nature is well recognised. This was conceptual and social. As a matter of personal health, people experimented with practices to see what best suited them, combining new reforms with earlier ones, discarding those that proved redundant. Sequential movement could reflect a faddist temperament, and opportunism by entrepreneurs exploiting these crazes. Thus *Punch* recounted an individual's journey through homeopathy, hydropathy, teetotalism, the 'vegetarian Dodge', electrobiology, mesmerism, clairvoyance.¹⁹

Medical unorthodoxy had its press ('bastard medical journals' according to orthodoxy²⁰) with general papers like the *Journal of Health* and specialist organs for the movements: the phrenological *The Zoist*, the hydropathic *Water Cure Journal*, Skelton's *Botanic Journal* etc., and a mass of teetotal and temperance journals. Often these journals showed the heretic's broad tolerance for

¹⁶ *Littell's Living Age* (NY), 34: 426, 17 July 1852, pp.129-143.

¹⁷ *Teetotal Progressionist*, p.91.

¹⁸ *National Temperance Chronicle*, June 1852, pp.275-278. For vegetarian response, *VM*, November 1852, *Controversialist* and *Correspondence*, pp.29-30.

¹⁹ 'The Quack's Diary', *Punch*, January-June 1854, p.11.

²⁰ 'Four Strangleholds of Quackery in the Fourth Estate', *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 17 June 1853, pp.518-520 (p.520).

unorthodoxy, especially given shared core beliefs and attitudes- hostility to the medical profession and its orthodoxy of ‘poisons’ - which overrode theoretical differences.²¹ The *Journal of Health* promoted Grahamism, hydropathy, homeopathy and temperance. The *Vegetarian Messenger* seemed similarly eclectic to the *Dublin Medical Press*, inaccurately describing it as an ‘organ for Homeopathy, Antivaccination, and for ought we know, Mesmerism’.²² The Vegetarian Society’s first secretary, William Horsell*, published journals, almanacs and tracts for the various movements, and had a ‘depôt’ which retailed commodities and equipment for the range of unorthodox health reforms.²³

One lecturer prominent in vegetarianism and spiritualism, told the *Dietetic Reformer* that he combined vegetarian lectures with phrenology, physiology and health as a ‘natural sequence’ and because it was ‘accepted much more readily than if I announced myself to lecture on Vegetarianism’.²⁴ Of course, unconventional medical reformers did not *necessarily* support other ‘alternative’ therapies. Jacob Dixon, a radical homeopathic surgeon, argued against exclusive diet.²⁵ The ultra-radical J.J.G. Wilkinson also opposed it, though accepting that it might ‘one day be of importance’.²⁶ The editor of the *Homeopathic Journal* attacked it in 1855.²⁷

Some critics of vegetarianism chose to highlight a superficial connection with an earlier system. Morisonianism, the panacea of the ‘vegetable pill’, was a precursor only in that it advocated a *vegetable* remedy; critics might have thought the connection closer when the *Vegetarian Advocate* advertised medals of James Morison (1770-1840), as the ‘Great Medical Reformer’.²⁸ Satirical ‘transmogrification’ of vegetarian consumer into vegetable occurred earlier in anti-Morisonia.²⁹

Although the phrenological journal *The Zoist* (1844-1848) ignored vegetarianism, many early London vegetarians were supporters of phrenology.³⁰ Horsell’s dépôt had a phrenological

²¹ See L. Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, pp.171-2, for the epistemological confusion resulting from a profusion of ‘pathies’/ from their general optimism. No detailed published study of the unorthodox medical journals exists, but see J. Loudon and I. Loudon, ‘Medicine, Politics and the Medical Periodical. 1800-1850’ and W.F. Bynum and J.C. Wilson, ‘Periodical Knowledge: Medical Journals and their Editors in Nineteenth Century Britain’, chapters 3 and 2 respectively, in W.F. Bynum, S. Lock and R. Porter, eds., *Medical Journals and Medical Knowledge. Historical Essays* (London: Routledge, 1992).

²² *Dublin Medical Press*, 1863, p.668.

²³ See for instance, catalogues in *Teetotal Progressionist*, for retail of Anglo-American works on Physiology, Phrenology, Temperance, Vegetarianism, Hydropathy, Mesmerism and General Progress.

²⁴ *DR*, October 1866, pp.121-122.

²⁵ *Reasoner*, vol.3 (1847), p.398.

²⁶ *VA*, 15 December 1848, p.57; *VM*, February 1852, ‘Controversialist and Correspondent’, pp.5-6.

²⁷ *Journal of Health*, December 1855, p.97.

²⁸ *VA*, September 1849, p.13.

²⁹ For this transformation, see ‘Grand Show of Vegetarians’, *Punch’s Almanack* for 1852 (unpaginated, p.6). The anti-Morisonian cartoon: ‘Wonderful effect of Morisons vegetable pills...’ is in the Wellcome Institute collection. It was referred to by the French reporter of the vegetarian banquet in London, 1851, see *The Times*, 2 August 1851, p.8.

³⁰ See R. Cooter, *The Cultural Meaning of Popular Science: Phrenology and the Organisation of Consent in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); and R.Cooter, *Phrenology in the British Isles*. The *Zoist* received W.A. Alcott’s *Vegetable Diet Defended*, see *Zoist*, April 1844, p.141.

museum and 'consultancy'. A phrenologist, the Reverend E. B. Watson, was active in vegetarian proselytism in Methven in the early 1860s, a period when phrenology's decline from mass popularity seems to have begun.³¹ Despite being an exploded pseudo-science by the late Nineteenth century, association continued with the *Vegetarian* carrying an advertisement for the *Phrenological Magazine* (1893); and offering a phrenologist's free delineations of character (1894).³²

Of the few 'regularly' trained pro-vegetarian medical practitioners, a number were homeopaths. Homeopathy attracted cross-class support, but 'respectability' was furthered by its self-restriction (as a profession of homeopathic physicians) to those trained in allopathic orthodoxy.³³ This, and patronage by members of the upper-class, meant that allopaths were particularly offended by it.³⁴ The *Hahnemanian Fly Sheet* published one homeopathic doctor's support for vegetarianism³⁵ (Viettinghoff*), and the editor of the *Homeopathic Review* chaired a vegetarian meeting in 1859.³⁶ The Vegetarian Society's secretaries for Newcastle (John Mawson*) and Plymouth (F.H. Foster*) were homeopathic chemists. Yet one important homeopathic journal ignored vegetarianism throughout its existence³⁷ and scriptural support for meat-eating was quoted by homeopathic doctors.³⁸ Yet undoubtedly, as *Chamber's Encyclopaedia* stated in 1874, vegetarianism was supported by most of its disciples in combination with homeopathy and hydropathy.³⁹

The 'science' of hydropathy preceded organised vegetarianism as a health craze by a few years. Its 'fringe' status was ambiguous. Many leading hydropaths were conventionally qualified physicians who did not stray from orthodox ideas on their role, the classification of disease, or physiological concepts. By the 1870s, as 'hydrotherapeutics', it was accepted by medical orthodoxy. The therapy's radicalism derived from rejection of traditional allopathic treatment in favour of less traumatic healing through bathing, showering and drinking water. It was supported by intellectual and cultural leaders such as the Carlyles, Tennyson, Bulwer Lytton and Darwin.⁴⁰ Also, it found acceptance by 'official' Methodism.⁴¹

See 3:5, for phrenological activities by London vegetarians, in the 'Anthropological Society'.

³¹His *Phrenology and Physiology* was published by Horsell.

³²*HH*, 1893, carried advertisements for L.N. Fowler's *Phrenological Annual*; T.R. Allinson contributed articles on 'How to be Well' in *Popular Phrenologist*, March-August 1897, see clippings in Allinson Papers, MS 3193.

³³P.A. Nicholl, *Homeopathy and the Medical Profession* (London, 1988).

³⁴See for instance J.A. Symonds, in *The Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 23 July 1851, pp.393-397.

³⁵Viettinghoff's 'Eradication and Prevention of Disease, *Hahnemanian Fly Sheet*, 31 October 1850, p.78.

³⁶*VM*, 1 December 1859.

³⁷The radical John Epps's *Notes of a New Truth. A Monthly Journal of Homoeopathy*.

³⁸*People's Magazine and Progressionist*, August 1854.

³⁹*VM*, April 1926, p.67. On the other hand, the *Homeopathic World* published a bread reform association's circular in 1887, see *VM*, July 1887, p.207.

⁴⁰K. Rees, in Cooter ed., *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*; B. Haley, *The Healthy Body*; R.

There were practical and personal connections between the two reforms. Early hydropaths were interested in a regime of simple diet and teetotalism (along with fresh air and exercise). The English publicist for the water cure, Captain Claridge, wrote to the *Vegetarian Advocate* to announce he was preaching Grahamism. Unaccountably the endorsement was little exploited, a significant propagandistic error.⁴² Through supporting Carl von Schlemmer, the Concordium at Ham Common had already pioneered hydropathy.⁴³ Schlemmer was responsible for one prominent convert to vegetarianism, Baker of Wokingham*.⁴⁴ Horsell wrote a well-received popular hydropathic manual and briefly ran a hydropathic nursing/boarding home at Ramsgate.⁴⁵ His *Vegetarian Advocate* reviewed hydropathic books and the *Water Cure Journal*. The latter published correspondence on vegetarianism from James Haughton*, a future president of the V.S.⁴⁶ However, although 'respecting' the *Advocate*, it was not a supporter of this new and 'hitherto unknown' reform, since scripture allowed animal food.⁴⁷ Yet the hydropath Thomas Smethurst advocated a vegetarian diet for children.⁴⁸ Forbes Lawrie*, a vegetarian, ran a hydro at Dunstable.⁴⁹ Later, the 'Waverley' at Melrose supported vegetarianism because one of the founders was the prominent vegetarian John Davie*.⁵⁰ A humbler establishment was opened by a 'medical electrician' in Derby in 1880.⁵¹ Several vegetarians ran Turkish bath establishments.⁵²

Price, 'Hydropathy in England. 1840-1870' *Medical History* 25 (1981), pp.269-280; R. Porter, ed., *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* [*Medical History*, supplement 10] (London: Wellcome Institutes for the History of Medicine, 1990); J. Bradley, 'Medicine on the Margins: Hydropathy in Britain, 1840-1860', abstract of conference paper, 'Plural Medicine- Orthodox and Heterodox Medicine in Western and Colonial Countries During the 19th and 20th Centuries', University of Southampton, September 1999.

⁴¹ See M. Clements, 'Sifting Science: Methodism and Natural Knowledge. 1815-1870', D.Phil., University of Oxford, 1996, ch.3.

⁴² *VA*, 15 August 1850, pp.11-12. Claridge's letter has not been noted before. See also *Truth-Tester*, 17 February 1848, p.74 about a physician, 'one of the most popular writers' on hydropathy who was trying vegetarianism.

⁴³ R. Metcalfe, *The Rise and Progress of Hydropathy in England and Scotland* (1906), p.43; Schlemmer's *Hydropathy* (1842) detailed his work at Ham Common, see J.E.M. Latham, *Search for a New Eden. James Pierrepont Greaves (1777-1842): The Sacred Socialist and His Followers* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), pp.173-174.

⁴⁴ *DR*, September 1877, p.156.

⁴⁵ W. Horsell, *The Board of Health and Longevity; or Hydropathy for the People* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1845).

⁴⁶ *The Water Cure Journal and Hygienic Magazine*, April 1848, p.343. The paper received copies of the vegetarian *Truth-Tester*, J. Smith's *Fruits and Farinacea* and praised Horsell's reprinting of Sylvester Graham's *The Science of Human Life*.

⁴⁷ *The Water Cure Journal*, April 1849, p.115.

⁴⁸ In *Hydrotherapia*, reviewed in *VA*, 15 February 1849, p.87.

⁴⁹ R. Metcalfe, *Rise and Progress of Hydropathy*, p.84.

⁵⁰ *DR*, 1872-1873, p.19.

⁵¹ *DR*, September 1880.

⁵² See W. B. Barr *, and advertisement in *DR*, May 1880. T.S. Owen* wrote in favour of Turkish Baths.

The largely herbal therapy of 'medical botany' rivalled vegetarianism for popular support in the north of England with several large Yorkshire and Lancastrian towns having societies.⁵³ Like vegetarianism it had native and American antecedents. The movement was almost entirely working-class, with support particularly from plebeian Methodists, despite 'official' critique for its 'naturalism' and its hostility towards orthodox medicine. Its height of popularity was in the 1850s. The breakaway 'Eclectic' movement established by John Skelton had 25 local branches, largely in the north of England; with a 'National Medical Reform League' (1853-1854) and 'British Medical Reform Association'. In the 1860s the movement became less popular and more commercialised.

Competition for local support is illustrated by an episode reported in Skelton's *Botanic Record and Family Herald* in 1853. A vegetarian lecturer at Bramley (Leeds) failed to convince the audience due to the correspondent's questioning. Another lecturer was sent and found wanting in basic science, so (wrote the correspondent) 'my *vegetarian friends* and myself have written to some of the ablest writers in our country on physiology... and one of these gentlemen (Mr Wilson) says, that 'I am *right*, that the lecturer is *wrong*; that it is not the first time *commonsense* has beaten *learning*; etc.,'.⁵⁴ If there was rivalry, the two movements were not mutually exclusive. Horsell's *Vegetarian Advocate* carried advertisements for *Dr Coffin's Botanical Journal* and reviewed *A Botanic Guide to Health*.⁵⁵ 'J.D.,' told readers of the *Dietetic Reformer* in 1863 that to be 'consistent' they should use botanic remedies.⁵⁶ Few members of the V.S. identified themselves as medical botanists, one, Joseph Clayton*, was an activist in Middlesbrough in the 1880s.

Mesmerism had been one of the pseudo-sciences or therapies supported by the Concordists. The coverage in the main vegetarian journals was not extensive, but there were connections. Although a mesmerist told a vegetarian that he could not be magnetised due to the diet, spiritualism was the meeting place for reformed diet and mesmerism.⁵⁷ Because spiritualism was such an important location for vegetarianism, and because it was a therapy *and* a faith, it will be examined separately (see 2:4).

⁵³J.V. Pickstone, *Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society*, (1976-1977), sees medical botany, 'like Methodism, vegetarian and temperance movements' as directed at and largely involving working men. For the relationship with Methodism, see Clement, 'Sifting Science: Methodism and Natural Knowledge in Britain. 1815-1870', ch.6. See also P.S. Brown, 'Herbalists and medical botanists in mid-19th century Britain...' *Medical History*, 26 (1982), pp.405-420; 'The vicissitudes of herbalism in late 19th century and early 20th century Britain', *Medical History* 29 (1985), pp.71-92; J.V. Pickstone and U. Miley, in Cooter, *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*, pp.140-154; and Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, pp.161-194.

⁵⁴*Dr Skelton's Botanic Record and Family Herald*, 5 February 1853, pp.150-2.

⁵⁵Review of *Guide to Health and Botanical Journal* in *VA*, October 1849, p.21; advertisement in *VA*, 1 February 1850.

⁵⁶See the comment in *DR*, July 1863, p.119. On homeopathic and medical botanic opposition, neither totally hostile initially, see L. Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, p.186.

⁵⁷*VM*, 1 August 1857, p.15 (the vegetarian was Dornbusch). See *DR*, October 1881, p.x for advertisement for C.L.H. Wallace's instruction. On mesmerism, see A. Winter, *Mesmerized. Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

In 1854 in Salford and Manchester Alderman William Harvey* chaired meetings to petition against the Bill for Registration of Qualified Practitioners; his fellow Bible Christian Joseph Brotherton MP* presented the petition to parliament.⁵⁸ Vegetarianism's opposition to monopolistic allopathy is also evident in its support for anti-vaccination. Like the necessity for those other 'impurities,' meat and alcohol, it was held to be 'a delusion for the benefit of doctors'.⁵⁹ Many vegetarians were activists in the anti-vaccination crusade which amongst other things had the merit of keeping the bogey of the lethal allopath alive when (in the later Nineteenth century) orthodoxy was less drastic.⁶⁰ One leading late Victorian vegetarian, A.F. Hills, told his audience at the Vegetarian Congress of 1898 that vaccination touched the 'very spring and fountain head of vegetarianism itself' and anti-vaccination success would be a triumph for vegetarianism.⁶¹ Involvement was long-standing.⁶² Though stressing that as a Society, anti-vaccination was not an official creed, the *Vegetarian Messenger* printed a petition against compulsory vaccination (the Vaccination Extension Bill) in 1853. Brotherton presented a vegetarian petition.⁶³ Local vegetarians organised a petition in Padstow (and probably elsewhere). The leading anti-vaccination polemicist, William Tebb*, had previously been closely involved in the vegetarian movement, other leading vegetarian anti-vaccinationists were Baker of Wokingham*, William White*, Dr Hadwen* and the Beurles*. Yet connections were not axiomatic. The *Dietetic Reformer*, though stating in 1880 that the movements were kindred and that vaccination facts were 'appropriate', had earlier stated that probably 'few of our readers are aware of the amount of hardship inflicted on Vegetarians by the Compulsory Vaccination Acts'.⁶⁴

III

Vegetarianism as health reform.

One vegetarian was being unusually restrained when he said that the diet had not transformed them into Sampsons or 'entirely done away with every sort of ailment,' but had effected 'a few things in that direction'.⁶⁵ Manifold scientific-hygienic claims were expressed in many media:

⁵⁸ *VM*, May 1854, pp.54-56.

⁵⁹ The vegetarian George Dornbusch, in *The Anti-Vaccination and Public Health Journal*, 1 November 1872, p.223.

⁶⁰ N. Durbach, ' "They might as well brand us": Working class resistance to compulsory vaccination', *Social History of Medicine* 13:1 (2000), pp.45-62; D. Porter and R. Porter, 'The Politics of Prevention: Anti-Vaccination and Public Health in Nineteenth Century England' *Medical History* 32 (1988) pp.231-252, L. Barrow, in Cooter, *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*, p.92, p.102.

⁶¹ *The Times*, 13 September 1898.

⁶² E.g., *VM*, May 1853, 'controversialist and correspondent', p.11 (J.S.J.: James Simpson); July 1853, pp.35-36.

⁶³ *VM*, August 1853, 'controversialist and correspondence': pp.17-18.

⁶⁴ *DR*, February 1876, p.29; October 1880.

⁶⁵ *VM*, February 1889, p.41.

books, tracts, handbills, lantern slides, food value posters, demonstrations and lectures. 'Diet in relation to health' and the 'curative action of the regimen' were the foci of many lectures. The first vegetarian lectures in London emphasised the diet as 'best adapted to man's constitution' through anatomy, physiology and chemistry.⁶⁶ Some provincial branches in the 1850s distributed copies of Sylvester Graham's *The Science of Human Life*, and tried to assemble their own libraries: distribution of hygienic texts remained important. About 1884 a handbill giving reasons why the V.S. claimed the help of all, listed 'health' as the first (though the summary of the system in the same period privileged religion). A new root for 'vegetarian' was introduced which emphasised the health claims: vital, healthful and vigorous.⁶⁷

Vegetarian journals often featured 'health' in their titles, thus *The Vegetarian* was a 'Paper for the Promotion of Happiness, Purity, Temperance, Health, Wealth and Happiness', and was advertised for 'every invalid or sufferer in health'. It was inaugurated with a 'Health' column superintended by Dr T.L. Nichols*, whose Health Institute was an important centre for metropolitan vegetarianism. His *Herald of Health* was a recognised organ of the movement. The journals were supported by advertisements for 'health' goods: foods, bathing equipment and hygienic clothing. 'Sanitary Food Stores' were listed, vegetarian boarding homes with names such as 'Hygiea' or 'Hygienic Home' were advertised. Some of the discussion over the name of the reform reflected debate over the primacy of health, one member in 1873 suggesting 'Hygeist' was to be preferred.⁶⁸

In the late Victorian period vegetarians supported several 'vegetarian hospitals'. Oriolet, at Loughton in Essex, treated cancer and consumptive patients. It was managed by Josiah Oldfield*, with A.F. Hills as President.⁶⁹ Another was the 'Humanitarian Hospital of St Francis', on the New Kent Road.⁷⁰ T.R. Allinson* ran a vegetarian Hygienic Hospital at Willesden (1889-1899).⁷¹ A 'Working Guild' was established to collect clothes and objects for these hospitals. A Maternity Society of England was established to support vegetarian women.⁷²

⁶⁶*People's Journal*, vol.1 (1849), Appendix: 'Annals of Progress', p.3.

⁶⁷'Vegetus', which appeared on the *DR*'s cover and front page.

⁶⁸'T.B.,' *DR*, July 1873, p.296.

⁶⁹*The Times*, 19 September 1898, *Vegetarian*, 7 December 1895, pp.585-586.

⁷⁰*VM*, May 1899, p.179. The London Metropolitan Archives holds Charity Organisation Society records pertaining to it and Josiah Oldfield, (information from finding aid on Hospital of St Francis, accessed November 2001 via Access to Archives database: <<http://www.a2a.pro.gov.uk>>).

⁷¹*VM*, May 1899, pp.182-183, *Vegetarian*, 20 May 1899, p.238. It was established for 'treating the working classes on hygienic principles'.

⁷²The Maternity Society was an organisation where alcohol and flesh foods were excluded in infant-care, avoiding the 'abuses often connected with irresponsible Maternity institutions', see *VM*, August 1897, p.270, and *VM*, August 1899, pp.258-259. See appendix for officers.

Vegetarianism in America formed a component of a wider Grahamite health reform in the 1830s. In Britain too, vegetarianism was generally no isolated practice, but one followed in association with temperance (the subject of the next section). Its association with other medical unorthodoxies has just been examined. Further, temperance in, or abstinence from, a range of other stimulating or poisonous foods (tea, coffee, pickles, spices), was often recommended and attempted. As advertisements and paragraphs in the vegetarian journals demonstrate, many were interested in exercising their bodies, reforming their clothes, cleansing their homes.

This was personal or domestic reform, but also a crusade to improve the health of the people. Some early recognition of its sanitary status was shown by an outline of the movement in the *Health of Town Journal*.⁷³ In a journal like Nichols' *Herald of Health*, in organisations like the Wallaces'* 'Physical Regeneration Society' (promoted in their *Herald of Health*), or Allinson's 'Natural Living Society', vegetarianism was a prominent component of 'natural cure'/hygienic reform systems.⁷⁴ Testimony (as recorded in the Biographical Index) shows that many became converts through consulting 'naturopaths' like Nichols, Allinson or the Wallaces, or reading their books and journals.

When vegetarians from Middleton emphasised the diet reform's subordinate role in a wider health reform by naming their association a 'Society for Promotion of Health' in 1880, they were keen to direct attention to slums.⁷⁵ Vegetarianism certainly promoted itself as an invaluable reform for the urban dweller. Testimony was given about its aid in resisting air pollution and overwork.⁷⁶ Hygienic and other claims relative to the urban working classes will be considered later (in 3:3, 5:1). There is some evidence of vegetarians acting as irregular practitioners in their (urban or rural) localities, though presumably reinforced through overlapping 'irregular' capacities as homeopaths or medical botanists. The Bible Christian John Monks* was the 'village Esculapius' for fifty years, Walter Hardman* helped cholera victims in 1894-5 and Forbes Marshall* treated people with acetic acid.

There were critics of attention being accorded to non-vegetarian health matters, or to assumptions of support for further dietary abstentions. Not everyone approved of the *Vegetarian Messenger* giving space to sanitary reforms, the reluctant president F.W. Newman believing ventilation, bathing and clothing reforms formed no part of the programme.⁷⁷

⁷³The article outlining its origins, progress and design, is cited in *VM*, January 1850, supplement, p.6.

⁷⁴The title of Allinson's society copied the contemporaneous German *Lebensreform* movement, on which, see Jütte, 'The Historiography of Nonconventional Medicine in Germany'. See *DR*, January 1869, p.3, for the annual report's allusion to the German 'Natural System'.

⁷⁵*DR*, October 1880.

⁷⁶*VM*, May 1850, p.79: W. Wyth.

⁷⁷*DR*, March 1873, pp.246-247. See M.G. Nichols' reply, June, pp.273-274.

Dietetically, there was quite enough already to divide the movement. Schisms occurred over what constituted the 'natural diet'.⁷⁸ The consumption of eggs and dairy products raised doubts about the movement's truly vegetarian status for opponents and supporters alike. The most prominent late Victorian controversy concerned a theory proposed by the American Emmet Densmore*, who argued that cereals could not be digested or assimilated. Heated articles and letters, reprinted as tracts, contested his 'anti-cerealism'.⁷⁹ Densmorites who had previously attempted a vegetarian diet argued that vegetarianism was dangerous.⁸⁰ At the same time, A.F. Hills promoted the idea of 'vital foods'.⁸¹

It was said that the first question usually raised with a convert was: 'Don't you feel very weak?'⁸² Opponents caricatured the vegetarians as 'flaccid, nerveless'⁸³ and 'entirely wanting' in normal stamina.⁸⁴ Whatever the emphasis was (health, economy, animal welfare, spiritual purity), the physical health, stamina and longevity of specimens on the platform were important.⁸⁵ Vegetarian obituaries sought to stress other factors for early deaths such as those of the first president, James Simpson, or the London secretary George Dornbusch.⁸⁶ From the start emphasising the vegetarianism of vigorous workers like Constantinople's porters or Belgian miners, a collective effort to address orthodox opinion on diet and strength through displays of athleticism was only made later (a propagandist neglect according to Forward, due to the intellectualism of earlier vegetarians).⁸⁷ This 'muscular vegetarianism' has been examined before.⁸⁸

Health scares could be 'improved' by propaganda. They were recognised as opportunities for the cause by observers like the *Exeter Daily Gazette* which thought vegetarianism was aided by bad

⁷⁸See *VM*, October 1890, p.286 for *Daily News*' view that rival vegetarian sects were similar to theological schools.

⁷⁹See the coverage, for instance, in *WTE*, 22 June 1890, p.6 and subsequently.

⁸⁰See Mrs Stuart, reported in A.F. Hills, *The Natural Food of Man* (Office of Vegetarian, Memorial Hall, 1893). See E. Densmore, *Dr Allinson and Dogmatism*. The British Library's volumes of his journal *Natural Food* (1890-1896), were destroyed.

⁸¹See A.F. Hills, *Essays on Vegetarianism, being a collection of articles contributed to 'The Vegetarian'* (London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1895); and *The Natural Food of Man*. A conference in early 1893 was devoted to vitalising food.

⁸²Salt, *Plea for Vegetarianism*, p.3.

⁸³*The Times*, 13 January 1885.

⁸⁴'Vegetarianism', *Household Words*, 28 May 1881, pp.96-97 [p.97].

⁸⁵See W.J. Farmer, *VM*, January 1899, pp.37-38 for an example of vegetarians arguing for a new ideal of a healthy physique that was thin and wiry rather than stout.

⁸⁶Forward, felt it still 'worth noting' that George Dornbusch's early death had been due in part to a multiple stabbing, *History*, p.71.

⁸⁷On Belgian miners, see *VA*, 15 August 1850, p.35. Forward, *History*, ch.14 (pp.152-161), cites W. Lawson* as an early athletic exception, Job Caudwell* 's mountain-climbing is another.

⁸⁸J.C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness. The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982), ch.7: 'Muscular Vegetarianism' (reprinted from *Journal of Sport History*, 8:2 (summer 1981), pp.58-75). See K.J. Carpenter, *Protein and Energy. A Study of Changing Ideas in Nutrition* (Berkeley: University of California, 1994), ch.5, on vegetarianism in relation to established ideas on nutrition and pp.88-98 especially, on the influence of Carl Voit's research on diet and physical work.

meat and tuberculosis scares.⁸⁹ Food adulteration, as the *Sheffield Telegraph* appreciated, was a 'powerful' argument for vegetarianism.⁹⁰ Cholera was an important fear that could be addressed to win converts, as Horsell emphasised.⁹¹ The audience at a banquet in London in 1851 was told that no member of the Society had died of the cholera.⁹² One early 'vegetarian ordinary' advertised thus: 'Novelty! Cholera Prevented- Better than Cured'.⁹³ A meeting in Bristol in 1884 debated cholera.⁹⁴ Mrs Humphrey Ward's novel *The History of David Grieve* attributed a Manchester audience to cotton famine and a cholera epidemic.⁹⁵

How popular was 'hygienic vegetarianism'? Many who never joined vegetarian societies tried it for health reasons. In 1883 *The Lancet* claimed 'physicians see in the course of their practice many who have done themselves injury by making the attempt'.⁹⁶ The vegetarian press published testimonies which often state the reasons for conversion. Where the actual causative medical complaint is specified it was often dyspepsia, other complaints included rheumatism, asthma, flatulence, even nettle-rash. It is possible to accumulate a list of converts for medical reasons, to which may be added: those who chose to emphasise hygienic claims as paramount, and vegetarians who were physicians.⁹⁷ Some 170 vegetarians accumulated in compiling the Biographical Index can thus be classified, but the figure really has little use, since a vast number of vegetarians were teetotal, as discussed in the next section. People were often teetotal on health grounds. Nor did health motives preclude acceptance of 'principled' reasons (see for instance Rhoda Anstey*, Frances Boulton*, J.H. Nevill*).⁹⁸

Testimony indicates the relief of some vegetarians, after having unsuccessfully tried various orthodox and other unorthodox therapies. The cost of unsuccessful orthodox treatment, pills and patent medicines, in comparison with cheap self-cure was stressed (see for instance G.A. Bangham*). Pills and doctors could now be banished. It was a movement appealing for popular support and aiming at popular instruction. The *Vegetarian Advocate's* full title proclaimed its democratic intent to instruct the people so they would be their own doctors.⁹⁹ In this, the

⁸⁹ *Vegetarian*, 25 May 1889, p.325.

⁹⁰ *DR*, July 1865, p.84.

⁹¹ *People's Magazine and Progressionist*, October 1854, p.153, see also *VM*, September 1849, p.12.

⁹² *The Times*, 2 August 1851, p.8.

⁹³ *VA*, September 1849, p.13.

⁹⁴ *DR*, October 1884, p.312.

⁹⁵ Mrs H. Ward, *The History of David Grieve*, (3 vols., London: Smith, Elder, 1892), p.166.

⁹⁶ *The Lancet*, 27 October 1883, p.757.

⁹⁷ Though this does not preclude the possibility that medical converts were swayed by reasons other than physiology.

⁹⁸ *HH*, October 1889, p.111, in considering the anti-everythingarian tendency (see 2:5) held that the initial reason for most conversions was health.

⁹⁹ *The Vegetarian Advocate: A Journal devoted to free discussion on chemistry, physiology, dietetics, hydropathy and other questions affecting the Physical, Intellectual and Moral Health of Man.*

movement was similar to other movements which characterised allopaths as a sinister priesthood. Its relationship with 'orthodoxy' must now be examined.

IV

The vegetarian movement's relationship with medical orthodoxy.

In 1872 F.W. Newman included the 'opposition of medical men' as one of the most serious problems facing the movement.¹⁰⁰ The leading activist in Wales testified that his worst opponent was the 'mutton chop doctor'.¹⁰¹ Medical orthodoxy was convinced that a mixed diet was mankind's proper food. Climate, occupation, age (a near vegetarian diet for children was recommended in the early Victorian period¹⁰²), and state of health might vary it but an omnivorous diet was best for bodily and mental development.¹⁰³ Patients were recommended meat (and alcohol) as cures for dyspepsia and as a necessity during pregnancy.¹⁰⁴ The orthodox were convinced vegetarianism was fatal. Thus one early convert recalled a medical man's amazement when he was pointed out as a vegetarian.¹⁰⁵ H.S. Salt wrote of a 'physician of some local repute' who continued to deny the existence of vegetarianism (this in 1886) and who claimed that they ate meat at night-time.¹⁰⁶ Numerous vegetarians were warning against the diet by their doctors. William Ward* was told he would soon die.¹⁰⁷ The editor of the *Hull Advertiser* was advised to desist his successful experiment during the cholera epidemic.¹⁰⁸

The movement's relationship with medical orthodoxy was complicated. Vegetarianism, as part of a self-help mentality on *principle* (in addition, for some, to *necessity*), and in response to an orthodox dismissal ('sister' teetotalism's earlier fate), was antagonistic. Articles inquired whether doctors were necessary.¹⁰⁹ Paragraphs, asides and testimonies condemned the 'faculty'. Yet vegetarians craved the 'respectable' medical profession's endorsement. They desired and claimed scientific credibility. They might contest the definition and course of scientific endeavour (as in

¹⁰⁰ *DR*, January 1872, p.12.

¹⁰¹ *Vegetarian*, 12 November 1898, p.729.

¹⁰² Herbert Spencer*, who tried vegetarianism for six months, abandoning it as intellectually and physically debilitating, condemned the low diet commonly recommended for children, in an essay in the *British Quarterly Review*, reprinted in *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (London: Manwaring, 1861), pp.148-162 [on his personal trial, see p.159].

¹⁰³ On vegetarianism and nutrition, see K.J. Carpenter, *Protein and Energy. A Study of Changing Ideas in Nutrition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); M. R. Finlay, 'Quackery and Cookery: Justus von Liebig's Extract of Meat and the theory of nutrition in the Victorian Age', *Bulletin of History of Medicine* 66 (1992), pp.404-418;

¹⁰⁴ *DR*, March 1884, p.ix, on Mrs Thornberry's pregnancy, superintended by T.R. Allinson.

¹⁰⁵ *VM*, May 1850, p.81.

¹⁰⁶ Salt, *Plea for Vegetarianism*, p.19.

¹⁰⁷ *VM*, November 1850, pp.142-145.

¹⁰⁸ *VM*, June 1854, p.56.

¹⁰⁹ T.R. Allinson, *Food Reform Magazine*, January 1882, pp.90-95.

opposition to vaccination or vivisection), but most did not reject it as a mode of analysis of the way the world functioned.¹¹⁰

Science was seen as endorsing the diet when the V.S. was inaugurated, since Liebig's chemical researches appeared to prove the nutritional value of plant foods. James Simpson had studied the chemistry of food in Berlin, and one of his tracts attending the nascent Society, was dedicated to Liebig and Dr Lyon Playfair.¹¹¹ He claimed the new chemistry of food was unappreciated by the British medical world.¹¹² James Haughton, a convert in 1848, was unable to get a medical judgement on Liebig's work.¹¹³

Dietetics, 'diet administered according to principle,' for the prevention, relief or curing of disease, formed a branch of medicine 'as important as that of the *Materia Medica*'.¹¹⁴ Yet orthodox medical journals of the 1840s recognised its neglect.¹¹⁵ *The Lancet* in 1847 feared that 'diet and regimen, along with other topics of hygiene, obtain little attention from most medical practitioners' and that this created the breach through which quackery entered.¹¹⁶ In 1864 the *Times*, in the wake of Edward Smith's findings on national diet, condemned the professionals' neglect of the 'chymistry of digestion'. It too, recognised that the 'irregular' and amateur instead met this need.¹¹⁷

Vegetarians certainly claimed this. The *Vegetarian Advocate*'s editor had been:

assured by every medical man whom we have consulted (and we have asked many), that dietetics forms no part of the college education or medical examination. What they know on this matter is learned either before going to college, or after their return. Need we wonder at their want of information.¹¹⁸

The homeopathist Viettinghoff told his homeopathic audience that 'the generality of the medical profession' failed to investigate vegetarianism and that it had been left to people 'not at all

¹¹⁰C.L.H. Wallace's rejoicing that 'Pasteur is dead; I thank God' typified the attitude of many vegetarians opposed to vivisection, see *VM*, May 1927, p.93. See *Vegetarian*, 13 July 1889 onwards, for series of leading articles on 'Mr Pasteur and his Institute'.

¹¹¹[Anon.] *The Products of the Vegetable Kingdom* (London: Whittaker, 1847). His *A Few Recipes of Vegetable Diet* (London: Whittaker, 1847) also emphasised 'the most established conclusions of Chemical Science; supported by the most important facts, hitherto developed, in the study of Dietetics' (p.31). His study in Berlin is recorded by H.S. Clubb, *VM*, March 1898, p.191.

¹¹²*VA*, 15 December 1848, p.63.

¹¹³*Water Cure Journal and Hygienic Magazine*, April 1848, p.343.

¹¹⁴R. Dunglison, *Medical Lexicon. A Dictionary of Medical Science*, 9th edn revised (London: Sampson Low, 1853). Dunglison was a professor at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia.

¹¹⁵On the neglect of the 'cooling regimen' from c.1790, and hygienic physiology's general backwardness, see V. Smith, 'Physical Puritanism and Sanitary Science: Medical and Immaterial Beliefs in Popular Physiology, 1650-1840' in Cooter ed., *Studies in the History of Alternative Medicine*, pp.174-197.

¹¹⁶*Lancet*, 13 January 1847, p.42, [in review of W.H. Robertson's *A Treatise on Diet and Regimen*].

¹¹⁷*The Times*, 19 September 1864, p.7.

¹¹⁸*VA*, 15 December 1848, p.61.

connected with the profession and practice of medicine'.¹¹⁹ Decades later, one 'regularly' qualified naturopath asserted that 'vegetarians taught me more of the science of life than all my professors'.¹²⁰

Still, the Society wanted medical endorsement. A few physicians had already supported a vegetable diet. Historically, the most significant (for demonstrating cholera was waterborne) was John Snow*, a teetotal-vegetarian when apprenticed to a surgeon-apothecary (1827-1833).

Abandoning the diet for health reasons; his experience was unknown to the early V.S.¹²¹

The vegetarianism of Dr Lambe*, who advocated the diet as a cure for cancer, scrofula and scurvy, was well-known.¹²² The V.S published an annotated edition of Lambe's *Diet*. A friend of Shelley, T.I.M Forster*, supported the V.S.¹²³ The *Vegetarian Advocate* cited Charles Hogg's* endorsement of the diet for children. He believed better results to be obtainable through the *materia alimentaria* than through *materia medica*, and that 'Temperance in all things' was the 'basis and stay of health and comfort'.¹²⁴ Charles Lane, a prominent figure in the Concordium, quoted a letter from Hogg in his own *Dietetics*.¹²⁵ The *Advocate* also published a paper, by I.L. Crawcour*, delivered to the Physiological Society of Guy's Hospital. Crawcour (provided with information by Lane and other vegetarians) rightly pointed out Hippocrates' emphasis on regimen, not drugs.¹²⁶ The chartist C.H. Neesom spoke of a medical friend of his, 'eminent in the profession', who was recommending vegetarianism to his friends.¹²⁷ When the homeopathist Dr Griffith Jones became vegetarian the London Association spoke of the advantages of a member in the 'enemy camp'.¹²⁸

The Society highlighted a few other medical professionals who endorsed the diet.¹²⁹ Authorities were reiterated in vegetarian propaganda. Dr A.P. Buchan had believed a farinaceous

¹¹⁹ *Provincial Homeopathic Gazette*, 1 Jan. 1854, p.104.

¹²⁰ T.R. Allinson, *English Mechanic*, 19 January 1883 (clipping in Allinson Papers, MS 3187).

¹²¹ R.H. Ellis, *The Casebooks of Dr John Snow* [Medical History supplement 14] (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1994).

¹²² Recalled by the *Medical Times and Gazette* as a 'thorough Puritan in diet, and a vegetarian' (*DR*, April 1876, p.54), Lambe's address appeared in one early vegetarian tract, J.E. Duncan's 'Vegetable Diet', in *Flowers and Fruits or Poetry, Philosophy, and Science* (London: printed for the author, 1843); the 1845 edition of John Smith of Malton's influential vegetarian work *Fruits and Farinacea*, was dedicated to Lambe. The editor of the Vegetarian Society's reprinting of Lambe's *Diet* was Edward Hare, a vegetarian who had formerly been Inspector General of Hospitals, Bengal.

¹²³ But in *Medicina Simplex; or, the Pilgrims Waybook* (London: Keating and Brown, 1832), pp.248-249, he rejected an exclusively vegetarian or carnivorous diet.

¹²⁴ C. Hogg, *On the Management of Infancy: With Remarks on the Influence of Diet and Regimen* (London: John Churchill, 1849). The work was printed by the vegetarians H.S. Clubb and R.T. Clubb. See *Provincial Medical and Surgical Journal*, 8 January 1851, p.17 for a review which ignored the vegetarianism, and where Hogg is criticised simply for unoriginality. See *VA*, October 1849, p.22.

¹²⁵ C. Lane, *Dietetics: An Endeavour to Ascertain The Law of Human Nutriment* (London: Whittaker, 1849), pp.28-30.

¹²⁶ *VA*, 15 March 1849, p.98; 15 April 1849, p.111.

¹²⁷ *VM*, September 1849, p.13.

¹²⁸ *People's Magazine and Progressionist*, 1 December 1854.

¹²⁹ There may have been many who did not publicly declare their support or toleration, see *Vegetarian*, 22 May 1897, p.223 for discussion of Smith of Malton's *Fruits and Farinacea's* lenient treatment by medical

diet prevented pulmonary consumption. Gout, Dr Cullen had believed, was cured by a vegetable diet. In January 1856 some 18 physicians and surgeons were members, by 1866 (according to tabulated statistics) there were 10.¹³⁰ They probably all supported alternatives to orthodox practice: hydropathy (Forbes Lawrie*, with three others at Dunstable; Viettinghoff* and presumably one, Bates, at Malvern) and homeopathy (Viettinghoff); L.W. Lambe at Hereford was the son of Dr Lambe.

A few orthodox practitioners employed vegetarianism as a curative or prophylactic. Dr Nicolls* of Longford Fever Hospital applied the diet for sixteen years.¹³¹ The teetotal worker Dr N. S. Kerr*, who had been a vegetarian as a young medical student, continued to recommend vegetarianism in his practice.¹³² Another teetotaler, Dr Caleb Yewen*, was a vice president in the 1880s. The most prominent vegetarian doctors of the late Victorian period were also unorthodox: Dr T.L. Nichols* and his disciple, the vegetarian-birth controller and anti-vaccinationist T.R. Allinson*, Hadwen* the anti-vaccinationist, and Oldfield* the fruitarian barrister-doctor.

Nichols and Allinson have been examined before.¹³³ Nichols had emigrated from America in 1861 with his wife (Mary Gove Nichols*), a feminist and hydropathist who joined the V.S. in 1849. They established a hydro at Malvern, before moving to London where they published widely circulated tracts and books on health matter. T.L. Nichols edited the *Herald of Health* from 1875, opened a Health Institute, and encouraged the metropolitan and national vegetarian revival. Allinson believed doctors to be unnecessary, with illness as a process of cure, and argued in print for resistance to vaccination. His medical correspondence column in *The Weekly Times and Echo* from 1885 publicised his ideas. He was removed from the General Medical Council Register in 1892, formally for malpractice- self-advertisement for professional gain- but essentially because of his medical opinions. The case received national, indeed international, coverage. Supporters were able to depict it as another incident where a 'trades union' had acted out of self-interest.¹³⁴

Though Nichols and Allinson were well-known health reform figures in late Victorian Britain, they were neither leading scientists or medical researchers. In the analytical chemists A.W. Duncan* and Wynter Blyth*, they did have professionals (the movement also attracted several

men (Preface to 2nd edn); its publication by John Churchill, a medical publisher, brought it into the ken of medical men.

¹³⁰Forward, *History*, p.58.

¹³¹Forward, *History*, ch.7, refers to a Poor Law Commission investigation, where medical officers were satisfied that his claims to have the lowest death rate of any Irish Union were justified.

¹³²*Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.18.

¹³³On Nichols see B. Aspinwall, 'Social Catholicism and health' in W.J. Sheils, ed., *The church and healing* (Oxford, 1982); on Nichols, Allinson and later naturopaths, see P.S. Brown, 'Medically Qualified Naturopaths and the General Medical Council', *Medical History* 35 (1991), pp.50-77.

¹³⁴See clippings in the Allinson Papers, MS 3192 and MS 3193, e.g., *Recorder* (New York) 1 June 1892; *Society*, 8 August 1892; *Figaro*, 6 August 1896.

chemist-druggists, one of whom gave up his job out of principle, see H.N. Chant*). No great scientific figure joined the Society. The *Vegetarian* complained that though a 'great many scientists' thought flesh-eating was the cause of most diseases, they could not be persuaded to give public support.¹³⁵ Reporting the annual vegetarian meeting in 1885, *The Times* was unimpressed by the scientific support, counting 'one provincial surgeon' and a 'lady doctor' (Anna Kingsford*).

The Society advertised what medical support they could find through tracts, articles, and handbills. In the late 1840s the surgeon and physiologist Professor Lawrance's vegetarian testimony had appeared on wafers.¹³⁶ A handbill was produced quoting opponents who accepted that the diet allowed physical vigour. The attempt to present the eminent surgeon Sir Henry Thompson's advocacy of a 'lighter' diet as an endorsement of vegetarianism led to an article and rejoinder in the *Nineteenth Century*. There was a competition to find the 'most striking' medical opinion on vegetarianism.¹³⁷

Practical attempts to win over orthodox medical men often took the form of debates. Possibly in the 1850s, local medical men attended vegetarian lectures in order to combat the latest heresy but there is little evidence.¹³⁸ Medical men were supplied with copies of vegetarian literature by the Birmingham Vegetarian Association.¹³⁹ The Edinburgh society reported an 'eminent MD' had been converted in 1858.¹⁴⁰ Medical and sanitarian associations were targeted with little success. N.S. Kerr's paper on vegetarianism before the University Medical Society was unanimously opposed.¹⁴¹ Allinson's paper before the Medical Union Society (1883) was critically received.¹⁴² James Haughton argued against a Dr Kennedy at the Social Science Congress in Dublin in 1861, and gave a paper to the Royal Dublin Society's scientific meeting in 1863.¹⁴³ There was a discussion by the Medical Society of London in 1877.¹⁴⁴ A paper by a Dr Edmunds was opposed by Dr Drysdale (the promoter of birth-control) and others. Dr Buchanan as the President summarised the case for the diet as: advanced age, when the climate was conducive, in the treatment, especially, of illness, in the chief area of temperance.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁵*Vegetarian*, January 1898, p.1. But see entries on Walter Wheldon and A.R. Wallace. W.H. Perkin, the discoverer of aniline dyes, was an associate (since 1888, see *Vegetarian*, 1907, p.194).

¹³⁶See T. Forster's recollections of Lawrence: *VM*, October 1855, pp.91-92.

¹³⁷*Vegetarian Review*, 1897, c. p.228.

¹³⁸*VM*, January 1854, supplement: p.12 refers to medical professionals in the audience at a soiree given by the Malton Vegetarian Association.

¹³⁹*VM*, February 1854, supplement: p.15.

¹⁴⁰*VM*, November 1858, p.28.

¹⁴¹*Journal of Health and Vegetarian Messenger*, p.16.

¹⁴²*Students Journal*, 20 January 1883 (Allinson Papers, MS 3187), it was printed here 28 April 1883.

¹⁴³*DR*, October 1861, p.109; *The Times*, 1863.

¹⁴⁴*Proceedings of the Medical Society of London* 3 (1875-1877), pp.169-179.

¹⁴⁵*Lancet*, 17 March 1877, p.391 (an adjourned discussion).

In all these encounters, the cause was at risk when scientific proof was doubtful, or when a theory was too novel. In 1888, when some 50-60 medical men and students were entertained at Charing Cross Vegetarian Hotel, under the presidency of the respected sanitary reformer Dr B.W. Richardson, there was ominous silence after A.F. Hills' speech on 'vital force'.¹⁴⁶

Vegetarians hoped for support through hygienic exhibitions and congresses. They struggled to gain a presence in the Health Exhibition of 1884. The restaurant which was allowed through the support of B.W. Richardson was a great propaganda success. In Richardson the vegetarians had a well-wisher. His 'Salut-land' utopia, outlined for the Croydon Hygienic Congress (1879) was vegetarian. He hoped to attend a dinner given by the National Food Reform Society.¹⁴⁷ There was delight at the sanitary reformer Edwin Chadwick's support for vegetarianism at the Hastings Health Congress (1889).¹⁴⁸ In 1891 the *Vegetarian* sent out a questionnaire to all members of another Hygienic Congress, and was dismayed at the prejudices reiterated in their replies.¹⁴⁹ In 1895 the Reading food reform society had a stall in the Provincial Hygienic Exhibition, and the V.S. had a stall in the Health Exhibition in Manchester.¹⁵⁰

Hostile medical opinion can partly be located through the vegetarian press. Condemnation demonstrated that their message was being heard and critical paragraphs were dissected to show the ignorance of the 'faculty'. Popular lectures on diet and health in which medical men made reference to vegetarianism were reported. Thus readers learned that Dr E. Lankester opposed vegetarianism during a lecture at the Bradford Mechanics Institute in 1861.¹⁵¹ Professional medical men, in popular manuals, discussed vegetarianism, and were similarly reviewed.¹⁵² Where they advocated a 'light diet' and criticised modern excess they could lead readers to vegetarianism.¹⁵³ Manuals by non-medical writers debated vegetarianism too.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁶Hills promoted the idea that cookery destroyed a 'vital' element. An editorial in the spiritualist *MD*, 11 May 1888, p.301, pointed out that this was not an original view.

¹⁴⁷*HH*, 1 December 1879, p.284. He was unable to attend the NFRS dinner. His article on 'Food Thrift', *Modern Thought*, 1880, was reprinted by the V.S. His *Guild of Good Life* pamphlet (SPCK) had pro-vegetarian sympathies, see *Vegetarian*, 19 October 1889, p.666. He addressed a dinner given by the V.S., at the Health Exhibition, see *Lancet*, 18 October 1884, p.701. He supported the Humanitarian League's diet reform, see *VM*, May 1895, p.116. The vegetarian *HGA*, 1896, no.1, p.6, referred to his favourable comments in a Presidential Address to the Sanitary Inspector's Association. In January 1896, at the V.S.'s invitation he delivered a lecture on food at the Manchester Free Trade Hall which was published by the V.S. He supported vegetarianism in his final work, *Vita Medica*, according to *VM*, July 1898, p.332.

¹⁴⁸*Vegetarian*, 11 May 1889, p.295.

¹⁴⁹*Hygienic Advertiser*, September 1891, p.21.

¹⁵⁰*Vegetarian Review*, May 1895, p.143.

¹⁵¹*DR*, January 1861, pp.38-39. Presumably the microscopist Edwin Lankester; who reviewed Smith's *Principles and Practice of Vegetarian Cookery* in the *Athenaeum*, 15 December 1860, p.1729. See *VM*, March 1854, p.30 on Professor Calvert's lecture in Manchester, and Dr Turner, also Manchester.

¹⁵²E.g., W. Pearce, MRCS, LSA, *The Treatment and Cure of Diseases Incidental to Sedentary Life* (London: Groombridge, 1854), p.83.

¹⁵³E.g., Reverend W.J. Monk*, vegetarian through B.W. Richardson's *Diseases of Modern Life*. See *DR*,

The treatment of vegetarianism in the *Lancet* and *British Medical Journal (BMJ)* may be taken as representative of orthodoxy. They seem to have been ignorant of the new movement in its first years, it may also have been a strategy of disregard.¹⁵⁵ The first reference to be found in the *BMJ*, concerned the vegetarian banquet in Birmingham in 1855, treated as an event in aid of the ‘most ridiculous of the many absurd fallacies that even well educated men (in other respects) will sometimes fall to’. Standard problems were touched on, concerning the admission of eggs and dairy products, climate, and the future of the Eskimo. Significantly the movement was treated here not as a quackery but an ‘eccentric sect’.¹⁵⁶

The *Lancet* was critical of the movement in reporting its General Meeting in October 1862.¹⁵⁷ It reported the Medical Society of London’s debate in 1877. Criticism resurfaced in 1879 when considering economic dietaries, an ‘important and difficult question’ which, however was left to ‘certain visionary enthusiasts, each one of whom believes he has discovered a universal food’. After a vegetarian clergyman recommended a horse-bean dietary to the St. Pancras Board of Guardians the journal warned that ‘fashionable’ advocacy of legumes ignored the dangers of cutaneous eruptions, heating, colic, indigestion and paralysis.¹⁵⁸

The defence of the meat diet was often explicitly connected with questions of empire and authority. The arguments used were unoriginal, and not peculiar to the medical profession. Considering the vegetarian ‘school of social reformers’ in 1881, the *Lancet* argued that herbivorous animals, though physically strong, were not prominent, and did not ‘assert supremacy over other orders of the animal creation.’¹⁵⁹ An omnivorous mankind had headship of Creation.

Food reform (not vegetarianism specifically) was accorded a philanthropic role for ‘the people’, important for their physical vigour, mental and moral capacities.¹⁶⁰ It was educational- against fashion and prejudice- and concerned with the purity and dietetic value of foods. Dietetic errors such as preference for white bread were ‘at the very root of most of the evils which afflict the lower strata of society’.¹⁶¹ The orthodox did, of course, criticise overindulgence in animal foods,

December 1879.

¹⁵⁴For the vegetarians, a notorious example was G.H. Lewes’s *The Physiology of Common Life* (serialised monthly, published 2 vols., Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1859), see vol. 1, p.173.

¹⁵⁵The *Medical Circular* published correspondence debating vegetarianism status as a quackery, see *VM*, November 1853, ‘Controversialist and Correspondent’: pp.26-27. In July 1850 the *British and Foreign Medical and Chirurgical Journal* discussed it (pp.76-98).

¹⁵⁶*The British Medical Journal*, 30 November 1855, pp.1074-5. Subsequent references to vegetarianism include a review of *The Principles and Practice of Vegetable Cookery*, 5 January 1861; examination of arguments for and against, 27 June, 1863, p.606.

¹⁵⁷*DR*, 1862.

¹⁵⁸*Lancet*, 8 March 1879, p.349, ‘Economic dietaries’.

¹⁵⁹*Lancet*, 12 November 1881, p.847.

¹⁶⁰*Lancet*, 18 August 1888, p.331. It was ‘One, and that not the least important, of the movements at present operating’.

¹⁶¹*Lancet*, 18 August 1888, p.331.

and could accept that vegetarianism was playing a useful role in reducing meat consumption, an admission H.S. Salt felt a 'trifle provoking'.¹⁶² At its most favourable, the *Lancet* gave qualified praise for the Society's role in increasing consumption of vegetables, whilst fearing its essential 'utter confusion' of the natural order.¹⁶³ There was praise for the message of economy during hard times, and attention to national self-sufficiency at a time of concern about dependence on imported foods, in the *British Medical Review*.¹⁶⁴ Vegetarian restaurants received friendly notice, on the basis of health and economy, in the *BMJ* and *Medical Press and Circular* in 1880.¹⁶⁵ Vegetarian books were reviewed, correspondence published, vegetarian meetings noted, but orthodox medical opinion could not be convinced by vegetarians 'to the full extent of their desires'.¹⁶⁶ This included doubts about its status as an aid to teetotalism, which must now be examined.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶²H.S. Salt, 'Food Reform', *Westminster Review*, October 1886, pp.483-499 [p.498].

¹⁶³*Lancet*, 18 October 1884, p.701.

¹⁶⁴Cited in *HH*, December 1879, p.288.

¹⁶⁵*DR*, May 1880.

¹⁶⁶*Lancet*, 18 October 1884, p.701.

¹⁶⁷*Lancet*, 4 April 1885, p.631 and 11 April 1885.

2:2 Vegetarianism and Teetotalism

Vegetarianism in Nineteenth century Britain has previously been discussed in terms of Romantic, avant garde and Bohemian associations; or as part of a trend towards sentimentalization of animal-human relations.¹ Its close temperance connections reflect other strands: concern with health, self-help (including thrift), self-control, and social progress through individual self-reform. The temperance aspect to vegetarianism is explored here.

Vegetarianism was a logical progression for the most extreme teetotalers, who called it 'ultra-temperance'. Connections were close, indeed 'inevitable'.² Having reformed themselves in drink it was natural to adduce similar physiological, social and moral reasons for vegetarianism. The V.S., aware of its more onerous abstinence, rejected a pledge equivalent to the teetotalers' for fear of repelling support.³ Teetotalism attracted perhaps a million adults in Britain in the 1860s, vegetarianism attracted perhaps six thousand men, women and their children at most in the Victorian period as a whole.⁴ If teetotalism remained the big sister, the world of the Victorian temperance historian P.T. Winskill's 'temperance crusaders' was also the world of vegetarian leaders and supporters.⁵ The temperance affiliations of rank-and-file vegetarians is easily demonstrable by examining the Biographical Index. A non-teetotal vegetarian was a *rara avis*.

The nascent organised vegetarianism was in part the extreme version of a dietetic position- *teetotalism*- that had itself been viewed as extreme. Temperance was the archetypal Victorian social reform movement, associated with self-help, thrift and respectability, but teetotalism in Britain in the 1840s and 1850s was controversial. The concern about vegetarian *vigour* had earlier been expressed about teetotalers. As Brian Harrison has described the prevailing opinion of these decades, 'early teetotalers, like pioneer vegetarians, sacrificed comforts which not only made life tolerable, but were actually thought to make life possible.'⁶ That extension of sympathy by one dietetic reform to another was not automatic, was especially so since early teetotalers were advised or expected to eat meat.⁷ In an effort to emphasise the healthy, jolly and remunerative nature of

¹ See 2:3.

² B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p.143. See p.161 on teetotal health reform and vegetarianism.

³ See *VM*, September 1854, pp.76-78, for reference to preliminary discussion in 1847 about whether to include temperance as part of the society's causes.

⁴ The estimate for teetotal support is from Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p.317.

⁵ P.T. Winskill, *The Temperance Movement and Its Workers. A Record of Social, Moral, Religious and Political Progress*, (London: Blackie, 1892), for information on some leading teetotal-vegetarians. See also B. Harrison, *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography*, (Coventry: Society for the Study of Labour History, 1973).

⁶ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p.44.

⁷ See *VA*, p.125, Mr Walford snr: 'A few years ago we were told that fermented liquors were injurious and that beefsteaks were so far preferable'.

teetotalism, supporters demonstrated hearty appetites, the 'rapid consumption of beef and pudding, indicative of health and vigour'.⁸

Vegetarianism's relations with a more 'orthodox' temperance (as teetotalism itself became) could be strained, with vegetarianism attacked for harming the cause through bringing ridicule as the absurd but (so opponents might say) natural conclusion to its principles.⁹ Silence on the subject of vegetarianism by one early temperance historian- Samuel Couling- probably indicates embarrassment. His entry on the Society's first president makes no reference to Simpson's main concern.¹⁰ Later, Winskill felt required to emphasise that vegetarianism was by no means a majority choice for teetotalers despite its espousal by many leaders. Despite wariness on the part of teetotalers, the temperance press saw vegetarianism, along with concerns such as opposition to capital punishment, as a useful topic to attract a wider reformist readership.¹¹

Precisely because they recognised them as kindred movements, critics of teetotalism also attacked vegetarians, as this comment by the homeopathic physician Jacob Dixon shows:

Surely we want no new lights, no fanciful theories of total abstinence from flesh meat, no total abstinence from fermented drinks. Your totalists, of any description, are totally absurd.¹²

Teetotalism could be damned through association with such extremists. Supporters of both reforms were described throughout the period as 'enthusiasts' and 'faddists'.

Alcohol-related concerns undoubtedly provided an important motivation for would-be vegetarians. Amongst many health arguments for vegetarianism was the assertion that it strengthened teetotalism, and therapeutic claims in relation to alcoholism.¹³ As indicated in the preceding examination of the movement as a health reform, medical orthodoxy did not accept this claim uncritically. Nor did the temperance movement, despite propagandist efforts.

⁸ *The London and Lincolnshire Mirror of Tee-totalism*, 1 October 1840, p.104. N. Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers. A History of Temperance* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), p.69, p.103, p.180 on meat as part of the teetotal alternative diet and rhetoric of self-help.

⁹ J. Metter, *Strictures on Animal and Vegetable Diet* (Uxbridge: H. G. Crosier, 1847), reviewed in *The Truth-Tester, Temperance Advocate and Healthian Journal* (Douglas, Isle of Man: Robinson) n.s., vol. 1 (1847), pp.119-20. This journal was bought by Horsell from F.R. Lees when Lees planned to emigrate. When Lees edited it (1845-6), it was entitled *The Truth-Tester, Temperance Advocate and Mona Journal of the Water-Cure*.

¹⁰ S. Couling, *History of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain and Ireland; from the Earliest Date to the Present Time* (London: Tweedie, 1862).

¹¹ B. Harrison, '“A world of which we had no conception”: Liberalism and the Temperance Press, 1830-1872,' *Victorian Studies* 13:2 (1969-1970), pp.125-158. Teetotalers were concerned not to appear people of 'one-idea', see *The People's Abstinence Standard and True Social Reformer* 8 December 1849, p.319, for the strategy of expressing sympathy for other causes.

¹² *Reasoner*, vol.3 (1847), p.398.

¹³ See for instance Hudson Barrett, *Food Reform Magazine*, July 1882, pp.27-30.

One of the oddest characters involved in later Victorian vegetarianism, C.O.G. Napier*, publicised his vegetarian treatment of alcoholism at the British Association for the Advancement of Science's meeting in 1875.¹⁴ In 1879 he organised several temperance-vegetarian fetes, including one for 335 Welsh miners. The fete celebrating the assumption of his title of 'Prince of Mantua' also advertised his 'cure'. Guests included sixty reformed West Country drunkards and two American followers who had applied his methods to some thousand cases in the States.¹⁵ His activities extravagantly expressed the general claim of vegetarianism to address the drink problem.

The kinship of late Victorian temperance and vegetarianism found expression in annual temperance meetings at the Crystal Palace, when 'food reformers' wore an insignia of silver tassels and a vegetarian 'Order of Danielites' (on which more below) wore a sash of gold or yellow.¹⁶ London vegetarianism was also associated with the Society for the Study and Cure of Inebriety, although its president, Dr N.S. Kerr*, questioned its curative pretensions at the first 'Colonial and International Congress on Inebriety' (1887) after having earlier supported vegetarianism.¹⁷ By contrast, another teetotal activist, Samuel Morley, supported the efforts of the National Food Reform Society to provide vegetarian meals as an advertisement for temperance.¹⁸

National and provincial temperance organisations were important and natural targets for vegetarian lecturers. One of the most important of the sympathetic organisations targeted was the militant prohibitionist International Order of Good Templars (I.O.G.T) which was brought to Britain in 1868. The I.O.G.T.'s British membership was typically composed of young working class and lower middle class nonconformists. They were drawn by the ritual and the hierarchy, in addition to its potential philanthropic role: 'the Good Templar organisation appealed to me as being a very sensible and useful one', in the words of one Good Templar vegetarian whose lodge organised a vegetarian demonstration, 'to show that it was possible to have a thoroughly good meal without recourse to the butcher'.¹⁹ Many lodges provided venues for vegetarian meetings and new recruits.²⁰ It helped that the Grand Chief Templar of the I.O.G.T., Joseph Malins*, was vegetarian.²¹ The vegetarian Danielite Order, was a 'food reform freemasonry' modelled on the

¹⁴The chairman feared that intemperance would be promoted as a cure for vegetarianism, 'which very much amused the section.' See T. Hudson's *Recollections and Random Reflections* (London: Tweedie, 1875) p.4.

¹⁵See *Vegetarian and Temperance Fete to his Most Serene Highness Prince of Mantua and Monferrat...* (Dunfermline: W. Clark and Son, c.1879), *The Cure for Intemperance* (Manchester: V.S., about 1875), *Vegetarian and Temperance Fete to 335 Welsh Miners* (Dunfermline: W. Clark, c.1879).

¹⁶Notice of meeting (6 July 1884) in *Food Reform Magazine*, [London] (n.p., bound at back of copy in British Library, but presumably for July-September number).

¹⁷Winskill, *Temperance Movement*, vol.4, pp.154-155. Kerr was the president of the society.

¹⁸*Lancet*, 4 April 1885, p.631.

¹⁹W.J. Francis, *Reminiscences*, (Southend on Sea, privately printed), p. 47, p. 68.

²⁰E.g., *VM*, September 1888, pp.292-294.

²¹D.M. Fahey, *Temperance and Racism. John Bull, Johnny Reb, and the Good Templars* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), especially ch. 2.

I.O.G.T, founded by a second-generation temperance worker, T.W. Richardson*. Well-versed in temperance history he established it on the forty-fourth anniversary of the pioneering Preston teetotal pledge (i.e. August 1876).²² Its hierarchy had quaintly horticultural names.

Vegetarian journals and pamphlets consistently emphasised the kinship of the causes; identifying vegetarianism through advert, article and notice with the wider temperance movement.²³ The link was made clear when the National Temperance Depot was acquired by the millionaire vegetarian A.F. Hills' Ideal Publishing Union in 1898.²⁴ The *United Temperance Gazette* (1896-1899), which carried vegetarian articles, reflected his efforts to create a 'United Temperance' movement in this period.

Vegetarians criticised teetotalers for half-measures or inconsistency, often characterising teetotalism as an incomplete reform.²⁵ One pioneer described it as the 'ticket' and 'carriage,' vegetarianism as the 'journey' and 'terminus'.²⁶ F.W. Newman, soon a convert, wrote that vegetarians

make the beef steak quite as frightful as the pot of porter. A clever vegetarian could produce quite as alarming a book of facts as Dr Lees' late [teetotal Alliance] Prize Essay [1856], and a more logical one, because it would go nearer the cause of the thirst for brandy

He believed that 'No law which levelled Barley corn ought to stop short at the Butcher.'²⁷ The secularist G.J. Holyoake*, sympathetic to both reforms, discussed shared tactical errors in a tract in the late 1850s.²⁸ Debating teetotalism with Lees, he spoke of the vegetarians' 'great show of reason' in arguing that meat stimulated new passions whilst alcohol merely inflamed man's bad passions: 'Over every Publican's door the Teetotaler would write 'CRIME' - over every Butcher's door the Vegetarian would write "DISEASE".'

Charges of dietetic inconsistency could be levelled against vegetarians, as debates about inclusion of eggs and dairy products showed. Those prepared to criticise the incompleteness of mere

²²See Winskill, *Temperance Movement*, vol.4, p.140 for reference to this 'vegetarian teetotalers in regalia'; and further discussion, 2:4.

²³E.g., J. Passmore Edwards, *VA*, 18 August 1848, p.15; A.F. Hills, *Natural Food of Man* (London: Office of Vegetarian, 1891), p.34; and Forward, *History*, pp.65-66.

²⁴*Vegetarian*, January 1898, p.1. He aimed to extend the depot's 'educational' value to the whole temperance movement, publishing titles such as the *White Ribbon*, *United Temperance Gazette*, *Temperance Record*, *Medical Temperance Review* and vegetarian magazines.

²⁵E.g., *Truth-Tester*, n.s. 1 (1847), pp.52-53; *Truth-Tester*, n.s. 2 (1848), p.20; *Journal of Health and Phrenological Magazine* (January 1856), pp.65-66; A.F. Hills, *Natural Food of Man*, pp.3-4.

²⁶Horsell, in preface, printed reverse of title page to first volume of new series of twelve monthly numbers of *Truth-Tester* (1847).

²⁷Holyoake, *The Social Means of Promoting Temperance*, pp.18-19.

²⁸G.J.Holyoake, *The Social Means of Promoting Temperance with Remarks on Errors in its Advocacy*, (London: G.J. Holyoake, 1860), p.26, p.28.

vegetarianism on grounds of physiological consistency, becoming fruitarians or vegans *avant la lettre*, partly replayed the temperance/ teetotal development. Though calls for further consistency also reflected revulsion at all exploitation of animals (as in debates over leather and wool), the temperance connection does help emphasise the significance of moral motivations apart from animal-welfare.

Brown had not devoted much space to teetotalism in his essay on Physical Puritanism. Newman stressed the two movements' shared opposition to fixed habit and 'luxury'.²⁹ For Newman and many others (including critics) vegetarianism was a *puritanical* creed. Bertrand Russell recalled his grandmother as typically puritan: disliking wine, tobacco and any food but the plainest, she 'was always on the verge of becoming a vegetarian'.³⁰ The tendency and milieu were satirised by H.G. Wells in *Anne Veronica* (published 1909), but already he had associated vegetarianism with puritanism in the autobiographical novel *Love and Mr Lewisham* (written 1898) when he had a character (the fraudulent medium Mr Chaffery) condemn: 'The Dissenter, the Nonconformist Conscience, the Puritan, you know, the Vegetarian and Total Abstainer, and all that sort of thing... I have cleared my mind of cant and formulae.'³¹ Chaffery's identification of vegetarianism with nonconformists is amply born out by a study of the personnel.

Individuals and groups connecting teetotalism and vegetarianism existed before the Society's foundation. The Cowherdite sect, the core of the early Society, was one of the earliest groups in Britain to espouse teetotalism (c.1810).³² Brotherton, who published a teetotal tract in 1821, and James Simpson, were teetotalers through Cowherdism. Brotherton's co-denominationalist and brother-in-law William Harvey* was founder member of the prohibitionist United Kingdom Alliance (U.K.A., established 1853³³), and vice-president of the Anti-Tobacco Society. The radical reformers of the Concordium had supported teetotalism. A number of teetotal Owenites and chartists, most notably C.H. Neesom*, became vegetarians.³⁴

The teetotal pioneer Joseph Livesey of Preston* was an early supporter. Acquainted with Manchester vegetarianism, he discussed it in his *Moral Reformer* where he declared it 'more natural to

²⁹F.W. Newman, *Essays on Diet* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, 1883) p.13.

³⁰B. Russell, *Autobiography* (London: George Allen and Unwin, one volume paperback edn, 1978), p.17.

³¹H.G. Wells, *Love and Mrs Lewisham*, (London: Harper, 1900; first printed serially in the *Weekly Times* in 1899) p.196. The Victorian puritanical tendency is sensitively discussed in Raphael Samuel's "The Discovery of Puritanism, 1820-1914: A Preliminary Sketch," in R. Samuel, (posthumously edited by A. Light with S. Alexander and G. Stedman Jones), *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain. vol.2 Theatres of Memory* (London: Verso, 1998), pp.276-322.

³²As noted by Winskill, *Temperance Movement*, vol.1, pp.30-31.

³³See M.H.C. Hayler, *The Vision of a Century. 1853-1953* (London: U.K.A., 1953); and A.E. Dingle, *The Campaign For Prohibition in Victorian England. The United Kingdom Alliance, 1872-1895* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

³⁴See B. Harrison, 'Teetotal Chartism', *History* 58 (1973) pp.193-217.

live upon farinaceous substances, fruits, vegetables, than so much animal food'.³⁵ Temperance societies had enlightened people about the proper drink, the same 'spirit of inquiry' would discover the best food. He wrote of other vegetarian experimenters such as Preston Temperance Society's secretary.³⁶ He continued to support the movement by detailing his diet and recommending vegetarian literature in his *Staunch Teetotaller* and (cautiously) endorsed vegetarianism in a letter to the V.S. for its 'encouragement' in 1876. He was a British temperance celebrity and understandably the official history of the vegetarian movement in 1897 made much of his endorsement.³⁷

There were other prominent teetotalers who were vegetarians or supported vegetarianism. Three successive Presidents of the Society- Harvey, Simpson and James Haughton*- were honorary United Kingdom Alliance officers. F.R. Lees was a supporter who won a vegetarian essay competition in 1857.³⁸ The Alliance's secretary, T.H. Barker*, friend of William Lloyd Garrison, was a vegetarian. Others included Peter Spence*, Good Templar and President of the Anti-Tobacco Society; and William Hoyle*, whose annual letter on the 'national drink bill' was published by *The Times*. The editor of the U.K.A.'s journal, H.S. Sutton*, had been a disciple of Greaves (and is mentioned in Brown's essay).³⁹ The most striking sign of U.K.A.-vegetarian connections was the scheme devised by the ultra-eccentric Pierre Baume*, who hoped to harness the energies and reputations of Mancunian vegetarians and teetotal elite to a scheme, the 'International Friendly Society,' uniting the two reforms with educational reform. His eccentricities meant the scheme was unrealised.⁴⁰

Hoyle was the secretary of the Crawshawbooth V.S. in the 1850s. Like temperance (and of course, other movements) the Society attempted to establish local associations. The geography of the younger movement echoes teetotalism in its early concentration in urbanised, industrialised centres in northern England, reflecting shared personnel. Local associations were often led by and composed of teetotalers; thus activity in the extreme south-west of England at Padstow, Cornwall, in the 1850s is explicable through enthusiasm by local teetotalers like Dr Henry Mudge*. One of the earliest teetotal lecturers in north east England was Joseph Bormond* who lectured on vegetarianism from 1848.⁴¹ John Andrew*, the local secretary of the V.S. in Leeds was honorary

³⁵*Moral Reformer*, 10 March 1838.

³⁶Henry Bradley; see Harrison, *Dictionary*, p.49.

³⁷*Staunch Teetotaller*, 1867, pp.374-375.

³⁸He became an Associate in 1874. See F. Lees, *Dr Frederic Richard Lees* (London: H.J. Osborn, 1904), p.205.

³⁹The *Alliance News* has not been fully surveyed, but sympathies are reflected in the reprinting, 17 June 1898, p.385 of an article on the Bible Christians from the *Vegetarian*.

⁴⁰See material in Baume Papers, Box 5; and material (not consulted) relating to the National Public School Association in Manchester Archives and Local Studies: M136/2/3/1381; M136/2/3/2483; M136/3/10/30 (catalogue accessed through Access to Archives database).

⁴¹P.T. Winskill, *The Comprehensive History of the Rise and Progress of the Temperance Reformation*,

secretary of the Yorkshire Temperance Union and the British Temperance League. Davie* the 'father of teetotalism' in Dunfermline, led Scottish vegetarianism for decades.

The connection was also close in London. The publisher Horsell had created his own temperance society, an 'Order of Horebites'. His business was devoted to temperance literature and periodicals such as the *Temperance Star*. His *Vegetarian Advocate* (a continuation of his *Truth-Tester*) is rightly seen as promoting 'temperance in all things'.⁴² His publishing partner, Job Caudwell* was also a committed teetotal-vegetarian. The London Vegetarian Association's secretary, Dornbusch*, not only abstained from alcohol but also tea, coffee and tobacco. When public vegetarian activity was in abeyance in 1872 he stressed the primacy of the Liquor question.⁴³ There were some celebrities too. The artist George Cruikshank, a recent teetotal convert, was present at an early London meeting. The teetotaler John Passmore Edwards*, later famous as a wealthy philanthropist, was also briefly involved.

Teetotal connections continued to characterise men leading or supporting the V.S., newer national organisations and provincial societies. The London Food Reform Society (1878-1885); attracted temperance figures as officers, the London Vegetarian Society (formed 1888) was led by a national temperance figure, A.F. Hills*.

The Grand Chief Good Templar, Joseph Malins, led an organisation which supported equal participation by women. The importance of women in the movement will be demonstrated in chapter 5; but like teetotalism, the early vegetarian movement had few women on the platform, or as national or branch officers of the Society.⁴⁴ The wife of William Horsell- Elizabeth Horsell*- had been the first lady speaker at Dr John Lee's important 'Peace and Temperance Festivals' at Hartwell in Buckingham, venturing, 'on the basis of her experience, to recommend cold water as the best beverage for man and beast'.⁴⁵ The continuing temperance connection is particularly clear in the case of Jane M. Aukland *, a member of the 'Vegetarian Cycling and Rambling Club', on the executive of the British Women's Temperance Association and active as a temperance speaker and organiser. The B. W. T. A. had meetings at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street, also the London vegetarian headquarters. The Women's Vegetarian Union (W.V.U., 1895-c.1901), understood itself to be part of the temperance world and in 1895 held a reception for the World's

(Warrington: P.T. Winskill, 1881), pp.86-87, indeed treats him as a representative teetotal pioneer.

⁴²See J. Belchem, '“Temperance in all things”: Vegetarianism, the Manx press and the alternative agenda of reform in the 1840s,' for an examination of Horsell to about 1851.

⁴³*DR*, February 1872, p.29.

⁴⁴See L.L. Shiman, '“Changes are Dangerous”: Women and Temperance in Victorian England, in G. Malmgreen ed., *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp.192-215; Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p.174.

⁴⁵*Hartwell and Temperance Festival* (London: Job Caudwell, 1864), 5. For more on John Lee (1783-1866), see *DNB*.

Women's Christian Temperance Union with 'kindly thoughtfulness, and possibly an eye to future sisterhood of practical aims'.⁴⁶

Another kindred movement was anti-tobaccoism. Horsell had formed an early 'Anti-Nicotion Society' in 1838, at Congleton, Cheshire. Many teetotal-vegetarians were involved in the smaller-scale anti-tobacco movement.⁴⁷ Like teetotallers and vegetarians, opponents of tobacco marshalled a broad array of medical, economic, social and moral arguments.⁴⁸ Physiologically, it was claimed to cause racial degeneracy, impotence, insanity and paralysis. Again, like vegetarianism, few medical professionals supported the movement, and although the tobacco question gained coverage in journals like the *British Medical Journal* and *Lancet*, most physicians and most popular medical books did not condemn the use of tobacco. The anti-tobacco movement was instead composed of lay men and women, frequently nonconformists and frequently temperance activists.⁴⁹

Although they were established as movements within two decades of each other, late Victorian vegetarianism still presented itself as a young movement requiring decades of public education before it could enjoy the toleration or inevitable acceptance accorded (it believed) to teetotalism. Gone was the youthful confidence with which one pioneer had declared that 'the glory of the Vegetarian Society will quite eclipse that of the Temperance Society'.⁵⁰ But their teetotal ancestry or filiation was an important prop to their claims to legitimacy. Another claim to legitimacy and source of recruits, which must now be examined, was humanitarian concern about compassion to animals.

⁴⁶*Daily News*, reported in *Vegetarian* 1895, p.332. This also reflected the links between Frances Willard (1837-1898) and British women temperance leaders. See 5:2, and N. Brady, '“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality: an examination of the Woman Question in the 1890s as seen through the pages of a contemporary journal' (MA. Thesis, University of Warwick, 1978), pp.18-19. See I. Tyrrell, *Woman's World. Woman's Empire. The World's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

⁴⁷*DR*, January 1886 listed the 'Anti-Tobacco Society and Anti-Narcotic League' as a kindred societies. *DR*, 1871, advertised the North of England Anti-Tobacco Society.

⁴⁸Smoking was claimed to be the 'prolific source of much of the profligacy, penury and crime, which other institutions have been established to remove and prevent': *Anti-Tobacco Journal*, November 1858.

⁴⁹Teetotalism was not automatically anti-tobacco. A juvenile 'double pledge' was applied by the Good Templars and some branches of the Band of Hope. The Rechabite Order opposed smoking at public meetings. Anti-tobacco literature was distributed at the annual Crystal Palace temperance fete. See J. Goodman, *Tobacco in History. The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993); M. Hilton and S. Nightingale, 'A Microbe of the Devil's Own Make': Religion and Science in the British Anti-Tobacco Movement, 1853-1908,' in S. Lock, L.A. Reynolds, E.M. Tansey, eds., *Ashes to Ashes: The History of Smoking and Health* (Amsterdam-Atlanta, GA, 1998); R.B. Walker, 'Medical Aspects of Tobacco Smoking and the Anti-Tobacco Movement in Britain in the Nineteenth Century,' *Medical History* 24 (1980), pp.391-402.

⁵⁰*Truth-Tester* n.s., vol. 2 (1848), p.53.

2:3 Vegetarianism and Animal Welfare

When vegetarians claimed theirs was a moral cause, they were often (though not solely) alluding to its animal welfare implications.¹ The emphasis on an ethical dimension relieved those (like supporters of the 'Order of the Golden Age') who saw a danger in simply a hygienic or economic vegetarianism.² Many converted from compassion for the suffering animal, whose image figured repeatedly in propaganda.³ This section examines this aspect, beginning with the movement's relationship to cruelty in the provision of meat and other animal-derived items, and to cruel sports. It examines the relationship with the animal societies and anti-vivisection movement in the light of its claim to be the most consistent zoophilism. Animal-centred concerns are then situated in the broader context of anti-violence and anti-pain.

I

The vegetarian movement as a zoophilist movement.

Analysis of the vegetarians collected in the Biographical Index whose motivations are known or can be inferred suggests that humane principles were less important than hygienic, since identification with ethical and humane concerns and involvement in animal societies generates about 120 names. Yet this is complicated by the humanitarian sentiments acknowledged by those who had been drawn to the movement for other reasons. In F.W. Newman* there is the example of a vegetarian on ascetic, hygienic and economic grounds, but who was an antivivisectionist on welfare grounds. Private vegetarians who did not join any society, must have included many on animal-centred moral grounds.⁴

Vegetarians promoted themselves as an animal welfare movement, though not being categorical about the status of this aspect. The second cardinal principle of the *Manifesto of the*

¹ Standard studies of British attitudes to animals are K. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World. Changing Attitudes in England, 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983); H. Ritvo, *The Animal Estate. The English and Other Creatures in the Victorian Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1987) and J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast: Animals, Pain and Humanity in the Victorian Mind* (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1980); H. Kean, *Animal Rights. Political and Social Change in Britain since 1800* (London: Reaktion, 1998), an examination of 'the historical practice of people in campaigning to protect animals', and the politico-cultural concerns this represented (rather than animal rights per se), includes discussion of vegetarianism, see ch.5 especially. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', briefly examined the animal welfare dimension, pp.183-189.

² For instance, 'One who is not a sentimentalist,' *WTE*, 6 January 1889, p.6; H.J. Williams, *HGA*, 15 June 1898, p.66; J.E. Walshe of Dublin, *HGA*, May 1896, p.76. *HGA*, 15 June 1899, p.77, noted Edward Bellamy's sequel to *Looking Backwards*, *Equality*, set in 2000 AD, expressed the belief that vegetarianism would come through a moral rather than hygienic revolution.

³ The image was early recognised as more powerful than arguments and facts, see 'The Voice of the Tench' and correspondent's letter, in *VA*, 15 March 1849, p.98.

⁴ Naturally these are difficult to trace, one example is Mary Anne Coltman*. Another is the philanthropist Felicia Skene*, my thanks to Kathryn Gleadle for information on her.

Vegetarian Society asserted none had the right to ‘wantonly kill or mangle’ animals as sensitive as ourselves and that there must be an urgent necessity before one sought food from an animal of a ‘superior grade’. Discussion about a ‘fish grade’ of associates was condemned for imperilling the humanitarian aspect.⁵ A legal judgement on the V.S. and L.V.S.’s charitable status, stressed their object was ‘to prevent destruction of animal life for food’.⁶ Efforts to ‘lighten the sufferings of the “lower creation”’ were recognised as subjects ‘of more or less interest’ by the *Vegetarian*. The *Vegetarian Messenger* noted ‘with interest everything that tends to bring us into friendly relations with our quadruped fellow creatures’.⁷ The journals carried sentimental stories about animal friends, discussed animal rights, and such matters as the fate of caged and wild birds and dog-muzzling. This attention undoubtedly expanded, a result of an expanded press in which to examine all aspects, and a propagandist response to questions of the day such as vivisection. But the significance of animal-centred concerns was a constant rather than increasing factor.⁸

Vegetarianism was categorised by many as a *personal* reform, animal cruelty allowed specific *public* measures to be agitated for. The ‘Danielites’ petitioned parliament against the employment in slaughterhouses of women and youths.⁹ A fourteen point political programme devised by the Vegetarian Federal Union in 1892 included private slaughter houses and live animal transport.¹⁰

II

Against cruelty: the meat trade, and cruel sports.

The cruelty which these late Victorian political programmes addressed, was always visible to early-mid Victorian urbanites, who were far from divorced from ‘real’ (working, as opposed to pet) animals.¹¹ In cities and market towns, maltreatment by drovers and butchers was a common spectacle and could be exploited to stimulate inquiry.¹² Like animal diseases and adulteration, observers recognised the potential value to the cause from cruelty in transit.¹³ Edward Aveling had

⁵ *DR*, November 1880, p.233.

⁶ The ‘Cranston judgement’, see *VM*, March 1898, p.100.

⁷ *VM*, January 1890, p.5.

⁸ Kean’s contention, *Animal Rights*, p.124, that ‘Increasingly, vegetarianism was seen as an ethical and even moral choice’ is based on the growth of restaurants, specialist shops which supported the vegetarian lifestyle, this does not prove a *growing* ethical dimension, or *increased* emphasis on this aspect.

⁹ *DR*, July 1877, p.126.

¹⁰ *Vegetarian*, 4 June 1892, p.267. See also *Vegetarian*, 28 January 1893, p.41, for 4 questions on cattle transit, live transportation, private slaughter houses and abattoirs, being sent to affiliated societies consider.

¹¹ A point well-emphasised by Kean, *Animal Rights*, pp.29-31, in response to K. Thomas’s thesis that sentimentalization was built on the urban isolation from rural realities.

¹² For an instance of a vegetarian exploiting momentary revulsion in this context, see ‘E.J.’ of Shrewsbury, *VA*, 15 March 1849, p.97. Vegetarians who emphasised the market town setting include O. Esleie Nelham. See *VA*, 15 March 1849, p.95, reporting H.S. Clubb, for emphasis on these distressing sights and sounds.

¹³ *VM*, January 1894, p.2, citing comments by *Manchester Examiner*. See ‘The Horrors of a Cattle Boat’, *Vegetarian* 23 November 1889, pp.745-746.

to preface remarks about his sense of the cruelties of the cattle trade by affirming he was 'no vegetarian'.¹⁴ The horrors of transportation caused a number to become vegetarian.¹⁵ Vegetarian societies petitioned against the cruelty of cattle transit (and in support of Samuel Plimsoll's 'Merchant Shipping Act Amendment [no.2] Bill').¹⁶ The cattle trade's horrors were emphasised in articles and correspondence.¹⁷

Slaughter house horrors attracted attention. It was not surprising that an audience at the City of London Mechanics Institute should support Charles Lane's argument that the Smithfield nuisance would only end through vegetarianism: Smithfield appalled many.¹⁸ George Dodd, in *The Food of London*, noted that hypocritical shunning of the necessary stage prior to the institution of beef-eating was the basis for vegetarians' sense of moral superiority.¹⁹

The tactic of taking readers 'behind the scenes at slaughter houses' was employed. H.F. Lester wrote about them for the National Food Reform Society (and later, for the Humanitarian League, 1893, see below).²⁰ In the *Vegetarian* in 1895, the veil concealing the slaughterhouse was lifted by a cartoon by Jack B. Yeats, in 1898 the *Vegetarian* had a series of illustrated articles on London slaughterhouses.²¹ Jewish slaughter methods were investigated.²² The public heard of a policeman becoming vegetarian after visiting shambles, and a missionary almost converted after another visit.²³ Critics like T.P. Smith MB, who accepted current standards and methods were a 'grievous blot on our much-vaunted civilisation', recognised the challenge of slaughterhouse revelations.²⁴ An admittedly inadequate attempt to gauge the reasons for vegetarianism indicated the

¹⁴*National Reformer*, cited in *DR*, August 1881.

¹⁵*Vegetarian*, 4 April 1891, p.206, Irish railway porter who witnessed cattle transport; Walter Walsh* of Dublin, through reading about Plimsoll's campaign.

¹⁶*VM*, November 1890, pp.315-316; *Vegetarian* 17 January 1891, p.44. Forward's *History*, pp.119-122 gave the impression that Plimsoll had been a sympathiser. See *Vegetarian*, 11 June 1898, p.368 for obituary.

¹⁷See for instance, *VM*, January 1894, p.34, letter of Elizabeth Martyn*.

¹⁸*VA*, 15 February 1849, p.84. See 'Record', *Howitt's Journal*, 26 June 1847, p.52, for Thomas ---'s revulsion to animal food since witnessing Newgate Market and Warwick Lane slaughterhouse. See Kean, *Animal Rights*, pp.61-63 on the debate about Smithfield and reform of slaughterhouses.

¹⁹G. Dodd, *The Food of London: a Sketch of the Chief Varieties, Sources of Supply. Probable Quantities, Modes of Arrival, Processes of Manufacture etc.* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1856), p.254.

²⁰Lester's 'Behind the Scenes' appeared in the *Food Reform Journal*, October 1882; it was printed as the League's fifth tract (London: William Reeves, 1892).

²¹*Vegetarian*, 7 December 1895, p.595 [Yeats]; 1 and 8 January 1898 (p.9; p.25).

²²*Vegetarian*, 1 May 1897, p.184. Forward lectured on the subject for the Humanitarian League (see below) and was part of a delegation with Ernest Bell* and Salt, that met the Shechita Board. See *VM*, December 1893, p.471 for concern (Reverend E.E. Kelly*) that this partly reflected antisemitism.

²³On the police constable, see 'A. Freelance' [F. H. Perrycoste], *Towards Utopia* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1894), referring to article in *Star*, August 1893; on the missionary, see *Christian World*, reported in *Vegetarian*, 22 January 1898, p.61.

²⁴T.P. Smith MB, 'Vegetarianism', *Fortnightly Review*, July-December 1895, pp.752-764 [p.760].

importance of slaughter houses in 1898.²⁵ Nevertheless, one humanitarian questioned how permanent conversions on this ground were.²⁶

Leigh Hunt had contrasted the disturbing sights of butchers and anglers' shops with those of fruiterers in the early Nineteenth century.²⁷ Even if killing was concealed, these shops caused offence.²⁸ A late Victorian utilitarian examination of vegetarianism accepted that 'aggregate impairment' to millions through the sight was a forceful justification for the humane diet and agreed that butchers were brutalised.²⁹ Butchers' and slaughtermen's anaesthetised moral senses were repeatedly adverted to in vegetarians.³⁰ Loss of humane feeling had been recognised, it was claimed, by antique law forbidding butchers becoming jurors.³¹ If this concern was heartfelt, it also enabled vegetarians to avoid the charge that their compassion focused on animals. That their customers ('butchers by proxy') were fundamentally to blame was stressed. One enterprising vegetarian association made this clear at Christmas by having an advertisement with the message that flesh-eating involved bloodshed printed in the local paper.³²

One definite conclusion about occupational profile is that no practising butcher was vegetarian. The butcher from Beverley who was 'a little bit in that way myself' through reading a vegetarian publication, and whose carnivorous faith had been shook, was rare.³³ Somewhat improbably, a butcher friend of John Francis of Goudhurst*, and 'glad to get out if he could', was an occasional visitor to the Concordium.³⁴ A butchers' boy requested a copy of Graham's *Science of Human Life*.³⁵ Two vegetarians (Gottschling*, Captain Darley*), had been butchers, another two were butcher's sons (C.P. Newcombe*, F. Harrison*). London vegetarians hosted a dinner for publicans and butchers in 1888.³⁶ Earlier, butchers attended public meetings.³⁷ Some became

²⁵ *VM*, September 1898, pp.429-431. 16 responded to A.W. Malcolmson's* inquiry.

²⁶ Joseph Collinson, in *Shafts*, January 1897, pp.24-25.

²⁷ *VM*, April 1895, pp.99-100, reprinting 'Of the sight of shops,' an essay originally published in the *Indicator*.

²⁸ Emphasis of the repellent nature of the butcher's display is to be found, for instance, in A.W. Malcolmson, *The Aesthetic in Food* (Manchester and London: V.S, 1899). See B.M. Malabari, *The Indian Eye on English Life, or Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer* (London: Constable, 1893), p.46, for a Hindu vegetarian's response.

²⁹ M. Macmillan, *The Promotion of General Happiness. A Utilitarian Essay* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1890), p.143. See also Perrycoste, *Towards Utopia*, Appendix.

³⁰ See 'Biblius'[Charles Lane?] in *The Shepherd*, vol.3, p.94 for an ironic description of butchers and slaughtermen as upholders of 'the dignity of the human race'. H.S. Sutton, *The Evangel of Love* (London: C.A. Bartlett, 1847) wanted vegetarianism for butchers' sake; the moral contamination was stressed in the *Manifesto of the Vegetarian Society*.

³¹ *VA*, 15 October 1848, p.34.

³² *VM*, February 1895, p.36, the Bolton society. London vegetarians paid for advertisements in temperance journals, asking readers to consider the slaughterman, *Vegetarian*, 26 November 1898, p.752.

³³ *VA*, 15 October 1849, p.24.

³⁴ *VA*, 15 February 1849, p.91.

³⁵ *VA*, 15 April 1849, p.111 (meeting at Ashford).

³⁶ *Vegetarian*, 3 March 1888, p.3. The journal was dismayed, 3 June 1890, p.7, that vegetarian bills appeared outside pork butchers' windows in Salisbury.

agitated, butchers' boys disturbed the public meeting at Dublin in 1867, for instance.³⁸ Others wrote in response to slurs on their character.³⁹

Conscientious consistency demanded a general reform of consumption and hunt for alternatives. Radical movements traditionally had their alternative commodities, for loyalty, advertisement and the raising of funds.⁴⁰ Alternative 'moral commodities' (to exclude the explicitly hygienic or merely dietetic) were *central* to vegetarianism and of direct propagandist relevance. Critics pointed to inconsistency and impossible principles.⁴¹ Old debating friends included questions about leather, wool, horn and ivory. Substitutes were explored early on. A radical vegetarian in the 1830s commissioned boots made of 'some vegetable or woolly substance'.⁴² Luke Hansard* discussed artificial fur, parchment and leather in 1843.⁴³ The *Vegetarian Advocate* carried advertisements for gutta-percha.⁴⁴ Artificial leather continued to be investigated throughout the period.⁴⁵ Specimens were brought to meetings. Sporting 'innocent' clothing (hygienic vegetarians also wore unconventional clothing since dress reform formed part of bodily reform) like Lt. T.W. Richardson*, created a stir.⁴⁶

In her column in the *Illustrated London News* Florence Fenwick-Miller alluded to her late friend Anna Kingsford's extreme scruples about exploitation. She concluded that if matters were considered too closely, modern, European civilisation became impossible: a point Kingsford would not have disputed since she denied the status of civilisation to the present age.⁴⁷ When proprietor of a journal she avoided advertising goods exploiting animals.⁴⁸ She and other vegetarians criticised

³⁷ *VM*, June 1851, p.48, report on talk by Bormond (thanked by principal butcher); *VA*, 1 June 1849, p.125 (Mr Barwell). See *VM*, April 1855, p.36, for Glasgow 'fleshers' dinner where a speaker had been requested to review the Glasgow Vegetarian Society's principles, and the controversy ensuing in the local press.

³⁸ *DR*, 1867. Other glimpses of butchers' participation include *VA*, 15 March 1849, p.95.

³⁹ See letter of Walter Stenning, *WTE*, 13 January 1889, p.16, and 20 January, p.6, from third generation butcher. See *HGA*, January 1898, p.7 for Devontown butchers' opposition to this journal.

⁴⁰ The connection between organised working class politics and 'agitational' foodstuffs was maintained after the chartist movement, since food had a role to play in the propaganda of the Independent Labour Party, with I.L.P. tea and cocoa.

⁴¹ See J.E.S., [James 'Shepherd' Smith?] in *New Age*, January 1844; and 'anti-cabbage', *Public Good*, July 1850, p.209.

⁴² J.E. Smith, in *The Shepherd*, vol. 3, p.79, see also *Family Herald*, 9 November 1850, pp.444-445, for reference by J.E. Smith to growing sentiment against wool, 'as robbery'.

⁴³ 'Minor Hugo', *Hints and Reflections*, 3 vols (London: George Earle, 1843) vol.3, Part I.

⁴⁴ *VA*, August 1849, reverse of cover. Hence low 'selfish insinuations' the vegetarians were promoters of rubber manufacturers, *The Public Good*, Correspondence no.3, p.1. See also *Punch*, 1851, p.230 concerning an advertisement for Pannus Corum Boots, which was directed to vegetarians.

⁴⁵ A.W. Malcolmson, *VM*, April 1895, pp.121-122; Gottschling, announced his hope to take out patent on non-leather boots, *Vegetarian*, 15 April 1893, p.191.

⁴⁶ *Punch*, 18 October, 1884, p.192. See also *Punch*, 12 February 1898, p.72 (illustrated); and March 1898.

⁴⁷ *Vegetarian*, 12 September 1896, p.433. For Kingsford, true civilisation was in the process of construction by people such as vegetarians (*Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.21). She destroyed her expensive sealskin mantle rather than let any others wear it. See *DR*, June 1886 for her advocacy of Dr Lahmann's vegetarian clothing.

⁴⁸ *Lady's Own Paper*, 1872. She banned advertisements for meat preparations, unhygienic apparel and

female humanitarians' inconsistency in the wearing of kid gloves, furs and (with bird-protectionists) condemned 'murderous millinery'.⁴⁹

Murderous sport was also considered. Like Aveling, an essayist in the *Fortnightly Review* had to preface his concerns with the disclaimer 'I am neither a Vegetarian nor an opponent of capital punishment'.⁵⁰ It was a surprise when the *Sporting Chronicle* published vegetarian correspondence in 1890.⁵¹ Several vegetarians had been actively involved in bloodsports, including Kingsford, Lady Florence Dixie⁵² and A.F. Hills, whose novel *Sunshine and Shadow* described hunting and shooting 'as if he had once loved them'.⁵³ As recompense no doubt, and to public amusement, he advertised a sale of animals with the stipulation that they were not to be killed.⁵⁴

Hills's athletic heartiness no doubt explained G.A. Henty's inappropriate story 'A Close Shave', in the *Vegetarian*, though the vegetarian *Merry-go-round* earlier published an interview with the game hunter F.C. Selous.⁵⁵ More consonant with 'the range of our duty', the *Vegetarian Messenger* noted the formation of a Berlin elephant protection society.⁵⁶ Vegetarians were amongst the supporters of early environmental societies.⁵⁷

harmful cosmetics, despite her manager's concern. By contrast, see *Vegetarian*, 18 March 1899, p.122 on *For the Right*, the journal of Gilfillan Church, Dundee, edited by a vegetarian, which contained a butcher's advertisement!

⁴⁹*Vegetarian*, 10 October 1896, p.483. The vegetarian Mrs Harold Whiston published a pamphlet and a letter against murderous millinery, see *HGA*, May 1899, p.56. See *Vegetarian*, 1899, p.175; pp.219-220 for discussion of cruelty and female attire. See A. Haynes, '“Murderous Millinery”: the Struggle for the Plumage Act, 1921' *History Today* 33 (July 1983), pp.26-30.

⁵⁰*DR*, April 1870, see E.A. Freeman, *Fortnightly Review*, October 1869.

⁵¹*VM*, 8 May 1890, p.185. A horse at Ascot in 1880 was named 'Vegetarian'.

⁵²Forward, *History*, pp.125-126.

⁵³*VM*, July 1893, p.265. An incident during duck-shooting made him abandon blood sports. The novel, serialised in *Vegetarian*, was published in 1893 but no copy exists in the British Library.

⁵⁴*VM*, April 1894, pp.130-1, the advertisement discussed in *Truth and Morning*. Hills' country estate operated on vegetarian rules, with the manager forbidden to kill foxes, see *Vegetarian*, 24 December 1898, p.827.

⁵⁵*The Merry-go-round*, 10 April 1897.

⁵⁶*VM*, May 1895, p.130.

⁵⁷ Particularly Lord Mount Temple*, see J. Ranlett, 'Checking Nature's Desecration: late Victorian environmental organization' *Victorian Studies*, 26 (Winter 1983), pp.197-222. Auberon Herbert* was involved in protection of the New Forest. Reverend E.E. Kelly*, expressed modern-sounding concerns when he wrote about land starvation, water pollution and biodegradable coffins, see *Vegetarian*, May 1889, p.298; and, for further letter on burial reform, 2 January 1892. Allinson's Natural Living Society supported earth to earth coffins too.

III

The relationship with mainstream zoophile organisations.

In the zoophilite crusade, wrote one vegetarian, reviewing H.S. Salt's *Animal Rights*, only the vegetarian's armour was impervious to the enemy.⁵⁸ The relationship with mainstream zoophile organisations was problematic.⁵⁹

Charting this relationship from the beginning, the *Vegetarian Advocate* received copies of the *Animals' Friend* and Lewis Gompertz's *Moral Inquiries*, and a report of the Belfast Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.⁶⁰ The receipt of material from Gompertz* and his Animals' Friend Society can be explained through his vegetarianism, which led to Horsell publishing two of his works.⁶¹ The *Animals' Friend* (1833-1841) expressed vegetarian sympathies.⁶² By contrast Horsell's paper queried the Belfast S.P.C.A.'s humanitarian credentials. The parent S.P.C.A., had seen the exodus of radical animal lovers when Gompertz was manoeuvred from his office as secretary.⁶³ Possibly part of this exodus included other vegetarians.⁶⁴ Vegetarians were unwelcome in the respectable, orthodox Christian R.S.P.C.A. In 1856 Horsell and two others introduced a vegetarian discussion into the R.S.P.C.A.'s second Anniversary meeting at Hanover Square, to the amusement, but probably also the dismay of many in a large and fashionable audience including the Marquis of Westminster.⁶⁵ Institutional detachment echoed individual avoidance. Decades after the establishment of the V.S. even the most heartfelt pleas against cruelty could avoid reference to vegetarianism.⁶⁶

⁵⁸Edith Ward*, *Shafts*, 19 November 1892, pp.40-41.

⁵⁹ See Kean, *Animal Rights* for a general treatment of the subject. See also Ritvo, *Animal Estate*, ch.3; B. Harrison, 'Animals and the State in Nineteenth century England', *English Historical Review* 88 (October 1973), pp. 786-820; and C. Hui-Li, 'The Status of Animals in Biblical and Christian Thought: A Study in Colliding Values', *Society and Animals. The Journal of Human-Animal Studies* 8:3 (2000).

⁶⁰*VA*, 15 February 1849, p.88.

⁶¹L.Gompertz, *Fragments in defence of animals, and essays on morals, soul and future state; from the author's contributions to the Animals' Friend Society's periodical* (London: Horsell, 1852) and *Mechanical Inventions and suggestions on Land, and Water Locomotion, Tooth Machinery, and various other branches of Theoretical and Practical Mechanics, illustrated by numerous Engravings* (2nd edn., London: Horsell, 1856). I am grateful to Ben Marsden, of the Cultural History Group, University of Aberdeen, for a copy of an early draft of his 'Fighting Cruelty: Lewis Gompertz, the morals of mechanism, and the Animals' Friend Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.'

⁶²*The Animals' Friend, or, The Progress of Humanity*, no. 7, 1839 (in a review), no. 8, 1840, p.21, no. 9 (in an article, pp.21-28, 'Cowper Examined or, a consideration of the perfection of nature, as it relates to the moral progress of man, and to the welfare of all created beings'), 1841, 'A Discourse on the dominion of man over the animal creation,' pp.21-28.

⁶³See J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast*, pp.39-43.

⁶⁴Such as Jane Hurlstone*, a leading London vegetarian in the 1850s whose granddaughter recalled her as a founder of the RSPCA. Other supporters of Gompertz's society included R. Wainewright, possibly identical with the London vegetarian of that name. Caleb Yewen may be related to the teetotal-vegetarian Dr Caleb Yewen*.

⁶⁵*Journal of Health*, November 1856, p.53.

⁶⁶See, for instance, the anonymous *A Plea for the Cattle. A Few Words, Addressed to the Upper and Influential Classes* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1866), which stresses the sufferings of slaughter, p.8; humanity's debt for animal wool, milk and flesh (p.10); and over-consumption of flesh-foods (p.11).

The V.S. addressed the R.S.P.C.A. during the latter's half-centenary in 1874, following *The Animal World's* publication of letters from the vegetarian Howard Williams*.⁶⁷ The V.S.'s expectations were modest, simply requesting 'kind and sympathising equity' on the basis that they had 'sentiments and interests in common, which might be aided by co-operation'. Slaughterhouses were demonstrably as cruel as antivivisection. Vegetarianism, rather than legislation or trust in ministers of religion, offered a solution.⁶⁸ Yet despite telling testimony to the logic of R.S.P.C.A exposure of slaughterhouse cruelty, vegetarianism was avoided.⁶⁹ In 1894 there was a joint discussion between the L.V.S. and the R.S.P.C.A., but this was novel.⁷⁰ The R.S.P.C.A was not likely to closely associate with a movement that was so radical, in its personal demands on supporters and its implications. Vegetarians could only criticise, along with others, the R.S.P.C.A's 'mock sentimentalism'.⁷¹

The vegetarian discussion in animal journals was probably not extensive: unusual enough that when it occurred vegetarian journals noted it.⁷² When the sympathetic Sidney Trist was editor of the *Animals' Friend* he showed 'fair play' and became *persona non grata* amongst some antivivisectionists as a result.⁷³ It was left instead to individual sympathisers and activists with feet in both camps to build bridges. The famous ornithologist Reverend F.O. Morris was 'in theory' with the V.S. in its objectives, and in practice, 'almost entirely,' as he informed the *Dietetic Reformer*.⁷⁴ The Reverend Frewen Moor included the V.S. in a book about the future state of animals.⁷⁵ Matilda Cooper left £1000 to the Society (and legacies to three other humanitarian societies) to promote 'kindness to animals among children'. This funded the *Daisy Basket* children's periodical, and

⁶⁷Williams raised the vegetarian remedy in discussing slaughterhouses, *Animal World*, 1 July 1873, p.109; 1 Jan 1874, p.14 (in which the vegetarian creed was summarised, press organ and address given), 1 July 1874, p.110.

⁶⁸Address to the RSPCA, June 1874, reprinted in the *Animal World; an Advocate of Humanity*, 1 September 1874, p.139, significantly as an advertisement (i.e., presumably it was paid for; it was also edited so that the listed means for aid were not published) and published in *Manifesto of the Vegetarian Society*.

⁶⁹During publication of articles about 'Cruelty in Secret Places', *Animal World* printed two letters on Vegetarianism and Butchers, see Alison Ivens, 1 October 1878, and T.W.L. Hayes, 2 December 1878, pp.183-184.

⁷⁰*Vegetarian*, 10 March 1894, p.114.

⁷¹E.g., H. Newmarch, letter in *WTE*, 6 January, 1889, p.6. See *Dublin Medical Press*, 1863, p.328, for the 'glaring inconsistency' of a pseudo-humanitarian, 'Dog's Friend', if the writer was not also a vegetarian.

⁷²E.g., the vegetarian R. Shipman, published in *Animal World*. See H.S.Salt's comment, *Vegetarian*, 15 February 1896, p.83 on zoophilists' appreciation of the vegetarian implications only in the last ten years.

⁷³*Vegetarian*, 20 November 1897, p.654. The journal (published by George Bell and Son, i.e., Ernest Bell's father) has been examined for the period 1896-1898. Vegetarianism as the consistent choice for zoophilists was enjoined in Countess Wachtmeister's letter, January 1898, p.68, in an article by Bell, August 1898, pp.201-202, and letter by A.J.H. Crespi, September 1898, p.220.

⁷⁴See his letter of inquiry and suggestions in *DR*, January 1886, p.23, and the letter from a rector who evidently understood his vegetarian sympathies, reprinted in *DR*, February 1886, p.49. No biography has picked up this vegetarian interest.

⁷⁵J. Frewen Moor, *Thoughts Regarding the Future State of Animals*, (Winchester: Warren, 1893).

Memorial Lectures.⁷⁶ The Sunderland vegetarians formed a children's society incorporating elements from a 'Dicky Bird Society' and the Band of Mercy.⁷⁷ A. M. Lewis, founder of her local Band of Mercy, always discussed vegetarianism at Band of Mercy meetings.⁷⁸

Lewis was a founder of the Humanitarian League, established 1891.⁷⁹ One of the names suggested in occasional debates over the title of the vegetarian society or movement, had been this, in 1878.⁸⁰ It was not surprising that promoting of a 'humane diet' was one concern of the League, as its pivotal figures included vegetarian activists like H.S. Salt, Lewis, and Josiah Oldfield. It was acknowledged that its 'working staff' were vegetarian.⁸¹ Its first conference had delegates from the V.S. and vegetarian 'Physical Regeneration Society', and there were joint meetings.⁸² A Humane Diet subcommittee, (established 1896, see Appendix for membership), stressed that its function was not covert promotion of vegetarianism though it contrasted itself with mainstream zoophilism's refusal to fully recognise the implications of diet. Since slaughter of animals for food was 'deplored' by many who were not strict vegetarians, the committee felt able to address the food question from a purely 'humanitarian standpoint'. The slaughter method was to be studied, and food classified according to the associated suffering. The Department would not saddle humanitarians with the 'counsel of perfection' and final solution to the problem, which was vegetarianism.⁸³ Whatever individual members believed, as a body the League was not committed.⁸⁴ Critics thought otherwise, and its vegetarian sympathies were obvious in the pages of its journal.⁸⁵ 'Individualist' writing in

⁷⁶DR, 1 August p.276; p.405.

⁷⁷VM, April 1892. The Dicky Bird Society was established by the radical W.E. Adams in 1878, see *Vegetarian*, 4 July 1889, p.360.

⁷⁸A.M. Lewis, *Humanity and Vegetarianism* (paper read at V.F.U., 26 May 1892, reprinted as tract from *Vegetarian*), p.6.

⁷⁹D. Weinbren, 'Against all Cruelty: the Humanitarian League, 1891-1919,' *History Workshop Journal*, 38 (1994), pp.86-101, for emphasis on the League's broad perspective. It agitated for Poor Law and Criminal Law reforms, arbitration in international disputes, abolition of blood sports, and reform of vaccination and vivisection laws. Weinbren shows its origins in H.S. Salt's reading of Howard Williams' vegetarian *Ethics of Diet*, its vegetarian supporters, and dietetic reform component, but does not discuss the vegetarian reputation attached to it. See G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/2/1 (London Auxiliary of the V.S., Minutes; for Williams' letter, minuted 22 July 1886, asking to be taken off the committee as he wished to devote himself to the humanitarian aspect of the subject; he agreed to remain as nominal member, see entry for 5 August.

⁸⁰DR, November 1878, p.226.

⁸¹*Shafts*, January 1897, pp.24-5.

⁸²J. Oldfield's *A Groaning Creation* (London: Ideal Publishing Union, 1895) was read to one such joint meeting.

⁸³Printed manifesto, 1896, proof; with additions in pencil, John Johnson, Box 1; in 1898 this was reconstituted as the Humane Diet and Dress Department.

⁸⁴This was reiterated in the republication of H.S. Salt's 'Humanities of Diet', originally in the *Fortnightly*, September 1896, as tract, no.23 in the Humanitarian League series. H.S. Salt, *Humanities of Diet* (Humanitarian League, publication no.23). See H.S. Salt, ed., *The New Charter*. Of the six chapters, half were by vegetarians: J.C. Kenworthy, C.W. Leadbetter (theosophist) and J. Oldfield, but the food question was discussed in chapters by G.W. Foote, and F. Harrison.

⁸⁵Apart from reports on activity by the Humane Diet and Dress department, *Humanity*, the League's journal, reviewed and recommended vegetarian tracts and journals and engaged in controversies generated by non-vegetarians such as Sir H. Thompson and Leslie Stephens 1897-1898. An essay by Ernest Axon marked

Morning asserted it was a change of vegetarian tactic.⁸⁶ The *Meat Trades Journal* believed that if you 'scratch a humanitarian you will find a Vegetarian'.⁸⁷ The Sporting League thought it intended compulsory vegetarianism.⁸⁸

Salt deplored vegetarian impatience at zoophilites, emphasising that there was 'far more appreciation of vegetarianism among zoophilists to-day than there was even a few years back' and that the charge of blindness to other humanitarian causes could be laid against many vegetarians too.⁸⁹ Williams regretted that 'very few, comparatively, of the rightly ardent promoters of the Dietetic Reform are found to ally themselves with an association so logically humanitarian in its aims' as the League.⁹⁰

By the late Victorian period, a broadened interpretation of 'humanitarianism' firmly incorporated animals. The mentality which had led to the League allowed vegetarianism to be accepted as part of the zoophilite effort. Fittingly, the *Humane Yearbook* included vegetarian societies in a directory of animal protection societies from 1899.

IV

Vegetarianism and antivivisection.

Forward believed that it was difficult to find a 'longstanding vegetarian' who was not opposed to vivisection and cruel sports.⁹¹ Antivivisectionism led a member to resign, but this was probably unique.⁹² Vegetarianism's connections with this moral crusade have been discussed in R.D. French's study.⁹³ As he notes, 'one would expect antivivisection to have a great deal in common' with it.⁹⁴ Despite vegetarians' prominence in the leadership (F.W. Newman, Kingsford and Edward Maitland, Ernest Bell*, the chairman of the Victoria Street Society) and a shared concern about

the Vegetarian Society's anniversary, June 1897. Book boxes for loaning out literature included a humane diet box. Forward's lecture for the League at Tunbridge Wells in late 1896 was explicit about the League's vegetarian logic, see *Humanity*, December 1896, p.175.

⁸⁶ 10 December 1896, cited in *VM*, February 1897, p.41.

⁸⁷ *VM*, 6 November 1897, p.368.

⁸⁸ *HH*, 1895, pp.172-173 (interview with Salt). In 1899 this journal contained the leaflet *The Humanitarian League. What it is and What it is not*.

⁸⁹ 'S', *Humanity*, November 1898, p.83. There was a misunderstanding as a result of remarks in *Humanity*, see *Vegetarian* 3 December pp.780-781 for Williams call for vegetarians to join the H.L.; and the journal's apology, 31 December p.831.

⁹⁰ 'H.W.', *Humanity*, December 1898, pp.95-6.

⁹¹ Forward, *History*, p.62.

⁹² Dr J.J. Reynolds, see *DR*, January 1886, p.8.

⁹³ R.D. French, *Anti-vivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society* (London: Princeton University Press, 1975); N. Rupke, ed., *Vivisection in Historical Perspective* (1987; London: Routledge, 1990); and H. Kean, 'The "Smooth Cool Men of Science": The Feminists and Socialist Response to Vivisection,' *Historical Journal*, 40 (1995), pp.16-38.

⁹⁴ R.D. French, *Anti-vivisection*, p.230.

cruelty, there was no intimacy.⁹⁵ The evidence is insufficient to indicate how many moved from vivisection to vegetarianism, rather than the reverse.⁹⁶ The Victoria Street Society's branch societies did not feature many vegetarians.⁹⁷ Vegetarian sentiments were not published in the *Zoophilist*.⁹⁸ French attributes this detachment to antivivisection's more limited focus by comparison with the expansive reformation conceived by vegetarianism, a movement 'less absorbed... in such political activity as lobbying and electoral pledging'.⁹⁹ His suggestion that it was also a tactical distancing from critics' arguments that their position was untenable without abandoning animal foods, is highly plausible.¹⁰⁰ Early antivivisectionists were aware of the vegetarian logic, resistance (on scriptural, physiological and tactical grounds) was maintained.¹⁰¹

By contrast, vivisection was discussed by the vegetarians in symposia, essays, fiction and correspondence.¹⁰² Vegetarians supported antivivisection: the *Herald of the Golden Age*, for instance, asked readers to support sales of an antivivisection novel,¹⁰³ but also asked antivivisectionists to be consistent by adopting their diet.¹⁰⁴ Acceptance of half-measures was wrong: French points out that

⁹⁵F.P. Cobbe resisted the association, yet was prepared to admit the 'vegetarianism of Brahmins and Pythagoreans and of many modern English men and women deserving of respect, has been a protest' (*Vegetarian*, 21 April 1888, p.44). Mrs Fairchild Allen, editor of the American *Anti-vivisectionist*, praised the VS's 'noble and important work' and did join the society, see *DR*, September 1895, pp.303-304.

⁹⁶One vegetarian activist who joined through the antivivisection movement was Jennie Brace* forced to confront her inconsistency when canvassing for an antivivisection petition. Mona Caird* the novelist, an antivivisectionist, became vegetarian, see *Beyond the Pale. An Appeal on Behalf of the Victims of Vivisection* (London: W. Reeves, 1897), p.40: comment on 'shelter for vivisection and for the tortuous kinds of sport behind the ingrained practice of flesh-eating'.

⁹⁷Reverend J.F. Kennard of Dover, participated in a meeting, see *Zoophilist*, 1 April 1890, p.268; the vegetarian W.G. Flynt was on the Southport branch committee, *Zoophilist*, 1 November 1890.

⁹⁸*Zoophilist* (published from 1881) has been examined for the period 1888-1890. In these years it regularly received but never reviewed copies of *VM* (and *Homeopathic World*). It also failed to review H.S. Salt's *An Essay on Food Reform*, received 1 June 1888, p.25. *VM*, January 1890, refers to 'MA's' letter in 2 December 1889 number of the *Zoophilist* (subsequently reprinted in *DR*), but it expressed no explicit vegetarian sentiments. The *VM* (January 1893, p.6) noted its praise for Mrs Bowdich's cookery book.

⁹⁹R.D. French, *Anti-vivisection*, p.230.

¹⁰⁰Recognition by non-vegetarians of antivivisectionists' inconsistency includes comments in *Pick-me-up*, cited in *Vegetarian*, 29 March 1890, p.215; T. Fowler, *Progressive Morality. An Essay in Ethics* (London: Macmillan, 1884), and Dr Foster, *Macmillan's Magazine* 1874, cited in Ninon [sic] Kingsford, 'The Best Food for Man', *Westminster Review*, October 1874, p.511.

¹⁰¹See D. Mushet, *The Wrongs of the Animal World. To which is subjoined the speech of Lord Erskine on the Same Subject* (London: Hatchard, 1839) [an S.P.C.A competition essay, 1837; reviewed in *The Animals' Friend, or, The Progress of Humanity*, 1839], pp.155-161, which opposed vivisection but saw carnivorousism as a religious duty. Vegetarianism was 'impious and absurd' (p.161) though practiced by 'benevolent hearts' (p.160).

¹⁰²See *Vegetarian*, late 1894 for the announcement that 1895 would feature a thrilling vivisection story. September 1896 contained a symposium debating antivivisectionists' duty to be vegetarian; 2 April 1898, pp.207-209 for e.g., of calls for antivivisectionist consistency.

¹⁰³F. Marryat, *An Angel of Pity* (1898), see *HGA*, 15 August 1898, p.91. The journal published an antivivisection essay by Mona Caird.

¹⁰⁴See Longman's reissued *The People's Advocate*, 1 January 1900, p.12; E. Bell, *Contemporary Review*, July- December 1892, pp.849-854.

Maitland, Newman and Kingsford were opposed to antivivisection societies' support for reform of slaughter houses.

V

Vegetarianism and Humanitarianism.

Readers of the *Vegetarian Advocate* were informed that every transgression of the law of nature was a 'purchase of pain'.¹⁰⁵ About the same time, Herbert Spencer* included it in his *Social Statics* as part of the range of efforts to ameliorate 'the condition of inferior animals' which accompanied (as necessarily related characteristics) efforts to diminish human misery.¹⁰⁶ Animal welfare movements and vegetarianism formed parts of a broader campaign against pain which eventually found co-ordinated expression in the Humanitarian League.¹⁰⁷ Opponents inveterately called it maudlin sentimentalism and depicted a world of relentlessly increasing sentimentalism where organisations would agitate to defend insects and vegetables.¹⁰⁸

Butchery incorporated the slaughterman, and soldier (the 'man-butcher'), as expressed, for instance, in Goodwyn Barmby's 'Testimony against the Butcher-Class'.¹⁰⁹ The slaughter of animals and the ingestion of flesh could, vegetarians believed, lead to violence against people. They emphasised this causal link in asking for the support of pacifists in the late 1840s-1850s. Witnessing slaughter could lead to a perverted taste for blood manifested in animal cruelty, soldiering, and murder.¹¹⁰ 'Butchers,' Lady Paget* believed, 'often become murderers, and I have known cases where butchers have actually been hired to murder persons'.¹¹¹

Vegetarians were active in the anti-capital punishment agitation and their journals endorsed anti-capital punishment sentiments.¹¹² James Simpson was a generous supporter of the Society for

¹⁰⁵J.S. Hibberd, *VA*, August 1849, p.154.

¹⁰⁶H. Spencer, *Social Statics: or, The Conditions Essential to Human Happiness Specified, and The First of Them Developed* (London: John Chapman, 1851), pp.411-412.

¹⁰⁷See J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast*, ch.5, for a treatment situating the movement in the context of revulsion to pain.

¹⁰⁸Instances of criticism of vegetarianism for sentimentality include a review of R. Fletcher, *A Few Notes on Cruelty to Animals*, in *The Athenaeum*, 5 February 1848, p.141. See 'The Height of Anarchy,' *Punch's* 'Almanack for 1853'; 'Height of Humanity' *Punch's* 'Almanac for 1882' (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Vegetables); and S. Butler, *Erewhon*, ch.26 for opposition to cruelty taken to absurd limits. For a blunt expression of anti-sentimentalism in the late Nineteenth century, see the unsigned 'The New Humanitarianism', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, January 1898, pp.98-106, which condemned humanitarians, including pacifists, prison reformers, vegetarianism, antivivisection and antivaccinators (see H.S. Salt's apposite 'The Old Brutality,' *Humanity*, February 1898, pp.12-13, a reply reprinted in several papers when *Blackwood's* refused to publish it).

¹⁰⁹Reprinted in *Truth-Tester*, p.48.

¹¹⁰*VA*, 15 October 1848, p.34, and instances printed in Forward's *History*, p.65.

¹¹¹Forward, *History*, p.114 (from an interview, 1893). See also the comment by the Reverend S. Barnett, during the Ripper panic, quoted in Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast*, p.134.

¹¹²For instance *VM*, January 1853, supplement: p.6. See V.A.C. Gatrell, *The Hanging Tree. Execution and*

the Abolition of Capital Punishment. At least one critic of the abolitionists pointed out that they had to be vegetarian to be consistent.¹¹³ The vegetarian Josiah Oldfield led the abolitionist society in the late Victorian period.

An address by the Concordium was rejected by the London Peace Society Convention in 1843, on the grounds that it was irrelevant, would lead to superfluous discussion, and because the connection between diet and war was objectionable.¹¹⁴ Yet some early vegetarians became attracted to the humane diet as part of their pacific beliefs.¹¹⁵ In 1849 delegates to the Paris Peace Congress included about twenty members of the V.S., including Simpson and Horsell.¹¹⁶ The *Advocate* emphasised the 'perfectly consonant' nature of peace and vegetarian principles and advertised antiwar wafers and slips. Vegetarians were present at the Brussels Peace Congress, and distributed their tracts on the steamer: 'thus showing that while we are seeking to protect the lives and rights of the inferior creation we are not unmindful of those of man'.¹¹⁷ The Universal Brotherhood advocated by Elihu Burritt and his radical pacific League, was seen as a step towards one 'including feeling of sympathy with the sufferings even of the brute creation'.¹¹⁸ Vegetarian supporters of the League included Dornbusch (a friend of Burritt) and John Mawson's wife* in Newcastle.¹¹⁹ It was therefore understandable that a satire on the peace movement in *Blackwood's* should feature a vegetarian who 'opined that without beef and mutton there never could be a battle'.¹²⁰ Later vegetarianism continued to have personal links with the peace movement, like John Gill* of the Peace and Arbitration Society.¹²¹ The private Quaker support for vegetarianism on the grounds of humanitarianism (though perhaps Quaker 'plaining' had a role too) was significant (see I:4).

the English People. 1770-1868 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994); and J.R.T.E. Gregory, 'The Movement against Capital Punishment in Britain, 1846-1868' University of Cambridge M.Phil., 1997.

¹¹³*Nonconformist*, 11 June 1856, pp.426-7.

¹¹⁴*Healthian*, 1 July 1843, pp.59-63.

¹¹⁵E.g., John Parkyn, *VA*, October 1849, p.23.

¹¹⁶See list in John Cassell's *Standard of Freedom*, 1 September 1849.

¹¹⁷*VA*, 15 October 1848, p.37, 15 November 1848, pp.53-4, 15 March 1849, p.93. See also the quotation from J.P. Edwards's *Public Good* (Supplement, 1850) in A. Tyrrell, 'Making the Millennium: The Mid Nineteenth Century Peace Movement', *Historical Journal* 21 (March 1978), pp.75-95 [p.88].

¹¹⁸*VA*, 15 October 1848, p.35.

¹¹⁹See *Journal of Health*, October 1855, p.73 for Dornbusch's pacifist sentiments at a London Vegetarian Association meeting.

¹²⁰'The Congress and the Agapedome,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, September 1851 (vol. 70) p.431. See also *Morning Chronicle* 4 August 1851 (excerpted *VM*, November and December 1851: *Vegetarian Controversialist*, p.17, p.21) on the resemblance between one public meeting and the Peace Congress. Bulwer Lytton's bestselling novel as 'Pisistratus Caxton', *My Novel; or, Varieties in English Life* contained a reference [see *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 70: 433 (November 1851), p.573], to progressive enthusiasts of which the fifth type was a man 'whom one might take for a Quaker' who asserted 'that the march of Enlightenment is a crusade for universal philanthropy, vegetable diet, and the perpetuation of peace, by means of speeches'.

¹²¹*VM* advertised the *International Arbitration Association Journal* in 1887; *Vegetarian*, 8 June 1888, p.359 printed the Peace Party's principles and objectives, vegetarians attended the 1894 Peace Congress, see *Vegetarian*, 15 September 1894, p.439.

Wells' *War of the Worlds* was recommended by several vegetarians as an interesting viewpoint on mankind as an inferior animal tyrannised by aliens.¹²² Vivisected animal and vaccinated human faced the same 'state regulated' tyrant: the new scientific 'priesthood'. Cruelty to animals combined with old fears about experimentation on the poor and vulnerable, in Longman's radical *People's Advocate*, when he thanked God for the vegetarian Oriole Hospital, and in a tract by the vegetarian 'United Temperance Association'.¹²³ The recognition of the relationship of tyranny over animals to tyranny over women or the working-class, was most clearly reflected in the journal *Shafts*. These aspects are examined in chapter 5.

VI

Conclusion: vegetarianism, animals and the future state.

Though some vegetarians were prepared for the extinction of ferocious animals, the movement's anti-violence was expressed in visions of the future where the wolf would lie down with the sheep.¹²⁴ Fictional representations already presented enthusiasts' cats and birds dining *en famille*, coexisting in harmony.¹²⁵ Henry Pitman* was probably not alone in having a vegetarian dog. As the tricolour flag at one vegetarian banquet symbolised, Nature was to be restored to its original harmony.¹²⁶

Concern *about* animals was not necessarily compassion for the animal. Studies of the animal movements and 'animal advocacy' have explored their symbolic aspects.¹²⁷ Some early vegetarians were explicit about *human* concerns: man was no animal, only through vegetarianism and the rejection of animal labour would his higher nature be developed.¹²⁸ This was the philosophy of the Concordium, and it is this that makes it inappropriate to describe the community as 'vegan', since

¹²²HGA, 15 August 1898, p.94; *Vegetarian*, 2 October 1897, p.540. See E.B. Lytton, *The Coming Race* (1871) for the evolution of a superior, vegetarian, race.

¹²³*The People's Advocate*, 1 January 1900, p.5; *A Proposal for Restoring the Ancient Practices of Anthropophagy and Vivisection in their Just Development, to which is added an Act of Parliament for Legalising the Same*, copy in John Johnson, Box 1. The original appeared in *Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.29. It was also published as I. Hay, *The Revival of Cannibalism: a Story of Coming Times* (London: C.L.H. Wallace, 1885).

¹²⁴H.S. Clubb believed violent animals existed through man's violence, see *VA*, 15 September 1848, p.25, and response to this, e.g., 15 March 1849, p.96. For the standard view of survival of the fittest, and criticism of vegetarians, see D. Balsillie, *The Ethic of Nature and its Practical Bearings* (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1889), pp.25-26.

¹²⁵See F.E. Lacy, *Metropolitan Magazine*, April 1846, pp.411-412; and quotation from novel *Episodes in an Obscure Life* (1871), in *DR*, October 1881, pp.209-210.

¹²⁶*VM*, June 1850, p.92, reporting a banquet at Padstow.

¹²⁷See J. Turner, *Reckoning with the Beast*; and M. Ferguson, *Animal Advocacy and Englishwoman, 1780-1900. Patriots, Nation and Empire* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998).

¹²⁸Ambivalence about animals (a wider kinship/ fears about animalization) existed in the antivivisectionist movement, see French, *Anti-vivisection*, p.385, cited in Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.187.

the modern label obscures this unusual philosophy, though it is certain humane feeling did animate the Concordists. Their spiritual concerns were shared by many who knew nothing about J.P. Greaves. The spiritual and religious aspects to the movement are next examined.

2:4 Vegetarianism and Religion

In this section the vegetarian movement's religious dimension is examined, firstly by placing it in the context of a wider relationship between health reform and religion.¹ Religious affiliations are then discussed. Vegetarianism's connections with spiritualism and the occult are explored.

I

The relationship between health reform and religion.

While work has been done on the organisation and social setting of health reform movements; paucity of evidence limits the examination of grassroots *beliefs*. A recent attempt to do this concludes that past emphasis on the primacy of material benefits for their popularity is inaccurate and that the *spiritual* dimension should be acknowledged.² It has been argued elsewhere that 'medical heterodoxy could enhance a deep-seated repudiation of materialism'.³ A sense of conversion found in much vegetarian testimony is merely one expression of the religious sentiment central to the movement.⁴ When E.J. Baillie denied vegetarianism was a fad, and asserted 'there are some of us with whom it has become a link in the chain of our faith' he was articulating what many felt.⁵ For many, this faith was Christian, as asserted by James Simpson: 'Our system has well been based upon *Christian grounds*'.⁶ Vegetarianism could be taken as an expression of *Christian* mercy and/ or an expression of asceticism and opposition to 'mean Sensuality'.⁷

Many vegetarians were uncomfortable about grounding their reform in mere hygiene or a selfish appeal to health. Though the assertion that moral, social and political reform was founded upon the health of the individual was a strategy for obtaining status as a reforming or philanthropic

¹ K.S. Walters and L. Portmess, *Religious Vegetarianism. From Hesiod to the Dalai Lama* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001) does not examine the history of the relationship between Christianity and vegetarianism in this period; a chapter on the Christian tradition comprises modern material.

² M. Clement, 'Physical Puritanism and Religious Dissent: The Case of John Young (1820-1904), Sunderland Chemist and Druggist and Methodist Lay Preacher', *Social History of Medicine* 11:2 (August 1998), pp.197-212.

³ See J. Oppenheim, *The Other World. Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p.231. The emphasis on a *material* factor made vegetarians themselves open to the charge of materialism: e.g., Holyoake in *Reasoner*, 'Utilitarian Record, 1847, p.95: 'complacent imagination that the imbibing of peculiar food endows them with unusual purity and intellectuality'.

⁴ Though early- mid Victorian philanthropy conventionally incorporated prayers and appeals to scripture. In covering the vegetarian banquet in London, August 1851, the *Paris Journal des Debat's* reporter thought the scriptural references typical of English public banquets.

⁵ *VM*, December 1893, p.439.

⁶ *VA*, 15 September 1848, p.23.

⁷ *Vegetarian*, 29 July 1892, p.358 expresses this vegetarian Puritanism: W.G. Stubbs' opposition to the paper's Theatre section. The *Vegetarian* advertised the journal *Social Purity* and had articles on social purity, see Christmas number, 1888, p.608.

endeavour, it was a genuine belief. The need for, and interrelationship of, a healthy mind in a healthy body, was not controverted. The *Christian Record* could describe the *Vegetarian Advocate* as ‘an interesting and important publication’ because of the ‘intimate connexion of its principles with the health and morals of the whole community’.⁸ The *Advocate* expressed clearly the aim of ‘advancement of physical truths for moral and religious ends’.⁹ Philosophers and priests, it argued, were wrong in:

not descending more fully into the physical man, as it was there the moral man was concealed. Health of body and health of mind were as closely connected as body and mind themselves were; they flowed from the same source. When the habits of the physical man were bad, those of the moral man could not be good...¹⁰

This echoed the Concordists’ belief that health reforms was a necessary instrument for ‘pure moral sentiments’.¹¹ Physical puritans believed that moral and physical laws harmonised.¹²

The *Healthian*’s reviewer of W.A. Alcott’s *Vegetable Diet* (1843), distinguished between American and English vegetarians on the basis of the relative emphasis on religion and health. He argued that there was probably more perseverance from English reformers because religion was more important, and because they had ‘unperverted constitutions’.¹³ The Christian dimension to Grahamism or Alcott’s physiology has been explored before.¹⁴ Abzug’s recent study of American *antebellum* reform in temperance, abolitionism, phrenology, vegetarianism etc., stresses religious rather than materialist motivation. Abzug deploys the Weberian concept of the ‘religious virtuoso’ (seen as a recurring type, regardless of class or period) to characterise the era’s thoroughgoing reformers. He sees them as equivalent to monastic visionaries; reforming the world because retreat was no longer possible (communitarian projects suggest otherwise). ‘Virtuosity’ had moved from religious reform in the late eighteenth century, to reform of daily life, politics and work in programmes of ‘resacralization’. Highly personal relationships and situations were now targeted, whether body-mental, gender, or master-slave relations. These fundamental targets naturally generated fundamental and large-scale opposition which made such campaigns all the more fervent.

⁸ *VA*, 18 August 1848, advertisement for *Advocate*.

⁹ *VA*, May 1850, p.112.

¹⁰ Horsell, *VA*, 15 January 1849, p.72. See also Charles Lane, ‘Physiological morality’, *VA*, 15 October 1848, p.42.

¹¹ *Healthian*, February 1842, p.23.

¹² See for instance, *VA*, 15 January 1849, p.74.

¹³ *Healthian*, 1 January 1843, p.103.

¹⁴ See J.C. Whorton, ‘“Christian Physiology”: William Alcott’s Prescription for the Millennium’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 49 (1975), pp.466-431.

The concept of virtuosity has its uses in a British context in the emphasis on an expansive *religious* viewpoint. This delineation of the ‘history of reform’ nevertheless obscures the synchronous nature of such interests in proposing a general chronology beginning with religion and ending with the body and daily life.¹⁵

II

Religious affiliation in the vegetarian movement

Contemporaries understood the tendency of dissenting medicine to go with dissenting religion.¹⁶ Many vegetarians were nonconformists, and nonconformist meeting places and associated institutions provided venues for many vegetarian lectures. The first membership list (1848), listed 265 members and Cowherdites totalled just over half with 136 members. It is unnecessary to discuss the sect here, since they have received attention before.¹⁷ No other sect endorsed vegetarianism, but denominations associated with reform such as Quakers and Unitarians, not surprisingly, contributed recruits throughout the period.¹⁸

40 on the biographical index are identified as Quaker, but this probably under-represents the Quaker contribution, despite the response by the Peace Society to Concordist overtures.¹⁹ Vegetarianism as an extension of non-violence and ‘plaining’ found a home in the controversial schismatic White Quaker sect (around Dublin, c.1838-1854) discussed in chapter 3:1.²⁰ Early support came from the family of William Bennett* a friend of Greaves who published a vegetarian tract.²¹ The Bennetts were private advocates, and ‘for years fruitlessly preached vegetarianism’ to the Howitts. In York about 1847, ‘leading members among the Society of Friends’ investigated

¹⁵R.H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

¹⁶See George Eliot, *Felix Holt. The Radical* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p.52. The nonconformist pastor Mr Lyon emphasises the support of various Christians, including Wesley.

¹⁷They had no national fame, but readers of Samuel Brown’s essay (wherein they were described as a ‘humble and fanatical sect’, p.405) and of the V.S.’s journal would have learned of their existence. See W.J. Conybeare’s reference, *Essays, Ecclesiastical and Social. Reprinted, with additions, from the Edinburgh Review* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1855) to a vegetarian hymn book, which would have been Bible Christian.

¹⁸See B. Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp.164-173 for teetotalism’s denominational profile and ch. 8 especially, for the relationship with religion; L.L. Shiman, *The Crusade against Drink in Victorian England* (London and Basingstoke, 1988), pp.53-68 for responses to teetotalism by nonconformist churches.

¹⁹The affiliation of 435 identified were: 265 Cowherdites, 40 Quakers; 30 Anglican clergyman; 29 Unitarians; 26 Methodists (Primitive Methodists, Wesleyans, New Connexion); 17 Congregationalists; 9 Baptists; 9 Swedenborgians; 7 Roman Catholics; 2 Presbyterians; 1 Seventh Day Baptist family (Lt Richardson’s family). There are, additionally, some 25 ministers whose denomination I have not identified.

²⁰P. Collins, ‘Quaker Plaining as Critical Aesthetic’, *Quaker Studies* 5:2 (2001), pp.121-139, discusses ‘plainness’ as a religious ideal, symbol of spirituality throughout history and aesthetic judgement.

²¹W. Bennett, *A Letter to a Friend, in reply to the question, What is vegetarianism?* (London, C. Gilpin and W. Horsell, 1849). G.J. Holyoake said it was half religious, half intimidating, but with several passages making it worth its price, *Reasoner*, 1849, pp.133-135, ‘The Dietists and the Radicals’.

vegetarianism.²² The V.S. meeting at the Freemason's Tavern (August 1851) attracted a prominent Quaker audience.²³ Meeting Houses provided venues for a few meetings.²⁴ In 1880 the V.S. addressed the Society of Friends; a Quaker vegetarian society was eventually established in 1901.²⁵

In 1898 vegetarians published an appeal to British unitarian ministers, signed 'fraternally' by 12 unitarians.²⁶ The unitarians provide the fourth largest identifiable denominational group. Other religious organisations and groupings targeted included missionaries²⁷ and the Congregationalist Union, courted by London vegetarians 1887-1889.²⁸ In addition, leading figures in the Salvation Army had vegetarian sympathies (Salvationist support is a reminder of the practical Christian philanthropic dimension, and also reflects teetotal efforts).²⁹ Methodists of various sorts follow unitarians in terms of numerical contribution. Eager to recruit Methodists, early vegetarians publicised Wesley's vegetarian experience.³⁰

The movement was long frustrated at the lack of Anglican clerics who prominently endorsed the cause: so rare, one joked, that he felt like he should be exhibited in a glass case (cumulatively, the number of Anglican clerics compares well with other denominations).³¹ One clergyman introduced food reform into the diocesan calendar, a couple advocated it in sermons.³²

²²*Truth-Tester*, n.s., vol.1, 1847, p.83.

²³See reprint in *The Times*, and the *International Magazine of Literature, Art and Science*, (New York) 4:3 (October 1851), pp.402-403, from *Paris Journal des Debates*, 'There were about four hundred persons present, as many women as men, a great many children, and a great many Quakers'.

²⁴For instance: *DR*, October 1862, p.94; *DR*, March 1877, p.44; *VM*, June 1898, p.283.

²⁵See *Vegetarian Society to the Society of Friends* (1880): 'This Association, we are glad to say, has never been without its supporters among the Society of Friends'. The Quakers journals (*The Friend*, *British Friend*) did not discuss vegetarianism except in correspondence in 1852 (*The Friend*, April-July). On efforts to establish a Quaker vegetarian society, see A.N. Brayshaw, *HGA*, 15 June 1900.

²⁶See *HGA*, September 1898, p.103. George Cozens Prior*, Adam Rushton*, Charles Peach*, A.C. Henderson*, James C. Street*, Alexander Webster, W. Birks, J.T. Davis, J.Morgan Whiteman, Francis Wood*, Neander Anderson and Arthur Harvie*.

²⁷The V.S. produced *Testimonies of Missionaries* for circulation in 1880.

²⁸*DR*, July 1887, p.222; *DR*, February 1889, p.47, citing coverage in *Nonconformist*, 6 December 1888; *Vegetarian*, 19 January 1889, p.39; *Vegetarian*, 13 April, p.231. The L.V.S. moved into the congregationalist Memorial Hall in 1889.

²⁹Forward, *History*, pp.117-119. General Booth became vegetarian late in life. His son William Bramwell Booth and daughter-in-law were vegetarian, as was Frank Smith. See testimony of Staff Captain Ruth Tracy, *HH*, November 1899, p.172. The *HGA*, through Bramwell Booth, was sent to the 'principal staff officers' in 1898, see *HGA*, p.78. See G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/2/1, L.V.S. Minutes, minute of 19 August concerning sympathisers in the Church Army.

³⁰*VA*, 15 October 1848 p.37, p.41; 15 April 1849, pp.110. On Wesley's vegetarianism, see H. Kean, *Animal Rights*, pp.18-21; and letter dated 11 June 1747, in J.Telford, ed., *The Letters of John Wesley* (London: Epworth Press, 1931), quoted by M.T. and F.L. Hoffman in 'Church Silence Promotes Violence to humans, to animals, to our environment, to our economy, to our education, to our finances, and to our health', published at <www.all-creatures.org/cspv/health-wesley.html>(accessed December 2001). See *VM*, December 1850, p.154 on propaganda amongst Bible Christians of Cornwall.

³¹Forward, *History*, pp.116-117: 'The dignitaries of the Established Church do not appear to have been so favourably impressed by the truths of Vegetarianism as many of the dissenting clergy have been' [p.116]. See *HGA*, December 1898, p.142, for A.M. Mitchell's comment. London vegetarians courted Anglicans, see *HH*, 1887, p.79 for one meeting attended by the Reverend Haweis and chaired by Archdeacon Farrar.

³²See *DR*, May 1879, p.105 on the Reverend H.J. Williams's* intention to publish his vegetarian Lenten

The original vegetarian 'Order of the Golden Age' (on which more shortly) had a strong Anglican component.³³

A running joke, based apparently on actual misunderstandings, was that members of the public thought vegetarians were peddling a religion.³⁴ Since vegetarians- like teetotalers- offered controversial readings of scripture (where many would first have encountered vegetarian figures³⁵) in support of their cause, this was unsurprising.³⁶ Scriptural support was felt to be necessary by the pioneers.³⁷ For many otherwise convinced individuals, scripture remained the problem.³⁸

Opponents (though not often aware of the Bible Christian church) associated vegetarianism with religious heresy.³⁹ Advocacy could signal the 'latter days' when people would 'command to abstain from meat': the view of the author of *The Future Apostacy* (1848), who treated teetotalism and vegetarianism as proofs of 'grand apostacy'.⁴⁰ Yet the objections of the religious orthodox did not thunder down, or exhibit themselves in heated public confrontations. Only one reference has been found to a minister publicly countering (through a meeting) vegetarian propaganda.⁴¹

discourses. *DR*, November 1880, p.ix for the Reverend J.S. Jones's* paragraph in Winchester *Diocesan Kalendar*. The annual parish letter of the Reverend A.M. Mitchell* was vegetarian. E.E. Kelly* also mentioned vegetarianism at the pulpit, *VM*, August 1898, p.37; *VM*, May 1897, p.145 on the Reverend C.E. Milton's parish magazine's vegetarian discussion.

³³See G.C. Wade, *The Speler*, July 1896, p.147, for reference to 'opposition and oppression' which may suggest pressure from Anglican authorities.

³⁴E.g., *Punch*, February 1879, 22 May 1886, p.250; *DR*, January 1893, p.37 (from *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*). See Forward, *Vegetarian*, 28 January 1888, p.4: 'It will be a matter for regret if, a hundred years hence, some lexicographer should define the word 'Vegetarian' as "one of a small religious sect which flourished at the latter part of the Nineteenth century'.

³⁵See Brown, 'Physical Puritanism' on the appearance of vegetable diet in school scripture reading.

³⁶On the dissolvent role of teetotalism, see Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp.185-186. See 'On the permissions of the Mosaic Law', *VA*, 15 March 1849, pp.94-95 (which also deploys Liebig's researches, to show that Mosaic injunctions against meat containing blood, couldn't be observed according to modern science); 'Harmony of Vegetarianism and Scripture' I, *VA*, 15 March 1849, pp.101-102; and II, 1 June 1849, p.122; 'G.W.W.', *British Controversialist*, 1850, p.389: raising problems of textual discrepancies through mistranslation, the historical formation of the scripture (the 'apocrypha') and the nonscientific nature of scriptural knowledge. See also Joseph Barker's response, *The People*, vol. II, p.375.

³⁷E.g., Edmund Warne's comment, *VM*, May 1850, p.77: 'The Bible was the Cornish Book of appeal. It was a standard book; and it was no use, he believed, for anybody to advocate Vegetarianism unless he got the Bible as the basis of his argument'.

³⁸See *British Controversialist*, 1850, pp.309: where B.W.P., only disputed vegetarianism's interpretation of scripture; *Medium and Daybreak*, 24 January 1890, p.59 on the parading of the scriptural reference to the 'fatted calf'.

³⁹See H.S. Salt, *A Plea for Vegetarianism and Other Essays* (Manchester: V.S., 1886), p.10 on the typical response: 'What sort of religion must that be?', and the prudent housewife's classification of it with 'Mormonism, Spiritualism, Anglo-Israelism, Socialism, and possibly Atheism itself'.

⁴⁰*Truth-Tester*, n.s., vol.2, 1848, p.122, where the tract was reviewed. Simpson refers to this view in *VM*, July 1853, p.31. It was attributed to Richard Govett, who wrote extensively on religious subjects, the title is not listed separately in the British Library Catalogue, possibly it is in an edition of collected essays.

⁴¹The Reverend Thomas Clarke of Ashford, Kent, *VA*, 15 April 1849, p.110, who lectured on 'The Eating of Flesh not Inconsistent with Divine Laws'. See reverse of cover, *VM*, July 1850, for the Archbishop of Dublin's letter objecting to the Society's treatment of scripture as absurd and contradictory. Controversy over vegetarian reading of the gospels concerning fish, surfaced in the *Bradford Observer* in 1856, see *VM*, April 1856, p.26. *DR*, January 1862, pp.12-13, reported that a 'popular lecturer' in Bradford thought vegetarianism was a 'insult' to the Creator. In *DR*, January 1867, p.19, a Primitive Methodist local preacher

Moralism and religion remained important components of vegetarian arguments, indeed C.W. Forward in 1896 oddly thought that vegetarianism could not have been run on 'moral lines' earlier.⁴² One prominent, principled critic of a purely hygienic argument was A.F. Hills. Repelled by endless discussion of dietetics his *Vegetarian* introduced other concerns and promoted a 'higher vegetarianism' (Christian in his case).⁴³ The spiritualist James Burns (on whom more shortly), no Christian, was also concerned about the movement 'falling into the very narrow groove of a conventional dietetic regimen and that alone'.⁴⁴

Though in 1888 the L.V.S. could not decide to begin committee meetings with prayers or hymns, there were plans to create a hymn and songbook for meetings; and it was still 'preferable' to have religious ministers as chairmen at local meetings.⁴⁵ The movement, despite new religious influences, continued to have a Christian tone.⁴⁶ Lecturers still had to be careful though, one reported from Birmingham in 1898 that 'All denominations say we must look elsewhere than Bible'.⁴⁷ In Ireland propagandists found bitter opposition on the grounds of religion.⁴⁸

Could the 'glorious gospel of human dietetics' be an alternative to organised religion?⁴⁹ J.P. Greaves felt that hygienic reform was 'more beneficial to man, than any national doctrinal creeds, or any churches, chapels or cathedrals'.⁵⁰ Samuel Brown believed that 'Cleanliness and temperance are the very religion of the materialist' and that atheistic artisans were 'all in favour' of physical

recalled his ministers' opinion that his diet was contrary to the new Testament and inconsistent with being a preacher.

⁴² *HGA*, February 1896, p.27.

⁴³ *Vegetarian*, 1889, p.106; pp.394-395. For Hills, the 'unalterable adamant' was 'obeying the laws of God', see *Vegetarian*, 2 June 1892. To 'H.W.'s' criticisms that the *Vegetarian* was 'too secular' (3 December 1898, p.767) the editor replied that the policy was to have a complete statement of the vegetarian case, in each number.

⁴⁴ *VM*, January 1893, p.19.

⁴⁵ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/2/1 (Minute book of L.V.S.), minutes 3 August, 24 September and 9 November 1888.

⁴⁶ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.114 argues for a decline in Biblical arguments in propaganda from the 1870s, and for its non-sectarian character when it was used. Yet scripture had not been used in a 'sectarian' sense prior to this, and the formation of the O.G.A., Danielites and the 'Christianism' of the London and Manchester journals in this period strongly suggest this interpretation is incorrect. Twigg did not examine the *HGA*, or *Vegetarian*. Her characterization, p.293, of Danielites as 'essentially a social group', and their magazine as having a 'light tone' (p.123) is incorrect: the Order was a 'vegetarian good templar' organisation, not equivalent to the 'artistic circles of Bedford Park'. This misinterpretation is repeated in C. Spencer, *The Heretics Feast*, p.293, which describes their creed as 'dotty'. See *Danielite Star*, 16 May 1887 (no.1), p.1 for the required declaration in the belief in the existence and power of Almighty God; and 'The Royal Order', 'founded on religion, with Christ as King'. The Order was founded on the Bible, but beyond this personal religious views were not to be interfered with.

⁴⁷ *Vegetarian*, 19 November 1898, p.745.

⁴⁸ *Vegetarian*, 12 November, p.713.

⁴⁹ The phrase appears in *Vegetarian*, 4 January 1890, p.13, the idea of a 'Gospel of Health' was repeated elsewhere, e.g., *Vegetarian*, 2 May 1890, pp.263-264.

⁵⁰ *New Age*, 13 May 1843, p.15.

puritanism. Isaac Taylor, in a study of whims and fancies, observed the tendency for dietary 'whims' to lead their exponents 'towards infidelity, and thence on to Atheism'.⁵¹

Freethinkers and agnostics certainly had concerns about the tone/ direction of vegetarian debate. One 'insulted' freethinker threatened resignation if the *Dietetic Reformer* persisted in being 'one-sided in advocating Christianity, more than materialism or any other "ism"'.⁵² Sections of the vegetarian world were unhappy (not simply on strategic grounds) with the emphasis on a 'higher vegetarianism' to be found in the *Dietetic Reformer*, *Vegetarian*, or *The Herald of the Golden Age* which explicitly set out to emphasize Christianity and duty rather than 'expediency' or health. One reason for support for Allinson's 'Natural Living Society' was a distaste for Hill's 'theology and idealism' or 'Neo-Vegetarian gospel of diluted Christianity'.⁵³

The connection between vegetarianism, Owenism, freethought and secularism will be outlined in 2:5, and Owenite activity further detailed in 3:1: spiritualism was a further link between these movements.

III

Vegetarianism, spiritualism, the esoteric and occult

The thematic and personal relationships between vegetarianism and various late Nineteenth century religious currents (liberal Christianity, American transcendentalism, quasi-Indian religion, the religion of Nature, and socialism) have been briefly examined before.⁵⁴ Leading theosophists or 'esoterics' such as Annie Besant, Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland, it is well known, were vegetarians. The relationship between medical unorthodoxy (including vegetarianism) and the 'surrogate faith' of spiritualism has been noted before but not closely studied.⁵⁵ The spiritualist and more generally esoteric interest in food reform merits further attention, as a demonstration of the interplay between self-styled 'progressive' interests.

⁵¹I. Taylor, *Ultimate Civilisation and Other Essays* (London: Bell and Daldry, 1860), p.284.

⁵²*DR*, August 1890, p.243. 'W', in *DR*, February 1886, p.39, opposed 'the persistent attempts to make Vegetarianism a religious question'. See also C.H. Brooks, *Vegetarian*, 14 June 1894, p.336.

⁵³*WTE*, 16 December 1888, p.6 'excluding theology and idealism'; S. Soddy, in *Vegetarian*, 1888, p.620 ('Neo-Vegetarian...' is his phrase); F.W. Newman, *DR*, February 1889, p.46; and L. Large, *Vegetarian*, 9 February 1889, p.91. T.R. Allinson, *Vegetarian*, 27 July 1889, p.474 asserted he was as much an agnostic as a vegetarian. See *Vegetarian*, 30 January, p.58 for one agnostic's response to a comment by Edward Maitland. Note also, *Vegetarian*, 1888, p.3, the request of a 'friendly pastor' not to make a vegetarian lecture 'too high and lofty'.

⁵⁴Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', pp.190-209.

⁵⁵J. Oppenheim, *The Other World*, from whom the phrase 'surrogate faith' is derived; L. Barrow *Independent Spirits. Spiritualism and English Plebeians. 1850-1910* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986) and A. Owen, *The Darkened Room: Women, Power and spiritualism in late Victorian England* (London: Virago, 1989). The most recent recognition of the connection is B.J. Gibbons, *Spirituality and the Occult. From the Renaissance to the Modern Age* (London: Routledge, 2001) which makes brief and not wholly accurate reference to the Concordium, Fruitlands and physical puritanism, pp.50-51, pp.77-81.

An early link between the two 'isms' was Horsell's publication of spiritualist works. A place was reserved for the subject in his family newspaper of 1858-1859, *The Two Worlds* which enthusiastically discussed it as part of a mission to 'enquire into everything relating to human life'.⁵⁶ He was the London publisher of two other early spiritualist papers, the *Spiritual Telegraph* and the *Spiritual Messenger*, and several spiritualist books.⁵⁷

Horsell, and others, saw spiritualism as an aid to religious faith.⁵⁸ Spiritualism was a 'widespread effort... to believe in *something*' during a period of religious crisis and was 'squarely amidst the cultural, intellectual, and emotional moods of the era'.⁵⁹ Spiritualism and vegetarianism both shared a *soi-disant* 'progressive' stance and a critical attitude to 'gross habits'.⁶⁰ Popular spiritualism (despite Horsell's comments) drew significantly on former Owenites and freethinkers who ensured the progressive flavour to provincial spiritualist activity.

The spiritualist involvement in vegetarianism, temperance, antivivisection and other movements reflects core spiritualist beliefs about the 'sanctity of life, the worth and dignity of the physical frame enclosing an immortal soul'.⁶¹ Concern with the correct diet for spiritualistic activity (i.e. as a 'spiritualising agent') was also a factor. Vegetarianism certainly was advocated in spiritualist circles such as the 'Circle of Light' in Cardiff in the 1880s, though a prior vegetarianism possibly influenced such advocacy.⁶² There was a strong unorthodox physiological dimension to spiritualism.⁶³ At one seance in Nottingham Dr Gall's spirit recommended Turkish baths. Lord Mount Temple's notebooks (on which more below) recorded his spirit guides' continual interest in

⁵⁶This newspaper seems to have been unknown to historians of spiritualism. It must not be confused with the journal of the same name, founded by E. Hardinge Britten in Manchester in 1887, which is still being produced.

⁵⁷B. Morrell's *Spiritual Telegraph* (vol.2 in October 1858), and William Carpenter of Greenwich's *Spiritual Messenger*, edr. (1858-1859). Horsell's publications included Carpenter's *Communion with Ministering Spirits. Discourse delivered April 25, 1858*, John Ashburner's *A Series of Essays. On the Connection between Mesmerism and Spiritualism* (1859) and Thomas Shorter's *Confessions of a Truth Seeker* (1859). The Chartist T.P. Barkas, vegetarian for a period after 1840, briefly an agent for the VA, became a convinced and prominent spiritualist. See *VM*, May 1850, reverse of cover, 'T. P. B.'

⁵⁸*Two Worlds*, p.1: 'We are one of those who believe,- and the arguments of our secularist friends have never yet been able to shake the belief,- that man cannot be happy, no matter what improvement he may be able to make in his circumstances, until he recognises his divine origin and the inner purpose of his creation'.

⁵⁹Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p.4; see especially Part II on the relationship between spiritualism, Christianity and freethought. It could be viewed as a synthesis of religion and science for worried Christians, and also a 'surrogate' for the atheist or secularist.

⁶⁰Sheldon Chadwick, a young spiritualist who died in 1892, wrote that 'Gross habits of animal overfeeding and demoralising gluttony are a remnant of cannibalism, of aboriginal snake-eating, and coarse vermin-swallowing', *Medium and Daybreak*, 1892, pp.33-35.

⁶¹Oppenheim, *The Other World*, pp.43-44.

⁶²See 'D.J.N', 'The Mediumship of George Spriggs', *Ark Review* (Noah's Ark Society for Physical Mediumship), 6:91, February 1998, republished at: <www.noahsarksoc.fsnet.co.uk/mediums/george_spriggs_physical_medium.htm>

⁶³When it first appeared spiritualism benefited from superficial similarities with mesmerism, and continued to partner this and other medical unorthodoxies, see Oppenheim, *The Other World*, pp.217-236; and Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, pp.161-194; pp.213-228.

health. A medium attending a spiritualist conference in 1872 reported his guide's recommendation of hydropathy, vegetarianism, teetotalism and abstinence from coffee and other stimulants.⁶⁴ It was discussed in the working class spiritualists' 'Progressive Lyceums' and debated in the spiritualist press. The *Herald of Progress*, and *Torch* covered vegetarianism in articles and letters.⁶⁵ Alcohol, overeating and 'filthy animal food' stood condemned in an article on 'Dietetics in relationship to mediumship' in *Medium and Daybreak* in 1871.⁶⁶ The reformed diet also featured in spiritualist fiction.⁶⁷

Important spiritualist-vegetarians include George Dornbusch, William White, John Smith of Malton, the Mount Temples, the Reverend George Sexton and C.L.H. Wallace. William Oldham, Pater of the Concordium, like his friend William Howitt became interested in spiritualism.⁶⁸ But the most important contribution to the vegetarian cause by a spiritualist came from James Burns, a major figure in the British spiritualist world as editor of *Human Nature* and *Medium and Daybreak*, and as an active proselytiser on frequent provincial lecture tours.⁶⁹ *Human Nature* (1867-1878) advocated a range of physical puritan/radical causes and had a large provincial readership; *Medium and Daybreak* (1870-1895) was similarly expansive and progressive in its coverage, although more clearly a spiritualist organ. Burns located vegetarianism within his broad scheme of 'Human Nature'. He saw activity in spiritualism and vegetarianism as healthy fostering of Dissent against professionals and 'cliquetarians'.⁷⁰ Personally repelled by atheism and materialism, spiritualism provided him with a religion outside the confines of a professional Church.

Burns was the son of a poor Ayrshire smallholder-craftsman. He saw himself as 'constitutionally a heretic'.⁷¹ His father, a teetotaler, hydropath and vegetarian through tracts, was a man of 'progressive thought and philanthropy' who carried a copy of *Queen Mab*, read George Combe and studied mesmerism.⁷² Not surprisingly, the Presbyterian church expelled him. His son,

⁶⁴MD, 6 September 1872, p.349. See also account of vegetarian food and discussion at Clapham Junction seance, MD, 5 June 1891, p.362.

⁶⁵*Herald of Progress* (Gateshead) 1883 featured a 'special contribution' by J.J. Morse on 'Practical Vegetarianism' and advocacy in correspondence pages from local and London vegetarians. On Morse see Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, especially pp.126-133. See W.B. Barr in *Torch*, 1899 on vegetarianism especially for spiritualists.

⁶⁶MD, 20 January 1871.

⁶⁷In works by Anna Kingsford, C.L.H Wallace, and the American W. J. Colville's *Bertha. A Spiritual Romance*.

⁶⁸MD, 29 July 1870, p.133. See C.R. Woodring, *Victorian Samplers: William and Mary Howitt* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1952), p.205: Annie Howitt wrote to her friend, William Bennett's daughter: 'Tell your dear Parents that my Spiritualism has led me to your Vegetarianism' (25 November 1861).

⁶⁹Biographies of Burns appear in Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, and Oppenheim, *The Other World*.

⁷⁰MD, 22 August 1890, p.536.

⁷¹MD, 12 October 1883, p.641.

⁷²On his father's reading of Combe, see MD, 4 November 1892, p.706.

brought up in strict Christian worship, similarly reacted against drink, animal foods (at 16) and orthodoxy.⁷³ His temperance and vegetarian activity always remained major concerns.

Burns travelled south for work, becoming a gardener at Hampton Court and befriending James Smith*, an associate of the Concordists. He then worked in Liverpool in temperance publishing. Converted to principled vegetarianism by James Simpson, he joined the V.S. in 1854. He was well acquainted with other early vegetarians in London.⁷⁴ From the 1860s he was a peripatetic lecturer on vegetarianism and 'allied' matters.⁷⁵ Graham crackers and vegetarian publications were sold at his Progressive Library, attached to his Spiritual Institution in Camberwell (established 1862).⁷⁶ *Human Nature*, noted as 'progressive in dietary' by the *Dietetic Reformer* in 1869, began his long editorial career. In 1871 he joined a deputation to the President of the Poor Law Board to advocate better and cheaper workhouse food through vegetarianism, and the use of Turkish baths.⁷⁷

Burns was a vice president of the London Food Reform Society and member of the Vegetarian Rambling Society and *Medium and Daybreak* prominently covered their activity. In 1878 the paper carried a prospectus for 'The Industrial and Patriotic "Good Wine" and Fruit Food Guild' which aimed to establish colonies, reform land, monetary and property arrangements, and spread temperance and vegetarianism.⁷⁸ He published free vegetarian tracts and the *Vegetarian Advocate*, a ½d monthly partly directed against Emmet Densmore's 'anti-vegetarian quackery' system.⁷⁹

In 1888 he attempted to take spiritualism in a new direction, with vegetarianism providing the 'physical food' in a 'Threefold Food' programme along with mental and spiritual sustenance. He announced a 'Progressive Food and Cooking Society', inspired in part by the vegetarian Mrs A.M. Lewis*. Cooking Stations were to be situated in poor districts, to provide cheap and well-prepared 'Deathless Food', free meals to schoolchildren and the needy. The Stations were to provide lessons on economy, hygiene and cookery. Home visiting for aid and advice in case of illness was planned. The project was to encourage fraternity, co-operation, 'domesticity' and 'neighbourism' and combat the 'beershop and gambling pastimes of Christian communities'.⁸⁰ Cultural Colonies were to be promoted to allow urban and rural dwellers the opportunity to grow their food and spend

⁷³ *MD*, 13 June 1890, p.370. He recalled his grandfather's salt-less oatmeal brose diet.

⁷⁴ 'I well remember Messrs Horsell and Toogood [sic], of Oxford St, two of the beginners in this work', *Food Reform Magazine*, April-June 1884, p.101.

⁷⁵ *DR*, October 1866, pp.121-122. The programme of the 'Proceedings of the First Convention of Progressive Spiritualists' (1865) included 'dietetics' and hygiene as part of the proposed 'college'.

⁷⁶ See advertisements in *Spiritual Magazine*, 1863.

⁷⁷ *Human Nature*, 1871, p.330; *Vegetarian*, 14 January 1888, p.7.

⁷⁸ *MD*, 25 April 1879, republished, 20 March 1891, p.183.

⁷⁹ No copies appear to have survived, but there are excerpts in *MD*.

⁸⁰ *MD*, 20 June 1888, front page, in large type.

some time each year in another environment. Food was best grown and prepared as near as possible to the consumer.⁸¹

Burns opposed the tendency towards bureaucracy, mutual self-regard and resource wasting in reform organisations and criticized London vegetarianism on these grounds.⁸² To combat this the P.F.C.S required no membership fee. A vegetarian publishing house and restaurant was established at 8, Rosoman Street in Clerkenwell, a neighbourhood where extreme poverty made vegetarianism unattractive and access to utensils difficult.⁸³ The P.C.F.S., still active in 1889, did give free breakfasts to poor schoolchildren, meals for a watchmakers' firm, established a club room and held Sunday services and evening meetings.⁸⁴ Contributions were received from spiritualists (e.g., members of the Peckham Lyceum) and vegetarians such as Frances Boulton* and Ellen Impey* of Street. A.M. Lewis sent placards on the theme 'Kindness to Animals'.

Burns felt that Hills was moving London vegetarianism in the right direction- towards interest in the 'Inner Life' - and welcomed his work for human progress.⁸⁵ A letter to the V.S. expressed his concerns about hygienic narrowness:

This narrow cult is the cause of the failures that occasionally occur in those who begin the practice. Human life is not a mere matter of *eating*, and unless the other phases be understood, the eating must fail in rendering itself, however well it be attended to. Let us look at our great pioneers, for instance: Graham, with his 'Science of Human Life' even extending his enquiries into spiritual life by considering the diet question in connection with Scripture. Our pioneers were all men of unconventional thought in almost every way. They were not instances of respectable mediocrity, far from it. They could aspire to the reception of 'all truth' without fear of those reproaches which are the only arguments of ignorance.⁸⁶

Vegetarianism and other 'progressive subjects' featured in his weekly meetings. An annual meeting was devoted to fundraising for the V.S. and in 1892 he published and endorsed the Society's appeal for funds.⁸⁷ His obituary in the *Messenger* paid a somewhat scanty tribute to his commonsense and practical contributions in debate. An appreciative obituary in the *Vegetarian* and *Vegetarian Review* emphasised his financially and physically burdensome philanthropic responsibilities.⁸⁸

⁸¹ *MD*, 17 July 1888, p.450.

⁸² In this, he was typical of many spiritualists, see Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p.51.

⁸³ *Vegetarian*, 23 February 1889.

⁸⁴ *MD*, 1889, p.27, p.89, p.105, p.121, p.1, p.153, p.169, p.185, p.201, p.233, etc.

⁸⁵ *MD*, 20 June 1890, p.386.

⁸⁶ *DR*, January 1893, p.19.

⁸⁷ See *DR*, 1893.

⁸⁸ *Vegetarian*, 16 March 1895, p.133; *Vegetarian Review*, February 1895.

Metropolitan associates of Burns involved in spiritualism and vegetarianism from the 1850s, included the V.S.'s London secretary Dornbusch. The pioneering *British Spiritual Telegraph* (briefly published by Horsell) noted that the American *Practical Christian*, partly devoted to spiritualism, could be obtained through him.⁸⁹ Dornbusch, connected with the Concordium community, supported 'true spiritualism', defined as that without any 'dross of superstition', as the 'best means of establishing firm faith' in God and Christ. His diaries record payments for spiritualist soirees and visits to the Spiritual Lyceum. Burns described him as one of the 'leading Spiritualists'.⁹⁰ Dalston in Hackney, where he lived, possessed an active plebeian spiritualist circle and he provided a venue and vegetarian food for the 'Dalston Association of Inquirers into Spiritualism' in 1872.⁹¹ Another colleague was the artisan William Turley, co-proprietor of a short-lived vegetarian school, steward at the second annual meeting of the V.S. and lecturer on vegetarianism before a Mutual Instruction Society in 1850.⁹² He wrote in the spiritualist *Community Journal* and *British Spiritual Telegraph* to advertise the existence of a 'Spiritualistic Union, London' of which he was the temporary secretary.⁹³ The 'Union' was, according to Barrow, along the lines of the Knowledge Chartism of the 1840s- in the belief in a scientific progress, and a quiet 'revolution of the mind'. It may well be that the 'Union' was a venue for vegetarian activity too.⁹⁴ Turley advertised his mediumistic services to the 'Nobility and Gentry', despite being, as Barrow says, 'so bitter an anti-elitist'.⁹⁵ The Swdenborgian bookseller William White, on the London Vegetarian Association committee in 1859, was a spiritualist, teetotaler, phoneticist and editor of the *Vaccination Inquirer*.

One of the most prominent late Victorian spiritualists based in London, Chandos Wallace*, was a leading figure in late Nineteenth century vegetarianism.⁹⁶ She met her husband-to-be at one of Burns' phrenological meetings. Another London vegetarian prominent in the spiritualist world was the restaurant proprietor Andrew Glendinning*. Their colleague in London vegetarianism, William Theobald* (president of the Northern Heights V.S. and treasurer of the V.F.U.) is a significant footnote to Alex Owen's study *The Darkened Room*.⁹⁷

⁸⁹*The British Spiritual Telegraph*, 1 July 1858, p.157. His friend William Tebb* the antivaccinationist (and former vegetarian), was a prominent spiritualist in the 1870s with his wife Mary Elizabeth. Tebb had befriended Ballou, *The Practical Christian's* editor, in the 1850s.

⁹⁰*MD*, 18 August 1871, p.271, letter supporting Gerald Massey's lecture.

⁹¹The area was noted for its 'heretical' atmosphere. See organisations active in the area as listed in C.R.J. Currie, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Middlesex* vol.10 (Oxford University Press, 1995).

⁹²*Cooper's Journal*, 1850, p.2, at Soho.

⁹³Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, gives no date, see *British Spiritual Telegraph*, 1857-1858, and *MD*, 1872, p.296: in spring 1857.

⁹⁴Viettinghoff, another London vegetarian in this period, was present at one seance at Turley's in July 1858, see *British Spiritual Telegraph*, 1858, p.176.

⁹⁵Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, p.61.

⁹⁶Her career is discussed in Owen, *The Darkened Room*; and Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, pp.222-224.

⁹⁷Owen, *The Darkened Room*, ch. 4 (pp.74-106). He is the fourth, unexplored member of the siblings

The provincial spiritualist movement provided important locations for vegetarian activity. In Manchester, the V.S.'s heartlands, spiritualists arranged a 'Vegetarian dinner' in February 1889. This event Burns thought 'somewhat exceeded' the success of vegetarians on their home ground.⁹⁸ In Cardiff in 1877 a spiritualist-vegetarian-Good Templar arranged distribution of literature on these 'three noble causes'.⁹⁹ The Cardiff 'Circle of Light' had 'strict regulations' on clothing, diet and bathing.¹⁰⁰ The mediums A.J. Smart* and George Spriggs* were encouraged to become vegetarian through the 'father' of Cardiff spiritualism, Rees Lewis. They were mentors to Fanny Samuel*, a medium who emigrated to Melbourne to become a leading figure in Australian vegetarianism. In Sunderland in 1892 the new president of the local vegetarian society was the journalist John Rutherford*, a spiritualist published in the *Medium and Daybreak*. Leeds branch society was led by a spiritualist, J. Latchmore* in 1878. Stalybridge society was yet another branch led by someone with spiritualist interests (Nathan Betts)*. In 1890 a Leicester vegetarian mission was presided over by the Reverend J.P. Hopps, the spiritualist and sometime vegetarian.¹⁰¹ The Coventry Vegetarian and Food Reform Society met in the rooms of a spiritualist, W.B. Barr*. In 1892 a group of 'Bristol Spiritualists, Vegetarians and others, desirous of forming a Society or Club for the study and investigation of the Occults etc.,' announced a meeting in the *Medium and Daybreak and Light*.¹⁰² The shareholders of the progressive spiritualist journal *Two Worlds* held their annual meeting at a vegetarian restaurant.¹⁰³

Logie Barrow highlights two provincial spiritualist missionaries who were vegetarians. David Richmond* was a self-educated wool sorter from Darlington who became an Owenite.¹⁰⁴ He had many communitarian experiences in England and America including residence in the Concordium. His companion and fellow shoemaker Joseph Dixon was another vegetarian-spiritualist. Darlington Spiritualist Society certainly was a location for vegetarian activity, with supporters such as the journalist Mark Fooks or the wholesale and retail grocer D.W. Weatherhead who had purchased the machinery and type for the *Spiritual Telegraph*.¹⁰⁵ Other vegetarian-spiritualists, highlighted by Barrow, include the Hitchcocks of Nottingham*. Mrs

discussed by Owen. One brother, Morell Theobald, was in literary society, another was an homeopath and spiritualist. Friends included the radical homeopath J.J.G. Wilkinson and the Howitts.

⁹⁸MD, 4 January- 22 February 1889.

⁹⁹MD, 11 May 1877, p.295

¹⁰⁰MD, 11 October 1878, p.645.

¹⁰¹*Vegetarian*, February 1890.

¹⁰²MD, 22 January 1892, p.56. Earlier, 15 March 1889, when the P.F.C.S. had been running, a Bristol lady sent money, praised Burns' 'noble spirit', and recorded her interest in Hills' 'ideal' vegetarianism.

¹⁰³Oppenheim, *The Other World*, p.47.

¹⁰⁴Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, pp.206- 212. Autobiographical material in MD, 24 January 1873, p.45 and obituary, 27 February, pp.10-11.

¹⁰⁵See Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, p.9, p.16; and obituary in DR.

Hitchcock (a medium) and her husband (a stonemason), established the first spiritualist Lyceum in 1867.¹⁰⁶ Another plebeian spiritualist was C.J. Delolme*, a watchmaker active in late Victorian metropolitan vegetarianism (and a secularist, land reformer, and socialist).

At the other end of the social spectrum from Delolme and Barrow's plebeians, were Sir Charles Isham bt.,* and Lord and Lady Mount Temple*. Isham (responsible for the introduction of garden gnomes to Britain), supported homeopathy, mesmerism and, from the 1870s, spiritualism.¹⁰⁷ He published a vegetarian tract.¹⁰⁸ Lady Mount Temple, who tried to interest John Ruskin in spiritualism, and her husband, were spiritualists, seekers of religious truth, and zoophilists. Lord Mount Temple's notebooks include notes on seances they attended and are a fascinating insight into his own spiritual concerns and 'secular anxieties' as refracted by the responses of mediums and spirit guides.¹⁰⁹

Spiritualism was not the only alternative spiritual movement. Vegetarianism has long been associated with the esoteric and mystic. Greaves's 'Sacred Socialism' was a Christian mystical endeavour (and not a variant of Owenism).¹¹⁰ Plans to establish a 'theosophic college' in 1851 included study of pure diets, or a 'pure fuel for the fire of life'.¹¹¹ A later example of a vegetarian on esoteric grounds is Josiah Oldfield, swayed when a theology student at Oxford 'by the esoteric teaching which I found in every religion worthy of being classed as a divine faith'.¹¹²

Vegetarianism was also associated with the 'occult'.¹¹³ Like spiritualism (the occult's relationship with spiritualism is complex) it represented a reaction to materialism and was far from a

¹⁰⁶Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, p.196, with photograph.

¹⁰⁷*Notes of a New Truth*, April 1856, p.40.

¹⁰⁸C. Isham, *The Food That We Live On* (Northampton, Law). The lithographed work ('It is not only well worth reading, but a literary and artistic curiosity') was sold by Burns with 'A number of Tracts on Dietetic Subjects'.

¹⁰⁹See Van Akin Burd, *Ruskin, Lady Mount Temple and the Spiritualists: an Episode in Broadlands History* (Brentham Press, 1982, Guild of St George, Ruskin Lecture) and University of Southampton, Special Collections, Broadlands Records, BR43, 44, 45. Material relating to Lord and Lady Mount Temple.

¹¹⁰Note the motto to *The New Age, Concordium Gazette and Temperance Advocate*, vol. I, no.1 (6 May 1843): 'If any man be in Christ he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold all things are become new'. See J. Godwin, *The Theosophical Enlightenment* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). Greaves is briefly discussed in ch.12, pp.228-230, where Godwin, following Isabel de Steiger's recollections, speaks of a 'theosophic circle' led by Greaves in Kent in the 1840s. There is no evidence for this, and Greaves's biographer, J.E.M. Latham, doubts this, see 'A Forgotten Theosopher: James Pierrepont Greaves', *Theosophical History* 8:8 (October 2001), pp.221-230. The following distinctions (Godwin, p.xii) are important: *Theosophy* as the teachings of Blavatsky; *theosophy* as the traditions of religious illumination associated with Boehme and his followers; *esoteric*, presupposing an exoteric body of knowledge or doctrine whose surface is penetrated to reveal superior knowledge; occult science: astrology, alchemy, ritual magic, practical kabbalism, divination and some developments of mesmerism and spiritualism. Occult science became a deliberate alternative to scientific materialism from the mid-Nineteenth century.

¹¹¹In the Advertisement at the end of *An Introduction to Theosophy* (n.d., John Kendrick, 27. Ludgate Street, 1851), quoted by 'Eirionnach', 'Notes and Queries Respecting Certain Theosophists and Mystics', *Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, no.11, 11 May 1861, pp.361-363.

¹¹²J. Oldfield, 'Vegetarian Still', *Nineteenth Century*, August 1898, pp.246-252 [pp.246].

¹¹³Greaves's mysticism and Bronson Alcott's in America are distinct from the occult of crystals, astrology,

fringe interest. Astrology and vegetarianism were connected in the person of the ‘father of modern astrology’, ‘Alan Leo’ (William Allan).¹¹⁴ More significantly, Theosophy and physical puritanism (including diet), were closely connected, as others have noted.¹¹⁵ Well-known Vegetarian-Theosophists include Anna Kingsford*, Edward Maitland* (both left the Theosophical Society), Annie Besant* and Herbert Burrows*. ¹¹⁶ The Women’s Vegetarian Union was instructed on food reform from a Theosophical point of view.¹¹⁷ Vegetarians learnt of the movement’s beliefs from articles and letters in the *Vegetarian*.¹¹⁸ The journal published discussion about whether vegetarianism was necessary for a Theosophist, with some supporting the view that it was since it promoted the required pure-living.¹¹⁹

Prominent among vegetarian ‘Christian esoterics’ were Edward Maitland and Anna Kingsford. Kingsford gave numerous vegetarian lectures and was most at ease on the vegetarian platform. Vegetarianism was central to her life: ‘I must say that I think the vegetarian movement is the great movement of the age, and I think so because I see in it the beginning of real civilization’.¹²⁰ It has been seen how far her commitment to a vegetarian lifestyle went. Her tract, *The Perfect Way in Diet* (1882), foreshadowed her major work of collaboration with Maitland, *The Perfect Way*, and several essays appeared in the *Food Reform Magazine*. Her address to the V.S. (Exeter Hall, January 1885) was published. She supported European vegetarianism; the ‘success’ she claimed in Switzerland contrasted with the limited impact of her continental antivivisectionism. The food reform society established in Paris was ‘in no small degree’ the result of her ‘eloquent advocacy’.¹²¹ The theosophic, dietetic, and social interests of the Kingsford-Maitland circle merit more detailed study. The Reverend G.J.R. Ouseley*, a member of the circle, ‘discovered’ a vegetarian gospel which is still disseminated.¹²²

etc., to describe Fruitlands and the Concordium as occult (see B.J. Gibbons) is misleading.

¹¹⁴His attendance at one meeting in Hendon was reported in *Vegetarian*, 1 January 1898, p.13, he is also mentioned in Forward’s *History*.

¹¹⁵See references in Twigg’s thesis; C. Spencer, *Heretic’s Feast*; and P. Livingstone, *Madame Blavatsky’s Baboon*.

¹¹⁶Another prominent vegetarian-theosophist was Countess Wachtmeister, friend of Blavatsky and author of *Practical Vegetarian Cookery* (Theosophical Publishing Society, 1899). Vegetarian-theosophical connections are also represented by the homeopath Dr Leopold Salzer, president of Punjab V.S., who attended the inaugural meeting of the Calcutta V.S. He wrote *The Psychic Aspect of Vegetarianism*.

¹¹⁷*DR*, 1897, p.63, noting address by Mrs Hooper, 5 November 1896.

¹¹⁸For instance, R. Undiano, *Vegetarian*, 27 April 1889, p.259; the article by A. Gordon Rowe of the Theosophical Society, *Vegetarian*, 1892, and several reviews and letters in *Vegetarian*, 1894.

¹¹⁹*Vegetarian*, 22 June 1889, pp.396, letter from a ‘Swedenborgian’.

¹²⁰Address to the London Food Reform Society, first May meeting, reported in *Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.21.

¹²¹H. Williams, *Food Reform Magazine*, October 1881, p.62.

¹²²*The Gospel of the Holy Twelve*, purportedly a translation from an Aramaic gospel, preserved by Essenes through transmission to a Tibetan monastery, which he ‘discovered’ in 1881. Published in 1892, it rewrites the gospels on vegetarian and humanitarian lines, with Jesus teaching natural health reform, condemning hunting, and the captivity of birds, rescuing horses from cruelty and condemning animal sacrifice.

Just as the vegetarians emulated the Good Templars in creating the 'Order of Danielites', so those vegetarians interested in hermetic orders and the esoteric created vegetarian societies. The 'Order of the Golden Age' founded in 1882 by the younger brother of Howard Williams, the inspiration for the Humanitarian League, does not seem to have been esoteric but its successors were.¹²³ Ouseley created an 'Order of At-Onement'.¹²⁴ S.H. Beard, an honorary member of the Psychical Research Society in 1882, re-established the 'Order of the Golden Age'. It was not ostensibly an occult or esoteric organisation.¹²⁵ Yet his *Herald of the Golden Age*, which had a readership extending beyond Britain, contained articles on the 'dawn of spiritualism', the increasing cultivation of the 'psychic senses' and the fading of materialism and animalism. He became a supporter of 'mental healing'.¹²⁶ In 1900 the *Herald* proudly published views of the ornate Council room at the Order's new headquarters at Barcombe Hall, Paignton. The room had a symbolic frieze representing the unity of west and east, and past and modern Golden Ages, the rugs had symbols of the Order and the chairs had individual mottos. Josiah Oldfield described it as a 'council chamber dedicated and sanctified'.¹²⁷

Being vegetarian did not *necessarily* lead to spiritualism or any other *ism*; nor did spiritualists always sympathise with vegetariansm. The *Dietetic Reformer's* review of *Human Nature* (1869) would have 'nothing to say' concerning spiritualism.¹²⁸ Not all spirit advice was supportive: W.T. Stead received a message that vegetarianism, which he 'approved of', was not for him.¹²⁹ A letter in the *Medium and Daybreak*, from a doctor, criticized Burns for supporting anti-vaccination, vegetarianism, anti-tobacco and teetotalism.¹³⁰ Yet close connections were frequent and stemmed from shared

Carnivorism was the result of Satan.

¹²³Dedicated to Saint James the Less with the motto 'Non nocebunt et non occident,' it was founded by the Reverend H.J. Williams at his parish of Brympton, Yeovil. George W. Gulliver* a schoolmaster in a Hampshire parish school, was registrar. Robert Bailey Walker* was vice-provost and F.L. Catcheside of St Cuthbert's College, Aylesbury, bursar. A printed prospectus, with rules on the coloured badges for grades of dietetic abstention, was circulated. Comment on this guild or 'Society of Peace, Temperance and Purity' appeared in *Manchester Guardian*. The organisation is listed in the *DR*, address 33 Alexander St, Bayswater (October 1881, p.202 and p.218), activities including banquet and seventh quarterly paper reported *DR*, May 1883, p.132 and December 1883, p.340.

¹²⁴This, 'incepted 1881' and 'promulgated' by Ouseley in 1888 with M.A. Londini (Victoria Park, Liverpool) as president, was renamed the 'Order of Atonement and United Templars Society' in 1896 to avoid confusion with Beard's. Its object was study of Kingsford's *The Perfect Way, Clothed with the Sun* and 'such other works as throw light on religion and ethics', and revision of liturgy in light of humaneness, justice and righteousness. See *VM*, April 1896, p.132; *Vegetarian*, 8 February 1896, pp.69-70; *HGA*, February 1896, p.23.

¹²⁵Indeed it was advertised as 'carrying the war into the churches, so as to press our ideas upon the attention of the religious world, from a religious standpoint, see *DR*, February 1896, p.33; and claimed not to be applying a new morality of religion, see *Vegetarian Review*, February 1896, p.96.

¹²⁶*HGA*, December 1899, pp.134-136.

¹²⁷*HGA*, December 1900, p.150. J.O. [Oldfield] stated the Order had 'come to the fore' in propaganda, in his article on vegetarianism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (10th edn., 1902-1903).

¹²⁸*DR*, October 1869, p.126. See also *VM*, December 1890, p.349, review of Burns's *VA*.

¹²⁹H.S. Salt, *Seventy Years Among the Savages* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921), p.173.

¹³⁰*MD*, 26 October 1888, p.679.

attitudes and aspirations. The links between vegetarianism and new religions or esoteric Christianity in the late Nineteenth century continued the connection between dietetic and religious heresy apparent in the Swedenborgian 'Bible Christian' sect and in the White Quaker sect (see 3:1).

Vegetarians, spiritualists and occultists saw themselves as 'truthseekers' who created their own identities and philosophies instead of passively receiving accepted wisdom. Ideological and personal connections meant that the movements overlapped, whether the location was metropolitan, provincial or elsewhere (for example, the occult circle involving W.B. Yeats in Ireland¹³¹). The 'radical eccentric' connections exhibited in the 'Late Victorian Revolt', a continuation of the long associations between heresies, were maintained into the Twentieth century.¹³² Vegetarianism's radical connections, and its 'radical' dimension (shared with all the 'isms' of the period) are now examined.

¹³¹See G.M. Harper, *Yeats's Golden Dawn* (London: Macmillan, 1974); and G.M. Harper, *Yeats and the Occult* (1975; London: Macmillan, 1976).

¹³²S. Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1968), ch.5, (p.135). P. Heelas, *The New Age Movement. The Celebration of the Self and the Sacralization of Modernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996) examines twentieth century New Age movements and their relationship to Romanticism, esoteric Christianity, Theosophy, and fin de siècle counterculture.

2:5 Radical and Fadical: radicalism, anti-everythingarianism and faddism

Vegetarianism has been examined as a health reform, an extreme form of temperance, an animal welfare and anti-pain movement, and a component of unconventional religious or spiritual activity. Potentially, all these aspects affirmed its generally radical nature which is studied here. This chapter begins by examining the relationship between health reform and political radicalism. It then outlines several important radical groupings susceptible to vegetarianism. Chapter Two's divisions should not obscure the interconnections between these aspects- apparent in the comprehensive enthusiasms of many- and which is examined here. Vegetarianism formed a strand in a web of causes which were mutually reaffirming and logical extensions of each other (though the relationship with vivisection and medical movements indicates connections were not straightforward).¹ The chapter examines the 'fadical' aspect to the movement, considering the language and psychology of faddism.²

I

The relationship between health reform and political radicalism.

Mid-Victorian medical heretics 'typically doubled as heretics in politics and faith as well, whilst cultivating unorthodox lifestyles'.³ Those who 'balked at the power of princes and prelates might be no more disposed to swallow orthodox medicine'.⁴ The relationship between early Victorian radicals and unconventional medicine has been tentatively investigated by J.F.C. Harrison, through a survey of well known figures, some ninety Owenites and chartists associated with unconventional medicine. He identifies a democratic theme in healing systems which advocated self-cure, or collective self-help in associations organised for mutual aid, and which therefore harmonised with the ethos of co-operatives and Friendly Societies. Radicals could see their medical independence as a strategy against yet another vested interest. He includes their journals in a group of early Victorian journals advocating a range of social and political reforms.⁵

¹ Shared characteristics (and connections) with American reform should be recognised, see W.P. Garrison, 'The Isms of Forty Years Ago' *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (New York), 60: 356 (January 1880), p.192: 'What remains to be emphasized, in order to bind all these together into the "spirit of the age" is the interlacing of them'.

² 'Fadical' was coined by G. Dunn, in a story about a vegetarian, 'A Defeated Transcendentalist', *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1893, pp.236-252.

³ R. Porter, in Porter ed., *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.116.

⁴ R. Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind. A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (London: Harper Collins, 1997), p.390.

⁵ J.F.C. Harrison, 'Early Victorian Radicals and the Medical Fringe' in W.F. Bynum and R. Porter, eds., *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy* (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp.198-215. For further exploration of the appeal to a plebeian 'democratic intellect', see Barrow, *Independent Spirits*.

A powerful factor in the support for alternative medicine was its hopefulness by contrast to an orthodox medicine which was far from optimistic. It is therefore unsurprising that optimistic and democratic Owenites and chartists in the 1840s endorsed vegetarianism and other health movements as tools of empowerment (rather than tedious regulations) on the way to the new moral world. Although the investigation of vegetarianism by Owenites is examined in detail in 3:1, the links between this movement and vegetarianism are outlined next. Also outlined are the connections with other radical movements, namely chartism, secularism, middle-class 'moral radicalism' and the late nineteenth century socialism.

II

Owenite, freethought, chartist and late Victorian socialist connections.

Vegetarianism and Owenism were promoted by *moral* reformers.⁶ Owenite communities provided locations for it and other physical puritanisms to be explored, in keeping with Owen's interest in health reform.⁷ Vegetarianism was one option for plain-living and high thinking Owenites.⁸ When Owenism in the mid-1840s dissolved into a variety of institutions promoting education, self-help, or secularism, for a few it became identified with a 'new eccentric world where individual self-expression signified the beginning of the supersession of irrational social prejudices'.⁹ In this context vegetarianism was viewed by critical socialists as a characteristic of less sane, or 'dissident' followers. Socialism now harboured 'moral and intellectual delinquents- empty-headed young men bordering on idiocy, babblers and quibblers, long-haired, bearded and vegetarians, etc.' ¹⁰

Free-thought was another strand contributing to vegetarianism, which could be another act of freethought after the 'one great step'. Freethinkers' predisposition to speculate about 'wild new

⁶ See I.J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth Century London. John Gast and his Times*, (Folkestone: Dawson, 1979), p.264 for the emphasis on Owenism's *moral* reformism.

⁷ See J.F.C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. The Quest for the New Moral World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), p.179, where reference is made to 'a certain type of reformer' trying out health theories; and R. Owen, *A New View of Society and Other Writings* (ed. with Introduction by G. Claeys) (London: Penguin, 1991) for new arrangements for food preparation, dining, ventilation, heating and dress, e.g., pp.282-286 ('Report to the County of Lanark', 1820) and for the belief that 'In a rational state of society there will be no necessity for medical advisers or medicines' (in 'On the Professions', from 'Six Lectures delivered at Manchester', 1839).

⁸ M.D. Conway's verdict on the Owenite-chartist generation as 'men of plain-living and high-thinking, almost ascetic in their self-denial, and ever dreaming of higher education, of cooperation, and other schemes for the moral, intellectual and social advancement of mankind' is quoted in W.S. Smith, *The London Heretics 1870-1914* (London: Constable, 1967), p.23.

⁹ G. Claeys, *Citizens and Saints. Politics and Anti-politics in Early British Socialism* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.261. For another treatment of individual and personal reform in Owenism, secularism and socialism, see L. Barrow, 'Determinism and environmentalism in socialist thought', in R. Samuel, G.S. Jones eds., *Culture, Ideology and Politics. Essays for Eric Hobsbawm* (History Workshop, 1983), pp.194-214, especially p.210.

¹⁰ G. Claeys, *Citizens and Saints*, p.261, quoting Lloyd Jones, writing to G.J. Holyoake, from J. McCabe, *Life and Letters of G.J. Holyoake*, I, p.113.

ideas' and investigate bold schemes for social transformation in a period of 'intellectual ferment' (the early Nineteenth century in this case) has been commented on before.¹¹ Many freethinkers supported temperance.¹² Their involvement in reform movements including vegetarianism and other 'liberal' causes, has been seen as playing a part in the liberalisation of the mid-Victorian age.¹³ If late Victorian freethinkers (styled 'secularists' post 1850) were naturally critical of the *Vegetarian's* 'higher vegetarian' tone, *The Freethinker* was favourable to vegetarianism; though this probably owed something to the support given to it by T.R. Allinson (who married a friend of Bradlaugh), described in the journal as 'about the most through-going heretic in England'.¹⁴ Allinson lectured on 'freethought in health' in Secularist Halls across London and England.¹⁵

Vegetarianism attracted some chartists: it may well have been another of the 'many sectional or compartmentalised successor movements to chartism'.¹⁶ The most well-known examples are C.H. Neesom and, at least to the extent of writing a vegetarian essay, R.G. Gammage.¹⁷ The *Northern Star* had received communications from the socialist Galpin, at the Concordium, and reviewed Concordist publications. It informed readers of the planned conference which led to the V.S.'s formation.¹⁸

The *Northern Star* did not champion vegetarianism, but individuals could investigate and adopt the diet as part of their personal reform. Charles Kingsley's character John Crossthwaite, in *Alton Locke* (1850), was an idealistic chartist and vegetarian, 'to which perhaps, he owed a great deal of the almost preternatural clearness, volubility, and sensitiveness of his mind'.¹⁹

¹¹I.J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics*, p.263.

¹²E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels. The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791-1866*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974) p.144 (where 'eccentricity' is also discussed in relation to vegetarianism). See also Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp.184-185.

¹³E. Royle, *Radical Politics. 1790-1900. Religion and Unbelief* (London: Longman, 1971), p.59.

¹⁴*The Freethinker* 2 April 1893. Allinson joined the National Secular Society in 1890. See clippings in Allinson Papers, MS 3188, 17 January 1886; MS 3192, 2 February 1890, 25 May 1890, 1 June 1890 (in this year Allinson had weekly advertisements in the journal), 13 February 1891, 26 March 1893, 31 March 1895.

¹⁵*The Truth Seeker. A Journal Devoted to Mental Freedom and Progress*, June 1895, clipping of a leading article, in Allinson Papers, MS 3193. A prize in one *Truth Seeker* competition was a copy of his *Essays*. Note that one of the *Freethinker* sketches (1882) involved in G.W. Foote's blasphemy trial was 'A Carnivorous God', in which God spurns Cain's offerings of vegetables and sauerkraut, W.S. Smith, *The London Heretics*, p.63.

¹⁶As Barrow suggests of medical botany, *Independent Spirits*, pp.170-171. The same is true of Owenism, as already indicated, but Owenism and chartism were not mutually exclusive, see E. Royle, 'Chartists and Owenites- many parts but one body', *Labour History Review* 65:1 (spring 2000), pp.2-21 which emphasizes the shared ideas and personnel, despite theoretical and actual divisions, in the 1830s-1840s.

¹⁷Presumably because Gammage was a medical man. He came second to Dr Lees in an essay competition (*VM*, July 1857). The Library of the University of Newcastle has a copy (Joseph Cowen Tracts), *How to Promote Stability and Zeal Among the Members of the Vegetarian Society*. H.S. Clubb's chartist activity is detailed in his biographical entry.

¹⁸*Northern Star*, 10 July 1847.

¹⁹C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, (1850; London: Macmillan, 1878), p.28.

The socialist revival of the 1880s partly had roots in radical and communitarian traditions which kept alive earlier utopianism.²⁰ Vegetarianism was enthusiastically investigated and adopted by many late Victorian socialists as individuals or in groups. This was despite condemnation as cranks by politics-centred socialists like H.M. Hyndman.²¹ One Labour politician recalled ‘uncompromising zealots’ such as vegetarian advocates, given the ultimatum to subsume their enthusiasms or leave, mostly ‘we went on our way without them’.²² This was not true, as will be demonstrated in chapter 5:1.

Vegetarianism featured as part of that larger counterculture (the ‘Late Victorian Revolt’) against capitalism, traditional gender relations and positivistic science. Whilst its ‘mainstream’ temperance, philanthropic and social purity connections must not be underplayed (and are examined in Chapters 3 and 5), vegetarianism always formed part of what Henry James called ‘humanitary Bohemia’.²³

III

Moral Radical connections.

Many of the supporters and leaders of vegetarianism came from middle-class radicalism, and some from a particular political subculture of the British middle-class radical world, the ‘moral radical’ party which emerged after the Emancipation Act (1833).²⁴ This network of friends,

²⁰S. Rowbotham, ‘“Our Party is the People”: Edward Carpenter and Radicalism in Sheffield,’ in J.G. Rule and R. Malcolmson, eds., *Protest and Survival. The Historical Experience. Essays for E. P. Thompson* (London: Merlin Press, 1993), pp.257-278; S. Yeo, ‘A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain. 1883-1896’, *History Workshop* 4 (Autumn 1977), pp.5-56.

²¹G. Hendrick, *H.S. Salt. Humanitarian Reformer and Man of Letters* (Urbana, Chicago and London: University of Illinois, 1977); S. Winsten, *Salt and his Circle* (London: Hutchinson, 1951), p.62. H.Kean, ‘The “Smooth Cool Men of Science”. The Feminist and Socialist Response to Vivisection,’ *History Workshop Journal* 40 (1995), pp.16-38. See A.J. Davies, *To Build a New Jerusalem. The British Labour Party from Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (1992; Abacus Books, revised edn., 1996) for the continuation of this criticism by figures such as Victor Grayson and George Orwell; see P.C. Gould, *Early Green Politics. Back to nature, Back to the Land, and Socialism in Britain, 1880-1900* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1988) for a treatment of the relationship between socialism, back-to-nature and simple-life tendencies, in which socialism is treated in a monolithic way and interests such as H.S. Salt’s are seen as oddities.

²²H. Snell, *Men, Movements and Myself* (London: J.M. Dent, 1936) p.186, quoted (abridged) in N. Brady, ‘“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality: an examination of the Woman Question in the 1890s as seen through the pages of a contemporary journal’ MA, University of Warwick, 1978.

²³H. James, *The Bostonians*, (serialized in *The Century Magazine*, 1885-1886, volume form 1886) in which Basil Ransom assumes Miss Birdseye’s circle are ‘mediums, communists, vegetarians’ (ch.4).

²⁴The essential study is A. Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge and the Moral Radical Party in Early Victorian Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1987). See also A. Tyrrell, ‘The Moral Radical Party and the Anglo-Jamaican campaign for the abolition of the Negro apprenticeship system’, *English Historical Review*, 99, July 1984, pp.481-482. The term ‘moral radical’ derives from a description in one of their newspapers; and had little contemporary currency. See T.R. Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), ch.4, for an important examination of middle-class social reformers and the ‘religion of improvement’. One of his case studies is the ultra-reformer Joseph Cowen Jnr of Newcastle on Tyne, not vegetarian, but recipient of several vegetarian tracts, see the Cowen Tracts, University of Newcastle. J. Belchem, *Popular Radicalism in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Macmillan Press, 1996), p.97 situates vegetarianism within the ‘expressive’ wing of middle-class ultra-radicalism too. Tyrrell emphasized the

colleagues and acquaintances shared a vital religion, which cast politics in moral terms. They were provincial, came from the worlds of religious Dissent and business, and saw the Commons and London as bastions of the Establishment. They formed pressure groups to influence Parliament and Government.²⁵ Representing a growing confidence by a Dissent which refused the status of second-class citizenship; their contribution to reform movements was disproportionate to their size. One leader, the Quaker Joseph Sturge of Birmingham, was strongly influenced by the overlapping ideas of evangelical Dissent and laissez faire economics. He saw the self-improving Christian as the ideal and voluntary societies as the best mode of collective action. Sturge's associates were voluntaryists, teetotalers and antislavery workers. In an offensive against vested interest and arbitrary power, reforms were promoted in the name of the 'people' against the Establishment. The 'party' has been interpreted as contributing to a mellowing of Liberalism, allowing a mid-century social and political consensus through sharing values with and promoting the interests of, the working classes.

Politics was expressive rather than instrumental, with action prompted by the 'satisfaction of adhering to principle rather than by the prospects of success'.²⁶ Moral consistency whether in antislavery immediatism, religious voluntarism or teetotalism was paramount; pragmatism and compromise were opposed as short-termist. Sturge preferred to be a pressure group leader rather than be accountable to diverse opinion as an MP, public office-bearer or credible spokesman for class. The *Reformer* (subsequently *The Philanthropist*) launched in 1835, was committed to Christian principle; advocating voluntarism, free trade, rights of colonial apprentices, reform of manners, temperance, suffrage extension and anti-aristocratic reforms.

The group possessed a separate identity in the 1830s-1840s, though sharing attitudes with the political reformers/ anti-Tory alliance during elections. Little resembling standard notions of middle-class respectability, the similarities between voluntaryists and chartists were admitted by the *Christian Advocate* in 1838.²⁷ In the 1840s they joined disillusioned chartists in the Complete Suffrage movement. They contributed to a radicalised peace movement, with campaigns for 'people diplomacy', international arbitration, world-court, assembly of nations, anti-armaments and militia efforts, universal postal and measurement systems.²⁸ Burritt's League of Universal Brotherhood

continuing role of moral middle-class radicalism by reference to Frank Parkin's research (*Middle Class Radicalism*, published 1968) on CND activists of the 1960s.

²⁵For the general history of 'pressure from without', and the shared characteristics of nonconformity, provincial vs metropolitan etc, see P. Hollis ed., *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London, E. Arnold, 1974).

²⁶Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge*, p.5.

²⁷Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge*, p.121.

²⁸Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge*, p.144.

included moral radical leaders. The height of apparent success came in the Great Exhibition Year of 1851, with the London Peace Congress.

The subculture had a tendency to become involved in the sciences and ‘pseudo sciences’ of the period through their belief in millennial perfectionism. The Sturge circle espoused phrenology, homeopathy and physical exercise. Sturge was not vegetarian, though in America he had been interested in the ‘Roman simplicity’ of Grahamism.²⁹ He supported Horsell’s ‘democratic’ hydropathic establishment. His nephew, Charles Gilpin, published Passmore Edwards’s moral radical journal *The Public Good* and co-published William Bennett’s vegetarian work.

V

Anti-everythingarianism.

‘You’re getting quite an all-round-man; let’s see, you’re an anti-animal foodist, an anti-tobacconist, an anti-vaccinationist, an anti-drug-dealer, a teetotaler, a tea-teetotaler- anything else?’

‘Well you’ve left out antivivisection and land reformer’

‘So I have. What a phenomenal anti-red-tape lawyer you are!’³⁰

The historian of antivivisectionism points out the ‘lengthy’ list of interests which antivivisectionists supported in publications and speeches, and sees ‘[p]atterns of interest in reform movements’ offering insight into shared ‘latent functions’. Thus antivivisection, antivaccination and opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts were ‘vehicles for hostility toward medicine’. The phenomenon of ‘simultaneous allegiance’ involving no such neat patterns is itself important in revealing ‘an important and under investigated problem, the moral reform mentality in Victorian England.’³¹ Vegetarians accumulated impressive lists of *antis* merely by consistent avoidance of stimulants such as alcohol, tobacco, opium and spices, beyond this, it was ‘one of the most noticeable features of the movement’ that physical puritan consistency was combined with advocacy of other ‘moral and social reforms’.³²

The label of ‘anti-everythingarian’ was used to describe a tendency to simultaneously oppose many conventional or state-enforced activities. This label was applied to the circle of Richard Allen of Dublin, which included James Haughton*, president of the V.S.³³ It was applied by

²⁹Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge*, pp.198-199. Neesom called for Sturge, Quakers and the Peace Movement to complete their work by converting, see *VM*, September 1849, p.13.

³⁰H. Waylen, *Vegetarian*, 25 January 1890, p.55, ‘Mr Chiselwig and how he committed matrimony’.

³¹R.D. French, *Antivivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975), p.231.

³²See Forward, *History*, ch.8 [p.62].

³³H.M. Wigham, *A Christian Philanthropist of Dublin* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1886), pp.13-14 (temperance and antislavery were however their central interest according to Wigham). Allen is identified as a ‘moral radical’ by Dr Tyrrell. The label was picked up in Haughton’s obituary, *DR*, 1 April 1873, p.242. I

F.W. Newman to himself, apparently with humour.³⁴ It was used by *Punch* and picked up by the *Herald of Health*.³⁵ That it was current in provincial circles, associated with vegetarianism, physical puritanism and claims to sanctity, is indicated by its appearance in the *Weston-super-Mare Express* (in the context of a fraudster successfully pretending to piety).³⁶

According to one critical observer, it was purely negative: 'All antis and no pros, all for forbidding and no permitting, for undoing and no doing'.³⁷ Such critics represented it as an intolerant puritanism opposed to all enjoyment. Though asceticism and concern with purity were important elements, the idea that the ultra-reformer was a nihilist with no alternative was a misrepresentation.

Rider Haggard's satire on anti-vaccinationism, *Dr Therne* (1898), which situates the agitation within a broader faddist environment (faddism is explored below), depicts one faddist couple, Martha and Stephen Strong, who:

devoted themselves to the propagation of various "fads". Mr Strong indeed was anti-everything, but, which is rather uncommon in such a man, had no extraneous delusions; that is to say, he was not a Christian Scientist, or a Blavatskyist, or a Great Pyramidist.³⁸

Martha does have a crotchet, the Anglo Saxon descent from the lost tribes of Israel, but Haggard at least recognised that being anti-everything was not necessarily a descent into negativism. Stephen's generous enthusiasms include support for old age pension, a graduated income tax, the abolition of 'tied' housing, and the payment of M.P.s.

am grateful to Dr Tyrrell for a copy of his paper, 'The Antieverythingarians and the Moral Radical Party in early and mid-Victorian Britain' (July 1998).

³⁴See A.M. Schellenberg '“Prize the Doubt”. The Life and Works of Francis William Newman' unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Durham, 1994, p.94. I.G. Sieveking, *Memoirs and Letters of Francis W. Newman* (London: Kegan Paul, 1909), p.314, for letter he sent to Doremus: 'Can I assent to the request that I will myself write something? Others might wish to know in how many Antis I have been and am engaged!! Certainly more than you will care to make known will go into two pages of your magazine'.

³⁵*Punch*, 14 January 1865, p.15, 'Anti-Everything Societies', condemning 'the fussy impertinence of restless and officious noodles' such as vegetarians and teetotalers. *HH*, October 1889, p.111. See also *Vegetarian*, 8 December 1888, p.566, reporting *Galvani* on Isaac Pitman as an 'anti-everythingist'. The label also appears in the anonymous vegetarian tract *Stomach Worship, A Growl* (1881), and *Forward's History*, p.62.

³⁶Transcription of a clipping from *Weston-super-Mare Gazette*, in W.R. Richards of Martock's late Victorian scrapbook, published on the Internet by Marijke Hysse (full reference in bibliography).

³⁷'The New Humanitarianism', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, January 1898, pp.98-106.

³⁸Haggard does not indicate they have been vegetarians, and Stephen is not teetotal now. Another, sympathetic depiction, is cited in C. Binfield, '“I Suppose you are not a Baptist or a Roman Catholic?” Nonconformity's True Conformity', in T.C. Smout, ed., *Victorian Values (Proceedings of British Academy, 78; Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1990)*, pp.81-107 (p.86), Gordon Stowell's *The History of Button Hill* (1929), set in late Victorian Leeds. Alfred Ellersby, (ironically, a leather merchant) is a 'teetotaler, a non-smoker, and a vegetarian, all on principle. He also believed in universal disarmament and Home Rule and women's rights and fresh air, and a host of other rebellious and unpopular things'.

It is not always easy to apportion primacy to a particular interest when looking at the individual 'all-round reformer'. An individual could only commit so much energy and attention to one cause, and though it is surprising just how expansive and hardworking people were in their range of interests (particularly when their occupations are also considered), vegetarianism could be a side issue, albeit one requiring to be practised (and the practice having social implications). For others it formed a central belief, or unifying concept, as seen in the previous section on the religious aspect. Where detailed biographies exist, it is possible to apportion the 'alsos' according to the subject's own understanding of their often changing priorities.

The historian's difficulty reflects contemporary difficulty. R.D. French's observation that a 'significant' amount of involvement in antivivisection movement was motivated by the desire to *participate* quite as much as the fulfilment of aims can be applied more generally: the anti-everythingarian wanted to support all principled movements. The dilemma can be seen in Caldwell Harpur* who cheerfully admitted 'I have not yet joined any Vegetarian Society. There are so many things that the world wants reform in, and I find I sympathise with a good many of them'.³⁹

Thorough-going reformers combined reforms in their own person, in institutions and regular events, and in publications. Some representative anti-everythingarians have been cited, the eclecticism of Horsell and Burns' depots has been indicated. The publications will be examined elsewhere. Communitarian experiments were another location for eclectic experiments and reform interests. One regular universal reform event (from 1841) was Dr John Lee's 'Annual Festival for the Promotion of Peace, Temperance ['even if not carried to the acme of its perfection' according to the 1857 report, published by Horsell], Anti-Tobacco, Universal Brotherhood and other Society Reforms (Female Rights at home and abroad, antislavery abroad)', held at Hartwell House in Buckingham.⁴⁰ In 1854 Horsell and a vegetarian colleague reported a favourable reception: vegetarianism had formed the 'principle topic' at Dr Lee's table. Despite the coverage of a wide range of moral radical concerns, vegetarianism never featured officially although Horsell was a frequent participant.⁴¹ Another mid-Victorian festival for reformers took place at Blennerhasset, Cumberland (see chapter 3).

³⁹*Vegetarian*, 7 December 1895, p.598. In Harpur's case it was metrication, abolition of classical education and orthodox astronomy, drink and teetotal legislation, Saturday as the Sabbath, support for Salvation Army-made Matches, promotion of Oliver Cromwell as national hero and nationalization of property.

⁴⁰See *Report of the Proceedings of the Hartwell Peace and Temperance Festival* (London 1857-64). *Hartwell and Temperance Festival*, (London: Caudwell, 1864), p.5, history of the festival. Horsell, and fellow London vegetarian-phrenologist-temperance worker Jabez Inwards were frequent visitors to the festival. Horsell's death was noted in report for 1864, p.78. Hartwell was also reported, with the same engravings, in the *Temperance Star*. John Lee (1783-1866), antiquarian, scientist, barrister, advanced liberal, teetotaller and opponent of tobacco, see *DNB* entry (which ignores the festivals). An obituary in *Jewish Chronicle*, 9 March 1866, described him as a 'man of most advanced liberalism'.

⁴¹Other topics included anti-duelling, anti-slave trade, aboriginal protection, encouragement of agriculture and horticulture, education, Ocean Penny Postage, Religious Liberty and the Administrative Reform

The Humanitarian League has already been discussed, as a late Victorian attempt to unify humanitarian impulses. Another meeting place for reformers was the 'Bond of Union among Workers for the Common Good', established (August 1893) by Frances Lord, to get people thinking about 'associated reform work'. It had Josiah Oldfield representing food reform and was covered by the journal *Shafts*.⁴² A humbler version of alliance in 'progressive philanthropy' of the physical puritan kind (with an emphasis on individual reform as the key), was G.B. Taylor's * Progressive Tract Mission. This (fl. c.1884- late 1890s) circulated 'plain, pleasant and profitable books, tracts, cards and placards for the spiritual, physical and social progress of all'. The causes involved were temperance, food reform, anti-vaccination, 'morality', peace, anti-tobacco, 'health' and religion. Tracts were distributed to families, to workers in factories and shops, and to a range of institutions, from hospitals and workhouses to police stations and barracks: in fact to anyone that would receive them.⁴³

VI

The Language of Faddism.

Because physiological 'reforms' seem unpolitical, and because many are defunct, they were treated as embarrassing hobbies on the part of serious reformers, indicative of dilettante tendencies, and a diversion from serious reforms. Historians, over the last three decades, have become more sympathetic towards marginal or the unconventional movements, and it is no longer acceptable to refer to these as fads, crotchets or crankish notions.⁴⁴ Yet the language of faddism needs to be explored, since it was with this vocabulary that the movement was frequently discussed, represented and perceived.⁴⁵ The vocabulary was repeatedly used to stigmatise supporters of vegetarianism and other causes.

This language belittled both the ideas and the individual. Vegetarians were accused of being people of one-idea, narrow-minded, holding an exaggerated view about the significance of their cause. This could reflect a form of insanity- monomania- in which the sufferer held an irrational

Association.

⁴²*Shafts*, November 1897, p.305.

⁴³See *MD*, 3 July 1885, p.429, 7 August 1885, p.507, 6 November 1885, p.713.

⁴⁴See for instance A.F.Tyler, *Freedom's Ferment. Phases of American Social History from the Colonial period to the Outbreak of the Civil War* (1944; New York: Harper and Row, 1962), Foreword, p.v: 'For too long we have paid amused attention to the fads and fancies of the early nineteenth century' and 'quacks and charlatans', p.441. Tyler's book is a pioneering survey of the Jacksonian 'ferment of reform' but is flawed by its odd failure to treat seriously Grahamism and other physiological reforms apart from temperance. See J.F.C. Harrison, *The Early Victorians* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), p.173 for the new appraisal of 'those isms with which we do not sympathise, and which appear too outlandish to be taken seriously'; and Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge*, pp.3-4 concerning Sturge's waning reputation.

⁴⁵Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.23, rightly asserts that vegetarianism is a 'social phenomenon' and a 'choice made available within culture' and that discussion of personality adjustment and faddism is insufficient. Yet faddism and the language of faddism need examination.

view on one particular subject.⁴⁶ Their interest was a fashionable ‘folly’ or ‘craze’, an unreasonable, fleeting, enthusiasm.⁴⁷ A ‘fad’ was a trifle, or a foolish idea, often about social or political reform held (and promoted by the faddist) with peculiar intensity. A vegetarian was a ‘crank’, whose eccentric ideas went with irascibility.⁴⁸ Vegetarianism could also be described as a ‘crotchet’, with the same meaning of peculiarity, unconventionality and perversity.⁴⁹ Faddism could be represented as a want of judgment, the rule of a limited mind by the heart. In Haggard’s *Dr Thorne*, Martha is described as ‘amiable but weak-minded’, her husband as ‘goodhearted though misguided’. To be dietetically unconventional was to be suspected of some mental quirk, perhaps harmless, perhaps indicative of a more serious mental instability.⁵⁰

That individual temperament or psychology played a part in all-round reform is undoubted. James Burns, who believed himself to be predisposed to heresy through his father, declared that ‘the one who is an “odd fish” in one thing is quite likely to be so in all others, and that has been my happy lot from my earliest infancy’.⁵¹ The historian of the ‘moral radicals’ has referred to ‘an individual quirkiness that placed [them] amongst the most disputatious people in Britain’.⁵² But what of the implications about sanity?

Sir Dyce Duckworth described vegetarianism as ‘one of the many “fads” so rife at the present day amongst people more or less crazy’.⁵³ Apart from reports of vegetarianism and physical puritanism taken to uncomfortable lengths in colonies- the asylum offered by communities often attracted the mentally unstable- critics had cases where vegetarianism was indicative of insanity.⁵⁴

⁴⁶Thus the popular *Science Siftings*, ‘One-Idea People’, 16 January 1897, cited in *Vegetarian*: vegetarians and the ‘whole body of “professional” agitators and miscalled reformers are men of one idea’. The *Vegetarian*’s editor replied that vegetarians were usually ‘full of the catholicity of reform and of the beauty of a well-ordered universe’.

⁴⁷See J.H. Nightingale and C. Millward’s farce, ‘Bloomerism, or Follies of the Day’, successfully performed at the Adelphi in 1851, which ridiculed the absurdities/ mutual intolerances of vegetarianism, phonetics, the peace movement and women’s rights: British Library, Lord Chamberlain’s Plays, vol.173 ff.1009 (9).

⁴⁸G.J. Holyoake, *Sixty Years of an Agitator’s Life*, 2 vols. (London, T.Fisher and Unwin) II, defining a crank p.97: ‘one who mistakes his impressions for ideas, or, having ideas resting on proof only perceived by himself, insists, in season and out of season, on attention being given to them’.

⁴⁹Usage and definitions are from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, and *Chambers’ Dictionary* of 1883.

⁵⁰See *Littell’s Living Age*, 35:438, 9 October 1852, p.35, reprinting an article from the *Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology*, in which Samuel Laman Blanchard’s vegetarianism is mentioned: ‘an undoubted mark of eccentricity, whatever vegetarians may say or think’; T.P. Smith, ‘Vegetarianism’, *Fortnightly Review*, July-December 1895, pp.752-764. on vegetarianism being ‘regarded by most people as a sign of craziness’ (and leading to mental and physical degeneration); W.H. Taylor, in *Vegetarian* 12 November 1898, p.727 on vegetarians’ treatment as lunatics when he was at school.

⁵¹*MD*, 4 November 1892, p.706.

⁵²Tyrrell, ‘The Antieverythingarians’.

⁵³*Vegetarian*, 10 February 1894, p.65.

⁵⁴See M.D. Conway, ‘Sheffield- A Battlefield of English Labour’, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* (NY) April 1868, pp.594-605, for comment on the reform career of Isaac Ironside, passing through various ultra reforms ‘not without narrow escapes from lunatic asylums’ [p.602].

John James Daw*, a convert to Judaism and vegetarianism, was believed by his friends to be insane, and in 1853 after being charged with petty larceny his eccentricity was reported in the *Times*, *Punch*, *Glasgow Examiner* and *Weekly Dispatch*.⁵⁵ Herbert Goodale*, a mason from Twickenham who killed himself after murdering his family in 1899, was also reported in the press. P.H. Echlin's* dietetic extremism was alluded to at the inquest following his suicide in 1909. A vein of oddity certainly existed in vegetarianism. Men such as Pierre Baume*, William Price of Llantrisant*, J.E. Duncan*, and R.S. Wilson* were odd people, whose vegetarianism could be taken as of a piece by contemporary observers.

The pioneer's challenge to conventional ideas and practice invited and invites the label of eccentric.⁵⁶ People identified as eccentric often played important roles in local and national efforts.⁵⁷ When a movement was marginal through infancy or feebleness, it might be susceptible to cranks and faddists. G.J. Holyoake, with long experience of advanced radicalism, recalled that the cooperative movement in its nascent, 'enthusiastic period', had been beset by 'a sort of freemarket place, where everybody could deposit specimens of his notions for inspection or sale'.⁵⁸ One historian of the antislavery movement has seen the marginalized movement of the mid-1850s as attracting 'more than its fair share of cranks, visionaries, and habitual schismatics'.⁵⁹

People who gloried in their eccentric status were attracted to other eccentric ideas. Movements which wanted their own unpopular beliefs tolerated might be reluctant to deny a hearing for other unpopular causes. Thus the *Vegetarian* published correspondence on the flat-earth theory and articles on dress reform.⁶⁰ Obviously there was a risk.

⁵⁵ VM, October 1853, controversialist: p.19, pp.23-24.

⁵⁶ See D. Weeks and J. James, *Eccentrics: A Study of Sanity and Strangeness*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), the first 'clinical' examination, by a clinical neuropsychologist and a journalist. Distinguishing eccentricity from mental illness, they believe it is measurable by psychological tests. Examining modern and historical eccentrics, they conclude that eccentrics live healthier, happier and longer lives. Symptoms identified include nonconforming, creativity, curiosity, idealism and obsession with hobbies.

⁵⁷ See Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p.149, for the conclusion that 'The pillars of teetotalism in rural areas were therefore often eccentrics or Quakers who had little to lose by an additional eccentricity, and whose income could not be threatened by squires and parsons'. See also his reference to 'distinctive personality', in B. Harrison, 'Some Questions for the Local Historian' *The Local Historian* 8:5 (1968-1969), pp.180-186: 'Many prominent temperance reformers verge on eccentricity; many were hydropathists, vegetarians or phrenologists'. The key defence of eccentricity in this period is of course, J.S. Mill's, *On Liberty*; see *Drink and the Victorians*, p.159. HH, January 1897, p.6 relates this defence to the life of pioneer vegetarians like James Salsbury. Mill had tried vegetarianism for health reasons, see *Vegetarian*, 8 June 1889, p.355.

⁵⁸ G.J. Holyoake, *History of Cooperation*, vol.I, p.80, p.217.

⁵⁹ H. Temperley, *British Anti-slavery. 1833-1870* (Harlow: Longman, 1972), p.246. 'T.M. Jnr', *Vegetarian*, 18 February 1893, p.81, called for fresh blood to replace worn out and crankish activists.

⁶⁰ See *Vegetarian*, 1896 for correspondence about flat-earth, and dress reform efforts by W.A. Macdonald*: of whom a friend had declared, *Vegetarian*, February 1895, p.20, 'Behold, there comes after me a mightier "crank" than I, the thongs of whose sandals I'm unworthy to untie!'

Supporting an unpopular cause could satisfy a psychological need to be different, not in itself an indication of mental instability. It allowed the assumption of a self-flattering persona: the advanced, progressive and superior character. One former vegetarian, the horticulturist Hibberd, indicated this motivation in a short story:

You know how pliable and impressionable I am. I could smile, I could even ridicule the absurdities that surrounded me, and yet I had a secret liking for all the singularities of the sect to which many plausible persuasions had attached me. Perhaps vanity aids us in putting ourselves apart from our fellow men, and thus we are enabled to set commonsense at defiance.⁶¹

Faddism could, as here, be associated with *youthful* radical posturing, such as Shelleyan idealism (along with flowing centre-parted hair ⁶²). It has been seen that Samuel Brown and G.H. Lewes admitted to a youthful investigation of vegetarianism inspired by Shelley, there were probably many more (Shelleyanism is discussed in chapter 6).⁶³ A few of the young Christian Socialists of the 1850s took up vegetarianism and other progressive causes:

I am bound to admit that a strong vein of fanaticism and eccentricity ran through our ranks, which the marvellous patience, gentleness, and wisdom of our beloved president [F.D. Maurice] were not enough to counteract or control. Several of our most active and devoted members were also strong Vegetarians and phoneticists. In a generation when beards and wideawakes were looked upon as insults to decent society, some of us wore both with most heroic indifference to public opinion.⁶⁴

The beard did indeed join vegetarianism as a sign of the enthusiast, so that pioneers like Horsell and J.E. Duncan looked very clearly different.⁶⁵ The fact of vegetarianism alone, however, was enough to make a convert the local freak, throughout the period.⁶⁶

⁶¹S. Hibberd, 'Beans without bacon. A Pythagorean Romance,' in *The Golden Gate and Silver Steps with bits of tinsel round about it* (London: E.W. Allen, 1886).

⁶²For Victorians, indicative of bohemianism/ and or effeminacy. See F.B. Smith, *Radical Artisan*, p.17 (of W. J. Linton, c. 1838); *Punch*, January- June 1854, p.11; p.97: 'The man who parts his hair down the middle'.

⁶³See *VM*, September 1898, pp.429-431. Shelleyanism was the second most important factor in responses to an inquiry about the reason for conversion.

⁶⁴T. Hughes, *Memoirs of a Brother* (cited *DR*, September 1874, p.106). See W. Benzie, *Dr F.J. Furnivall. Victorian Scholar Adventurer* (Oklahoma: Pilgrim, 1983), p.19-20. Furnivall, C.B. Mansfield* and Archibald Campbell* are being alluded to.

⁶⁵Duncan failed to get a letter published in *Chambers' Journal* on beard-wearing, written probably with Horsell ('a brother beard-wearer'), after a letter was published which called for a society to practice 'Wearing the Beard'. Duncan's beard dismayed Holyoake, Lovett and others. The reproduced engraving of Horsell was an embarrassment to H.S. Salt, *Vegetarian*, 11 December 1897, p.694 since he seemed like a homicidal maniac or Orestes pursued by the Furies. For reluctance to add the beard to other vegetarian crotchets, see *VM*, March 1854, p.31 (and April, pp.44-46). The *Monthly Homoeopathic Review* discussed

An unoccupied, childless and unmarried state could motivate faddism, it was implied. Spare time, boredom and the desire for fulfillment provided recruits. The *Worcester Herald* felt that vegetarianism, the new pinnacle of extremism, was a sad manifestation of idleness on the part of men of 'education', men 'shockingly at a loss for objects on which to employ their time'.⁶⁷ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1859) similarly pointed to the social and psychological function of reform activity.⁶⁸ In Haggard's *Dr Thorne*, it is certainly hinted that the Strong's' childless state is an important factor in their enthusiasms.

Boredom rather than radicalism is certainly the motivation for the nature cure and other fads taken up by the mainly unmarried upper-middle-class characters in the humorist E. F. Benson's novels, from the Edwardian period onwards.⁶⁹ The dropping of one 'advanced' craze for a newer hobby, satirised by Benson, was no new development. The late Nineteenth century cliché of the 'new' had been an animating idea, as 'newness,' for Anglo-American progressives of the 1840s.⁷⁰

VII

Ancillary concerns: the vegetarian debate.

Vegetarians were well aware of their faddist reputation. Some accepted it, for instance the peace activist Richard Gill: 'Personally, I have many "fads"- most Vegetarians have'.⁷¹ Speaking at that mid-Victorian forum for universal reforms, Hartwell, Edmund Fry of the Peace Society, gloried in the status of a crotchety man:

They had heard, what many would doubtless consider, extreme views advocated from that platform; some might go a step further, and say, that those who held such views 'were crotchety men.' He for one, rejoiced that there were such 'crotchety men' in the world. They would generally be found to be

the question, 1861, pp.97-108.

⁶⁶*VM*, 1 July 1856, p.62 (J.J.Beach*); *DR*, January 1869 (John Sully*); December 1873, p.335 (N. Hennessey*); *VM*, May 1935, p.161, Sheltons'* recollection of their status in late Victorian Ely; *HH*, November 1907, pp.201-202 for Annie Cobden Sanderson's* recollection of the curiosity value of the 'pale and strange' vegetarian lecturer of c.1883.

⁶⁷'IV: Times and Seasons', *Worcester Herald*, 5 August 1848, (p.4 of unpaginated newspaper).

⁶⁸'Popular Literature- Tracts' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 85:523 (May 1859), pp.515-532. See p.524, 'The society of Vegetarians have tried to inveigle him [Joblings] into their ranks, but without success hitherto- his sausages and hams are at stake; but he reads the publications of that association with great pleasure, and is glad to partake of their annual dinner'. The essential examination of the latent function of philanthropy and reform is B. Harrison, 'Philanthropy and the Victorians', *Victorian Studies* 9:4 (June 1966), pp.353-374.

⁶⁹See E.F. Benson's *The Freaks of Mayfair*, and *Paying Guests*: Benson is discussed further in chapter 6.

⁷⁰J.E.M. Latham, *The Search for a New Eden*, p.168, who notes that its first dated usage in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is 1865.

⁷¹*Vegetarian*, 23 February 1889, p.123.

simply men who lived in advance of the times. What would the world be now if none of the crotchety men had preceded us.⁷²

Well-known reformers like H.S. Salt and Edward Carpenter, who could be accused by observers of faddism, were the target of all sorts of ‘faddists’ and ‘cranks’ themselves, as they recalled (ironically?) in their autobiographies.⁷³ An Edwardian reformer glorying in the title of crank, was C.W. Daniel (1871-1955) who founded the journal *The Crank*.⁷⁴

The diversity of vegetarian motivations was a virtue that could be exploited for the cause.⁷⁵ It has been seen how A.F. Hills welcomed a very broad understanding of vegetarianism: ‘The largeness of our platform is the measure of our influence,’ with inclusiveness rather than limitation and the ‘wretched bickering over beggarly elements, the narrowing littleness of alimentary absorption’.⁷⁶ Others were less tolerant of affiliation.⁷⁷ Pragmatic concern at the overshadowing of the primary message by ancillary concerns was expressed by F.W. Newman in 1868, on the verge of conversion, concerned that by ‘wandering into such topics as War and Teetotalism, and Capital Punishment, and Women’s Suffrage, they exceedingly weaken the effect of their advice’.⁷⁸ Discussion of the vegetarian programme in 1886 found J.A. Thornberry denying vegetarianism necessarily meant, ‘... (as the wits are, even now, too ready to say it does) anti-vaccination, teetotalism, radicalism, or any other “ism”. One “ism” at a time is enough’:

If we wish to ventilate our little fads, now and again, let us, for the sake of vegetarianism, if for nothing else, be careful to do so only in the hearing of the faithful.⁷⁹

⁷²*Report of the Proceedings of the Hartwell Peace and Temperance Festival* (London: Horsell, 1857), p.17.

⁷³See E. Carpenter, *My Days and Dreams. Being Autobiographical Notes* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1916), ch.10; H.S. Salt, *Seventy Years Among the Savages* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1921), pp.176-8. Salt was described as a ‘compendium of cranks’, his Humanitarian League a ‘Cranks’ Carnival’ (see *Seedtime*, 1893, p.9). See also C.W. Forward, *Vegetarian News*, 1921: ‘I have met people in the vegetarian movement with the wildest views upon certain other topics which they never lost an opportunity of airing, and who yet would solemnly remark that it was ‘a pity there were so many “faddists” in our ranks’.

⁷⁴Daniel was employed by Walter Scott, the late 1890s publisher of Tolstoy, and established his own company to promote Tolstoyanism. *The Crank. An Unconventional Magazine* (established 1904, edited by his wife F.E. Warland, renamed *The Open Road*) promoted anarchism, pacifism and food reform. Its mottoes were ‘Take nothing for granted’ and ‘A Crank is a little thing that makes revolutions’.

⁷⁵See *Brighouse and Rastrick Gazette*, quoted in *VM*, January 1892, p.5: ‘The mission of the non-flesh eaters covers so many side issues that it may be regarded as one of the most important and progressive reforms of the latter days’.

⁷⁶*Vegetarian*, 22 June, 1889, pp.394-395, letter in reply from A.F. Hills.

⁷⁷See B. Harrison, ‘Teetotal Chartism’ *History* 58 (1973), pp.193-217, on the resistance by O’ Connor to chartist affiliation by teetotalism.

⁷⁸*DR*, April 1868, pp.34-37.

⁷⁹*DR*, February 1886, pp.37-38.

Doremus, an activist in the N.F.R.S., felt that in the 1850s there had been ‘many other reforms mixed with it [Food Reform], and not until outside issues have dropped did vegetarians make progress.’ The perception that vegetarianism was a religion which required acceptance of other ‘antis’ as articles of faith, concerned him.⁸⁰ Chandos Wallace complained that straying from the ‘text’ was hardly fair to other reform organisations.⁸¹

VIII

Radicalization through vegetarianism.

Vegetarianism could be seen as emanating from a radical environment, promoted by liberal and reforming individuals. Joseph Barker* thus defended the new movement in his paper:

The advocates of vegetarianism are not the enemies of the working classes, they are not the advocates of hereditary rule or class legislation. They belong, in general, to the liberal school, both in theology and politics. They are, in many cases, devout and earnest enemies of aristocratic oppression and royal tyranny. Some of the ablest advocates of vegetarianism are Republicans in politics, and honest, thorough going Latitudinarians in theology. Some of them have given the strongest proofs of their attachment to the cause of the people, and of their wish to promote the interests of the labouring classes.⁸²

Later, Oscar Wilde, writing to the poet ‘Violet Fane’* on the subject of vegetarianism in 1888, noted its modern anarchist, atheist, socialist and other political associations: ‘It is strange that the most violent republicans I know are all vegetarians’.⁸³ Vegetarianism was probably rarely a *source* of radicalism for most of its followers, being a position *reached* in the context of personal radicalism.⁸⁴ Yet the diet *was* a radical stance and a heresy given its interpretation of scripture and official medical belief.⁸⁵ It could act as a highly visible mark of dissent.⁸⁶ Accepting one heresy *could* lead to rejecting

⁸⁰ *Vegetarian*, 15 June, 1889, p.378. Another critic of faddism was Forward; his *The Confessions of a Vegetarian*, c.1893 (no copy located) satirised ‘going the whole gooseberry’. An example of refusal to join a V.S.’s because of the faddism, is Oliver Hancock, *HGA*, 15 June 1896, p.92.

⁸¹ *Vegetarian*, 11 June 1892, p.286.

⁸² ‘Vegetarianism,’ *The People*, 2:91, pp.309-310.

⁸³ J.Mason, *Oscar Wilde on Vegetarianism. An unpublished letter to Violet Fane with an Introduction and Notes* (England: Tregara Press, 1991).

⁸⁴ See S. Pollard’s comment on Belchem’s essay in the J.F.C. Harrison festschrift, *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison*, in his review, *Labour History Review*, 62, no.3 (winter 1997), where vegetarianism is accepted as a source of radicalism frequently overlooked.

⁸⁵ Its association with late eighteenth century radicals such as Rousseau, and John Oswald, was never of great importance for critics, because they did not know anything about them. But see *Progress*, May 1886, where the ‘general opinion seems to be that our English Revolution is within a measurable distance’ made it natural that T.R. Allinson should proclaim a Gospel of Brown Bread, ‘what more natural and proper than to have a Rousseau heralding the storm and proclaiming that we must undo the social contract, return to state of primeval simplicity, and set up Nebuchadnezzar as a vegetarian model’. See Allinson Papers, MS 3189.

other orthodoxies.⁸⁷ Some observations or fears about the atheist tendency have already been quoted. Observers such as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* could not help thinking 'that physical heresies involve other heresies still more portentous'.⁸⁸ The few recoverable instances include H.S. Salt, radicalized through vegetarianism, Shelley and Henry George; Salt recalled that vegetarianism had been viewed as a far greater heresy than socialism at Eton: because it had required practical assent.⁸⁹

In 1856 the *Vegetarian Messenger*, discussing 'kindred movements', made a claim for its own radical character:

We are sometimes told that we are, as Vegetarians "ready for anything"; which implies nothing precisely unfavourable, but, on the contrary, may gently be taken to mean that we are more radical, and go further than others choose, or would like to follow.⁹⁰

The understanding of radicalism here was its ultra-consistency, its assertion that it was going to the root of social and moral problems.⁹¹ Forward (and many others), credited the dietary with exalting philanthropic faculties and widening the scope of sympathies.⁹²

Vegetarianism had pretensions to be considered *the* indispensable reform. The infant V.S. boasted of an attention and respect which had 'seldom been enjoyed by social, intellectual, or moral movements, during the first few years of their Existence.'⁹³ Belchem sees vegetarianism involved in 'competitive bidding, seeking to outdistance other forms of "expressive" reform,' and has outlined the attempt to make it 'the symbolic defining issue of "compleat" reform in the 1840s'.⁹⁴ Naturally enthusiastic vegetarians keen to stake their claim to public attention and the support of progressives presented their cause as Reform's keystone. Thus William Harvey* in 1850 explained that all his

⁸⁶See Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, p.168.

⁸⁷See W.B. Withers, 'Progressivism of vegetarianism', *VA*, 1 July 1849, p.134; and Bernard Henry in 'Letters', *History Workshop Journal*, Autumn 1978, p.222 on his father, a socialist, vegetarian, antivaccinationist, antivivisectionist: 'as he explained to me, once you have challenged one belief you go on challenging.'

⁸⁸'Irenaeus', 'War and Woodcraft', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 79 (April 1856), pp.388-403 [p.395], commenting on physical heresies such as teetotalism and vegetarianism.

⁸⁹H.S.Salt, *Seventy Years*, p.62. *Vegetarian*, 24 January 1888, p.59 reported a Dr Tanner's view, in the *American Liberty*, that vegetarianism produced Anarchists, see an anarchist vegetarian's reply.

⁹⁰*VM*, December 1856, p.93.

⁹¹See also Horsell, *Two Worlds*, 2 October 1858, p.1.

⁹²Forward, *History*, p.62.

⁹³*VA*, 15 August 1850, pp.3-4, referring to the Manchester festival of 1849.

⁹⁴J. Belchem, ' "Temperance in all things": vegetarianism, the Manx press and the alternative agenda of reform in the 1840s' in M. Chase and I. Dyck eds., *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J.F.C. Harrison* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1996), pp.149-160. Vegetarian claims echo teetotal, e.g., Thomas Smeeton, 'The Dependence of All Useful Institutions on "Total Abstinence"' *The British League; or Total Abstinence Magazine*, 1847, p.156.

vegetarian acquaintances were keen supporters of peace, temperance, education, sanitary, financial and parliamentary reform because 'their system being deeper and wider than those, comprehended them all'.⁹⁵

They castigated those reformers who failed to take the 'rational' step in diet. The comprehensive 'Tendency of Food Reform' was still being claimed in the 1880s-1890s.⁹⁶ Vegetarianism could also be advocated, not just as an essential reform, but the *universal* reform, as *panacea*. Though some large claims were made for it, this outlook was unusual.⁹⁷

IX

The kinship of causes.

The V.S. noted the importance of other efforts in support of the 'one great principle of truth' and emphasised that 'there is scarcely an individual on the register of the Society, who is not also actively identified, more or less, with the other great reformatory movements of the day.'⁹⁸ In his notebook one vegetarian, John Wright of Bolton, wrote that:

Vegetarianism, teetotalism, peace, the settling of national disputes by arbitration, the abolition of capital punishment, and of slavery, being kindred questions, are of the same class of principles.⁹⁹

They could be seen as kindred because they involved principled personal behaviour, the removal of brutality and pain, and the perfection of society. Reformers thought this natural: virtues, like vices, went together¹⁰⁰; 'all good things pull together'.¹⁰¹ In one rare reflection on involvement in kindred societies, J. Passmore Edwards*, sometime vegetarian, recalled his activity in an array of organisations (societies opposed to capital punishment, military flogging, taxes on knowledge and the opium trade) which he saw as:

⁹⁵ VM, September 1850, p.126. It would make 'every other good thing' easier to achieve, VM, 1 May 1856, p.37.

⁹⁶ E.D.C. Butterfield, 'Tendency of Food Reform', *Food Reform Magazine*, January 1882, pp.103-104.

⁹⁷ See 'Harold', *The British Controversialist* 1850, pp.230-231; 'Social Science', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, October 1861, p.476: 'the most vapid of all panaceas for the ills to which flesh is heir to-vegetarian diet.' [in context of Ireland], for presentation of the cause as a universal cure. See also 'The Congress and the Agapedome', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 70 (September 1851), pp.359-378 [p.431].

⁹⁸ VA, 15 August 1850, p.3.

⁹⁹ VM, August 1850, p.112.

¹⁰⁰ *People's Press*, September 1847, on Alcott House: 'Virtues are found in groups, as well as vices in a herd', p.236.

¹⁰¹ Richard Cobden, quoted in P. Hollis, 'Introduction', Hollis, ed., *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London, 1974). Note the assumption in *Vegetarian*, 11 July 1893, p.334, J. Nugent's appeal for literature on 'vegetarianism, Social Purity, Temperance, Tobacco, Anti-Vaccination, Land Reform' *etc.*, *etc.*, [my italics].

in spirit and in aim parts of one whole. They sprang from similar necessities, were nurtured by similar motives, represented so many phases of the National Reform Movement, and assisted to educate the head, heart, and conscience of the people.¹⁰²

Perfectionism was a central outlook and manifested itself in 'temperance' in a range of personal activities. It stemmed in part, especially in the early Victorian period, from a belief in the millennium which has been recognized as far from a 'fringe' belief in Britain and America, and was obviously a central idea in utopian communitarianism.¹⁰³ Millennialism motivated Christians and infidels, radicals and conservatives. Identifying this mentality helps unify diverse reform interests:

What looks like a random scattering of reforming enthusiasms was often a religious and moral vision tintured with post millennial and perfectionist beliefs in which an optimistic reading of scriptural prophecies helped to interpret the latest news about the nineteenth century 'March of Mind'.¹⁰⁴

Along with perfectionism went immediatism. Their refusal to compromise led Charles Dickens to write a critical essay on extremist reform movements- vegetarianism, teetotalism and peace- operating on an 'American' principle of 'whole hog'. He poured scorn on their lack of perspective: 'Stew so much as the bone of a mutton chop in the pot with your vegetables, and you will never make another Eden out of a Kitchen Garden'.¹⁰⁵

Most moral reformers shared a social justification for their earnestness and apparent trouble-making, conceiving or justifying their causes as efforts for the public good. *The Times*, in its discussion of the inauguration of a revived anti-capital punishment activity in 1846 expressed the view that activism was motivated by vanity and arrogance:

¹⁰²J. Passmore Edwards, *A Few Footprints* (London: Clement's House, 1905), where he neglects to mention his vegetarianism, possibly because he was listing societies in which he was, for the most part, on committees.

¹⁰³A. Tyrrell, *Historical Journal*, 20 (March 1978). This is distinct from millenarianism, which, according to I.J. Prothero, *Artisans and Politics in Early Nineteenth Century London. John Gast and his Times*, p.263 maybe 'a concept currently used by historians to evade explaining as much as anything else'. The idea of perfectibility in relation to utopia is discussed in K. Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987).

¹⁰⁴A. Tyrrell and Pickering, ' "In the Thickest of the Fight": the Reverend James Scholefield (1790-1855) and the Bible Christians of Salford', *Albion* 26:3 (Fall 1994), pp.461-482 [p.465].

¹⁰⁵C. Dickens, 'Whole Hogs', *Household Words*, no. 74, 23 August, 1851, pp.505-507. See chapter 6 for further reference.

Their labours in the cause of human improvement are invested with a halo of holy mystification which sheds a glory upon the meanest work. There is nothing they will not do, and better far than this there is nothing they believe they cannot do.¹⁰⁶

A unifying theme of a 'sociology of sin' has been suggested for reform movements of the 1840s including phrenology, Owenism, Fourierism, Swedenborgianism, temperance and vegetarianism.¹⁰⁷ It might be just as accurate to characterise it as a 'sociology of hope and striving'. Vegetarians were progressives, who believed that progress (however defined) was possible.¹⁰⁸

Antipathy to authority, to the self-appointed experts was often a feature of these movements, with the common rhetoric of 'slavery' and 'emancipation'. The influence of religious dissent (for believers and unbelievers) continued to be important. Secularist involvement in a range of reform activities such as teetotalism, or antivivisection, or vegetarianism obviously stemmed from the freethinker's refusal to accept (medical) orthodoxy uncritically.¹⁰⁹

To accept one truth was to open the way for others, since the hold of prejudice was loosened.¹¹⁰ Vegetarians were often truthseekers who investigated the reform and, convinced of its validity, felt morally obliged to attack error. Joseph Barker's words to his readers, when convinced about vegetarianism, neatly express this sentiment:

I feel reluctant myself to urge so many reforms upon my readers and my friends; but what can I do? If I really see reason to believe that another improvement can be made by myself or my friends, and I close my lips, and leave my friends to suffer under disadvantages when a word or two might lead them or enable them to escape? Am I, in short, to withhold the truth from my readers, and to refuse to do good to my neighbours, for fear of subjecting myself to reproach or persecution? I think not. The proper course for every man is, to find out the truth in every subject as far as he can, - to reveal the truth to his neighbours as far as he is able, and to do good to the utmost extent of his ability to all mankind. This is the only honest, the only noble course a man can pursue.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶*The Times*, 30 April 1846, p4.

¹⁰⁷*Bulletin of Labour History* 22 (Spring 1971), reporting a conference about millennialism and social reform in the early-Nineteenth century, pp.4-5.

¹⁰⁸See Hibberd's comment on his ultra-reformer Jedihah Alger, 'Beans without bacon. A Pythagorean Romance,' in *The Golden Gate*, 'devoting the whole of his time to an indefinable cause called "Progress," and mixed up one way or another with an infinity of "movements".'

¹⁰⁹Royle, *Radical Politics. 1790-1900*, p.13, 59. Holyoake identified as similar the antagonism of infidel and vegetarian towards respectively doctor and priest: *Reasoner*, vol.6, 1849, p.135.

¹¹⁰'Progressist', *Water Cure Journal and Hygienic Magazine*, February 1848, pp.257-259. See Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, p.160 for the reliance on one's judgment, 'in other words...epistemologically parallel in an activist way'.

¹¹¹'Vegetarianism,' *The People* 2: 91, pp.309-310.

According to Howard Williams, they were: ‘“Protestants” in the truest sense of the word...witnesses of the most uncompromising kind to the truth’.¹¹² According to F.R. Lees ‘truth was always extreme’.¹¹³ Earnest proclamation of the truth led, repeatedly, to charges of fanaticism.¹¹⁴

X

Personal Reform

The categories in which the reformer could be classified- political, social, moral- were fluid. Moral reform, for ‘moral radicals’ and others, subsumed an array of reforms which were considered of moral import. Vegetarianism, it has been seen, crossed many reform boundaries. Activists participated in an enduring debate about the relative significance of political as opposed to personal reforms, of ‘organic’ as opposed to parliamentary measures. Temperance and vegetarianism were promoted as self-help, but also as necessary preconditions for national moral transformation.¹¹⁵ Some reformers, though, could see their reform endeavour as combining self-reform, local activism and national politics.¹¹⁶

In 1842 Holyoake reviewed the Concordist *Healthian*, extracting from it the ‘invaluable’ cardinal idea of self-reform. Like charity, permanent reform needed to start at home: ‘He may be an enthusiast who expects to reform mankind, but he fails in his first and most important duty who neglects to reform himself’ and,

Private corruption is no argument against public reformation, but an insuperable obstacle in the way of its perfection. Individual accelerates general amendment. And as of all policy, that is most sound which secures the greatest immediate benefit without endangering the chances of future good; so is self reform,

¹¹²*Animal World*, 1 January 1874, p.14.

¹¹³ (1895) quoted in Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p.135. See also Horsell, *Board of Health*, p.218, quoting D’Aubigne: ‘To remain half way is a useless labour; in all things we must go right to the end’. See also the verdict by a contemporary on F.W. Newman, ‘Above all...a Truthseeker’, in W. Robbins, *The Newman Brothers. An Essay in Comparative Intellectual Biography* (London: Heinemann, 1966), p.164. J.F.C. Harrison has discussed the ‘Truth-Seekers’ of Leeds; and identified the organising concept of faith in ‘Man the Reformer’.

¹¹⁴See *Vegetarian*, 18 June 1898, p.391, interview with the reformer J.M. Robertson, in which he deprecated teetotal/ vegetarian fanaticism and the interviewer agreed about the need to hold ‘social views with grace’: the ‘majority of Englishmen, at all events’ loathed fanaticism.

¹¹⁵‘As political reform has its antecedent in social reform, so the latter has its antecedent in personal or moral reform’, *VA*, 15 December 1848, pp.67-68; see also ‘Moral Reform’, 1 May 1850, p.112. See ‘Indirect advantages resulting from the temperance reformation’, *Howitt’s Journal*, 6 February 1847, pp.76-78, on personal before the political and teetotalism’s creation of a ‘spirit of self reform’. See also the discussion concerning self-reform vs administrative reform, *Journal of Health and Phrenological Magazine*, October 1855, pp.51-52. Joseph Barker, *The People*, vol.2, p.180 urged both personal and political reform rather than neglect either.

¹¹⁶A. Tyrrell, *Joseph Sturge*, p.473.

of all others, the most valuable, since it is immediate beneficial to the individual, and forms the only secure foundation of permanent public improvement.¹¹⁷

Controversial handbills produced by the L.V.S. in 1887 declaring the reform 'more Rational, more Radical than Politics' repeated this message. It was hardly novel to speak of reform beginning at home, but reformers were interested in the domestic sphere as the object of necessary reform. According to Margot Finn: 'Houses and the home lay at the heart of bourgeois radical culture'.¹¹⁸ The alternative medical therapies espoused by many radicals, bourgeois and plebeian, were domesticated. Typical of radicalism, the new socialism of the late Victorian era combined political and personal elements, the latter not representative of crankishness but central to the socialist 'new way of life'.¹¹⁹

According to critics, 'faddism' inappropriately entered the political arena, yet the personal was politicised throughout the period with anxieties over state interference with bodies, in relation to vivisection, compulsory vaccination and the Contagious Diseases Acts.¹²⁰ Not surprisingly, *The Republican* envisaged vegetarians following other faddists in inquiring about an electoral candidate's dietetic opinions.¹²¹ The personalisation of reform, the blurring of public and private, was reflected in the naming of children (after radical heroes) and houses: signifiers of affiliation and means of advertisement. Thus Dornbusch's London home was Vegetarian Cottage, Wallace Grant*, a late Victorian vegetarian from Swansea lived at Hygeia House, and one of Chandos Wallace's daughters was named Hygeia.¹²²

¹¹⁷*The Oracle of Reason; or, philosophy vindicated*, 8 October 1842, p.352. His attitude to Concordist and vegetarian reforms are examined in 3:1.

¹¹⁸Quoted in K. Gleadle, '“Our Several Spheres”: Middle-class Women and the Feminisms of Early Victorian Radical Politics', in K. Gleadle and S. Richardson, eds., *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860. The Power of the Petticoat* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp.134-152 [p.146].

¹¹⁹S. Rowbotham and J. Weeks, *Socialism and the New Life* (London: Pluto Press, 1977), p.9; T. Eagleton, 'The flight to the real', in S. Ledger and S. McCracken, eds., *Cultural Politics at the Fin de Siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.11-21.

¹²⁰Though Nichols, endorsing these campaigns in *HH*, stated in August 1888, 'we do not much concern ourselves with politics'.

¹²¹Quoted in *DR*, April 1880, p.84. G.J. Holyoake had already identified republicanism as involving heresy in diet, drink and custom, see A. Taylor, '“The Nauseous Cult of the Crown”: Republicanism, Anti-Monarchism and Post-Chartist Politics. 1870-1875', in D. Nash and A. Taylor, *Republicanism in Victorian Society* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), pp.51-71 [p.63].

¹²²When Dornbusch moved to a larger house, it was 'Vegetarian Villa': see letter to George Cruikshank, (24 April 1854) British Library, Add. 78156, f.29. Tyrrell, 'Antieverythingarians', instances another, James Taylor founder of the Freehold Land movement, who lived at 'Temperance Cottage'.

The teetotal experimenters and zoophilists considered earlier, were joined in a 'vegetarian movement' before the V.S., by other groups of reformers (Owenites and chartists) whose interest in vegetarianism was sketched in the final section to Chapter 2. This section begins by exploring 'sacred socialism,' the personal and social reform promoted by followers of the theosopher J.P. Greaves; a ruined merchant who befriended the educationalist Pestalozzi. This represents for some historians a minor tendency in an heterogeneous 'utopian socialist' movement and it consequently appears on the fringes of utopian and socialist historiography. This section is greatly indebted to the definitive treatment of Greaves and sacred socialism published by J.E.M. Latham.¹ Other locations for vegetarianism (with connections to the Concordium)- the Owenite Harmony colony, Barmby's Moreville colony, Galpin and Ironside's Little Bentley colony and the White Quaker sect- are also studied.

I

Sacred Socialism

In the 1830s, Greaves called himself a 'sacred socialist'. The label, and involvement by several Owenites in the community he established in 1838 have led to a misinterpretation of the relationship to Owenism.² An 'uneasy rivalry' existed between Greaves and Owen but their positions (if not their ends) were quite different, for Greaves (and many of his followers) ignored contemporary politics and economics.³ He was not inspired by Owenism: 'With Mr Owen I have

¹ J.E.M. Latham, *Search for a New Eden. James Pierrepont Greaves (1777-1842): The Sacred Socialist and His Followers* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), which includes a thorough bibliography. I am indebted to Dr Latham for advice and information in correspondence and conversations, and for photocopies of some archival material relating to the Concordium. Contemporary and Victorian accounts of the Concordium are in *NMW*, G.J. Holyoake, *History of Cooperation*; T. Frost, *Forty Years' Recollections: Literary and Political* (London: Sampson Low, 1880), pp.41-45; T.C. Campbell, *The Battle of the Press as Told in the Story of the Life of Richard Carlile* (London: Bonner, 1899), p.252; H.S. Clubb's memoirs in *HH* (May 1906, p.88; June, p.106; August, p.148); and 'Austin Feverel' in the *Surrey Comet* (December 1905 and March 1906). These secondary works were consulted: F.B. Sanborn, *Bronson Alcott at Alcott House, England and Fruitlands, New England 1842-1844* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1908); D. Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Longmans, 1979), pp.58-62; W.H.G. Armytage, *Heavens Below. Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961); J.F.C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America. The Quest for the New Moral World* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp.127-130; W.H. Fraser, *Alexander Campbell and the Search for Socialism* (Manchester: Holyoake Books, Co-operative Union, 1996), pp.98-112; E. Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium: A Study of the Harmony Community* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998). Twigg covers it briefly, 'The Vegetarian movement', pp.68-73.

² Most recently, J. Schwartzkopf, *Women in the Chartist Movement* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991) p.61 and H. Rogers, ' "The Prayer, the passion and the reason" of Eliza Sharples: freethought, women's rights and republicanism, 1832-52', in E. Yeo, ed., *Radical Femininity. Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998) describe it as an Owenite community.

³ See Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, p.18: 'it would be impossible to derive even the most jejune economic or social theory from his writings' and 'from nothing published by Alcott House...would a reader gain any indication that the country was in political and social turmoil' (p.200). His rejection of politics can

ever been friendly, but not so with his expressions'.⁴ His concern was the sacred; the moral reformation of individuals which was seen as the necessity before social reform. Transformed by a spiritual experience in 1817, as a disciple later advised, 'you must think of him as an inspired man, or at least as a man who truly believed himself inspired'.⁵ The *New Moral World*, reviewing Greaves' posthumously published letters, spoke of his 'peculiar philosophy... It was emphatically to live in a new world to hear him talk'.⁶ Protégés emulated his peculiar phraseology (Latham fairly characterises it as 'orotund vacuity,' a 'deeply personal ascetic mysticism' couched in alliteration⁷) but behind this, the emphasis on spiritual reformation before any meaningful 'physical socialism', is clear.

Greaves' salon, at 49 Burton Street from c.1837, was open to all and he attracted a range of people- radicals and literary figures- to weekly meetings of his 'Aesthetic Institution'.⁸ Greaves' actual disciples were mostly 'ordinary men and women' drawn by his charismatic personality. His most significant female follower was Sophia Chichester*, a wealthy aristocrat who gave covert financial support to several of the sacred socialist's contemporary theosophers and radical reformers: 'Zion' Ward, 'Shepherd' Smith and Robert Owen.⁹ William Oldham*, Charles Lane* and H.G. Wright*, since they were to manage the school and community Greaves inspired (Greaves was not a resident until shortly before his death in March 1842), were the most important male followers.

In July 1838 Greaves and Chichester established 'Alcott House' school on Pestalozzian lines at Ham Common village, Surrey. This began an endeavour that- lasting through a decade of reconstruction and recastings- was arguably 'the most successful early nineteenth century

be seen as a reaction to the French Revolution (pp.18-19).

⁴ A. Campbell, ed., *Letters and Extracts from the MS Writings of James Pierrepont Greaves* 2 vols., volume II (Ham Common: the Concordium, 1845; London: John Chapman), p.11, Greaves to Campbell.

⁵ F.F. Barham, 'A Memoir of the late James Pierrepont Greaves Esq.' in *An Odd Medley of Literary Curiosities*, part 2 (London, 1845), p.4.

⁶ *NMW*, 27 January, 1844, reviewing Campbell, ed., *Letters and Extracts from the MS Writings of James Pierrepont Greaves* volume I (Ham Common: Concordium, 1843).

⁷ J.E.M. Latham, 'Emma Martin and Sacred Socialism: the Correspondence of James Pierrepont Greaves', *History Workshop Journal* (38), 1994. The third volume of his posthumous work was edited by William Oldham and completed by William Howitt's daughter Mary.

⁸ Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, ch.4: Greaves' salon attracted such individuals as H.L. Mansel (later dean of St Paul's), Dr Forbes Winslow, Goodwyn Barmby, the feminist and Saint-Simonian Anna Wheeler, J.E. 'Shepherd' Smith, and Richard Carlile. The literary figures, J.A. Heraud, J.W. Marston and F.F. Barham, formed (1841) a 'Syncretic Society' devoted to abolition of the patent theatres' monopoly.

⁹ Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, chapters 5-8, examines the 'extraordinary story' of Chichester's patronage, also presented in Latham, 'The Political and the Personal: the radicalism of Sophia Chichester and Georgiana Fletcher Welch', *Women's History Review* 8:3 (1999), pp.469-487. Chichester's significance as patron of radicals is recognised by Latham's entries in the *Dictionary of Labour Biography* and the forthcoming *New DNB*. Another investigation of Chichester is K. Gleadle's '“Our Several Spheres”: Middle-class Women and the Feminisms of Early Victorian Radical Politics,' in Gleadle and S. Richardson, eds., *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860. The Power of the Petticoat*, (Basingstoke : Palgrave, 2001), pp.134-152.

community'.¹⁰ A school existed throughout this period, with an average of thirty pupils (a few were day pupils) recruited from radical families and the neighbourhood. The school formed part of the project's wider development of the 'Love-spirit' (divine spirit).

Promoted by followers before 1838, and central to the community, was vegetarianism.¹¹ Humanitarian concerns joined fears of animalization and sexual stimulation. Greaves became vegetarian soon after 1817 for moral and mystical reasons.¹² He was a celibate whose teachings included an anxiety about (as Latham expresses it) 'a new kind of original sin'; engendered by unregulated marriage and intercourse without the 'divine creative love-law'.¹³ Dietary reform would remove a sexual stimulant and separate man 'from the animal world'.¹⁴

The community's reorganisation in 1841 is recorded in the propagandist *Prospectus for the Establishment of a Concordium* which details the diet (oatmeal, porridge, bread, fruit and water), dress and timetable for work, meals, classes and recreation. The 'Concordium' consisted of 'united individuals ... desirous, under industrial and progressive education, with simplicity in diet, dress and lodging, etc., to retain the means for the harmonic developement [sic] of their physical, intellectual and moral natures.'¹⁵ Graham bread with raisins was baked on the premises, a garden planted for self-sufficiency, and a shoemaker/tailor recruited. It was open to visitors, especially on Sundays when there were lectures, many hundreds may therefore have become acquainted with the community and its dietetic reforms. To disseminate their philosophy and recruit, a press was established. Tracts, motto wafers, and two journals, *The Healthian. A Journal of Human Physiology, Diet and Regimen* (1842-1843) and *The New Age and Concordium Gazette. A Journal of Human Physiology, Education, and Association* (May 1843- December 1844¹⁶) were published. These devoted much space to vegetarianism (a neologism it helped make current). Other physical-puritanisms discussed included hydropathy (which the community pioneered from late 1841). The Concordium

¹⁰Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, pp.150-204 for the establishment and fortunes of the school and community, 1838-1848.

¹¹See debates on sacred socialism and vegetarianism in vol.3 (1 July 1837-31 March 1838) of J.E. Smith's *The Shepherd* (discussion is so frequent that references are unwieldy, but e.g., 16 September 1837, p.94). These articles are annotated in the British Library copy press mark 636 d a. Vol. 1, p.3, p.5, pp.142-143, p.149.

¹²*Healthian*, April 1842, p.38, states that he thought the physiological motive 'ably advocated' already.

¹³H.G. Wright, *Marriage and its Sanctions* (1840) cited in Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, p.159.

¹⁴Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, pp.60-61, pp.170-171. M. Mason, *The Making of Victorian Sexual Attitudes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp.162-163, sees Greaves' 'anti-sensual' ethic as the 'inverted form of libertarianism' in early-Victorian communitarianism. Separation from degrading animal labour is highlighted in the address to Congress, *New Age*, 20 May 1843, p.23.

¹⁵*A Prospectus for the Establishment of a Concordium; or an Industry Harmony College* (London: W. Strange, 1841; reprinted in *Co-operative Communities: Plans and Descriptions. Eleven Pamphlets, 1825-47* [NY: Arno Press, 1972]), unpaginated 7 page tract, priced 1d. Part I began with a quotation from Demosthenes, expressing the ethos: 'Abstinence from low pleasures is the only means of obtaining and enjoying the higher'. Copies were available in 1843, when a new tract outlining the Concordium was issued.

¹⁶A 1d weekly published from May 1843, in July it became a 2d monthly. A complete (4s) edition with address, was published 1845.

experiment was recorded in the *New Age*'s 'Concordium Gazette'. The 'progressive' cause of phonetics was endorsed. Works by American transcendentalists were advertised and Graham's physiology reviewed.

America, as a source of physiological reform ideas or the location of the new moral world, was important for sacred socialists (and Owenites). The Concordists printed W.A. Alcott's *Vegetable Diet Defended* (1844), advertised and then published an edition of Sylvester Graham's *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* (1843) and hoped to raise funds for a visit by Graham. The association of Greaves and his community with the infinitely more talented New England transcendentalists was serendipitous.¹⁷ Greaves' disciples hoped the educational reformer Bronson Alcott would visit, and run the eponymous school. He came shortly after Greaves' death, and was captivated by the school and community. Greaves had intended to establish a community in America; Alcott hoped to bring the Concordium to the States. Lane, his son and H.G. Wright accompanied him on his return (September 1842). Wright found America uncongenial and returned, he was not involved in Alcott and Lane's famous Fruitlands community near Harvard.¹⁸ This short-lived community was a disaster but did not, at least, shake Alcott's faith in vegetarianism (he joined the British V.S. in 1850).

Concordist propaganda.

Despite talk of withdrawal from 'the external discordance and disagreement of actual society,' it has already been seen (I:3) that there were attempts to connect the diet with peace activity. In that year (1843) the Concordists also attempted to win converts through tours. Missionaries (Oldham, Colin Campbell and 'T.R') personally exhibited the Concordist 'simplicity of living' (presumably this included vegetarianism and teetotalism) in tours of the Midlands, Hampshire and Sussex. Discussion was generated by their appearance and manner. Wearing white trousers, checked shirt, and abstaining from necktie or hat, was a deliberate act, since the *New Age* had earlier stated that the male costume was usually replaced by conventional clothing when

¹⁷Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, pp.231-232 for the Alcott House- Transcendentalist relationship, p.87 for the occasion which brought the groups together, Harriet Martineau's loaning (late 1836/ early 1837) published accounts of Bronson's Alcott's experiments.

¹⁸Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, chapters 12-13; Sanborn, *Bronson Alcott at Alcott House, England and Fruitlands, New England 1842-1844*. On Fruitlands: D.E. Shi, *The Simple Life. Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), and E.D. Cheney, ed., *Louisa May Alcott. Her Life, Letters and Journals* (1889; London: Sampson Low, 1890), pp.33-38; L.M. Alcott (Bronson's daughter) published a fictionalised account, 'Transcendental Wild Oats', in *Independent*, 8 December 1873. Alcott's *vegetarian* contribution to transcendentalism is recognised in A. Wall's article 'Isms- II. Early Transcendentalism in New England', in the *New England Magazine*, 5: 26 (December 1886), p.167.

returning to 'the world'.¹⁹ The journal thought that the sympathetic response 'augurs well for humanity'.²⁰

The *New Age* had a limited circulation despite advertisements (in the *New Moral World* and J.E. Smith's *Family Herald*); noting in October 1843 that this was lower than was 'desirable' and that many complained about the difficulties in receiving copies.²¹ An obvious group to cultivate was 'advanced' teetotallers. Whilst the *Healthian* mystified the *Temperance Lancet* in 1841²², some teetotallers' sympathies were reflected in a teetotal excursion to the Concordium in July 1843.²³ A teetotal reader of the *New Age* advised linking it as an 'acceptable journal... sowing good seed,' to the 'nine million' teetotallers and anticipated 'high patronage'. The journal's title was altered to *The New Age, Concordium Gazette and Temperance Advocate* after the sixth number.²⁴

The Concordists also promoted physiological reform societies. A society which must have incorporated dietary investigation has been ignored in previous accounts of the Concordium's vegetarian propaganda. The *Healthian* recorded the creation (before August 1842) and activity of a 'Health, or Physiological Association'.²⁵ The secretary, G.J. Ford*, was associated with the vegetarian movement into the 1860s. The *Healthian* approved its simple, pledge-free rules ('permitting entire freedom for future operations, and being curiously easy respecting payment'). Rule 4 set out the intention to hold public and private meetings, print and circulate literature, and offer personal example on health and physiological law. The committee was open to members of either sex.²⁶ Every Monday in October meetings involving conversation on an 'interesting topic' took place at 11, Leathersellers' Buildings, London Wall. On 19 October (when the doctrine of circumstances was debated) a crowded assemblage for the departing Bronson Alcott included the

¹⁹*New Age*, 13 May 1843, p.16.

²⁰*New Age*, 10 June 1843, pp.46-47: 'Their sentiments, the peculiarity of their dress, and the simplicity of their manners, attracted the attention of all with whom they came into contact.'

²¹*New Age*, 1 October 1843, p.108. Copies were sent to J.J. Metcalfe, editor of the reformist *Precursor of Unity*, February, April, June-July, 1844 (he also received *A Brief Account of the First Concordium*, and White Quaker tracts), who excerpted, p.171, an article on Etzler's Mechanical System from the February number. Concordist publications were advertised in Alexander Campbell's *Spirit of the Age*, 1848, p.16 and p.48.

²²The *Temperance Lancet*, 18 December 1841, p.111. But see favourable comment on the abstinence of Daniel and Hebrew children, p.114; the editor recommended 14 May 1842, p.280, 'The vegetable cookery book of the 'Coward-ites' at Salford.

²³*New Age*, 3 June 1843, p.40: 'We approve of the *New Age*, it was wanted.' The excursion was reported 1 August 1843, p.76. The organiser, Alexander Harrold of Greenwich, contributed to the *Teetotal Journal*, or *General Temperance Library*, and c.March 1844 reported (pp.163-165) a Greavesian teetotal lecture by Alexander Campbell.

²⁴'Practical Teetotaller', *New Age*, 3 June 1843, p.40. A 'Teetotaller' from Canterbury wrote to the community about Claridge's hydropathy, 1 October 1843, p.109. The title change (1 July 1843) followed the suggestion by 'Practical Teetotaller' (letter 11 June, printed in 1 July number, p.64).

²⁵*Healthian*, August 1842, p.71.

²⁶*Healthian*, September 1842, p.80.

pioneer vegetarian William Lambe who 'pronounced his approbation of the object and the means'.²⁷ The Association then disappeared from the *Healthian* which itself folded in February 1843.

To promote vegetarianism the Concordium next (mid-October 1843) announced a 'British and Foreign Society for the Promotion of Humanity and the Abstinence from Animal Foods,' to disseminate through press, lecture, branches and missions in Britain and abroad, the 'correct principles of universal peace, health of soul and body, and on the prolongation of human life'.²⁸ The society was to have fourteen officers (president, 3 vice-presidents, treasurer, two secretaries and consulting committee) and members of both sexes. Chichester was president. It has been suggested this was essentially an exercise in attracting funds from her after Greaves' death, but there is insufficient material to know what the private motives were.²⁹ The few members included a lady of ten years vegetarianism who had resisted meat when eight despite her servant's pressure. One of the few reported meetings debated man's relationship to the animal world.³⁰

Contemporary response to the Concordium

Internal power struggles followed Greaves' death. Resident from summer 1843, William Galpin, exercised an increasingly bleak rule which repelled many. Recast as the 'Universal Concordian Society' the community eschewed animal materials, limited food and avoided cookery. Campbell, failing to win control, left in 1844, and established a short-lived educational and vegetarian community at Hampton Wick. A 'Fruit Festival' in summer 1847 demonstrated the waning Greavesian ethos in discussing the 'Social and Political Condition of Women'. A conference organised in early July 1847 was an attempt by Oldham and Lane to reinvigorate the community through association with efforts to promote vegetarianism (see 3:2).³¹ By 1848 the community had dissolved, the house became an orphanage for cholera-orphaned girls and the grounds became a strawberry garden.

Although it can be agreed that the 'Concordium was a fringe group well outside the perimeters of what society in general would have thought acceptable,' there were radicals who supported it, and not merely as a handy stopover point for excursions to Hampton Court.³² Holyoake, for instance, distinguished between the mysticism which he deplored, and the

²⁷*Healthian*, October 1842, p.87.

²⁸*New Age*, 1 October 1843, p.111. The society is advertised in appended material to the Concordium's printing of Graham's *A Lecture to Young Men*, pp.145-146.

²⁹Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, pp.171-172.

³⁰*New Age*, 1 January 1844, pp.172-173.

³¹*The Truth-Tester*, 1847, p.121. Latham interprets it as an attempt to attract new recruits following Chichester's death. See *The People's Press* (Douglas, Isle of Man), September 1847, pp.235-237 for an attempt (not noted before) by 'L', to attract new recruits to the school.

³²Spencer, *The Heretics Feast*, p.261; the emphasis on 'in general' naturally excludes advanced teetotallers who could find much of the *Healthian* and *New Age* acceptable.

physiological reform which he admired (he dabbled in vegetarianism). His account in the *Cheltenham Free Press* (1843), was notably appreciative of physical puritan aspects. Concordists looked 'healthy and appear happy', the 'plain and purely vegetable' diet was contrasted with the 'disease-engendering food of the epicure' and the dress and beards were excused as a demonstration of independence: 'We have a strange propensity to ridicule the slightest deviation from custom's worn and hackneyed way, however harmless in itself that deviation may be'.³³

Holyoake declined an invitation to teach at Alcott House.³⁴ He was dismayed and exasperated by Oldham's Concordist papers published in his and M.Q. Ryall's *The Movement* (1844).³⁵ His *Reasoner* was sympathetic to Greaves' teachings (though remaining critical of 'perversions' of his philosophy by disciples) and supportive of the vegetarian movement. Holyoake's discussion of temperance vs. vegetarianism as personal reform (1849) presented Greaves as the 'great logician of personal reform' and stated an ambition to produce an 'Eclectic Gathering' of his transcendental writings. Greaves had originated the 'personal reforms that are destined to extend their operations over the people' and dietary reform was the most important of personal reforms. Before any meaningful public or political reform the focus needed to be the personal.³⁶

An important contemporary, J.E. Smith, formerly a visitor to Greaves' salon, had engaged in sustained critical discussion of sacred socialism and vegetarianism in his *The Shepherd* in 1837.³⁷ Smith possibly visited the Concordium: he is probably the 'J.E.S.' writing to the editor of the *New Age* pointing out vegetarian inconsistency in 1844.³⁸ From May 1843 Smith edited the *Family Herald*, a penny weekly 'family religious journal' which in its heyday had a circulation of half a million. In its early years it published and replied to many inquiries about Southcottianism, socialism, philosophical matters, astrology, phrenology, temperance and vegetarianism. In 1843, responding to a letter from Oldham (hoping for publicity for the community), he maintained that a two-year

³³*Cheltenham Free Press*, 8 July 1843, p.213, 'Visit to the Concordium at Ham Common, Surrey' (not cited in any previous treatment of the Concordium).

³⁴See E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels. The Origins of the British Secularist Movement, 1791-1866*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1974), p.144 for references to his vegetarian experiments (1837, 1849). On the teaching post (1843), see J. McCabe, *Life and Letters of G.J. Holyoake* (London: Watts, 1908), pp.90-91.

³⁵The prospectus (*Oracle of Reason*), flagged sacred socialism as a topic when stating an intention to fairly discuss philosophies no matter how unreal. Concordists evidently hoped this forum would prove influential; to win support they gave money to the 'anti-persecution union' advertised in *The Movement* (no.13, p.104). See p.128 for review of the Concordist edition of W.A. Alcott, *Vegetable Diet Defended* (London: John Chapman).

³⁶*Reasoner*, vol.6, 1849, 'The Comparative Value of Popular Reforms, I': pp.113-115; II: pp.133-135.

³⁷See W.A. Smith, *'Shepherd' Smith the Universalist: the Story of a Mind* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1892); Armytage, *Heavens Below*; John Saville, 'J.E. Smith and the Owenite Movement 1833-34,' in S. Pollard and J. Salt eds., *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor. Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan, 1971), pp.115-144; Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, pp.109-122; Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, pp.167-171; Mason, *Making of Victorian Sexual Attitudes*, vol 2, pp.163-164; Claeys, *Citizens and Saints*, pp.199-206; and Latham, *Search for a New Eden*.

³⁸*New Age*, 8 January 1844, pp.139-140.

experiment was insufficient and that diet remained a question of individual natures. Vegetarianism, kindred to celibacy and the common life, would be brought forward with the growing influence of 'Puseyism' upon an established church which alone made such discussions respectable.³⁹ In 1844-1855, the *Herald* published an advertisement for *New Age* and texts associated with the community (works by Etzler, W.A. Alcott and Graham), and Smith returned (not for the last time) to the diet question in an article on the Italian vegetarian Cornaro.⁴⁰

Alcott and Owen were the most important visitors, though (presumably by report) it was known to Engels and Marx. The *New Moral World* published a letter from Engels referring to 'Ham Common folks': the community must be included in their attack on utopian socialism.⁴¹ Carlyle's relationship with Greaves, whom he characterised as a 'blockhead' and a 'tail' of Emerson in England, has been examined.⁴² Through Emerson, Alcott was received by Carlyle in 1843. His attempt to convert Carlyle to his 'Potatoe-gospel' exasperated him. One of Alcott's visits was witnessed by Robert Browning who ridiculed the diet; though he had been vegetarian in the 1830s through Shelley's example.⁴³

One disciple, Barham, considered Greaves to be greater than Coleridge.⁴⁴ Lane described him as a 'colossus'.⁴⁵ Yet his posthumous reputation, beyond his followers, was slight. Brown's essay on 'Physical Puritanism' described him as vegetarianism's modern apostle and identified H.S. Sutton* as a successor. Sutton's opinion of Greaves is recorded in his *Evangel of Love*: adopting the simple diet had been a necessary precondition to understanding Greaves' theosophy.⁴⁶ These

³⁹*Family Herald*, 29 July 1843, p.184. See also the paragraph on diet (anti-vegetarian), 9 September 1843, p.284.

⁴⁰Advertisements for Alcott House, *Family Herald*, 11 May 1844, p.10; for Concordist publications, 18 May, p.25; and Etzler, p.105. Smith received vegetarian tracts, see 30 March 1844, and 8 November 1844. He reviewed *Letters and Extracts from the Manuscript Writings of James Pierrepont Greaves*, recommending it to metaphysical students though the philosophy was 'vague, incoherent, scattered, fatherless, individualism', 1844, p.654. Vegetarianism was discussed 15 February 1845, p.654; 10 October 1846, p.362. [Cited here are only references prior to V.S.'s establishment]

⁴¹*NMW*, 5 October 1844, p.120. Greaves (and Barmby) are cited with others to refute an argument by Hermann Semming, writing in *Die Rheinischer Jahrbucher* on the 'The Philosophy of True Socialism', see K. Marx and F. Engels, *The German Ideology* (written 1846; reprinted in vol.5 of *The Collected Works of Karl Mark and Frederick Engels*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1976), vol. II, p.461. On Marx's attitude to utopia and utopian socialism, see most recently D. Webb, *Marx, Marxism and Utopia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

⁴²J.E.M. Latham, 'Carlyle and the "Blockhead" James Pierrepont Greaves, *Carlyle Studies Annual* 2000, pp.33-47; and J. Slater ed., *The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle* (London and New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p.326, pp.329-331 and p.338. Through Emerson, Carlyle was informed about Fruitlands, Lane and Wright.

⁴³*VM*, July 1888, p.262: 'There stands Picadilly; there it has been for a hundred years; there it will be when you and your potato-gospel are dead and forgotten'. This anecdote circulated in the press. For Browning's encounter, see Slater, *The Correspondence of Emerson and Carlyle*, p.329.

⁴⁴F.F. Barham, 'A Memoir of the late James Pierrepont Greaves Esq.,' argues that Coleridge compromised, clung to established institutions and did not equal Greaves's mysticism.

⁴⁵Armytage, *Heavens Below*, p.198.

⁴⁶H.S. Sutton, *The Evangel of Love*, (London: C.A. Bartlett, 1847), p.81: 'When I first tried to read James

references apart, Greaves and the community were unknown beyond the small world of (transatlantic) utopian reformers, and ultra-radical journals. Hundreds may have boarded with the community, and hundreds may have visited but this generated no public fame. The radical *Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper*, reviewing Lane's vegetarian tract of 1847, demonstrated its previous ignorance of the community.⁴⁷ The one satire on Alcott House's vegetarianism, pedagogy and general philosophy which would have reached a 'mainstream' audience, in M.A. Kelty's novel *Visiting My Relations* (1851), has been entirely ignored.⁴⁸ Later, the Concordium's reputation for ascetic fanaticism was preserved by the memoirs of Thomas Frost, Holyoake and W.J. Linton.⁴⁹

It will be seen shortly, that metropolitan vegetarians in the 1850s included several associated with the Concordium.⁵⁰ Late Victorian and Edwardian vegetarians, interested in tracing lineages, examined the Concordium and drew on the memories of the few surviving participants.⁵¹

II

Owenite dietary reform

Pure diet, good health and physiology in dress were components of the 'community movement' central to Owenism.⁵² Temperance was an Owenite virtue.⁵³ Inevitably therefore, dietary reform

Greaves's Letters, I thought the man mad, the book seemed such a mass of raving absurdities'. (Greaves is also mentioned pp.185-6, pp.47-8). See reviews, *The Truth-Tester*, 15 August 1847, pp.3-4; and *The Truth Seeker*, 1847, pp.289-297. Sutton's vegetarianism was based on asceticism and concern to liberate women from domestic chores.

⁴⁷*Douglas Jerrold's Newspaper*, 29 January 1848, p.142, 'It appears that some 30 or 40 persons, domiciled at Alcott House, Surrey, adopt the regimen, and that this "public educational institution, or industrial home, has existed for about ten years'.

⁴⁸M.A. Kelty, *Visiting My Relations, and its results; a series of small episodes in the life of a recluse*, (London: William Pickering, 1851), chapters 5-7. The prospectus for and description of the school ('Sedley House' in Surrey), diet and disciples indicate strongly that Kelty visited the community.

⁴⁹W.J. Linton, *Memories* (London: Lawrence and Bullen), 1895, pp.44-45, recalled them as 'a queer society or community, raw vegetarians and else...The ways of the society were very much out of the common'. A brief reference to the Concordium (not its regime) is in 'The Culture of Emerson,' *Fraser's Magazine*, c.1868; reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 8 August 1868, pp.358-373 [p.372].

⁵⁰Lane, Fanny Lacy, George Vasey, the Bennetts, George Dornbusch, G.J. Ford, J. Gowland; P.H.J. Baume who visited the Concordium, also associated with the vegetarians. Horsell, no Greavesian, as a vegetarian propagandist inevitably associated with Lane and others in the late 1840s, see Horsell, *The Science of Cooking Vegetarian food: also the rise and progress of the Vegetarian Society, twelve reasons for not eating flesh, and answers to twenty objections to the vegetarian practice* (London: Horsell, 1856) p.87 on the Concordium.

⁵¹*DR*, December 1883, pp.453-455; Andreas Gottschling's *Home-Links*, no. 1, February 1898, quoted from Concordium periodicals, referred to the vegetarian society, p.15. His request for information elicited a response, in no.2, p.71, from Reverend H.S. Clubb*, a veteran of the community who led the American V.S. Clubb's important recollections appeared in *HH*, May 1906, p.88; June 1906 p.106; August 1906 p.148. Forward's *History* did not discuss the Concordium. James Burns was acquainted with a visitor to the Concordium, James Smith* of Kingston, memorialised Oldham and praised Greaves in *MD*.

⁵²E.g., 'M.L.', 'The Community Movement', *NMW*, 16 November 1844 (taken from the *Communitist*), p.163, on the necessity for pure diet, physiology in dress and good health. On the centrality of community to Owenism, see R.G. Garnett, 'Robert Owen and the Community Experiments' in S. Pollard and J. Salt, eds., *Robert Owen. Prophet of the Poor. Essays in Honour of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of His Birth* (London: Macmillan Press, 1971), pp.39-64.

was debated in the *New Moral World*.⁵⁴ Vegetarianism was promoted by non-British communities reported by the Owenite organ, such as the community planned at West Liberty, Logan country, Ohio which incorporated temperance in drinking and diet as part of the observance of 'NATURAL LAWS' of Being and which intended to 'wholly exclude the animal kingdom' for humanitarian, physiological and timesaving reasons (the time thus released for mental culture).⁵⁵ But vegetarian discussion was largely generated by native sacred socialist activity. The frequency of the discussion explains why the projected Norwood Co-operative Industrial Association advertised in late 1843, eschewing all 'sectarianism,' included the 'edible'.⁵⁶

A breakaway Owenite community, Hodson's Manea Fen community, published John Firmin's account of Alcott House school and diet in July 1840.⁵⁷ Firmin accepted the diet's worth for children, but required conclusive evidence that it suited adults. The economic benefits for socialist parents of children at Tytherley [Harmony Hall], or other communities were recognised. With 'the assistance of a light trade, well directed and well governed' it would make children wholly or practically self-supporting. The savings would go to community funds, 'toil and disagreement' in food preparation would be abolished and time could be spent in more rational and useful activity.⁵⁸

⁵³F. Podmore, *Robert Owen. A Biography*, 2 vols. (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1906), II, p.473 prints a 'hymn to temperance', from *Social Hymns* (second edn. 1840) and characterises the Owenite ideal as a temperate man. Note also, p.474, the implicitly vegetarian verse from the same collection: 'No altar smokes, no off'rings bleed/ No guiltless lives expire'.

⁵⁴References in *NMW* include: 1 August 1835 (Henderson, an Owenite lecturer, advised restricting meat since man's natural diet was unproven); 1841 (vol.9), 22 May p.326 (from *Westminster Gazette*, concerning Byron and Shelley); 1841-1842, p.38 ('Edinsis'), p.56 ('Carnivorus'), p.75 (H.F, i.e., Henry Fry), p.298 (from *Phalanx*, advocating increased use of vegetables), pp.358-359 (Skeptomai requesting further information on the diet's effect), p.381 (D. London's critical response to sacred socialism's 'morbid' asceticism), p.399 (Wright's lecture to Lambeth Owenites), 7 October 1843, p.118 (R.A., opposed to teetotalism, vegetarianism and anti-cooking); 14 October 1843, p.122 ('sectarianism of the Concordists'). The journal (November 1834- January 1846), catering to serious artisans and advanced liberals, was closer to *Howitt's Journal* than a plebeian radical journal such as *Poor Man's Guardian*, see Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, p.260; E. Yeo, 'Robert Owen and Radical Culture', in S. Pollard and J. Salt eds., *Robert Owen: Prophet of the Poor*, footnote 35, p.111. I have not examined Owen's journals 1850-1858.

⁵⁵*NMW*, 1844, p.371, from the *New York Regenerator* of April 1844. Another, Skaneateles, was established by J. A. Collins (called 'No God, No Government, No Money, No Meat, No Salt and Pepper' Collins) c. January 1844, see entry in R.S. Fogarty, *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1980). See the letter from Emerson to Carlyle, cited in Shi, *The Simple Life*, p.134. 'We are a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. ... One man renounces the use of animal food, and another of coin; another of domestic hired service, and another of the State.'

⁵⁶*NMW*, 21 October 1843, p.136. Thomas Frost was secretary.

⁵⁷See J.C. Langdon, 'Pocket Editions of the New Jerusalem: Owenite Communitarianism in Britain. 1825-1855', unpublished D.Phil., University of York, February 2000, the most recent treatment of Manea Fen 1839-1841, wherein, p.223 the letter is mentioned but Concordist connections unexplored.

⁵⁸*Working Bee*, 11 July 1840, p.43; following Firmin's letter, 4 July 1840, p.39. Wright intended to visit the Manea Fen community.

At the Owenite community of Harmony Hall, vegetarianism (the subject of several lectures) was partly espoused to address financial and organisational deficiencies.⁵⁹ Not all those members reported by Alexander Somerville (who said half were vegetarian), therefore, were vegetarian through desire.⁶⁰ Principled vegetarians resided there, and one long term enthusiast, Alfred Slatter*, became a vegetarian there.⁶¹ John Finch's second governor-ship inaugurated a more spartan regime, with a committee formed to create a 'cheap and rational diet'. Separate vegetarian and non-vegetarian tables were the outcome of a lack of consensus.⁶² Holyoake remembered the twenty vegetarians being the merriest at dinner.⁶³ Finch was teetotal if not vegetarian; his humanitarian sensibilities concerning diet were expressed in testimony before a Commons committee, when he stated that in a 'rational state of society, all those who will eat beef, mutton, veal, and pork, must in turn kill the animals for themselves'.⁶⁴ James Rigby*, the more amiable and tolerant preceding governor, was a lifelong vegetarian.⁶⁵

The Owenite relationship with Alcott House and the Concordium was ambivalent. Metropolitan Owenites treated it as a radical country resort; the 'attractive yet convenient position... made it a good goal for visitors from London, particularly if they could avoid the food.'⁶⁶ Owen visited thrice, in the summer of 1840, with Lambeth Owenites, in spring and August 1843.⁶⁷ A rural excursion during which socialist forms of government were debated, was reported in August 1841.⁶⁸ Another Owenite group visited in that year.⁶⁹

⁵⁹Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium*. For the lectures see p.168 and, as cited, *NMW*, 24 September 1842. Oldham visited the colony November 1844 and spoke about diet and association, his ideas were deemed too impractical for the masses, *NMW*, 6 December 1844, p.189.

⁶⁰See 'A.H', *NMW*, 13 December 1844, p.198, for the tailor's departure due to the diet; the reporter said this occurred after an 'excellent' vegetable dinner but asserted 'We are in no ways ascetics, or solely vegetarians'.

⁶¹See *DR*, April 1877, p.55, and *DR*, April 1888, p.123. His papers included a MS outlining a vegetarian colony along Harmony's lines.

⁶²Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium*, p.142, citing *NMW*, 17 September; 8 October 1842. See *NMW*, December 1842, p.229 on the vegetarian dinner which the reporter, a 'Twelve Years Socialist', considered 'settles at once the question of a meat diet'.

⁶³G.J. Holyoake, *A History of Co-operation*, vol.2 (London: Trubner, 1879), p.313: 'At meal times it resounded with laughter, and often others came and surrounded it to listen to the pleasantries which abounded there.'

⁶⁴*DR*, December 1893, p.436, in discussion about E.T. Craig's Ralahine experiment (1831-1833), cited in Craig's history.

⁶⁵In 'Food antipathies', *Journal of Health*, April 1861, p.51, Dr Dixon (the editor), formerly Harmony's physician, explains Rigby's vegetarianism as the result of upbringing rather than conscientious decision. An old friend, he attended Rigby in his final years, see *Journal of Health*, 1862, p.58.

⁶⁶Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, p.161.

⁶⁷*NMW*, May 1843, p.22; *NMW*, August 1843, p.56; 'A Visitor', *Cheltenham Free Press*, August 1843, p.231.

⁶⁸*NMW*, 21 August 1841, p.63, where the 'repass unstained by blood' was discussed as perhaps an absolute necessity for all 'inward improvement' and perfection.

⁶⁹*NMW*, August 1843, p.104.

Charles Lane had attended Owen's first public exposition of his ideas in London, in 1818.⁷⁰ Alexander Campbell, one of the Owenite 'social missionaries', was converted by Greaves and joined the community in 1842, yet remained an Owenite propagandist. After Greaves' death he edited some of his letters for publication by the community. The *New Age* reported Owenite congresses and activity at Harmony, but criticised Owenite 'sectarianism', and condemned the use of hired and animal labour at Harmony. Concordists hoped for support from the *New Moral World*, social missionaries and tracts in the preparation of 'all' for the abandonment of meat, 'injurious and superfluous luxuries'.⁷¹

The appeal of mysticism, shared millenarianism and the desire for paternal leadership explain the immigration of some of the collapsing Harmony Hall's inhabitants.⁷² Disillusioned Owenites found a temporary home at the Concordium. William Galpin*, vice-president of the Rational Society, obeying Owen's call for him to leave Harmony, found refuge there, with disastrous consequences. Hannah Bond*, who had taught children at Harmony, joined after its collapse. The Bradford Owenite Samuel Bower*, another member of Harmony, also joined.⁷³ For some (like Richard Carlile's widow Eliza Sharples and daughters, or Robert Buchanan's wife), residency was the alternative to destitution rather than Concordist enthusiasm.⁷⁴

Concordists lectured to metropolitan Rational Society branches, and some of the lectures were vegetarian. Wright twice lectured on the 'advantages of a vegetable diet' at Goswell Street Road, Branch 16 of the Rational Society, and gave a well-attended lecture on 'Fruit Diet' to the Lambeth branch which 'gave great satisfaction' according to its secretary John Firmin.⁷⁵ In 1840 a Mr Body of A1 Branch had presented Harmony with the book *Vegetable Cookery*.⁷⁶ Campbell gave a lecture to Branch A1 on Concordists' principles and practice in 1844.⁷⁷

Chartism and diet reform.

It has been seen that the chartist *Northern Star* reported the announcement of a vegetarian conference in July 1847, shortly afterwards it printed comments against dietetic totalism.⁷⁸ Earlier

⁷⁰See his letter, *The Weekly Tribune*, 12 January 1850, pp.235-236.

⁷¹*New Age*, 20 May 1843, in an address to the Congress, pp.22-23 [p.23].

⁷²Hardy, *Alternative Communities*, pp.60-61; Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenites*, pp.127-129.

⁷³Bower joined Lane, Wright and Alcott when they departed for America.

⁷⁴Carlile had favoured vegetarianism, see Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, p.144; Eliza Sharples did not, see Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, p.155; but poverty restricted her to vegetarianism in later life, see H.P. Bonner, *Charles Bradlaugh*, 2 vols, 5th edn., vol.1., p.19.

⁷⁵*NMW*, 29 January 1842, p.48. *NMW*, 14 March 1842, p.399. Lambeth Branch was criticised in *NMW* for holding the meeting on the day (Sunday) reserved for Rational Society matters or home colonisation.

⁷⁶*NMW*, 2 May 1840, p.1281.

⁷⁷*NMW*, 21 September 1844, p.104.

⁷⁸*Northern Star*, 21 August 1847, p.3 (J. Dixon, from *The Reasoner*).



the paper had favourably reviewed the *New Age* and the account of the Concordium, describing the Concordists as an 'interesting body of Social reformers, who seem to realise practically (so far as possible) what god-like Shelley only dreamed of in his Queen Mab'.⁷⁹ A fair review of the *Healthian* characterised the diet advocated by Concordists and a 'large number of isolated individuals' as 'whole-hog teetotalism and no Mistake!' ⁸⁰

III

Etzlerism and J.E. Duncan.

The Concordist published tracts by J.A. Etzler, leader of the 'Tropical Emigration Society'⁸¹ Etzler, his wife and a disciple, C.F. Stollmeyer briefly resided at the Concordium, where Etzler delivered a course of public Sunday lectures in 1843-4.⁸² A materialist, Etzler at least came to share the faith in vegetarianism, claiming that the man of 'science and reality' could:

see there is no need to guard, chase and butcher animals for his food and use, not to quarrel, fight and rob his fellow man for the means of his living. He sees that there is an endless variety of vegetable foods much pleasanter in taste, sight, smell and much more wholesome, than carcasses of animals.⁸³

This appeared in the Etzlerite organ *Morning Star* which was founded and initially edited by a youthful enthusiast, J.E. Duncan*, connected to the Concordium. Duncan was a vegetarian propagandist. The *Morning Star* had frequent articles on tropical vegetable products and foods.⁸⁴ Duncan's mediocre poetry collection, *Flowers and Fruits, or Poetry, Philosophy and Science* (1843) included a chapter of an unfinished novel entitled 'Edward Noble, or the Utopian' which featured Greaves⁸⁵ and a vegetarian essay which referred to Shelley and the 'Healthian diet' of 'the London

⁷⁹*Northern Star*, 11 November 1843, p.3. The review (followed by a favourable treatment of Barmby's *Promethean*) appeared on the same page as a reprinting of Engel's report in *NMW* on continental socialism where Saint Simonism was compared with the 'Ham Common Socialists'.

⁸⁰*Northern Star*, 2 December 1843, p.3, preceding a review of Graham's *Lectures on Chastity*. *Northern Star* printed 17 letters from Galpin at the Concordium and Moreville Communitorium in this period.

⁸¹See G. Claeys, 'John Adolphus Etzler, Technological Utopianism, and British Socialism: The Tropical Emigration Society and its Venezuelan Mission, 1833-48', *English Historical Review* 101 (1986), pp.31-55.

⁸²*NMW*, p.360. Stollmeyer's letter from the British West Indies was forwarded to the editor of the *DR* who noted (April 1870, pp.41-42), he did not personally know the writer, but pointed to his reminiscences of Owen, Doherty, Oastler and Father Matthew.

⁸³J.A. Etzler, 'The Poetry of Reality' in *The Morning Star*, 1:1, December 1844, pp.3-4.

⁸⁴The frequency of vegetarian articles meant that in G.J. Holyoake, *The History of Co-operation in England*, 2 vols, vol. 2, (first edition, London: Trubner, 1879), p.12; and T. Frost, *Forty Years*, p.50, it is described as a vegetarian journal. Robert Buchanan, briefly the Concordist printer, joined Duncan as co-editor. Duncan's next venture, *Sun Beam*, survives in a single issue (c. 1 July 1845). It excerpted *Flowers and Fruits* and the introduction to his novel. A new 'greatly enlarged edition' of *Flowers and Fruits* was published in 1844.

⁸⁵J.E. Duncan, *Flowers and Fruits, or Poetry, Philosophy and Science* (London: Printed for the Author, 1843). The review in *NMW*, 27 January, 1844, pp.242-243, cautioned patience and self-culture. The *Mirror*

Vegetarians'. He advertised a (now lost) *Guide to Health and Longevity* in the *New Moral World*. In 1848 he announced an expanded serialisation of his 'romance of progression' whose cast included 'as the best men of our epoch,' Owen, Etzler, the unitarian W.J. Fox, the temperance figure Father Mathew, Greaves and Richard Cobden.⁸⁶ Duncan's continued interest in physical puritanism is shown by his subscription to William Horsell's *The Truth-Tester* and *Vegetarian Advocate*. Horsell published Duncan's final journal in 1849.⁸⁷

The 'Co-operative Emigration Society' endorsed vegetarianism in 1844. Members decided following 'long and earnest enquiry' to restrict themselves to a vegetable diet (excepting milk, butter, eggs and other products not requiring killing) for economic, social and moral reasons. The principle was so important that they urged it upon the attention of 'all advanced reformers' and planned to make a 'public declaration of their views on morals, diet, practical measures &c'.⁸⁸

IV

Goodwyn Barmby, Little Bentley and the White Quakers

The brief communitarian/ educational experiment of the Barmbys (1843-1844) incorporated food reform.⁸⁹ A pioneer communist, John Goodwyn Barmby* was influenced by Greaves (he had attended Burton Street meetings), the Concordium and White Quakerism. He listed ninth out of forty four 'societarian wants' in *The Promethean* in 1842 a 'medicinally prepared diet'; the tenth was common or contemporaneous consumption of food.⁹⁰ In 1843 he and his wife Catherine (an Owenite feminist) established the 'Moreville Communitorium' at Hanwell, Middlesex. His costume and hairstyle at Hanwell were modelled on the Concordists'.⁹¹ His dietary rules (reprinted by the

thought the essay a 'manful' defence; the *Illustrated London News* noted its 'vigorous defence of the use of vegetable diet' (see comments reprinted in an advertisement in the *NMW*, 3 February 1843, p.256). Duncan published it separately as *Defence of a Vegetable Diet* (c.1843, second thousand, 1844; and, at 2d, *Vegetable Diet for the Million!*).

⁸⁶No copy of *Edward Noble, the Utopian, or the Dawning Glories of the Age of Love* exists; numbers 1 and 2 had been produced by c. March 1848.

⁸⁷*The Divinearian, or, Apostle of the Messiahdom*, number 3, December 1849. This, the only number surviving, in the Seligman collection, University of Columbia, was consulted by Professor Claeys and I am grateful for his information on its location. Mr Richard Ellenbogen of the Rare Books and Manuscript Library, University of Columbia kindly sent a photocopy.

⁸⁸*NMW*, 16 November 1844, p.166. The meeting was held, at the Parthenium see advertisement, p.176. According to Latham, *Search for a New Eden*, p.163, several Concordists joined.

⁸⁹See Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England*, pp.63-64; Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp.196-208; Armytage, 'The Journalistic Activities of J. Goodwin Barmby between 1841 and 1848,' *Notes and Queries*, April 1956, pp.166-169; and Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, pp.172-182. The vegetarian W.E.A. Axon wrote the entry on Barmby in the *D.N.B.*

⁹⁰Hardy, *Alternative Communities*, p34.

⁹¹See P.H.J. Baume's description, Baume Papers, 'Journal for 1843', p.875: 'on arriving at Barmby's I found the cold diet of Alcott House & the same contemptible self-conceit & PITY for my BLIND-PRIDE!...I soon took leave of Barmby who is an exalted enthusiast in dress'.

New Age) partially promoted vegetarianism.⁹² Henry Fry* of Cheltenham, a follower of Barmby and Greaves, endorsed vegetarianism in his *Educational Circular and Communist Apostle*.⁹³ An attack on the Barmbys' small Communist Church sect (c.1842-1849) in the *News of the World* (1846), treated dietary radicalism as part of the creed.⁹⁴ One follower in Poplar, Middlesex, E.T. Gooch*, was certainly, amongst other things (deism, utilitarianism, communism, phonetics, teetotalism), a vegetarian.

In 1845 William Galpin established an ultra-ascetic (vegetarian-water drinking) community at Little Bentley on the Tytherley estate, with Isaac Ironside of Sheffield (a visitor to the Concordium).⁹⁵ This project was announced to members of the Rational Society thus:

The experience we have passed through since we left a competitive state of society, has gradually prepared our minds for the reception of the truth that man has a nobler destiny than that of being a mere eating and drinking animal, or one that receives his highest gratifications from sensual objects.⁹⁶

They hoped that members of the Harmony community would find refuge from the 'old world' here. Members were to abandon worldly ties and connections, 'That God may be all in all'. Galpin's 'divine message' to gather a nucleus of the Universal Church before Christ's second coming, was dutifully, if scornfully printed in the *Reasoner*.⁹⁷ Holyoake rightly identified the ultra-puritanism promoted there as 'Joshua Jacobism', i.e. influenced by White Quakerism.⁹⁸ A newspaper reporter, although spicing his account, wrote that members equalled 'the most ascetic cynic of old' in their self-denial.⁹⁹ It proved too much for many members including Ironside, who

⁹²*New Age*, 20 May 1843, p.24, which criticised it as offering only a choice of evils. He promoted vegetarianism (raw in summer; a mixture of hot and cold in spring and autumn; hot and cooked in winter) in *New Tracts for the Times or Warmth, Life and Food for the Masses*, see Armytage, *Heavens Below*, p.198 (he misreads it as wholly vegetarian).

⁹³Fry's short-lived *Circular* discussed the Concordium; Barmby's *Promethean*, (London: B.D. Cousins, 1842), no.1, described it as 'a kind of vegetable eating Communitorium or Community lodge', but stated that Barmby left diet 'to individual choice'. The *Healthian* was reviewed in *Promethean*, no.3, p.51, Oldham sent Barmby Graham's lectures (no.2, p.40).

⁹⁴*Reasoner*, vol.1, 29 July 1846, p.140, from *Communist Chronicle*, no.40.

⁹⁵See *The Moral World*, 13 September 1845, pp.21-22. There is no detailed secondary treatment of Little Bentley, but see Royle, *Robert Owen and the Commencement of the Millennium*, pp.133-134; p.207. Frost, *Forty Years*, p.47 discusses their ultraism.

⁹⁶*NMW*, 23 August 1845, p.497. See *Moral World* 13 September 1845.

⁹⁷Holyoake, receiving correspondence from Concordists, 'Shepherd' Smith, W.W. Broom*, and Samuel Bower, saw them as fighting over Greaves' mantle, see *Reasoner*, vol.1, 13 August, 21 October and 23 October, 1846.

⁹⁸*Reasoner*, vol.1, 1846, pp.265-6, 'Galpinism'.

⁹⁹*Reasoner*, vol.1, 16 September 1846, from *Daily News*, 31 August 1846.

felt that Little Bentley involved 'absurd and repulsive austerities- ridiculous and repugnant fanaticism, little short of insanity'.¹⁰⁰

Latham's claim that, of the community founders in the 1830s-1840s, 'Greaves alone was concerned with the spiritual to the exclusion of material or political aims', ignores the contentious White Quaker community, which indeed lasted slightly longer. This sect, established by the schismatic Quakers Joshua Jacob and his partner Abigail Beale, became another location for ultra-asceticism and vegetarianism, whilst rejecting Greavesian celibacy. They practised community in goods, wore undyed linen clothing, and the men grew beards and long hair. They were visited separately by Barmby, Campbell, Isaac Ironside, Joseph Barker and Robert Owen, and attracted other radicals.¹⁰¹

The sect's rigorous vegetarianism, noted by subsequent commentators, did not initially feature. Dietary simplicity *was* apparent, given the aim to return to primitive values. Their diet was described by one critic as 'Judaic' since they ate 'stirabout and fowl' and set aside days to abstain from meat.¹⁰² An account of life at one community house in a former hotel in Dublin, indicates that the inmates ('some twenty or more') were then practising vegetarianism.¹⁰³ Probably due to Galpin, who accepted their superiority to Owenism¹⁰⁴, the community committed itself firmly to vegetarianism. Ironside, another (temporary) admirer, collected sympathisers from Manchester's

¹⁰⁰On ex-residents' views, see 'A Little Bentley Melody,' in *Reasoner*, vol.1, 21 October 1846, p.272. For Ironside's letter, 28 October 1846, p.279. See also 'Utilitarian Record', *Reasoner*, vol.2, 1847, p.2, for relaxation of the diet.

¹⁰¹The sect, the subject of my paper '“Some Account of the Progress of the Truth as it is in Jesus”: The White Quakers of Ireland, 1835-1854' before the 'Popular Culture and Religion Conference' University of Northumbria, July 2001; has received no detailed modern study. See their *Some Account of The Progress of the Truth as it is in Jesus* (Mountmelick: Thomas Cleary, 1843- July1844) [copy in Friends' House Library, London]; 'Singular Sects', *Howitt's Journal*, 18 September 1847, pp.180-182; S. Greer, *Quakerism: or the Story of My Life* (Dublin: Samuel B. Oldham, 1851); anonymous articles in *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*, 8 January 1876, 15 January 1876 (an excellent summary of *Progress of the Truth*); T. Frost, *Forty Years Recollection: Literary and Political* (London: Sampson Low, 1880); I. Grubb, *Quakers in Ireland. 1654-1900*, (London: Swarthmore Press, 1927); Taylor, *Eve and the New Jerusalem*, pp.174-175; L. Boylan, 'Joshua Jacob, 1801-1877', *Journal of the County Kildare Archeological Society* 16:4 (1983/1984), pp.349-354; M.J. Wigham, *The Irish Quakers. A Short History of the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland* (Historical Committee of the Religious Society of Friends); L. McBride, ed., *Alfred Webb: The Autobiography of a Quaker Nationalist*, (Cork University Press, 2000), and E.Dowling, *Families of Newlands, Co. Dublin* (Dublin: Irish Genealogical Sources 26, Genealogical Society of Ireland, 2001), pp.37-43.

¹⁰²*Progress of the Truth*, no.16, p.17.

¹⁰³*Progress of the Truth*, no.40, pp.66-67. The food was home-made white and brown bread, butter, milk, eggs, fruit and puddings. This report by a Barmby-ite was reprinted with additional material in the *Communist Chronicle* and *NMW*, 28 September 1844, p.112.

¹⁰⁴Galpin praised the White Quakers at Harmony in 1845, see *NMW*, 7 June 1845, p.404. *NMW*, 1845, p.264, p.267 excerpted correspondence between Jacob, Beale and Oldham. See *NMW*, 15 February 1845, p.268, for reply to Galpin's letter to the sect imparting information about Shakerism. Earlier White Quaker references in *NMW* are: 24 August 1844, 'The White Quakers', p.67; 1844, p.435.

branch of the Rational Society, some of whom joined the sect.¹⁰⁵ After Little Bentley's collapse, Galpin joined.¹⁰⁶ Marriage to Joshua's sister Mary cemented his 'Jacobism'.¹⁰⁷

In summer 1847 a visitor saw the dining table at the sect's new home, Newlands, piled with wheaten bread, butter, cheeses and dried fruits.¹⁰⁸ When the English reformer Joseph Barker visited the sect in 1850 the diet was rigidly vegetarian, with bread and potatoes heaped on plain plates with no cutlery or glasses. The food was a powerful attraction at a time of great poverty and hunger, as a Catholic girl told one of Barker's party, they got food here when they would not from the priest.¹⁰⁹ A bleaker account in the *Family Herald* reported the ban on foot and headwear, and the absences of bristles to brushes, paint and oil. The correspondent thought Jacob ate secretly since he was thriving despite the diet of 'half boiled green cabbage, raw corn, and water'.¹¹⁰

It has been seen that Concordists attempted to promote vegetarianism outside the environment of community experiment. Communitarianism was to continue to have associations with vegetarianism (as will be shown), but after 1847 dietetic reformers had the wider community of an organised movement for support. The establishment of the Society (to which the Concordists contributed), is next examined.

¹⁰⁵ *NMW*, 31 May 1845, p.400; *NMW*, 19 July 1844, p.459.

¹⁰⁶ *Reasoner*, vol.2, 'Utilitarian Record', 15 September 1847, p.84.

¹⁰⁷ See references to Galpin in *Reasoner*, vol.5 (1848), p.46, p.93, pp.267-268, p.339, p.396. See letter from Galpin to Owen, in Co-operative Union Library, Robert Owen Papers, 1715: letter docketed 4 December 1848, London. I am grateful to Dr Latham for a photocopy.

¹⁰⁸ *Howitt's Journal* 38, 18 September 1847, p.181. See also account in *The Herald of Co-operation and Organ of the Redemption Society*, March 1848, p.116.

¹⁰⁹ Barker's account, appearing in his *The People*, was reprinted (via the abolitionist R.D. Webb) in the *American National Anti-slavery Standard*, 24 October 1850, p.88. J.T. Barker, ed, *The Life of Joseph Barker. Written by Himself*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1880) charts his progress through various denominations and *isms*.

¹¹⁰ *Family Herald*, 1850, p.154.

3:2 James Simpson and the establishment of the Vegetarian Society

Vegetarianism was organised as a national society in 1847. In April William Horsell's *Truth-Tester*, committed to advocating ultra-temperance including vegetarianism, printed a letter by W.B. Withers* of Whitehurst in Hampshire (a young teetotaler) calling for a society. Vegetarians met in Alcott House on July 8th to discuss the project. A further meeting on 30th September, at Northwood Villa in Ramsgate, the hydropathic infirmary managed by Horsell and his wife, formally established the society.¹ The rules had already been drawn up by the Bible Christian James Simpson.² This section details the establishment of the Society and examines the career and contribution of James Simpson.

Horsell had become vegetarian in 1846 in the process of writing *The Board of Health and Longevity*. His *Truth-Tester* presented vegetarianism as 'the next practical moral subject which is likely to call forth the virtuous energy of society' and published dialogues, maxims, verse and letters in support of the diet. These contributions came from the various parties- teetotalers, Concordists and Bible Christians- now interested in furthering the cause through setting up a dedicated society.

The Bible Christian interest was reflected in letters from James Simpson to Horsell to reassure him that his advocacy was worthwhile and that many readers would support him, and in a resolution sent to Oldham.³ The Concordists were visible through advertisements for Alcott House, a letter by Hannah Bond, and essays by Charles Lane. Members of Alcott House wanted to be involved in the organisation which was being planned, possibly (as Latham suggests) with one eye on the financial and moral support which might accrue to the ailing community and school. William Oldham invited interested parties to a 'physiological conference' (8 July 1847).⁴ The meeting attracted some fifty vegetarians including James Simpson, J.G. Palmer* (a Birmingham Quaker who acted as chairman), and Horsell. Bond's dishes united 'the innocence of the hermit's repast with the refinements of art, and the labours of domestic experiences'.⁵ In the afternoon the group, increased to one hundred and thirty vegetarians and others, congregated in the shade of a large tree in the 'beautiful and productive garden'. This 'rational and benign' meeting publicly initiated preparations for the society.

¹ Ramsgate was chosen due to Horsell's 'pressing invitation,' Manchester and London having been previously considered. See Henry Pitman, 'Reminiscences of an old reporter,' *VM*, July 1898, pp.296-299 (p.296).

² See Henry Pitman, *VM*, July 1898, p.296.

³ *Truth-Tester*, 15 March 1848, pp.87-88 reproduces the resolution, from the Bible Christians of Manchester; 15 September 1847, p.20 publishes a letter from Simpson.

⁴ *Truth-Tester*, 15 June 1847, p.121.

⁵ *Truth-Tester*, 15 August 1847, p.8. This conference is reported in *Truth-Tester*, 15 July 1847, pp.140-141.

Preparations included lectures. Horsell chaired a lecture at Ramsgate Primitive Methodist chapel.⁶ He published an address by Simpson and, several weeks before the date arranged, a verse 'Invitation to the Physiological Festival' by Fanny Lacy*, an aristocrat associated with Barmby and the Concordium.⁷

Brotherton presided at the meeting of seventy which included other Cowherdites such as James Scholefield* and James Gaskill*.⁸ Simpson was elected the society's president, Horsell was appointed secretary and William Oldham became treasurer. 150 members were immediately enrolled. Oldham was treasurer for a year only; Horsell was to be secretary for three years. References have already been made to his depot; and vegetarian, spiritualist and other publications in Chapter 1. His activity in the movement will be situated in a succeeding section focussing on the metropolitan effort. Another leading officer, as vice-president of the infant society, was J.G. Palmer*. A Quaker who became vegetarian in 1843, his most important contribution was lecturing on the 'teeth of man' as evidence of vegetarianism, in Birmingham, Lancashire and Yorkshire.⁹

The first membership list (1848), comprised 265 members spanning the ages 14 to 76. Cowherdite family groups totalled just under half of the complete membership with 131 members.¹⁰ The Bible Christian background to the vegetarian movement has been adequately discussed before and need not be examined here.¹¹ Crucial to an understanding of the V.S. from 1847 to 1859 is an examination of the role of James Simpson, the Bible Christian who provided it with the necessary financial support and leadership. A brief biography illustrates the 'moral radical' world from the vegetarian perspective. As earlier studies emphasise, his role was critical. Horsell acknowledged, the establishment of the society was:

⁶ *Truth-Tester*, 15 August 1847, p.8. E. Warman*, the lecturer, had recently left New York. The talk was illustrated with stuffed animals loaned from the city museum with the permission of the Mayor of Canterbury.

⁷ *Truth-Tester*, 15 September 1847, p.20: 'Be roused by example/ Be welcome to share/ The season's pure sample/Of Temperance fare...'

⁸ See the account printed as a 16pp. supplement to *Truth-Tester*, 22 October 1847; and issued as a tract. It was reported in *People's Journal* in its 'Annals of Progress,' and briefly in the *People's Temperance Journal*. Gaskill, at the 21st annual meeting of the V.S., said that he 'had been warned by the ladies not to say some funny things he could tell them about that meeting' (*DR*, January 1869, p.7).

⁹ His letter on teeth appeared in *Healthian*, January- April 1842. See obituary in *Journal of Health*, September 1860.

¹⁰ *VM*, July 1898, p.299: 18 Wrights; 14 Horrocks; 12 Rostrons; 7 Bells; 6 Sutcliffes; 6 Taylors; 6 Smiths; 6 Heys; 5 Levers; 5 Monks; Jane; 5 Peacocks; 4 Harveys; 4 Richardsons; 4 Kershaws; 4 Holcrofts; 4 Osbaldistons; 4 Cariss; 4 Colliers; 5 Brooks; 4 Metcalfes; 3 Rostrons (Other); 3 Simpsons; 3 Brothertons. The listing includes 5 Pitmans; but these were Swedenborgians rather than Bible Christians.

¹¹ See D. Antrobus, *A Guiltless Feast. The Salford Bible Christian Church and the Rise of the Modern Vegetarian Movement* (Salford: Salford City Council, 1997).

principally under his own generous and judicious guidance... There were, it is true, a few Vegetarians who were anxious to form an association, but had no funds and no leader, and it seemed to them that Providence had raised up Mr Simpson for that great and special purpose...¹²

Given the low profile of vegetarianism in Victorian historiography, it is unsurprising that Simpson has a minor profile as a reformer.¹³ Yet he was one of those leading provincial citizens so important for reform movements and provincial politics. Without him, the vegetarian banquets and print media campaigns would have been impossible.

He was the son of a wealthy Scottish calico printer who had become a Cowherdite in 1810. Education at London and Berlin prepared Simpson for a legal career but this was abandoned because he disliked the prospect of pleading for guilty clients. Inherited wealth meant he could devote himself to philanthropy and politics; in large part his early death at forty-eight was due to overwork in the cause of reform. As one obituarist wrote, he bore the 'sins and sorrows of others' with him, even though 'moving gracefully in the higher walks of life, and amongst those who feel but slightly the heavier cares and anxieties of others'.¹⁴ As part of the small Cowherdite sect, he was connected with many prominent Manchester and Salford men, such as his father-in-law William Harvey, and Joseph Brotherton.¹⁵

As a relatively young leader of a reform movement his position was comparable to the Quaker capital punishment-abolitionist Charles Gilpin.¹⁶ His public address at Northwood Villa was his first. Yet vegetarianism was merely the most prominent of his causes, which included teetotalism (a vice president of the U.K.A., whose principles he accepted despite his voluntarist ideals), the peace movement, anti-capital punishment, phonetics and the allotment movement.¹⁷ His temperance work alone involved much travel and platform activity. In 1856 he attended the 'Congres de Beinfaisance' (Brussels) as an U.K.A delegate.¹⁸ Participation in this, and peace congresses as a member of the Peace Society allowed him to advocate vegetarianism in other reform circles. A prominent member of the Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment, he offered crucial financial support to the ailing society in 1856.¹⁹ He was one of the leading benefactors of

¹² *VM*, December 1859, p.30.

¹³ Essentials of his biography are in Antrobus, *A Guiltless Feast*, pp.72-74; and Harrison, *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography*, p.110. See *VM*, 1859, pp.120-121; *DR*, 1894, pp.216-227. An obituary also appeared in the *Lady's Newspaper*, no.775 (the paper had published a portrait and biography in 1853).

¹⁴ *The Alliance*, 10 September 1859, p.853.

¹⁵ His sister married Lawrence Rostron, a Bible Christian and close political supporter of Brotherton.

¹⁶ See J.R.T.E. Gregory, 'The movement against capital punishment in Britain, c.1846-1868,' unpublished M.Phil thesis, University of Cambridge, June 1997.

¹⁷ *Phonetic Journal* 17 September 1859, which also reproduced in phonetics the *Manchester Examiner and Times* obituary.

¹⁸ *The Alliance*, 10 September 1859, p.853.

¹⁹ *The Friend*, December 1856, p.322.

Reynolds' Anti-Tobacco Society.²⁰ Like many middle-class reformers he had been involved in the anti-corn law agitation.

He was prominent too in local government, as a magistrate in Salford, Accrington, Blackburn and Blackpool, and the chairman of the Blackpool Local Board of Health. Some of his wealth was devoted to the expensive task of collecting data for a campaign to have Accrington made the centre of a new electoral and poor-law union district. Politically a Liberal he was active in the Lancashire Liberal world, being a generous benefactor of the Liberal Registration Society for North Lancashire but declining to contest a seat for Blackburn. A range of 'political reforms,' such as financial and parliamentary reform, concerned him. He often arbitrated in disputes between workmen and employers. He promoted allotments as sanative and character-building, setting up 'Temperance Garden Allotments' at his Foxhill residence 'as tending to develope [sic] in the minds of working men a taste for the beautiful, as well as a love of the useful'.²¹ He subscribed liberally to the day and Sunday schools and planned a school for Foxhill Bank.

Vegetarian advocacy antedating the Society's establishment included the writing of several tracts, and provision of vegetable soup for the starving in Manchester in 1845.²² On the day of the Society's formation, his anonymous *A Few Recipes of Vegetable Diet*, dedicated to the Society, was published.²³ He publicly acknowledged that his vegetarianism resulted from the influence of a 'fond mother' who had been 'staunch and firm as rock': his father was not vegetarian. Scientific education endorsed inherited views. As the *Truth-Tester* noted in reviewing one of his works, he came from the Liebig school of chemistry.²⁴ Horsell, having become acquainted with Simpson through the younger man's vegetarian advocacy and support of his efforts in the *Truth-Tester*, forwarded one inquirer's letter to him as an expert who advised 'reading Liebig correctly'.

It is easy to see the earnest Simpson and fellow vegetarians as dour puritans; in Simpson's case this would be wrong. W. McGowan (of Liverpool, a local secretary in the 1850s) recalled him as 'pre-eminently a happy man,' who 'delighted in seeing others happy about him'.²⁵ An obituary in

²⁰*The Anti-Tobacco Journal*, October 1859. Simpson gave £10 p.a. and took 100 copies of the journal per month for distribution. Simpson told Reynolds, soliciting funds: 'This is a poor thing for me to do. You have laid hold of a big thing, Sir and I must do something more to help you'.

²¹*VM*, February 1851, serialised tract enclosed, pp.6-8; continued March, April, May.

²²*The British League; or Total Abstiners' Magazine*, whose contributors included vegetarians/figures sympathetic to vegetarianism, such as F.R. Lees, James Haughton, Goodwyn Barmby and P. P. Carpenter, described *Productions* work as a 'Simple exposition of a question of great importance' (May 1847, p.119).

²³*A Few Recipes of Vegetable Diet* (London: Whittaker, 1847), p.31. *The Productions of the Vegetable Kingdom* Part I was reviewed by Edwin Lankester in the *Athenaeum*, 28 August 1847. *Recipes of Vegetable Diet* was advertised in *Douglas Jerrold's Weekly Newspaper*, February 1848.

²⁴*Truth-Tester*, June 1847, p.120, review of Simpson's published letter on soup kitchens. His *A Few Recipes* made much (p.31) of 'the recent application of the most established conclusions of Chemical Science, supported by the most important facts, hitherto developed, in the study of Dietetics'.

²⁵*VM*, December 1859, p.31.

the *Manchester Examiner and Times* stated that 'though he might be termed an enthusiast, yet he never indulged in anything which savoured of dogmatism or bigotry, but ever treated an opponent with courtesy and respect'.²⁶

His death at a comparatively early age was a great shock to the Society financially and in public relations. The Society into the 1890s reiterated his own view that the key debilitating factor was overwork.²⁷ His secretary, H.S. Clubb, recalled a daily workload of 12-15 hours, and (as a phrenologist) his 'nervous encephalic temperament'; another secretary claimed it was brought on by a chill caught at an Aberdeen hydro.²⁸ Pollution, ironically in part from the Simpson calico works next to the family home, was also blamed. In an anecdote revealing Simpson's spiritualist interests, Clubb noted that a visitor, the vegetarian clairvoyant John Beach*, had sensed the place's unhealthiness.²⁹

The V.S., established in the privacy of a Kent hydropathic establishment, was a new addition to the temperance movement and anti-violence organisations; the latest claimant for reformist and philanthropic attention with the apparent victory of the anti-Corn Law agitation. The early years of the movement, nationally and in its metropolitan dimensions, are now examined.

²⁶*Phonetic Journal*, 17 September 1859.

²⁷See *VM*, February 1893, pp.48-52, controversy generated by *Manchester City News*.

²⁸*VM*, March 1893, p.86.

²⁹*VM*, March 1893, pp.84-85.

3:3 Northern England, Urban Life and Radicalism

The urban geography of vegetarianism.

'What Manchester thinks today, London thinks tomorrow' went a famous Nineteenth century slogan.¹ Horsell wrote that vegetarianism was destined to find an important place 'among the moral reforms which so eminently characterise the people of Lancashire.'² Lancashire, and Yorkshire, were indeed reformist centres (for the temperance and teetotal movements, and the movement against capital punishment³) in the nineteenth century. This is not to suggest that such movements had negligible support elsewhere, or that their sole origins were here, but their heartlands or most consistent support came from this region. The vegetarian geography is explicable through the Bible Christian concentration in Manchester-Salford, but as ultra-temperance, vegetarianism also won sympathetic audiences because of the area's strong temperance activity.

There were features of the urbanised north which were preconditions for radical activity and which ensured a continuity of support for radical causes. The Lancashire, West Riding of Yorkshire region had the highest literacy in nineteenth century England. Self-improvement was a major credo in this most heavily industrialised region in Britain, with vital friendly societies, mutual improvement societies and institutes, the venues where topics such as vegetarianism were earnestly debated. It can be argued indeed that the earnestness of the physical puritan was as typically 'urban' as the devotion to work and 'fact' in the Coketowns, to develop a comment of E.P. Thompson's.⁴ Radicalism needed the urban environment, for it was in towns and cities that the literate and the more independent could congregate; freed from the rural world of custom, though exposed to new disciplines and restrictions. Educational institutions and printing presses were concentrated in urban areas. Communication in the rural world focused more narrowly on the pulpit.⁵

The contrast between town and country is crude, but it was a Victorian cliché that the future of humanity lay with towns and cities. In the words of one encyclopaedia, 'Cities...naturally develop the democratic principle... well-organized municipal institutions, in which the government is in the hands of the citizens, afford continual nourishment to the spirit of freedom throughout a country.'⁶ Urbanisation and industrialisation were generally seen as concomitants of civilisation and

¹ Cited by D. Read, introduction to *The English Provinces* (London: Edwin Arnold, 1964).

² *VA*, September 1849, p.1.

³ J.R.T.E. Gregory, 'The Movement against Capital Punishment in Britain, 1846-1868' (University of Cambridge M.Phil., 1997), pp.35-7. Petitions for abolition in 1846-1851 emanated in their highest numbers from London, followed by Yorkshire. Other prominent areas included Lancashire, Devon and Essex. Earlier evidence on the geography of this movement bears out the London predominance, followed by Yorkshire, especially the North and West Ridings.

⁴ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Gollancz, 1964), p.322.

⁵ E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, pp.240-242; E. Royle, *Radical Politics. 1790-1900. Religion and Unbelief* (London: Longman, 1977), pp.10-11.

⁶ *The Popular Encyclopedia; or, Conversations Lexicon*, new edn. (London: Blackie). 'City' entry, p.367.

progress, even when there were fears of the survival of 'serf-like' habits.⁷ Urban civilisation also presented great and unprecedented social problems which in turn drove the moral and social reform crusades. Yet the utopian archetype of the rural colony (partly because of this urban experience) was enduring. The strength of 'back to the land' or 'return to nature' sentiments can be seen in the vegetarian movement.

It is worth emphasising, when considering peculiarly urban factors behind the appeal of vegetarianism and purity movements, 'the general assault on the senses'. Food adulteration was at its peak in the 1840s- 1850s, and the nation was shortly to be shocked out of ignorant complacency by chemical analysis conducted by Hassall and others. Mumford emphasises the debasement or blunting of the senses beyond merely this 'enfeeblement of elementary taste-discrimination', such that the colours of Pre-Raphaelitism shocked early viewers. To appreciate the reformers' call to return to Nature the drabness, dinginess and noise of the urban environment needs to be emphasised.⁸ Moral radicals and others struggled to create concord and harmony. The colours favoured by the Concordists were puritanically drab, but they were natural. The White Quakers even more so, in their pure white costume, were showing their purity and their alienation from the outside, modern world.

Critics of vegetarianism argued that civilisations increased meat consumption as they progressed. Twigg stresses the economic developments which meant that *choice* and *selection* in the market replaced mere subsistence.⁹ She emphasises attitudinal changes, arguing that a central factor in the growth of vegetarianism was an altered relationship with nature, a result in part of urbanization. Animals were sentimentalised through a lack of connection with agriculture. Sensibilities, the thresholds of tolerance in suffering, were altered, though she qualifies this with the observation that northern vegetarians in the late 1840s were 'too recent emigrants from rural poverty for the romanticism of nature or of cottage life that we can find among ordinary vegetarians later in the century'.¹⁰

Cooke Taylor had written in 1842 of a new mentality amongst the populations being established in the Lancashire factory districts who dreaded the countryside and rural work.¹¹ A campaign to win over the Suffolk peasantry in Bury St Edmunds lectures in 1853 was unsuccessful.

⁷ See for instance the fears that improved living conditions and industrial discipline had done nothing to create self-control, so that 'the animal nature of the ancient serf appears', in *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (London: Parker, 1860), in Sir James Kay Shuttleworth's address, pp.79-109.

⁸ L. Mumford, *The City in History*, (1961; London: Pelican, 1979), ch.15 'Palaeotechnic Paradise: Coketown', pp.537-539.

⁹ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.64.

¹⁰ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.91.

¹¹ W. Cooke Taylor, *Notes on a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire; in a Series of Letters to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin* (London: Duncan and Malcolm, 1842), p.6.

The commentator attributed it to lack of 'reason'.¹² Informed debate was alien to the peasantry. A sensitive late Victorian commentator like Thomas Hardy contrasted the inward and unsophisticated world-view of earlier times with the contemporary march towards 'uniformity and mental equality'.¹³ In the rural world, the centres of radicalism were individuals such as the isolated Quakers who organised rural temperance activity and whose deaths stunted the movement in such areas; or the few independent tradesmen, cobblers and carpenters who might be their locality's 'Bradlaugh'.¹⁴ Reason and intellect were, after all, the requirements in the urban world; mere physical strength was being replaced by technology.¹⁵

The inadequate, sickness-engendering diet of the proletariat was targeted by vegetarians and teetotallers; vegetarianism, amongst other things (as earlier examined), was one of several health movements addressed to the new problems of urban living.¹⁶ The geography of the temperance movement (and analysis of the leadership) shows the predominance of Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. The movement was urban, opposed to the feudal custom of the countryside. The U.K.A. drew some of its greatest support from the north, and was based in Manchester.¹⁷ The same geography has been identified for various medical unorthodoxies.¹⁸ In religion, the north was famously a stronghold of nonconformity. The English 'North-west -and-Pennine' was also an important centre for Owenism, secularism, spiritualism and other 'currents of plebeian independence' (Social Democratic Federation, Labour Churches, Independent Labour Party).¹⁹

¹²Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.92; see *VM*, May 1853, p.4.

¹³Thomas Hardy, 'The Dorsetshire Labourer', *Longman's Magazine*, July 1883.

¹⁴See G.E. Mingay, *Rural Life in Victorian England*, (1976; Stroud: Alan Sutton, reprint in illustrated edn., 1990), pp.194-195.

¹⁵See *VA*, October 1849, p.14 (describing the Manchester artisan). See K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, (1971; London: Penguin, 1991) chapter 22: part 4, on urbanisation's role in the decline of magic. He attributes the decline partly and in the long run, to the impersonality, literacy, population turn-over and communication of new ideas. His caveat that the equation of industrialisation-rationality is too facile is important; and he stresses surviving 'irrationalism' in nineteenth century urban culture in spiritualism, hauntings etc. See also Royle, *Radical Politics*, p.10, for F. Liardet's conclusion, in a report for the Central Society of Education (1839) that towns were less superstitious.

¹⁶On working class diet c.1830-1851 see J. Burnett, *Plenty and Want* (1966; London: Pelican, 1968), chapter 3. For the period of industrial distress c.1842, see W. Cooke Taylor, *Notes on a tour*, e.g. p.171, p.196; an unsympathetic treatment of working class diet is Dr. A. Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures: or, an Exposition of the Scientific, Moral, and Commercial Economy of the Factory System of Great Britain* [3rd edn., continued by P.L. Simmonds] (London: Bohn, 1861), pp.385-387.

¹⁷Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p.32, p.91, p.143; p.219.

¹⁸M.H. Marland, *Medicine in Wakefield and Huddersfield, 1780-1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp.206-207. Note the comment in *Labour and the Poor in England and Wales, 1849-1851*. vol.1. *Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire* (London: Frank Cass, 1983), p.63, that the Lancashire mind was 'essentially a believing, perhaps an over-believing, one. Fanaticism rather than scepticism, is the extreme into which it is most likely to hurry'.

¹⁹See Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, pp.10-12, p.104, p.115 (the source of the quotation), p.195; see pp.125-126 especially, on the contrast with metropolitan spiritualism. R.C.K. Ensor, *England. 1870-1914* (1936; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), p.335, noted Blatchford's *Clarion* appealed 'primarily' to young artisans and clerks of Lancashire and the West Riding. See J.C.F. Harrison, *A Study in the English Adult Educational Movement* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), for the West Riding in relation to various working class radical activities and enthusiasms. However, see E.W. Sager, 'The social origins of

II

Vegetarianism and urban discipline

Identification of the reformed diet with self-control and economy was frequently made in vegetarian journalism. Twigg has considered how far the movement was 'conducive' to capitalism.²⁰ Quite plausibly, she sees it as the equivalent to E.P. Thompson's depiction of Methodism as potentially 'cooling', promotive of purity and temperate behaviour. Vegetarian apologists deployed such physiological arguments:

What vegetarianism offered in the new circumstances of the factory discipline was the alleviation of these tensions in the dampening down of what were seen as over-stoked fires.²¹

It has been pointed out that the textile manufacturers so supportive of temperance could extend their discipline and security; and encourage a population with money to spend on manufactured goods.²² Several vegetarian leaders were, or had been involved in manufacture. Charles Tysoe, for instance, and his partners in the spinning mill of Messrs Harney and Tysoe (Canal Street), were 'gentlemen who exert themselves to the utmost to promote the social comfort and improvement of their workpeople' and 'ready adherents of the teetotal system, and lose no opportunity of inculcating the advantages of temperance upon their workpeople.'²³ Entrepreneurialism required qualities that, ideologized by Smiles, vegetarians (like teetotalers) could readily endorse.²⁴

Twigg rightly rejects an interpretation of vegetarianism as social-control, stressing its radicalism. Emphasis on *self-control* via temperance was after all, a feature of the secular movement.²⁵ Vegetarianism formed part of a world-view logical in its own implications concerning violence and authority; it was not simply a means of making ends meet. Yet frequent testimony from converts delighted at the new capacity to work with limited sleep (and it is not 'listlessness'

Victorian pacifism', *Victorian Studies* 23 (winter 1980), pp.211-236, on the Peace movement, where support was characteristically southern and non industrial in social location.

²⁰Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.98.

²¹Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.98. See M.W. Flinn, ed., *Edwin Chadwick's Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* [1842] (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1965) for efforts to reduce the use of highly stimulating food, p.276, and p.314, William Fairbairn of Manchester's prohibition of tobacco and liquor and reduction of use of animal food. 'Voluntary testimony' on the advantages of the diet in iron manufactories, overheated mills and counting houses is referred to in the annual report, *VA*, 15 August 1850, p..

²²Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp.94-98.

²³From the *Morning Chronicle*, in J.Ginswick, ed., *Labour and the poor in England and Wales, 1849-1851*. vol.1, *Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire*. (London: Frank Cass, 1983), p.8.

²⁴Examples of vegetarianism being endorsed as part of a programme of self-improvement include *Vegetarian Advocate*, October 1849, pp.13-14; the account of a teetotal-vegetarian, from *Weekly Record*, and reprinted in *Phonetic Journal*, 13 June 1857, p.219.

²⁵Additionally, control of temperament could apply to employers too, see *VA*, 1 February 1850, p.64 for comment by D. Morris about his workforce's relief when he was vegetarian.

and 'restlessness', emphasised by Twigg, but exhaustion that is stressed here), were rarely prefaced by criticism of the appalling working hours or conditions.²⁶

III

North and South: Manchester and London.

Gaskell, when contrasting North with South, thought that things seemed 'purpose like' in the former.²⁷ Cooke Taylor, a qualified supporter of the new urban world, emphasised Mancunian obsession with business. Science, religion and charity rather than recreation were what the inhabitants filled their non-business time doing.²⁸ Such observations were shared by commentators such as Engels and de Tocqueville.²⁹ Certainly, tension between the *provinces* and London characterised Victorian reform movements and was certainly the case, to an extent, with vegetarianism. Moral radical condemnation of 'diseased' London was based on a longstanding anti-metropolitanism. The north could be seen as the source of virtue, as expressed at one Vegetarian Annual Soiree: 'from Manchester had flowed, as it were, the lifeblood which sustained the varied philanthropic efforts throughout the land in public works of many kinds.'³⁰ London, it will be seen, was an important location of early vegetarianism and became more prominent from the 1870s, but Twigg incorrectly characterises northern and working-class vegetarianism as *atypical* in this later period.³¹ It was exactly its typicality which makes it less dramatic.

Manchester, because of the Bible Christian sect, was vegetarianism's centre c.1847-1870. The small sect, which had become vegetarian in 1809, provided leading activists and the Society's offices. King Street chapel library was used for meetings in 1849.³² Locally important, the sect was all but unknown nationally, though it received recognition (albeit scornful) in Brown's essay on physical puritanism.³³ This was a rare reference to a sect confined to the Salford-Manchester area of England, and to Philadelphia.

²⁶ *VA*, 1 July 1849, p.135 (Pratt, a London compositor), J.P. Bibby (railway worker), p.138, 15 August 1850, p.4 (iron manufactory workers, workers in overheated mills and counting houses). A rare call for 'more liberal remuneration' - of agriculture labour - is in *VA*, supplement, January 1851, p.6, reply to XYF.

²⁷ E. Gaskell, *North and South* (1854; London: Penguin, 1970), chapter 7, p.95.

²⁸ W. Cooke Taylor, *Notes of a tour*, pp.7-8.

²⁹ H. Perkin, *The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), pp.160.

³⁰ *DR*, January 1872, p.21.

³¹ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.88.

³² *VA*, October 1849, reverse of cover, this included a 'Dietetic Class' established by H.S. Clubb.

³³ In 1836 the vegetarian-pacifist lecturer for the Anti-Slavery Society, George Pilkington, mentioned the sect in his autobiography (first volume, August 1836, entitled *The Doctrine of Particular Providence*, second volume published as *Travels through the United Kingdom* [2nd edn, London: Edmund Fry, 1839], later excerpted in *VM*.

Annual meetings rarely strayed from the area until the 1870s.³⁴ A Manchester and Salford Vegetarian Advocates Society was established in August 1849 and reformed 1852.³⁵ In 1850 a Vegetarian Eating House (short-lived) was opened in Manchester.³⁶ Branch societies at Accrington, Miles Platting, Liverpool, Rawtenstall, Darwen and Bolton were all nurtured by Manchester-Salford vegetarians. Local temperance halls invited lecturers.³⁷

One private account of Mancunian vegetarian activity in this period is derived from the papers of Pierre Baume, a radical reformer who settled there in late 1855; his attempt to harness the energies and reputations of the Manchester vegetarians and teetotal elite to a scheme, the 'International Friendly Society,' has been alluded to (2:2). Funds were offered to the Manchester 'Vegetarian Association' provided 'it be reorganised by said purchasers [James] Simpson*, [William] Harvey*, [James] Gaskill*, [J.E.] Nelson*'; men whose temperance associations with Baume are recorded in his journals.³⁸ He attended vegetarian soirees, distributed tickets and bought a former chapel to create a hall for mutual improvement, where vegetarianism was one of the subjects debated.³⁹

In the 1880s the V.S. offices were at Princess Street, Manchester. There were several vegetarian restaurants in the city; one at Fountain Street (opened 1884), with lecture hall, reading and smoking rooms, provided a venue for lectures targeted at groups such as teachers, doctors and temperance workers.⁴⁰ In the same period an auxiliary Manchester and Salford branch was formed.⁴¹ The Society established a shop about 1893 at Peter Street, close to the Deansgate tram route. The window on the main street had a large display of commodities which helped attract enquirers.⁴² New showiness reflected the growth of the national movement and vigorous efforts in London in the later Nineteenth century. The examination of the movement next focuses on the first provincial efforts, in the period 1847-1870.

³⁴D. Antrobus, *A Guiltless Feast*, p.96. The first annual meeting was at Hayward's Hotel, Manchester. The second at Manchester town hall (12 July 1849); the third at Salford town hall. Salford was the venue 1852, 1853. The seventh annual banquet was in Leeds. See *VM*, June 1852, p.41 for the decision to stay in areas where a large concentration of vegetarians could be assured for the annual meetings, in order to 'preserve the Vegetarian spirit'.

³⁵*VA*, September 1849; *VM*, February 1852, p.9.

³⁶Mrs Hollinworth's, 2, St Ann's Place, see reverse of cover, *VM*, January 1850; and *John Bull*, 26 June 1850, p.54.

³⁷*VA*, September 1849, pp.5-6.

³⁸Baume Papers, including: Journal 1855 April 15- 1856 March; Journal 1856 March 7- 1857 June 15; 'Free lectures on human progress' 1856.

³⁹*Manchester Guardian* Index, 1851-1856 shows that for one leading newspaper, vegetarianism was hardly of overwhelming importance. See 19 November, 26 November, 31 December 1851; 10 January, 24 July 1852; 30 July 1853. No references are found in the index 1854-1856 (though the index may be deficient).

⁴⁰W.E.A. Axon, ed., *Manchester Vegetarian Lectures*, first series (Manchester: V.S., 1888): temperance, medical men, school board officers and board of guardians, ministers of religion.

⁴¹*DR*, March 1884, p.85.

⁴²*VM*, May 1895, p.148.

3:4 Food Reform in the Provinces, 1847 to 1870.

With the V.S.'s creation, efforts were made to spread vegetarianism beyond Manchester-Salford and London. Various media were employed (the literary campaign is examined in chapter 4:2), like other movements an important propagandist activity was the meeting, ranging from private discussion group to public (ideally, town hall) lectures. The Society's first Annual Report announced the preparation for lectureships and proposed local secretaries for large towns or counties to collect supporters and build on private advocacy.¹ Copies of the Report and other publications were widely circulated. The crusade started to attract prominent press notices, *Punch* noting facetiously a 'great Vegetarian movement' with provincial press coverage of missionaries inculcating the 'doctrine of peas and potatoes'.² This section examines the provincial activity, co-ordinated by the energetic president, James Simpson, which brought the message to towns and cities across Britain.

As a result of these efforts, 'local societies were springing up all over the country'; but their growth and geography (across England and Scotland) needs study in depth.³ They were dependent on financial and moral support from the leadership, Simpson was president of many a branch society.⁴ Many were no more than the 'local secretaries' listed in the *Vegetarian Messenger*, and were an attempt to exaggerate strength.⁵ In the early- mid 1850s Simpson lectured across England and in Scotland.⁶ But in late 1856, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* observed that, after soirées in various towns, and public munching of their food, people had 'heard nothing of them for a long time'.⁷ The *Messenger* lamented the current, inimical, spirit of belligerence⁸, one local activist emphasising the absence of 'a calm and patient hearing' for an anti-violence movement.⁹ Manchester

¹ *VA*, late *Truth-Tester*, 18 August 1848, p.6.

² *Punch*, July- December 1848, 'The Vegetarians', p.140; 'The Vegetarian Movement', p.182.

³ Forward, *History*, treats the provincial movement cursorily: mentioning some branches/ associations established 1850-1855 and states that they were declining prior to Simpson's death. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', refers to provincial activity in a five line paragraph, p.84, noting Simpson's prominence at dinners, soirées and lectures. She concentrates on Manchester-Salford activity, briefly noting a nascent London involvement. Antrobus, *A Guiltless Feast*, p.80; refers to Simpson's 'presidential campaigns' with set-speeches across England, often with Brotherton as the chairman.

⁴ Model rules were provided in *VM*, May 1853, 'local vegetarian operations and intelligence': p.2, so branches and general society would no be confounded.

⁵ See critique of the era's 'fictitious growth' by F.P. Doremus, *Vegetarian* 15 June 1889, p.378.

⁶ In 1851 large meetings (by vegetarian standards) were held at Glasgow, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Chester, Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, Bury St Edmunds, Ipswich, Yarmouth, Boston.

⁷ *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 80: 494 (December 1856), p.733.

⁸ *VM*, January 1856, p.1. For indifference in secularism for similar reasons, see Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, pp.208-210; for lean years in land reform movement and general radicalism, see D. Martin, 'Land Reform', in P. Hollis, ed., *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England* (London: E. Arnold, 1974), pp.131-158 [p.152].

⁹ *VM*, August 1859, p.17.

Association itself had a 'do-nothing policy' in 1858.¹⁰ With Simpson's death in 1859 most remaining branches became dormant and the survival of the Society itself was uncertain.¹¹

What follows is an account of this local activity, drawing particularly on the *Vegetarian Messenger's* own 'local intelligence' reports. Local press accounts of public efforts, another important source, indicate vegetarianism's early novelty value.¹² There were also private efforts, such as the *conversaciones* which the Report of 1849-1850 claimed were characterised by the 'best of feeling and most satisfactory results.'¹³ The survey of branch activity demonstrates how limited commitment was, and how weak in consequence the local associations were (19 English, 5 Scottish), even when there were more than a couple of local members.

[Note: The officers of the branch societies are listed in the appendix D, in volume II.]

I

Meetings and associations in England, 1847-1870.

The movement began with geographically extensive but humbly-located lecturing activity. In 1849 there were lectures in Lancashire, at Douglas in the Isle of Man¹⁴; in Kent, Essex and Suffolk; and Cornwall. In the next year lectures took place at Bridgnorth in Shropshire; in Lancashire; and some new Suffolk venues. Most venues (typically philosophical institutes, temperance halls, literary institutes and school rooms) and audiences were modest, the fact that a meeting at Bishops Stortford (Suffolk) in 1851 was recorded as attracting 700 suggests this was an unusually large audience.¹⁵ Several were held in temperance hotels, a few took place in town halls (at Maldon the Town Clerk was present).

The geography of such meetings is partly explicable in terms of the propinquity to lecturers' homes: thus activity in the Suffolk area (H.S. Clubb*), or Horsell's in Kent and London (presumably his Douglas lecture was connected with a visit for publishing purposes). Cornish activity owed much to strong teetotal support in the region, and the activity of the temperance worker Joseph Bormond. The *Vegetarian Advocate* emphasised the importance of visiting villages, since 'there is suitable mental soil for cultivation, amongst those who live in accordance with *nature* in other respects.' Horsell endorsed another vegetarian's view that rural districts enjoyed a state of

¹⁰ *VM*, October 1858, p.26; see continued reports of inactivity due to popular preoccupation with European affairs and elections, *VM*, May 1859, supplement: p.10. For complaints of local associations' inactivity see June 1859, p.65.

¹¹ *VM*, June 1859.

¹² Local press interest ('considerable') was noted by the *VM*, October 1851, p.77.

¹³ *VA*, 15 August 1850, p.4.

¹⁴ Horsell's lecture here, 1848, reported in *VA*, 15 September 1848, p.24, by 'W.R.', presumably his publisher Robinson.

¹⁵ *VM*, January 1852, p.3 indicates meetings were 'large' if from 400-1000.

'primitive goodness'.¹⁶ But it is clear that vegetarianism was strongest in urbanised, industrialised northern England, in the classic Lancashire-Yorkshire location for reform previously discussed.

Members of northern mechanics institutes discussed vegetarianism.¹⁷ Periodicals taken by the Huddersfield mechanics institute in 1850 included the *Vegetarian Advocate* along side peace and teetotal titles; Sheffield's institute's copy of Graham was rarely un-used.¹⁸ Twigg notes that mechanics institutes were more middle-class directed than the mutual improvement societies (sermonising 'the poor'), and the more plebeian mutual improvement environment offered another location for vegetarian discussion.¹⁹ Organisations for civic and self-culture like the Chester Literary and Scientific Institution, where a 'few young men' were vegetarian in 1850, were environments where vegetarianism could be considered.²⁰ A glimpse of more private efforts is indicated by the announcement by a working-class correspondent of the *Dietetic Reformer* (1872), of a 'Social Progress Society' combining Swedenborgianism, pacifism, temperance and vegetarianism.

Vegetarianism in Northern England.

There were societies in **Manchester-Salford, Accrington, Rawtenstall, Bolton, Darwen, and Liverpool**. **Manchester** and Salford Vegetarian Association (established 1849) was led by Alderman Harvey and included fellow Bible Christians such as Peter Foxcroft, as members.²¹ Committee member John Holt* was a teacher and conductor of James Gaskell's Bible Christian Sunday school at Hulme. Despite the composition, the society was apathetic by 1858; according to reports by Harvey, unsympathetic about excuses for a 'do-nothing policy' such as infirmity, the demands of other philanthropic movements or middle class disinclination. Efforts at Miles Platting (outside Manchester) allegedly created a 'good impression' on the working classes in 1848, under the auspices of David Winstanley.²² Winstanley, who attended the annual meeting of the V.S., 1849, was a former hand-loom weaver who became estate agent for the banker and philanthropist

¹⁶ *VA*, 15 October 1848, p.37.

¹⁷ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.103, notes evidence from M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Before 1851* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957). These institutions allowed women to be members, although they had a second-class status. A ban on access to newspapers and reading rooms was lifted only from the 1860s, so they had no access to any vegetarian literature from this quarter, but they could attend lectures, see J. Purvis, *Hard Lessons. The Lives and Education of Working Class Women in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Polity, 1989), ch.5.

¹⁸ Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes*, p.218; and Appendix X, subjects for discussion. The secretary of the institute 1846-1854 was the transcendentalist and radical, G.S. Phillips; the institution was genuinely working class, see J.F.C. Harrison, *A Study in the English Adult Educational Movement* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), p.137. On Sheffield, see *VM*, May 1859, supplement: p.10.

¹⁹ E.g., *VM*, January 1850, supplement, p.4, Chorlton upon Medlock mutual improvement classes; August 1850, reverse of cover for the often extended debates in these organisations.

²⁰ *VA*, March 1850, p.75, the correspondent suggested that if this happened in the 'quiet, old, jog-trot city of Chester', how much more successful would the movement be in more enlightened communities.

²¹ *VA*, September 1849.

²² *VM*, April 1851, p.32, (other meetings here, *VA*, 1 October 1849, p.16, p.18; 1 June 1849, p.142).

Sir Benjamin Heywood's estate. He managed Heywood's public baths and wash-houses. He was closely involved in social work and 'improvement' in the district throughout his life.²³

Simpson's hometown of **Accrington**, a centre for calico-printing, had an Association with a committee of six, a treasurer, and a secretary, the Scotsman William Sandeman* (Simpson's private secretary 1845-1859). He distributed tracts, periodicals and books, and even corresponded with people on the Continent.²⁴ In 1848 there were, beyond members of the Society, twelve in the district trying the reformed diet.²⁵

The **Rawtenstall and Crawshawbooth** Vegetarian Association (founded 1854 with nine committee members) owed much of its energies to secretary William Hoyle*, later a national temperance figure. When a seventeen year old mill-hand he became vegetarian through reading. By the 1860s he was a mill owner, an advance he attributed to his ability to resist the world's 'follies and fashions'.²⁶ Members were described as firm in principles but irregular in attendance at the meetings every three weeks. It was claimed there were forty- fifty local vegetarians of all trades and professions; thirty were members of the Society.²⁷ Simpson noted in 1856 that the Association had 'been for some time, the most active of any connected with the Society'.²⁸

Bolton Association (established 1854), led by the Bible Christian Peter Gaskill*, had eight men and three women as officers.²⁹ The secretary was a methodist, John Cunliffe*, active in the Bolton Benevolence Society and various 'movements' (anti-Corn Law, peace, freehold and franchise reform). By the time he established the liberal *Bolton Guardian* (1859), he was a town councillor. **Darwen**, in Blackburn parish, Lancashire, had eleven officers, with Simpson as President, but was quiescent by 1857.³⁰

Liverpool hosted the annual banquet in 1851.³¹ A **Liverpool** association, with offices at the 'Vegetarian Depot', 35 Dale street, formed a joint-stock company to provide soirées with plate and glassware.³² There were several women on the committee in 1856, Catherine Calderwood and

²³D.Winstanley, *A Schoolmaster's Diary, being and account of a Nineteenth Century Experiment in Social Welfare* (Chesham Society); and B. Rogers, 'Some Social Pioneers' *Manchester and its Region. A Survey Prepared for the Meeting held in Manchester August 29 to September 5t 1962* (British Association, Manchester University Press, 1962), ch.17, p.239.

²⁴*VM*, May 1853, local operations: pp.2-3.

²⁵*VM*, May 1854, pp.35-45; *VA*, 15 April 1848, p.51.

²⁶*DR*, January 1869, p.7. He owned 1000 looms yet noted with pride that his family of four lived on £100 p.a.

²⁷*VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.1, p.7; July 1856, p.51.

²⁸G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., V.S. Minutes, G24/1/1/1, letter dated 24 December 1856. The association succumbed to inactivity due to difficulties arranging meetings unless in evenings, see *VM*, August 1859, supplement: p.15.

²⁹*VM*, November 1854, supplement: pp.90-96.

³⁰*VM*, May 1854, supplement: pp.31-34; June 1854, supplement: p.58.

³¹*VM*, August 1851, p.61 (this and London activity stimulated comment by *Punch*, January- June 1851, p.101; July-December 1851, p.230.

³²*VM*, May 1853, local operations: p.5 (with rules printed); April 1853, supplement: pp.7-12; soirées

Agnes C. Dewar, wives of other officers. John Calderwood* and the clerk Aquila Kent* were involved in the phonetic movement. But the association was weak, with the efforts of 'JEE' undermined by lack of attendance by principal members, leaving him to simply post up *Messenger* advertisements. In 1862 there were 20 members and private quarterly meetings involving essays (e.g., on Shelley and vegetarianism) and discussions rather than aggressive propaganda.³³ Nearby, Ormskirk efforts were limited to the local secretary and his family.

In York there had been vegetarian experimenters- 'leading members among the Society of Friends'- several years before the establishment of the V.S. In 1855 the local secretary, a music teacher (Richard Hunt), organised a lecture by John Smith of Malton* whose *Fruits and Farinacea* was a major text for the movement.³⁴ He arranged a Musical Festival and Vegetarian Banquet in late 1856. In August 1859 Charles France was appointed local secretary.³⁵

In the North Riding of Yorkshire there was activity in **Malton**, John Smith's home. In 1848 a correspondent informed Horsell of progress through Smith's influence and character. An Association was formed 1853, with Simpson as president, a soir   attracted a large audience including ministers of religion and medical professionals.³⁶ In the East Riding at **Hull** a handful of early enthusiasts developed into a group of c.30-40 in late 1846, and vegetarianism was the subject of Mechanics Institute debates and temperance lectures.³⁷ The president of the Association established 1853 was Smith of Malton in 1856, whose influence led the editor of the *Hull Advertiser* to try vegetarianism.³⁸ The secretary claimed that there were 40 experimenters in 1856, who were however 'backward' in joining the society.³⁹

In the West Riding, there were associations at **Leeds**, **Sheffield** and **Barnsley**. The local secretary to the society in **Leeds** in 1849, J. Wrigley (possibly Joseph Wrigley of Ripponden who was secretary of that town's Owenite Rational Sick and Burial Association 1843-1845) distributed the Report in 1848, and intended to 'plant in two districts of the town for sale' ten copies of the *Advocate* monthly.⁴⁰ The account of activity published in Skelton's *Botanic Record*, has been cited already (2:1).⁴¹ An Association (established 1853) possessed 30 members and friends.⁴² These

reported June 1853, pp.13-17; December 1853.

³³ *DR*, October 1862.

³⁴ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, letter dated 21 September 1855. The advertisement was reproduced by the *VM* in 1936.

³⁵ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, letter dated 16 August 1859.

³⁶ *VM*, January 1854, supplement: pp.4-12; pp.12-13.

³⁷ *VA*, 15 September 1848, p.24, see also *VM*, April 1854, p.30.

³⁸ *VM*, June 1854, supplement: p.56; on the formation, see October 1853, 'local operations': p.22.

³⁹ *VM*, January 1856, p.7; April 1856, p.26.

⁴⁰ *VA*, 15 October 1848, p.36.

⁴¹ *Dr Skelton's Botanic Record and Family Herald*, 5 February 1853, pp.150-152. See Perkin's letter, July 1852.

⁴² *VM*, November 1853, p.60. Report of soir  , July 1853, pp.25-30, November 1853, pp.60-63.

included George Wilson, a bricklayer; a railway-worker, George Umpleby; and George Perkin*, a forge-labourer who abandoned 'snuff, novel-reading, smoking'. Perkin believed the diet preserved him in a dangerous and laborious trade (working 12-14 hours/day), and provided time for culture (reading grammar and physiology). When defending Pitman's Swedenborgianism during a controversy in the *Phonetic Journal*, he revealed his interest in a whole range of *isms*.⁴³ In 1854 Leeds hosted the annual meeting and, as centrally-located, was fixed as the permanent location for annual meetings, but this did not happen.⁴⁴ In 1856 the Association comprised Perkin and Wilson as vice-presidents, and eight officers; public activities were suspended in 1858.⁴⁵ Nearby at Harrogate there had been a few supporters including a 'zealous female member' in 1848.⁴⁶ In Burley (presumably the Burley near Leeds) c.1853, activity was led by a forge-labourer who distributed tracts among his circle of working men, there were said to be 23 vegetarians, and a society was to be formed.⁴⁷

There were monthly meetings in Bradford in 1856.⁴⁸ Simpson gave a lecture in December 1855, accompanied by the Bible Christian Reverend William Metcalfe of Philadelphia, and Perkin of Leeds and chaired by the Quaker temperance and peace worker John Priestman.⁴⁹ The room was 'comfortably filled' with clergymen, gentry, 'professional men of the locality', a smaller number of women, and working men.⁵⁰ In 1856 the *Bradford Observer* covered a controversy over fish in the New Testament.

A public meeting in **Sheffield** in May 1853, was to have involved the mayor or an alderman.⁵¹ Simpson lectured here but it was only later that an Association was established, and reorganised by the nonconformist minister William Sharman (1858).⁵² A centrally-located room was hired.⁵³ Horsell lectured at the Sheffield Council Hall in October 1859, with a discussion chaired by a well-wisher, Dr Ryan of the *Homeopathic Review*.⁵⁴ The Association was still meeting at

⁴³*Phonetic Journal*, 21 April 1855, p.189, p.271.

⁴⁴*The Times*, 20 July 1854; *Progressionist* (Horsell and Shirrefs), 1854, p.105.

⁴⁵*VM*, August 1858, p.17.

⁴⁶*VA*, 15 October 1848, p.36.

⁴⁷*VM*, April 1853, p.10. See also *VM*, March 1859, supplement: p.5 for visit to the 'manufacturing village' of Morley.

⁴⁸*VM*, November 1856, p.78.

⁴⁹*VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.3. On Priestman, see B. Harrison, *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography*, pp.100-101.

⁵⁰*VM*, January 1856, p.3.

⁵¹*VM*, July 1853, p.31. Both 'unavoidably absent'.

⁵²He published *Plain Words to the Working Men of Sheffield, now abstaining from dear meat: with an appendix on what to eat and how to cook it* (Sheffield: J. Chapman and J. Morton, 1860) [copy in Brotherton Collection, University of Leeds Library] an 'excellent little work' according to *Journal of Health...and VM*, September 1860, p.138, but worried that recipes on rice pudding and cabbage created the wrong impression.

⁵³*VM*, September 1858, pp.113-114, November 1858, p.27.

⁵⁴*VM*, December 1859, supplement: p.28.

its 'customary place' at the Working Men's Reading Rooms in 1860, with a new member, the author, engraver and schoolmaster George Vasey, previously associated with the latter-days of Alcott House and the London Vegetarian Association. Although it was reported that 'old members continue firm' it was a small group. In June 1860 five joined and the society was said to have made 'steady progress'.⁵⁵ Fortnightly discussions were introduced in 1861 where discussion focused on G.H. Lewes' recently published, *inter alia* anti-vegetarian *Physiology of Common Life*.⁵⁶ Sharman, a prominent vegetarian lecturer, moved to Birmingham and then Aberdeen, and apostatised following illness. That Sheffield was quiescent and the movement itself languishing, is demonstrated by a local paper's comment (stimulated by serious cattle disease), that it had not heard of vegetarianism or the Society for a while.⁵⁷ Yet the Vegetarian Annual Meeting was held in the city in 1862. In nearby Rotherham there were said to be a 'good many practical men carrying on the social advocacy of the system' in 1851.⁵⁸

The **Barnsley** association was presided over by W.H. Barnesley*. Barnesley, attendant at the Paris Peace Congress in 1849 and a supporter of the U.K.A, was a commercial traveller who briefly ran a Vegetarian and Temperance Hotel in Manchester. The Association operated in 1859.⁵⁹ In Huddersfield the Mechanics Institute Reading Room took in, amongst its monthly titles, the *Vegetarian Advocate*, *Herald of Peace* and *Temperance Advocate*.⁶⁰

At Great Houghton in the West Riding, Joseph Wilson* led a group of converts (and encouraged many to experiment with the diet). Wilson was a Primitive Methodist who progressed from mill worker to business man by 1888 (and continued to be active in philanthropy until his death in 1926). A chartist at fifteen, he was active in the chartist Sunday School movement and temperance. A vegetarian through aversion to killing animals, he had contacted Horsell for literature. His ten converts in 1870 were mostly women and (noted as a favourable sign of female willingness to join the movement), Mary Anne Kellett*, a weaver, was the secretary.⁶¹

There was scattered activity elsewhere in northern England. At Norton (Durham) in 1857, J.H. Longstaffe* (an opponent of smoking) distributed circulars offering vegetarian tracts, books and journals, and gave an address at the Friends' Meeting House. There was activity at Newcastle upon Tyne, stirred into existence through Simpson's lectures, which had generated local press

⁵⁵ *Journal of Health...and VM*, June 1860, p.96.

⁵⁶ *DR*, October 1861, p.126.

⁵⁷ *DR*, July 1865, p.84, citing *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*.

⁵⁸ *VM*, June 1851, p.45.

⁵⁹ Report by secretary Gates, G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1, 29, July 1859. *VM*, February 1859, supplement, p.3. There were also lectures involving Barnesley and Gates 1866, see *DR*, January 1867, p.13.

⁶⁰ M. Tylecote, *The Mechanics' Institutes*, p.218, and Appendix X. See E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, p.228 on Huddersfield secularism.

⁶¹ *DR*, October 1868, p.127.

coverage of the question, inquiries for information and demand for cookery books. The homeopathic chemist John Mawson* was secretary. Mawson supported antislavery activity, his wife organised contributions for the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar in 1856.⁶² Newcastle vegetarianism languished for lack of an Association in the later 1850s, with the cause limited to private discussion and papers in debating societies and Young Men's Associations.

Vegetarianism in eastern England and the Midlands.

In Lincolnshire there was an association at **Boston** following lectures by Bormond and Simpson.⁶³ This association, with John Noble jnr* as secretary and Peter William Clayden* as treasurer, had a committee of six.⁶⁴ John Noble snr, a Baptist bookseller, had been prominent in municipal reform since the 1830s, and was town councillor from 1836. His concerns: educational reform, antislavery, temperance, anti-tobacco and peace, span the 'moral radical' spectrum.⁶⁵ His son, involved in East Lincoln in support of the Anti Corn Law League, was vegetarian from early 1850. He lectured on vegetarianism elsewhere, for instance in Birmingham July 1853, and then became active in municipal reform, financial reform and the London Political Union. Clayden, a Unitarian minister based in Boston (1855-1859), became a famous journalist and writer, being the leader writer and assistant editor of the liberal nonconformist *Daily News* (1868-1896). Another Boston vegetarian was J.W. Beck* who produced his own threshing, shaking and corn-dressing machine. The society was active c. 1856 but thereafter was dormant.⁶⁶

There was some activity in Derby in 1848, through a 'thoroughgoing Vegetarian and a writer of some note'.⁶⁷ This was Luke Hansard, who had advocated vegetarianism for moral and health reasons in his 'Christian phalansterian' *Hints and Reflections for Railway Travellers* (1843), challenging entrepreneurs to create synthetic parchment, fur and offering a 'premium for the best work upon Vegetable Cookery'.⁶⁸ Hansard lent vegetarian literature to a physician and a clergyman who had previously been scornful.⁶⁹

⁶²*Bond of Brotherhood*, October 1856, p.48.

⁶³*VM*, May 1853, local operations: p.3.

⁶⁴*VM*, August 1855, supplement: p.48.

⁶⁵Harrison, *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography*, p.92.

⁶⁶*VM*, March 1856, p.16; March 1857, p.7.

⁶⁷*VA*, 15 October 1848, p.36.

⁶⁸'Minor Hugo' [Luke Hansard], *Hints and Reflections to Railway Travellers*, 3 vols., (London: G. Earle, 1843), 3: Part I, ch.1, 'Destruction of animal life', pp.7-20. Also at Derby was the writer C.H. Crewe, a vegetarian (*VA*, April 1850, pp.101-102), but it is more likely that Hansard was the 'writer of note'.

⁶⁹*VA*, October 1849, p.24. Hansard presumably wrote 'Vegetarian', *A Letter to William Horsell, in reply to his pamphlet entitled "Emigration unnecessary, impolitic and injurious"* (Derby, 1850), copy at Columbia University.

In the Midlands there were locations for activity at Birmingham, Bridgnorth, Worcester. In **Birmingham** J.G. Palmer reported that a 'good number of friends have already given up having their fellow-creatures slaughtered for food'; and Horsell gave an address at their request, in late 1848.⁷⁰ A branch society was established 1853.⁷¹ Officers included W.G. Ward*, Palmer, James Grove (who first heard of vegetarianism in a Paris tram), Caleb Yewen* (vegetarian from 1840) and Nathaniel Griffin (edge toolmaker, he advocated vegetarianism amongst his fellow workmen). In 1853 a meeting chaired by an alderman attracted 1, 200 (200 had no room). Another meeting in the Odd Fellows Hall attracted 1000, -1,200.⁷² The Association produced its own tracts in 1853 and claimed 'one to two hundred' were in its sphere in early 1854 (including the hydropathist Dr Forbes Lawrie and his family).⁷³ In 1855, Christopher R. King, a 'young man of respectability and good address... likely to be the most efficient person we could at present appoint ' was the new secretary and a banquet was held.⁷⁴ In 1862, encouraged by the Reverend Sharman, Birmingham briefly revived.⁷⁵

In Shropshire there was activity in the market-town of Bridgnorth. It had eleven members through G.A. Bangham's* efforts in 1850. Bangham reported 'Some of the most influential of his native town, were then gallantly going forth pleading the great truth of Vegetarianism, believing that it should go hand in hand with the temperance reformation'.⁷⁶ The first meeting, led by Bormond, took place in the town hall at the request of Bormond's temperance supporters. A crowded meeting attended by several ministers; it was followed-up by a vegetarian Supper Party, and then by a visit from James Simpson. In Shrewsbury there was some activity in 1848 through the efforts of 'E.J.', a shopkeeper.⁷⁷ There was a local secretary, James Rycroft, in 1855.⁷⁸

The 'radical' **Leicester** of c.1870 was a location for vegetarianism and other isms in a novel by Mrs Humphrey Ward's novel, but Leicester vegetarianism was not dynamic.⁷⁹ Anti-

⁷⁰ *VA*, 15 October 1848, p.36.

⁷¹ *VM*, May 1853, local operations: p.3. See critical letter in *Birmingham Journal* (19 March), in *VM*, April 1853, p.9. Further reports, December 1853, p.76, January 1854, p.3, July 1854, p.33. In 1850 the *Advocate's* local agent was a 'Holyoake'; as G.J. Holyoake was in London at the time (my thanks to Professor Edward Royle for pointing this out to me), presumably this was his brother.

⁷² *VM*, July 1853, 'local operations': p.13 (and August, supplement: pp.41-42); December 1854, pp.65-66.

⁷³ *VM*, October 1853, 'local operations': p.21; February 1854, supplement: pp.15-16.

⁷⁴ G.M.C.R.O.- V.S, G24/1/1/1, minute by James Simpson dated 7 April 1857. On the banquet, see *Punch*, 24 November 1855, p.214.

⁷⁵ *DR*, April 1862, p.51, p.61. GMCRO, G2/1/1/2, minute dated 11 August 1862. One convert was a Methodist teetotal veteran of Waterloo. Sharman targeted 'thoughtful working men' and their families. See *DR*, July 1863, p.93 for its subsequent low state due to departures.

⁷⁶ *VM*, December 1850, p.155.

⁷⁷ *VA*, 15 March 1849, pp.97-98.

⁷⁸ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, minute by James Simpson dated 21 September 1857.

⁷⁹ Mrs Humphrey Ward, *The History of David Grieve* (London: Smith, Elder, 1892), pp.329-330. See entry on Mary Anne Colman (died 1871) for an early 'private' vegetarian.

vaccinationism, which has been identified as a vegetarian concern, was strong in this city; but few vegetarian meetings were arranged here. Thomas Cook (teetotaller and holiday entrepreneur) acted as an agent for the *Vegetarian Advocate*, with Cornelius Newcombe* at Cook's depot an early supporter of vegetarianism. An audience of 700 attended a hastily assembled meeting in 1856. Many inquiries, the lending of literature, monthly socials and banquets, and addresses during temperance lectures led to a small society of some seven adults, with only three V.S. members.⁸⁰ Bootmaker John Sully* of nearby Market Harborough attracted curious visitors.

In **Northampton** an association was established in 1856, with Thomas H. Moore as the local secretary, then a Mr Baxter after he left for London.⁸¹ Vegetarian publications were sold by the homeopath J.P. Berry, who admitted being a 'lapsed' vegetarian at a meeting in 1866.⁸²

In Staffordshire a society of eleven subscribers to the *Dietetic Reformer* was planned at Tipton, 1861, according to the temperance worker L. Parry. Parry thought the journal a 'good lift to the temperance cause. The people are astonished at the arguments put forth'. He felt it a duty 'to do what I can for every good cause.'⁸³

Elizabeth Horsell pioneered vegetarianism in Worcester and the *Worcester Herald* received a copy of the 'flimsy paper pamphlet' reporting the Northwood Villa conference.⁸⁴ Later activity was organised by Barnesley and the 'local secretary', Charles S. Walker. A soir  e, held in the Natural History Society's rooms, involved James Simpson, William Harvey, Palmer, Clubb and Dr Balbirnie of Malvern, was prominently covered by the local press, who reported seventy person present, including a 'good proportion of the fair sex'.⁸⁵ The activity was limited however, although Walker noted 'great curiosity' in 1853 the only other member of the society in 1851 had been (so he recorded in his diary) a 'crazy boot maker'.⁸⁶

The Bury St Edmunds local secretary in 1852 was a Quaker dispensing chemist E.N. Barker* who was pessimistic about the chances of success in rural Suffolk given vegetarianism's appeal to reason and intellect. He limited himself to tract dissemination.⁸⁷ A more optimistic Suffolk

⁸⁰ *VM*, September 1856, p.68, October 1856, p.70; January 1857.

⁸¹ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, minute by James Simpson dated 24 December 1856 and minute dated 23 October 1857. Moore was to have been the V.S. secretary, 1858, but emigrated to South America, see *VM*, September 1858, p.19.

⁸² *VM*, June 1857; *DR*, July 1866.

⁸³ *DR*, January 1862, p.29; see his advertisement for a vegetarian apprentice, *VM*, March 1859, advertisements, p.2.

⁸⁴ 'IV: Times and Seasons', *Worcester Herald*, 5 August 1848, (p.4 of unpaginated newspaper). *VA*, 15 August 1850, p.4 on E. Horsell's lecture.

⁸⁵ *VM*, September 1850, pp.117-128. *VA*, May 1850, p.111.

⁸⁶ *VM*, June 1853, local operations: p.12. His diary for 1851, transcribed by Jean Day, records his activity: preaching the cause to relations and friends.

⁸⁷ *VM*, May 1853, local operations: p.4. See E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, p.212 on the 'radical deserts' of East Anglia.

vegetarian was James Larner* who had settled in Framlingham in 1832, where he was a Wesleyan local preacher. Larner was a member of the Liberation Society, Peace Society, opposed capital punishment and wanted to be involved in all *progressive* movements. Teetotal from 1836, he led Eastern Counties temperance effort. He attributed the stamina necessary to combine business life, evenings at institutions and societies and preaching, to the vegetarianism he adopted c.1849.

Vegetarianism in Southern England.

H.S. Clubb* was active in Essex c.1848-1849.⁸⁸ At the market town of Colchester the first number of the *Vegetarian Advocate* was distributed freely. There were 'at least' ten who were unaffiliated vegetarians, in addition to members of the Society.⁸⁹ Clubb (though already secretary of three societies), was keen to form an association.⁹⁰ A temporary local secretary spread the message 'in every quarter I can think of', attracting the support of the head of an 'interesting family', and receiving letters reporting the birth of a vegetarian baby.⁹¹ Later efforts were limited to the local secretary John Beach* lending inquirers the *Messenger*, books and tracts; though he reported thirteen who were 'trying our system' in 1856.⁹² A mutual improvement society debated the subject.⁹³ Beach, a rate-collector, cooper, clairvoyant and father of a British Fenian spy ('Henri le Caron') became vegetarian in 1847 and remained active in the movement until his death. His reports make it clear that his family were isolated vegetarians; and considered an oddity in 1856 when passers-by pointed to his shop and said 'They are Vegetarians who live here'.⁹⁴ When Colchester became a garrison town he was dismayed at the loss of sympathy that would result from the 'bustle and confusion'.⁹⁵

Brightlingsea was targeted, with free copies of the report of the Vegetarian Banquet causing a stir in 1848. Clubb was hopeful of the spread of 'peace principles' at St Osyth. Witham saw a number of meetings in 1849.⁹⁶ One supporter, not reported at these meetings, was Emma Philbrick*, a phoneticist and vegetarian who attended the annual banquet in 1849.⁹⁷ The *Chelmsford Chronicle* contained a 'witty burlesque' of the Manchester banquet. Bormond's lecturing before an audience of 'husbandmen' at **Chesterford** resulted in the establishment of a society for the study of

⁸⁸ *VA*, 15 March 1849, pp.95-96; 15 April, pp.109-110.

⁸⁹ *VA*, 15 September 1848, p.24.

⁹⁰ *VA*, 15 September 1848, p.25.

⁹¹ *VM*, October 1856, p.70.

⁹² *VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.6.

⁹³ *VM*, May 1853, local operations: p.4. The Mutual Improvement Society recorded the paper in its magazine. The Quaker, Stephens presided and other Quakers were present, see *VM*, March 1854, supplement: p.19.

⁹⁴ *VM*, July 1856, p.62.

⁹⁵ *VM*, July 1855, local operations: p.34; October 1856, p.69.

⁹⁶ *VA*, 15 March 1849, p.95; 1 June 1849, pp.124-125.

⁹⁷ *VA*, June 1 1849, pp.124-126, for report of meeting at Witham.

the subject in January 1851.⁹⁸ There were no societies in Kent, although the Quaker photographer Lambert Weston* and his family hoped to associate with a few others in Dover.⁹⁹

Whitchurch, Hampshire, had been the home of Withers, the temperance advocate whose letter had been the occasion for vegetarian organisation, but there were few southern vegetarian activists. **Andover** was one location. Horsell gave a lecture (with 'good [paying] attendance') at the mechanics institute in 1851, at the request of two or three local people.¹⁰⁰ About 1861, when there were three meetings, one at the Friends' Meeting House, and two in the Mutual Improvement Society rooms, there was an association.¹⁰¹ In **Brighton** a meeting in the town hall, May 1854, 'by request', featured James Simpson, Bormond and William Lyons* of Manchester.¹⁰² From late 1857 an association existed, with Alfred R. Gassion*, 'zealously engaged' as its secretary; and William Lyons the president.¹⁰³ Gassion supported spelling and notational reform, inaugurating a 'Querist' column devoted to the duodecimal system in the *Phonetic Journal* (whose Swedenborgian extracts eroded his Catholic faith; he became a spiritualist). It was a small society of eight including wives, based at his schoolroom in Upper North Street. Lectures attracted some forty- fifty people, but there were too few speakers and funds were limited.¹⁰⁴ It collapsed with Gassion's departure and Lyons' death.¹⁰⁵

Gloucester Vegetarian Association operated in 1858, but seemingly limited itself to a lecture at the Independent Chapel schoolroom, where there was an address by a Quaker, Jesse Sessions.¹⁰⁶ Sessions, brother-in-law of the Quaker philanthropist Samuel Bowley and later a mayor of Gloucester, was a supporter of antislavery, peace, education, free trade, free press and free religion.¹⁰⁷ Subsequently, with the accession of F.W. Newman to the V.S. there was a successful meeting in the city in 1870, attended by Bowley, an M.P., and a canon.¹⁰⁸

The presence of vegetarian enthusiasm in the seaport and market town of Padstow is noted by Twigg as the exception to a largely North England focus to early vegetarianism. It was activity nurtured by the northern vegetarians who came to a banquet in April 1850. The temperance background has been indicated in 2:2: Henry Mudge of Bodmin, a surgeon and Wesleyan preacher;

⁹⁸ *VM*, May 1851, p.48.

⁹⁹ *VA*, July 1850, p.141.

¹⁰⁰ *VA*, 1 February 1851, p.92.

¹⁰¹ *DR*, July 1861, p.94; *DR*, January 1862, p.2.

¹⁰² *VM*, July 1854, supplement: p.63-64.

¹⁰³ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, Minute by James Simpson's, 23 October 1857.

¹⁰⁴ *VM*, November 1857, p.21; December 1857, p.26; January 1858; May 1858, p.9.

¹⁰⁵ *VM*, 1858, p.24, with the note that in the summer it was 'difficult to get persons to meet indoors for such a purely benevolent object as ours'.

¹⁰⁶ *VM*, January 1858, p.4.

¹⁰⁷ See B. Harrison, *Dictionary of British Temperance Biography*, p.107.

¹⁰⁸ *DR*, January 1871, p.32.

active in temperance work in the West Country and a prominent writer for the cause supported vegetarian activity in 1850. The temperance lecturer Joseph Bormond was actively spreading the dietetic gospel in the west country. In a report he claimed that here was 'A Whole County Alive to the Importance of a Bloodless Diet'.¹⁰⁹ His lectures throughout Cornwall were by public and particular request and 'numbers' were adopting or interested in vegetarianism. He reported supporters among 'many respectable, hardworking families'. Crowded meetings took 'liberal collections'; activists such as R.P. Griffin*, the Reverend Edward Warne* of Taunton (Bible Christian [methodist]) and J.D. Martyn* of Bodmin (another temperance supporter) and the visiting G.A. Bangham converted through their healthy appearance, 'prudent zeal' and 'patient teaching'.

The success of a well-prepared banquet in 1850 probably owed much to its novelty value in a 'retired town' since the 'most lively interest, anticipation, and anxious curiosity' was reported, and:

Every intelligent inhabitant of the town seemed to regard the coming event with peculiar interest, and many were the free-will offerings of time, talent, and appliances which were made, in order to render the event worthy of the town, and the occasion worthy of the principle of mercy and kindness which it was intended to serve.

Vegetarian literature was distributed to a ship of emigrants to show them the redundancy of migration.¹¹⁰ Guests included a naval lieutenant, a surgeon, and a chapel-owning gentleman. Flowers, fruit and mottos decorated the hall to testify to the 'ideal, poetic and intellectual character of the system'.¹¹¹ A band from Wadebridge provided music. A subsequent banquet catered for the 'working classes'.¹¹² The V.S. report for 1849-1850, referred 'with peculiar satisfaction to the zeal and sincerity manifested in this remote district of the country'.¹¹³ There were about sixteen members of the society in 1850.¹¹⁴ The public zeal was short-lived, although Griffin disseminated tracts and began an 'Ever Circulating Magazine'.¹¹⁵ Anti-vaccination petitions were arranged in 1856, and a Cornish shopkeeper spread 'Vegetarian notions' amongst his customers.¹¹⁶ Bormond returned to lecture in 1858.

¹⁰⁹VA, 1 February 1850, p.65; March 1850, p.79.

¹¹⁰VM, June 1850, p.92.

¹¹¹VM, May 1850, p.73. These were recycled for other meetings.

¹¹²VM, May 1850, p.83, June 1850, pp.92-96, July 1850, pp.97-104.

¹¹³VA, 15 August 1850, p.4.

¹¹⁴VA, June 1850, p.130.

¹¹⁵VM, July 1853.

¹¹⁶VM, December 1856, pp.101-102.

The corresponding secretary for Plymouth from early 1861 was a homeopathic chemist.¹¹⁷ Exeter had a *Vegetarian Advocate* agent in 1850 (T. Sparke), and sent local vegetarian testimony.¹¹⁸ There may have been an association in Weymouth, since C.O.G. Napier's autobiographical *Tommy Try* recalls the hero's childhood in the Dorset resort, where 'Vegetarianism at this time began to attract a considerable amount of attention, and several of our acquaintances joined the association and were anxious to make proselytes'.¹¹⁹

II

Vegetarian activity in Scotland, Ireland and Wales.

The 1849-1850 Report claimed 'considerable advance' in Scotland and Ireland through postal distribution of tracts, but although there were Scottish branches in the 1850s, and although the Society's Office was briefly, c.1858, at Kirkaldy (since the secretary, Henry McIntosh, lived there), the Scottish movement was not vigorous (if it can be so described) until the later nineteenth century.¹²⁰ There were 41 V.S. members in 1866. Irish vegetarianism was even more minor, although not without its defenders and press coverage. Welsh vegetarianism was more limited still.

An early enthusiast was Andrew Howatson of Penpont, Dumfriesshire. A truth-seeking, pacifistic progressive; Howatson informed Horsell's *Advocate* that America was now the 'true home of man' since there labour was better rewarded, and had access to land and the very best food.¹²¹ An individual whose presence in the front-rank of vegetarians was more enduring, was John Davie* in Dunfermline. Davie distributed vegetarian literature and had the Society's prospecti slipped into periodicals by booksellers.¹²² He was an important Scottish temperance worker (one of his vegetarian converts was secretary of Dunfermline Permissive Bill Association¹²³), supporter of chartism, and a Peace and Abolition of Capital Punishment activist.

Edinburgh Association (formed 1855), had twelve men and women as officers.¹²⁴ The vice president was James Coupar, supporter of most 'progressive movements' but especially interested in vegetarianism. It was clearly a small group, since J.G. Palmer's lecture at the Calton Convening Rooms in 1856 had an audience of 18-20.¹²⁵ The *Edinburgh News* covered one social featuring fruit,

¹¹⁷F.H. Foster, see G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/2, minute dated 13 March 1861.

¹¹⁸ From a 'P.R.J'. One West Country vegetarian, according to the *VM*, February 1850, supplement, p.7, was Reverend Barnes, near Dorchester, undoubtedly the philologist, archaeologist and dialect-poet William Barnes (1801-1886), at this period pastor of Whitcombe near the county-town.

¹¹⁹C.O.G. Napier, *Tommy Try* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1869), p.220.

¹²⁰*VA*, 15 August 1850, p.4.

¹²¹*VA*, 1 September 1850, p.19.

¹²²*VM*, June 1853, local operations; p.10.

¹²³*DR*, October 1862, p.101 (Mr Clark).

¹²⁴*VM*, June 1855, supplement: p.53; November 1855, supplement: p.66, for Simpson's visit; December 1855, p.105 for response from Edinburgh press.

¹²⁵*VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.7.

music, addresses, and lecture (aided by plant specimens) on the text 'Behold I give you every green herb bearing seed'.¹²⁶ In late 1858 a move to end regular public meetings was resisted and activity was regular in 1859.¹²⁷ Tracts and copies of the *Messenger* were distributed and a lending library was considered. Active members included D.C. Yorick, who kept in touch with his former associates when he left for India in 1858. A **Dundee** society existed briefly in 1857.¹²⁸

Following efforts by the phoneticist Benn Pitman* and a brother, and a visit by Simpson, **Glasgow** Association sustained monthly meetings and dinners, and published a tract.¹²⁹ A soirée was reported in 1854; a banquet attended by Simpson was held in 1855.¹³⁰ Glasgow hosted an Annual Meeting and banquet in 1856; adorned with flowers, mottos, and music. Guests, some five hundred, came from across Britain and included Joseph Livesey the temperance pioneer. The *Glasgow Citizen* reported, 'immense enthusiasm in the getters up of the affair, and considerable indifference on the part of the beef-consuming public'.¹³¹ In 1857 the former Concordist Alexander Campbell attended several meetings and recounted his experiences.¹³² In 1858 there was a dinner at the Union Temperance Hotel, to which non-Glaswegians including the spiritualist James Burns came.¹³³ Mrs and Mrs John Smith*, leading temperance activists, were involved in Glaswegian efforts. Although absent from reports, Davie recognised that 'no one worked harder, or spent more in money in connection with this society' than Robert Reid*. Reid's house was the 'resting place in Glasgow of all the men of light and leading in the first half of the last century'.¹³⁴ He was acquainted with reformers, radicals and progressives such as W.L. Garrison, Henry C. Wright, Frederick Douglas and Kossuth. A major figure in Scottish temperance, Reid became a more visibly important figure in late Victorian vegetarianism (see 4:1). Another Glasgow vegetarian who was a leading temperance figure was N.S. Kerr, graduate of the University of Glasgow in medicine and surgery (1861). He befriended James Simpson, and although only briefly vegetarian, retained sympathies.¹³⁵

¹²⁶ *VM*, September 1858, p.22.

¹²⁷ *VM*, October 1858, pp.178-179, report of Annual Meeting, November 1858, p.28, December, pp.33-34; activity in 1859 included visiting meetings against animal cruelty, see *VM*, February 1859, supplement, p.4.

¹²⁸ *VM*, May 1857, supplement, p.9, report on vegetarian supper.

¹²⁹ *VM*, September 1851, p.74. *Glasgow Examiner* ridiculed vegetarianism, see *VM*, October 1853, 'local operations': p.22; for the Trades Hall meeting involving Simpson, November 1853, pp.63-64. For monthly meetings and papers 1854, see *VM*, September 1854, pp.75-76. The tract was *Vegetarianism Attacked and Defended*, see *VM*, June 1855, local operations: p.32. See reports throughout 1859 of monthly meetings and dinners at the Franklin temperance hotel, and reprinted papers.

¹³⁰ *VM*, May 1855, supplement: p.30; for banquet November 1855, supplement: pp.59-65. Monthly meetings were held late 1855, see *VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.7.

¹³¹ *VM*, August 1856, p.57; September 1856, p.67.

¹³² *VM*, January 1857, p.2.

¹³³ *VM*, October 1858, p.25.

¹³⁴ *HH*, May 1908, p.83.

¹³⁵ See his essay, *VM*, September 1854, pp.78-83; reference to paper, July 1859, supplement: p.14; *Journal of Health... and Vegetarian Messenger*, January 1860, p.16.

A couple of packed meetings in Greenock in 1856 encouraged the (abortive) hope that a society would be established.¹³⁶ In Kirkcaldy, Fife, vegetarians were stirred into action following Simpson's visit in 1856. The local secretary arranged meetings and there were hopes for an Association.¹³⁷ However, the momentum was not sustained and activity was confined to the secretary's private fortnightly meetings.

In Methven, Perthshire, resided the Reverend G. Bruce Watson, who distributed vegetarian literature and lectured on anthropology and phrenology. He reported popular impatience with vegetarianism, as a 'personification of weakness'.¹³⁸ A young bookkeeper (of 'intelligence and energy'¹³⁹), James Menzies was briefly a secretary of an association at **Thornliebank** before becoming secretary to the **Paisley** Association, where James Cook had been secretary following a visit by Simpson.¹⁴⁰ Paisley association was a small society, though there were more 'experimenters'. Monthly meetings took place at Stewart's Coffee House, with the support of Glaswegian vegetarians, and donation of literature by Simpson.¹⁴¹

It has been seen how the White Quaker sect had espoused vegetarianism. An Irish member of the V.S. died in 1848, a Dublin ex-Quaker called George Birkett* who was an early teetotal advocate in Dublin and around Manchester. Vegetarian since c.1808, he attended the annual meeting in Manchester shortly before his death.¹⁴² His was an isolated example: although the unitarian James Haughton, the V.S. president (1870-1873), lived there, there was virtually no vegetarian activity, yet he claimed that the question was 'often discussed' in the circles he moved in.¹⁴³ He was requested to bring this 'singular and unpopular subject' (his words) before the *Royal Dublin Society* in December 1863, and gave a paper which drew heavily on Horsell. The reaction was hostile.¹⁴⁴ Whilst the medical profession ignored it, he pointed out that the vast majority of Irish people were vegetarian.¹⁴⁵ This was certainly a point emphasised in the Irish press, which, judging from the excerpts in the *Dietetic Reformer*, was quite respectful. *The Nation* recommended the

¹³⁶ *VM*, September 1857, p.68.

¹³⁷ *VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.7; see also May 1859, supplement: p.9.

¹³⁸ *VM*, October 1856, p.70; see also May 1855, supplement: p.30.

¹³⁹ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, Minute by James Simpson, dated 19 July 1855.

¹⁴⁰ *VM*, November 1855, supplement: p.66.

¹⁴¹ *VM*, January 1856, supplement: p.9, reports a Christmas banquet at Paisley.

¹⁴² *VA*, 15 April 1848, p.107.

¹⁴³ However, *VA*, 15 November 1848, p.50, noted an article on the movement in the *Kilkenny Moderator*.

¹⁴⁴ *Dublin Medical Press*, 9 December 1863.

¹⁴⁵ *DR*, October 1862, p.101. Note Haughton's vegetarian comments during papers on Irish diet and cookery, reported in the *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science* (London: 1861).

Reformer and stressed the scientific proof for vegetarianism provided by the Irish; *The Irishman* felt it contained 'much useful and curious information' and was an 'excellent magazine for 3d'.¹⁴⁶

The most important Irish event was a meeting at Dublin's Rotunda in 1866, chaired by Haughton, with James Clark of Manchester present. This was considerably disturbed by several young butchers.¹⁴⁷ The advertisement for the meeting had already stimulated some debate in the press, with Haughton and the journalist/temperance worker J.A. Mowatt* responding to several facetious, and a few serious letters. Mowatt's (and his wife's) efforts stimulated a demand for literature in 1871, with inquiries from ladies 'of all ranks and classes' and, on behalf of parishioners, from Anglican and Catholic clergymen.¹⁴⁸

Welsh vegetarianism was limited to a handful of supporters and a few fêtes and banquets.¹⁴⁹ A farmer who had become vegetarian through a satire in the *Hereford Times* joined the Society and spread the message by tract and discussion in 1853.¹⁵⁰ In Hereford there were some 'half a dozen' vegetarians in 1856 and tracts were distributed in 1857. Cardiff vegetarians included George Smart, (vegetarian from 1862 and author of a tract), the honorary secretary of the 'Home of Rest for Evangelicals, Inebriates and Unserved Persons seeking Reform' at Cardiff, a Mr Cory and 'a few others' in 1871: a society was planned.¹⁵¹ Cory is probably one of the Cory brothers, ship-owners and philanthropists who were committed financial supporters of all temperance activity.¹⁵² J.K. Collett (a provision merchant), and his wife, provided vegetarian dinners for the poor from 1869.¹⁵³ The vegetarian-spiritualists A.J. Smart and George Spriggs have already been encountered (2:4). But it is clear that vegetarianism was virtually unknown in the principality, since a convert, J.F. Morgan, active in North Wales, (but shortly to move, to become secretary of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Union) reported in 1867 that in Port Madoc it was a great novelty, so that curiosity alone had led to a lecture at the Town Hall in 1866.¹⁵⁴ A lecture at Pwllheli attracted an 'influential and respectable' audience including three Anglican clergymen. Morgan highlighted the linguistic barrier and an indigenous dislike of parting with money as problems for the cause.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁶*DR*, July 1862, p.82; October 1862, pp.121-123.

¹⁴⁷*DR*, January 1867, p.13, pp.23-31.

¹⁴⁸*DR*, April 1871, pp.45-48. In addition there was Dr Nicoll at Longford Poor Law Union in the 1860s, see *DR*, January 1867, p.13.

¹⁴⁹*DR*, April 1863, p.56.

¹⁵⁰*VM*, July 1854, p.68.

¹⁵¹*DR*, April 1871, p.54. Smart's tract was reprinted in *DR*, April 1871, see also *DR*, July 1871, p.88.

¹⁵²John Cory (1828-1910) and Richard Cory (1830-1914), were leading businessmen and reformers in Cardiff. John supported the Salvation Army, Band of Hope and Dr Barnardo's. See *Dictionary of Welsh Biography Down to 1940* (London: Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, 1959).

¹⁵³*DR*, April 1871, p.54.

¹⁵⁴*DR*, April 1867, p.54; see G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/2, 10 August 1866, 4 September 1866.

¹⁵⁵*DR*, April 1867, p.54. Morgan was ridiculed in the press for his Garibaldian red shirt, which he defended for its practical value as cool and comfortable.

III

Other locations for vegetarian activity.

There existed a 'vegetarian home colony' at Stratford St Mary, in Suffolk (1845-c.1851) established to further local temperance, vegetarianism and 'mutual improvement'. Its leaders were the siblings Henry Stephens Clubb*, Robert T. Clubb* and Sarah Ann Clubb*. Henry had left Colchester Post Office to join the Concordium as shorthand teacher. A chartist activist in 1848, he became Simpson's secretary (the Clubbs had been Swedenborgian, Henry joined the Bible Christian church) and a vegetarian lecturer. In June 1853 he emigrated to the States and became an abolitionist journalist, senator, and Bible Christian pastor. Sarah published a children's vegetarian tract. Robert was the V.S.'s local secretary in 1849. The colony obviously drew on Concordist experience in combining land cultivation with 'artistic, literary or mechanical pursuits' including phonetics. A temperance club included nine vegetarian-teetotallers and five non-vegetarians. Henry took the message to neighbouring villages.¹⁵⁶ In 1850 there were two public vegetarian dinners and a public meeting at the village, with Bormond and a follower of Greaves, William Ward, present.¹⁵⁷

Another, more ephemeral colony partially devoted to vegetarianism and other physical puritanisms was the 'Renunciation Society' established by Gustav Struve, exiled from Baden following the revolutions of 1848. Land in Yorkshire was given to him by an old Englishman as a joke, according to Marx and Engels. The colony comprised Struve and his wife, a man called Schnauffer, a 'Swabian canary' and a 'few good men'. It was dissolved, and Struve became a 'wet [white?] Quaker'.¹⁵⁸

The dream of a colony continued, and Henry Clubb, newly arrived in America, originated another project in 1856. The *Preston Guardian* reported that several English vegetarians had contacted Robert Clubb, then a bookseller at Kirkdale in Liverpool, who was the corresponding secretary of a New York company planning a vegetarian colony near Neosho city, Kansas in the following spring.¹⁵⁹ The 'American Octagon and Vegetarian Settlement' plan was not officially

¹⁵⁶VA, 15 October 1848, p.36. See also the detailed account of one meeting at Hadleigh, VA, 1 June 1849, pp.140-141.

¹⁵⁷VA, 1 January 1850, p.75 (VM, June 1851, pp.45-47); *The British Controversialist*, 1850, p.233 for H.S. Clubb's lectures on Pythagoras.

¹⁵⁸K. Marx and F. Engels, *Heroes of the Exile* (written but not published 1852; K. Marx and F. Engels. *Collected Works*, London: Wishart, 1979, vol.11, pp.227-326. Struve is described in ch.5 and ch.7, the latter chapter [pp.280-281] concerns the colony.

¹⁵⁹VM, June 1856, p.45(Vegetarian Treasury), citing *Preston Guardian*, 8 March. It is not listed in A.E. Bestor, *Backwoods Utopia. The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829* (Philadelphia, London: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), though he lists (Appendix, C) an 'Harmonial Vegetarian Society' in Arkansas. The Octagon and Clubb are discussed in my article, 'A Michigander and a Patriot: H.S. Clubb', published on the Internet in the electronic local history journal *Voices*, (2001) of the University of Kansas. See M.D. Colt, *Went to Kansas, Being a Thrilling Account of an Ill-fated Expedition to that Fairy Land, and its Sad Results* (Watertown, 1862); transcribed for the Kansas

sanctioned by the British or American vegetarian societies. Simpson was unhappy about colonies since 'most of us are needed here, in the busy stirring scenes of life'.¹⁶⁰ Benn Pitman, then resident in Cincinnati, published an (phonographic) account, as did the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. By September about eighty members were established on the ground. The *Kansas World of Freedom* reported seven Englishmen and three ladies, one Scotsman and lady as members.¹⁶¹ The colony rejected pigs, meat, alcohol, tobacco and slavery. The 'Octagon' at the centre of the planned settlement was to be the place for discussion of scientific, political, theological and moral subjects. The project failed through poor management, and it was not reported in the British vegetarian organ after November. It stirred some interest in home colonies, but though the journal in 1858 published a series of agitated letters by Dornbusch of London on a scheme for a fruit-growing colony, editorial comment was unsympathetic about the colonies.¹⁶²

The account by local secretaries of the inactivity of local associations, and the financial burden of the *Vegetarian Messenger*, makes it clear how indebted the movement was to James Simpson's energy and wealth.¹⁶³ The Executive Committee acknowledged as Simpson was dying, that 'a far greater burden of the means of carrying on its operations, fell upon the President than there ought to do' and some of the local secretaries of the few local societies still in existence in 1859 accepted the blame 'for having done so little'.¹⁶⁴ The Society narrowly missed disappearing.

Nurturing the new *Dietetic Reformer* preoccupied the committee in its first year and there was little centrally-directed activity. The committee was concerned to avoid advertising patently defunct societies.¹⁶⁵ A few lectures at Manchester, London, Sheffield and more parochial locations were reported, but it is clear the Society was ailing, though it attributed this to renewed national belligerence. The 1861 Report gestured to inquiries, gratuitous distribution of tracts and more than average sales of literature, but adverted to the 'great bulk of the community' being inert about the question.¹⁶⁶ Ferocity of spirit engendered by the Crimea was to blame.¹⁶⁷ The Report for the year

Collection website by K. Roper, J. Coffee, S. Stafford and L. Nelson and accessible via <http://raven.cc.ukans.edu/carrie/kancoll/books/colt/>. See also R. Hickman, 'The Vegetarian and Octagon Settlement Companies' *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 4 (November 1933), pp.377-386; J.G. Cambone, ed., 'Kansas- A vegetarian Utopia: The Letters of John Milton Hadley, 1855-6', *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 38 (1972) p.65; and G. Carson, *Cornflake Crusade*, (London: Gollancz, 1959), ch.2.

¹⁶⁰ *VM*, July 1856, p.52.

¹⁶¹ *VM*, September 1856, p.68.

¹⁶² *VM*, January 1858, p.32, May, pp.59-62, August p.180.

¹⁶³ *VM*, December 1859, p.29, Simpson had spent c.£5000 in the last five years on the Society. See W.E.A. Axon, *Fifty Years of the Vegetarian Society* (Manchester: V.S., 1897), for Simpson's private support for vegetarian activity, not recorded in the V.S. books.

¹⁶⁴ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/1, 29 July 1859.

¹⁶⁵ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/2, 15 November 1860.

¹⁶⁶ *DR*, January 1862, p.2.

¹⁶⁷ *The Times*, 6 September 1862, p.4 (report for 1862).

1865-1866 noted that James Burn's labours had 'been more abundant than all other lectures'.¹⁶⁸ His new journal, *Human Nature*, noted vegetarian efforts but commented on the Society's inactivity.¹⁶⁹

One site for vegetarian activity from 1862-1872 which received public attention, was the experimental co-operative farm at Blennerhasset, Cumberland. This farm of 420 acres, with market garden, artificial manure works and ploughing machines, was established by William Lawson*, brother of Sir Wilfrid Lawson the temperance leader.¹⁷⁰ In 1863 the *Dietetic Reformer* reported an experiment in which several of his workers lived as vegetarians; the outcomes, including loss of weight and energy, were unfavourable.¹⁷¹ In 1866 a free Christmas 'vegetarian fête,' reported in *The Times* (silent on further vegetarian activity until 1871), incorporated Burns' lectures on diet, physiology and phrenology.¹⁷² Tickets were distributed locally and guests told to bring spoons and musical instruments. Unsurprisingly (as *The Times* and many other papers reported), the 'extraordinary messes' of boiled grains, oatmeal gruel and linseed boiled to a jelly repelled the 'beef-eating peasantry'. The *Dietetic Reformer* believed Lawson's servants were either ignorant about the diet or played practical jokes in presenting unintentionally raw vegetables. Whilst doubting the propagandist wisdom of a 'cheap' Christmas meal the journal praised his commitment.¹⁷³

The *Carlisle Examiner* reported a thousand guests at the first event; 2- 3,000 applied for tickets in 1868. Typical reformist subjects were discussed. Henry Pitman, whose *Co-operator* reported its leading ethos as 'the provision of good things and the prohibition of bad things,' talked about shorthand, diet, dress and smoking.¹⁷⁴ A former actress, Jessie Craigen (later an anti-vaccination activist) lectured on capital punishment, another speaker discussed 'social reform'.¹⁷⁵ In 1869 when the event's mottos included 'self-denial is a real pleasure,' it was noted that even if the 'upper ten' of the area were not present, the festival was of increasing local

¹⁶⁸ *DR*, January 1867, p13.

¹⁶⁹ *Human Nature*, 1867, p.633. His projected 'Hygienic Society' a progressive society expressing all his concerns, was announced in *Human Nature*, 1869, pp.620-622.

¹⁷⁰ See W. Lawson, C.D. Hunter and others, *Ten Years of Gentleman Farming at Blennerhasset with Co-operative Objectives* (London: Longman, Green, 1874), especially ch.10: 'History of the Blennerhasset Festivals'; and references to vegetarian farming (cattle-free farming), pp.92-94, p.172, p.305.

¹⁷¹ *DR*, July 1863, pp.106-108.

¹⁷² *The Times*, 31 December 1866, p.4; see also *The Co-operator*, 1 February 1867, pp.269-270. The 1866 festival was reported in many daily papers, *Punch*, and even a paper from Nova Scotia. Lawson intended the festivals as plebeian equivalents to Social Science Congresses; with music and dancing as alternative attractions.

¹⁷³ *DR*, April 1867, pp.60-61. See Lawson, *Ten Years of Gentleman Farming*, pp.124-125, for reflection on the logistical and culinary errors.

¹⁷⁴ *The Co-operator*, 9 January 1869, p.19; 11 December p.859 for the programme.

¹⁷⁵ On Craigen (advertised and praised in Horsell and Caudwell's *Temperance Star*, 1859 and 1861), see S. Holton, 'Silk dresses and lavender kid gloves. The wayward career of Jessie Craigen', *Women's History Review*, 1996.

importance.¹⁷⁶ Although Lawson offered meat at all the festivals after 1866, free vegetarian food was always provided.¹⁷⁷

This was a rare public display of vegetarianism. The 1867-1868 Report expressed the sentiment that in the absence of many new recruits 'we have yet to congratulate ourselves that the society does not decline in its enrolled strength'.¹⁷⁸ At the start of the 1870s the movement was quiescent. Provincial survival relied on private advocacy by people such as Davie in Dunfermline (who advocated food reform at his Melrose Hydro¹⁷⁹); William Couchman* at Newcastle (distributing literature to booksellers and stationers¹⁸⁰) J.W. Waby* at Burslem¹⁸¹, and Joseph Wilson and his converts at Great Houghton. George Dornbusch attributed London's dormant state to the more pressing question of temperance; but the metropolitan movement had never been characterised by great vigour. Yet it involved interesting people and institutions, as the next section will demonstrate.

Note: *The size of the early vegetarian movement*

It is impossible to give a precise number of vegetarians in this period. Membership of the V.S. did not often include the other family members who became (reluctant or willing) vegetarians. As in modern times, there were principled but unaffiliated vegetarians. Horsell claimed a thousand-strong Society in 1856 with 'thousands who, though not enrolled members... are practically carrying out its principles'.¹⁸² This generous estimate, small compared with other movements of the time, is in keeping with the self-perception as the 'elite' of the temperance and moral reform world.

The vegetarian press frequently reported experimenters and occasionally vegetarians who were reluctant to enrol. John Davie asserted that 'Many persons would not think or take the trouble to connect themselves with the society'. Some refused to join for fear of ridicule, others perhaps due to isolation from other vegetarians (as the dates of 'conversion' demonstrate, many became vegetarian before 1847).¹⁸³ 'C.L.B' was perhaps unusual in refusing to join the society on the grounds that vegetarianism itself was not

¹⁷⁶*Carlisle Journal*, cited in *Co-operator*, 22 January 1870, p.59.

¹⁷⁷Lawson, *Ten Years of Gentleman Farming*, p.132.

¹⁷⁸*DR*, January 1869, p.2.

¹⁷⁹*DR*, February 1872, p.19. On this hydro, see *DR*, February 1878, pp.21-29.

¹⁸⁰*DR*, 1872, p.63.

¹⁸¹*DR*, 1873, p.299.

¹⁸²W. Horsell, *The Science of Cooking Vegetarian Food: also, the Rise and Progress of the Vegetarian Society, Twelve Reasons for not Eating Flesh, and Answers to Twenty Objections to the Vegetarian Practice* (London: Horsell, 1856), pp.86-87.

¹⁸³Charles Hunter, employed as agricultural chemist at Blennerhasset, and vegetarian since 1857, was 'reminded' to join the V.S. in 1869, see *DR*, April 1869, p.61.

moral enough.¹⁸⁴ The former chartist T.P. Barkas*, bookseller and a vegetarian since 1840, had a reasoned objection, arguing that since many people had difficulties obtaining fresh vegetables, vegetarianism could not be a choice free to all.¹⁸⁵ F.W. Newman when joining the Society, referred to frequent discussion in his circle, of acquaintances who tried and abandoned vegetarianism.

¹⁸⁴*DR*, July 1865, pp.22-23.

¹⁸⁵*VM*, May 1850, reverse of cover, 'T. P. B.'

The first London organization, in the 1850s-1860s, was small-scale and intermittent. In 1859 the *Daily Telegraph* reported it as unable to develop 'beyond its native corner, where it grows like lichen, and where its knot of disciples periodically congregate with the happy consciousness that they have survived another season upon beet-root and medlars'.¹ It operated under extra-metropolitan direction, i.e., the control (though not without some difficulty) of James Simpson.

Accounts of metropolitan activity after the Concordium experiment glide into the 1870s with limited reference to the intervening decades. For Forward these years showed 'little beyond spasmodic attempts'.² It was simply a suggestion by Twigg that activity involved people of slightly higher social class than that found in the most important centre for vegetarianism in this period- Manchester and Salford- and a continuity with the Concordist circle.³ More can be done than merely posit a continued Concordist influence, which was indeed important initially. There were other, perhaps unsurprising, influences. The activity of these decades attracted some interesting people, allied itself with interesting organisations and carried out by no means insignificant propaganda. This section begins by outlining, chronologically, the vegetarian associations. The modes of propagation are outlined. Centres of dietetic radicalism are identified. The personnel are then discussed in terms of wider reform interests, class and occupation, place of origins and gender.⁴

I

A history of the organisations

A vegetarian dining group of c.30 members of a new 'Co-operative League' (promoting 'Universal Brotherhood') met at Farringdon Hall, Snow Hill.⁵ Support was qualified because when the League visited Alcott House *en masse*, the meal was the 'subject of considerable amusement'.⁶ *The Reasoner*

¹ *Journal of Health...and Vegetarian Messenger*, February 1860, p.30.

² Forward, *History*, p.76.

³ Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement,' p.48, footnote 47.

⁴ The essential primary published sources are *The Truth-Tester*, VA, VM/ DR, Horsell's *Progressionist* (July-December 1854), and *Journal of Health* (1855-1858) and *Journal of Health... and Vegetarian Messenger* (1860), *Phonetic Journal*, G.J. Holyoake's *Reasoner*, *Howitt's Journal* (1847) and *The People's Journal* (1849). No MSS survive relating to the London Association but the Baume Papers provide insight on activity in the early 1850s.

⁵ *Truth-Tester*, 15 December 1847, p.52. The League was founded December 1846. Whittington Club members (see below) were involved: Howitts, S.T. Hall. Goodwyn Barmby, Lady Byron, see *Howitt's Journal*, 9 January 1847, Record, p.3. Charles Lane lectured on emigration and Shakers. Meetings discussed penology, factory working hours, Irish distress, self-government, education etc., see *Howitt's Journal*, 27 March 1847, Record, p.25. It was noted in *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (New York) 27 January 1848, p.140.

⁶ *Howitt's Journal*, 12 June 1847, Record, p.48.

(G.J. Holyoake's secularist paper) carried advertisements in early 1848 for rational and healthful monthly excursions to Alcott House to 'witness' and learn the Vegetarian System.⁷ There was to be a 'Vegetarian Convention', or 'Annual Meeting of the Friends of Human Progress'. Lectures, literature and superior vegetarian dining houses were planned. Alcott House wanted to be the centre for metropolitan activity, but the establishment ended in late 1848. There followed private activity, lectures and the occasional large scale invitation-only social.⁸ In 1849 a committee was created. The treasurer was Horsell, the secretary J.S. Hibberd*. Both were active lecturers.

When other branches appeared in 1853 to strengthen 'local efforts', a 'London Association' was formed with Simpson as the president. Membership required at least a month's experience and membership of the V.S., subscription was 1s minimum. The vice-president was a retired stationer, Frederick Towgood*. The Austrian émigré, Dornbusch, was honorary secretary. Intermittent activity followed over the next 5 years.⁹ Dornbusch wanted Simpson to stay in London for several months in the belief that 'If we could once get London up to the boiling point of enthusiasm, it would overflow the provinces'.¹⁰ In 1858 he deplored the lack of a London leader who combined money, talent, energy and commitment. Although vegetarian journals recorded continued activity by the Association, he reported London's 'almost total prostration'.¹¹

The *Daily Telegraph* dismissed a meeting under the auspices of the 'City of London Working Men's Teetotal Alliance' (1859) in a withering article:

Among the anniversaries of this metropolis there is one, generally celebrated by a tea-party, of which the unilluminated public hear little; it is the great feast of the believers in Porphyry...¹²

The final effort at organisation was the North London Vegetarian Association based at Penton College, Islington (opposite the New Cattle Market); when weekly public meetings were attempted in 1860.¹³ In 1861 the new *Dietetic Reformer* reported soirees with essays, discussions,

⁷ *Reasoner*, vol.4, 'Utilitarian Record,' 19 April 1848, p.41.

⁸ An invitation (to a social in August 1850), to George Cruikshank and wife, is in John Johnson, Box 2. The note, from Mrs Hurlstone and Mrs Dornbusch, addressed from 'Vegetarian Cottage, Malvern Road, Dalston, 29th July 1850,' was printed by Horsell at the Vegetarian Printing Office, 190 High Holborn. Cruikshank material, acquired by the British Library July 2001, includes a letter from Dornbusch (Add. 78156 f.29).

⁹ *Progressionist*, August 1854, p.121, report of attempt to revive association, in which Horsell refers to direction from Manchester.

¹⁰ *VM*, September 1854, p.68.

¹¹ *VM*, January 1858, p.33.

¹² Quoted in *Journal of Health...and Vegetarian Messenger*, February 1860, p.30. These were held at the Welsh Chapel, see *Journal of Health*, November 1859, p.184, January 1860, p.16, *VM*, February 1860, p.29. *Temperance Star*, 1859, p.236, prints the programme, including lecture on tobacco by T.W. Reynolds, and meetings on Band of Hope (and account of the meeting at p.243).

¹³ The society was formed 30 June 1859, the V.S. stressed it was a branch and not rival to the London Association, *VM*, October 1859, p.130. For operations, see *Journal of Health... and Vegetarian Messenger*,

music and tea at the Sussex Hotel off Fleet Street. There were about sixty present at one meeting. An essay was delivered by G.S. Jealous*, subsequently proprietor of the well-known radical *Hampstead and Highgate Express*.¹⁴ The London-based temperance activist Joseph Bormond, and James Burns the spiritualist, also lectured.¹⁵

II

Propagation of the vegetarian message.

Horsell's *Vegetarian Advocate* claimed its principles were being made known to the 'thinking part of London society'.¹⁶ Vegetarians addressed ordinary Londoners and members of the literary and artistic world. Active in other movements, they appealed to teetotalers and the generally progressive.

Public lectures were given at places typically targeted by moral and social reformers.¹⁷ These included the City of London Mechanics' Institute (the chief radical meeting place of the 1830s), Browning's Commercial and Literary Coffee House¹⁸ (City Road, an echo of earlier coffee houses radicalism); a Mechanics' Athenaeum near Bishopsgate; the Finsbury Hall Mutual Instruction Society in Bunhill Row; a Pestalozzian School in Wenlock Street, nonconformist places of worship such as Brunswick Chapel (Wesleyan) at Mile End. William Lovett's National Hall, Holborn (headquarters for the 'National Association for the Promotion of the Political and Social Improvement of the People'), provided a venue for several meetings, 1855. Given its progressiveness the 'Whittington Club' was another natural meeting place (1848, 1854).¹⁹ Established by middle class radicals, most members were young, lower middle-class men and women intent on mental and material improvement. Food reform joined discussions on the 'Woman Question' and clothing reform.²⁰

January 1860; and *Temperance Star*, 1860, p.284, p.288.

¹⁴ *Journal of Health... and Vegetarian Messenger*, October 1860, p.145.

¹⁵ Bormond had lectured for London vegetarians in 1855, see *VM*, February, supplement, p.12; March, supplement: p.14.

¹⁶ *VA*, September 1849, p.1.

¹⁷ See list in *People's Journal*, 1849, Appendix: 'Annals of progress', p. 3, and *VA*, September 1849, pp.2-3. For meeting at City of London institute, *VA*, 15 February 1849, p.84; 15 April 1849, p.111. For meeting at Browning's, *VA*, 15 February 1849, p.84. For an understanding of metropolitan radicalism in this period, see E. Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, pp.88-89, p.142, pp.192-194.

¹⁸ *VA*, 1 February 1850, advertisement on front cover.

¹⁹ *VA*, 15 December 1848, pp.60-64. This was attended by Simpson and other northern vegetarians. See K. Gleadle, *The Early Feminists. Radical Unitarians and the Emergence of the Women's Rights Movement. 1831-1851*. (London: Macmillan, 1995), ch. 5; and C. Kent, 'The Whittington Club. A Bohemian Experiment in Middle Class Social Reform', *Victorian Studies* 18:1 (September 1974), pp.31-55.

²⁰ The first, ostensibly private, London meeting was at the Club, where Neesom chaired a Vegetarian Supper Party, 20 November 1848.

'National' public meetings, incorporating banquets, were held at Freemasons' Hall, 1851, and at the Crystal Palace in 1862.²¹ Monthly public soirees demonstrated culinary variety in the form of farinaceous moulds, pies and puddings c.1854-1855²² and at Penton College in 1859-1860.²³ Public addresses on temperance and vegetarianism were also delivered outside the College.²⁴ Association members distributed literature at the annual teetotal demonstration, Surrey Zoological Gardens (1852) and introduced vegetarianism into discussion at the R.S.P.C.A.'s second Anniversary meeting (1856).²⁵

III

Centres for dietetic radicalism.

A few centres for dietetic radicalism can be pinpointed. The first to be considered is Aurora Villa, Hampstead. This was a location for public, monthly vegetarian meetings advertised in the *Vegetarian Advocate* and *Reasoner* 1849-1850.²⁶ They were organised by G. J. Holyoake's associates William Turley* and H.L. Harrison*.

The Villa was named after Aurore Dudevant- 'George Sand' - who though widely read in England, was then associated with free love and Saint Simonianism. Possibly Aurora Villa's founders liked her recent novels, more political or socialist through the influence of the former Saint Simonian Pierre Leroux. The meliorism and mysticism would have been acceptable to people who were Owenites or Concordists. Perhaps they admired the idylls set in her native Berry.²⁷ Hampstead Heath was still rural, and the notice in G.J. Holyoake's *Reasoner* emphasised 'the beauties of natural scenery- such as no other suburb of London presents- illustrates the amenities of improved social life'.²⁸ The meetings originated in informal gatherings involving music, pastimes and occasional lectures. Participants, enjoying 'interchange of thought, and feeling, amid the energizing freedom of nature', had felt the want of some 'suburban place of friendly resort'.²⁹ The Villa also advertised

²¹ *VM*, October 1851, pp.77-85 (and see below); *The Times*, 6 September 1862, p.4; on the arrangements, see GMCRO G24/1/1/2, 11 August, 18 August 1862. Annual public banquets were held in the mid-late 1850s, see *News of the World*, 30 August 1856, p.4 for one report.

²² See *VM*, December 1854, pp.113-117, for monthly meetings, soirees and health lectures at Burlington Lecture Hall, Saville Row.

²³ *VM*, August 1859, supplement: p.103.

²⁴ *Temperance Star*, 1859, p.227, 239; 1860, p.299; and *VM*, October 1859, p.130, where G.E. Groves wrote of 'several years' advocacy here, though faced by organised opposition.

²⁵ *Teetotal Progressionist* (Joseph Livesey, publisher Horsell and George Vickers), 1853, p.137.

²⁶ *VA*, September 1849, p.13; October (reverse of cover); *Reasoner*, vol.6, 26 September 1849, p.142, 7 November 1849, p.304.

²⁷ P. Thomson, *George Sand and the Victorians. Her Influence and Reputation in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Macmillan, 1977), a pioneering study which does not examine the popular readership.

²⁸ See Royle, *Victorian Infidels*, p.145, for Holyoake's occasional attendance; and Bishopsgate Institute, Holyoake Collection, Letts's Diary No.15, 1859, 'Hampstead Villa' noted for 9 October. He met Dornbusch on 24 September. See also *Reasoner*, vol.6, 19 September 1849, p.190.

²⁹ *Reasoner*, vol.6, 26 September 1849, p.206, letter from H.L. Harrison. See also *VA*, September 1849, p.3.

itself as a secularist school offering every domestic comfort 'combined with the most watchful attention to ...moral, intellectual, and physical development'.³⁰

In this period there were no vegetarian restaurants, but there was a lunchtime 'vegetarian ordinary' from July 1849-1850, at Talfourd Coffee House, Farringdon Street, which also provided a venue for monthly meetings.³¹ In 1849 the *Reasoner* listed several 'Dietetic Depôts' selling farinaceous foods, whose '...more extensive use... would conduce to public health and private morality'.³² Horsell claimed that his Vegetarian Depôt (at 492, Oxford Street, after 1857 at 13, Paternoster Row) was established due to 'so many inquirers.' It began as a 'Publishing Depôt, or Depôt for English and American works on Physiology, Phrenology, Temperance, Vegetarianism, Hydropathy, Mesmerism and General Progress'. Phrenology was also represented by examinations, firstly by Mrs Hamilton, an advocate of women's rights, and later in a museum which sold phrenological equipment.³³ The depôt was the office for a phrenological society established in 1852 and including many London vegetarians as members, and also shared premises with a homeopathic pharmacy.³⁴

The Association allied with the 'Humanistic Society' at 32, Tavistock Place, St Pancras, in 1854- early 1855. This society, to which the vegetarian Viettinghoff belonged, aimed to activate:

the higher religious ideas which have sprung from the development of science, philosophy, art, and civilization in general, to form the groundwork for a higher period of cultivation.³⁵

It was established by Johannes Ronge, a German Catholic priest, who had led a movement agitating for clerical marriage, mass in German, and lay involvement in church administration. Exiled with his wife Bertha, they introduced the kindergarten to Britain.³⁶ His 'religion of humanity' was an integral part of the kindergarten. Viettinghoff identified the Society's moral reform as 'kindred':

³⁰ *Reasoner*, 26 September 1849; *VA*, August 1849, advertisement on front cover, September 1849.

³¹ *VA*, August 1849, advertisement on front cover (the 'ordinary' inaugurated 30 July 1849). Reports of meetings there, *VA*, 1 November 1850, p.49, 1 December 1850 pp.66-68; 1 January 1851, p.74; 1 February 1851, p.91, pp.93-95; 1 March 1851, pp.109-112.

³² *Reasoner*, vol.6, 1849, p.192, p.223.

³³ On Hamilton, see R. Cooter, *Phrenology in the British Isles. An Annotated Historical Biobibliography and Index*, entry 498 (p.158).

³⁴ Engraving in W. Horsell, *The Science of Cooking Vegetarian Food: also, the Rise and Progress of the Vegetarian Society, Twelve Reasons for not Eating Flesh, and Answers to Twenty Objections to the Vegetarian Practice* (London: Horsell, 1856), and *Progressionist*, October 1854, p.153.

³⁵ Quotation from Christopher Crayon's article in the *Christian World*, (3 November 1887) in J. Fretwell, *Johannes Ronge* [reprinted from an article in *The Unitarian Review*, January 1888].

³⁶ On Ronge, see W.A.C. Stewart and W.P. McCann, *The Educational Innovators. 1750-1880* (1967), p.298ff.; and R. Ashton, *Little Germany. Exile and Asylum in Victorian England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p.158, pp.218-220. Holyoake addressed the Humanistic Society, or Association in 1855, see Ashton, *Little Germany*, pp. 179-81. Other references are: Mrs Epps, ed., *The Diary of the Late John Epps, MD* (London); W.J. Linton, *Memories* (London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1895), p.170; and Manx National

The Vegetarian, as well as the Humanistic Society, endeavoured to bring men back to nature; thus, uniting God and nature to reproduce upon earth the paradise which the Creator intended it should be.³⁷

The Society provided music at several vegetarian meetings and there was a vegetarian soiree at Tavistock Place, early 1855. Ronge's followers were said to be 'foreigners, of course', partly because his abstract language made him 'too much of a German for London'.³⁸ He knew leading 'bourgeois' German exiles such as Arnold Ruge and Gustav Struve.

Private gatherings by their nature were rarely reported. They reflect the domestic, intimate nature of the reform and a retreat when lack of energy or optimism prevented public activity. George Dornbusch's home was one important location. Recently settled in London, he was a young mercantile clerk who had regularly visited Alcott House. In early 1848 he opened his house in Kingsland to 'sincere friends of the vegetarian system' on two evenings every month. A keen phoneticist, he communicated by shorthand with inquirers. He reported enthusiastically about meetings at his 'Vegetarian Cottage' in Dalston, 1853-1855: 'love had been the presiding sentiment at these meetings; all persons mean well, and wish to benefit, not only a few, with whom they come in close contact, but the whole human race'.³⁹ They were involved 'in one of the foremost stages of human progress'. To attract working men, the meetings took place on Sunday.⁴⁰ Another humble home for advanced reform was Samuel Houghton's at Whitechapel Rd, 'all the more remarkable in that degraded and vicious neighbourhood'.⁴¹ In addition, a mutual instruction society devoted to vegetarianism and other questions was formed at a model lodging house, 1853.⁴²

IV

Analysis of the personnel.

Virtually all the London members recorded in the official history as assembling in 1849 would be unfamiliar to historians of mid-Nineteenth century Britain.⁴³ Biographical information on many of them is recoverable. Apparent nonentities, they have preserved traces in pamphlets, books and the

Heritage, Baume Papers, Journal, 11 June 1853 to 25 February 1854, p.26, p.33, p.36, pp.46-47. I cannot locate Ronge's *Kindergarten and Humanistic Schools* ('A Monthly Paper for Promoting a Reformed System of Education and the Harmony between Home and School'), May 1856, cited in Stewart and McCann.

³⁷ VM, February 1855, supplement: p.11.

³⁸ Fretwell, *Johannes Ronge*.

³⁹ VM, May 1853, p.7.

⁴⁰ VM, June 1853, 'local vegetarian operations and intelligence' (a separately paginated section), pp.11-12; further reports include VM, June 1855, p.32.

⁴¹ *Phonetic Journal*, May 1856, p.213 by Dornbusch, also in *Journal of Health*, June 1856, pp.228-229.

⁴² VM, June 1853, local operations: p.11.

⁴³ Forward, *History*, ch.4.

records of other movements in which some of them were important figures. The metropolitan movement probably numbered about 60 'fairly committed' to socialising in this period, though there are references to 80 London members of the V.S. and 80 of the *known* vegetarians in London responded to an invitation in 1853. Others were not affiliated to the society, since it was claimed 'almost daily we are hearing of some Vegetarian who had abstained from flesh-eating for many years, without having heard of the existence of the Society'.⁴⁴ Of those about whom information can be recovered, many were temperance and moral reform activists, a few medical unorthodox practitioners, a few followed Greaves. Some were Owenites or secularists.

It was rare for a vegetarian not to be a teetotaler. Horsell, Towgood and Hibberd were all involved in temperance. Towgood, who assisted in the opening of the Vegetarian Dépôt, and was president until 1857, was an active teetotal propagandist who presided over the City of London Temperance Society and was first treasurer of the Band of Hope Union. The peace movement concerned a number: in 1849 London delegates to the Paris Peace Congress included 3 vegetarians.⁴⁵ In this, and in support for abolition of capital punishment, they were in keeping with the movement's general sympathies. Animal welfare activity is not, however, striking, though welfare arguments were used to justify food reform. William Greene*, who worked against cruelty, especially in abattoirs, joined the committee in 1856.

In the homeopathic practitioners Graf von Viettinghoff and David Griffith Jones* there is the obvious connection to medical 'unorthodoxy'. Viettinghoff was a 'Polish' refugee who converted to Protestantism in disgust at the pope's acquiescence in Russian aggression. A man with radical sympathies, his letters and advertisements on homeopathy appeared in the Owenite *New Moral World* and secularist *Reasoner* from 1846. Several vegetarians were converted through his advice. Jones edited the *Journal of Health* which amalgamated with Horsell's *Progressionist* in 1855. Interest in phrenology characterised many London vegetarians, through the shared membership of the Anthropological Society.⁴⁶ C.M. Dick*, formerly a sugar planter in Trinidad and one of the officers of the Association, operated for a time as a 'practical phrenologist' at the Dépôt, offering 'male and female heads, lithographed'.

Several of the vegetarians were involved in education. Aurora Villa echoed Alcott House. The kindergarten connection has been noted. One London vegetarian, Joseph Bentley*, devoted himself to inspecting schools. An autodidact, he styled himself the 'first school inspector' in his

⁴⁴ *VM*, July 1853, local operations: p.14.

⁴⁵ See list in *Standard of Freedom*, 1 September 1849.

⁴⁶ See *Teetotal Progressionist*, 1852-1853, p.205, p.252, p.267. *VM*, July 1853, local operations: p.14. In 1856 the Society was 50 strong (see *Journal of Health*, October 1856, p.46), its scope envisaged by Viettinghoff at least, as a society for scientific inquiry about sensation, mental processes, and the role of environment on the mind, with the view to shaping future mental development, rather than an assembly of bump-readers.

publications, having pioneered such efforts. He also inspected Life Assurance and 'other means of provident care of working man's earnings'. George Vasey*, who worked briefly in Alcott House school, was secretary of the London Phonetic Association, ran another school on vegetarian lines, was on the Anthropological Society committee, and joined the Sheffield Vegetarian Association in 1860.

Manchester and Salford vegetarianism centred on a Swedenborgian sect. Many London vegetarians can be identified as nonconformist too. The lack of support from Anglican clergymen was to be a continual complaint of the national movement. In the support for Ronge there was close connection with reformed religion, another religious reformer was the Reverend William Forster* of Kentish Town. Soon, as discussed in 2:4, spiritualism interested a number. Given their anti-violence sentiments it is natural to assume Quaker sympathy. Though the Freemasons' Tavern meeting was attended by many, Quaker support was not striking. The exception noted earlier (2:4) was the family of William Bennett of Croydon, a retired tea-dealer, botanist, author and friend of Wordsworth, Hartley Coleridge, Greaves and the Howitts.

There were a number of freethinkers. One important member of the London Association, because of his background, was Charles Neesom*, a follower of the early nineteenth century radical reformer Thomas Spence. In Neesom, more recently a chartist, London vegetarians had a link with earlier ultra-radicals. Neesom distributed tracts 'by hundreds', and fixed copies of the tracts *Do you eat Flesh?* and *Nature's Bill of Fare* to his front door:

Sometimes a number of persons gather around, and eagerly read, while some knock at the door and ask for information. Our friend, if in the way, advances to the threshold, which is elevated from the pavement by two or three steps; a conversation, and sometimes a discussion ensues, and there you 'behold the man,' firm and erect, strong in the correctness of his principles, preaching and teaching, in true apostolic style, with a sonorous and emphatic voice, the primitive, humanizing, elevating, and health-giving principles of Vegetarianism.⁴⁷

Samuel Houghton*, a conscientious committee member, was certainly an ultra: supporting Owenism, temperance, peace, phonography and 'all kindred systems'. Losing his savings in the Harmony colony, he had briefly joined Little Bentley and the White Quakers. The Hurlstones were middle class Owenites, Frederick Hurlstone* was a London representative in the 6th Congress as a member of the Central Board. President of the Society of British Painters, he painted historical scenes and portraits, Spanish and Italian 'rustic and fancy subjects'. He and his wife hosted several

⁴⁷VA, 15 October 1848, p.37, report by Dornbusch.

vegetarian soirees at their house.⁴⁸ H.L. Harrison* and William Turley* were secularists. Turley became an active spiritualist. Another, 'plebeian' London vegetarian-secularist already noted (3:1) was the tailor Gooch, a 'Deist, Utilitarian, Communist' who taught and lectured on phonography.

Class and Occupation.

In 1875 London members of the V.S. included a letter press printer, lecturer, artificial florist, shoemaker, merchant's clerk, accountant, naval engineer, timber merchant foreman, medical student, author, linen draper, banker's clerk, gentleman, clerk in orders, japanner, i.e., a range of typical London occupations excluding heavy manual work.

Many prominent metropolitan vegetarians/ or sympathisers were middle-class, but there were a number of 'plebeian' supporters. Efforts were made to attract working class support, privately by Dornbusch (who resisted calls for admission charges⁴⁹); through lectures and open air addresses; and distribution of tracts (1864, to a large warehouse). Those attracted can be classified as artisans: Owenites and/or temperance supporters interested in self-improvement and thrift. A 'working man', appositely a Mr Bottle, recommended the diet to his fellow men as a cure for intemperance (1856).

Several were artists: George Cruikshank (at least in sympathy⁵⁰), engraver Richard Anelay (also perhaps present in sympathy) and the Hurlstones. In the scholar Dr F.J. Furnivall* there was a connection with Christian Socialism which has already been noted (2:5) and London literary circles. Horsell and Job Caudwell* were publishers. A man prominent in the future progressive press, John Passmore Edwards*, was briefly involved. Hibberd became famous as an horticultural writer. If no prominent man of letters supported the cause, a minor poetess, Fanny Lacy*, attended some meetings. She had been acquainted with and published by the Concordium. Her story 'The Vegetarian', appeared in the *Metropolitan Magazine* in 1846, and *The Truth-Tester* printed her verse invitation to the 'Physiological Conference' preparing the way for the Society.⁵¹

There was a cosmopolitan element. The Dornbuschs came from Germany and the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Viettinghoffs from eastern Europe. London was a refuge for recently exiled German revolutionaries, including the vegetarian Gustav Struve, apparently known to Dornbusch.⁵² One vegetarian meeting was attended by the homeopath C.F. Zimpel, who heralded

⁴⁸E.g. *VA*, 15 January 1849, pp.71-72; 15 February p.89; 1 September 1850, pp.15-16; *VM*, October 1853, local operations: p.22.

⁴⁹*VM*, May 1853, p.7 (Vegetarian Cottage meetings); September 1854, supplement: resistance to admission charges.

⁵⁰See his comments, *VA*, 1 September 1850, pp.15-16.

⁵¹F.E. Lacy, 'The Vegetarian; or, a Visit to Aunt Primitive', *Metropolitan Magazine*, April 1847, pp.403-413; *The Truth-Tester*, 15 September 1847, p.20.

⁵²'G.W.' of Silesia, who received the *VM* monthly, and who became vegetarian through Dr Zimmerman, a

the association as 'one of the signs of the coming of the Lord, and preparation for the fulfilment of the prophecies'.⁵³ In 1853 efforts were made to win over another emigré, Pierre Baume, a wealthy and eccentric supporter of radical reforms.⁵⁴ A keen dietetic experimentalist and vegetarian; Baume had visited the Concordium and Hanwell. His journals include references to Horsell, Dornbusch, Towgood, and other vegetarians such as the radical Francis Vieussieux* and Henry Swan*. Horsell printed an advertisement for Baume in the *Progressionist* when he was keen to establish a north American community.⁵⁵ Baume (who had met Dornbusch 'at Hamilton the Phrenologist some years ago'⁵⁶) visited the Vegetarian Cottage and became a regular participant at Humanistic Society meetings. Although resisting requests for financial support in propagating vegetarianism and Towgood and Horsell's 'undertaking' (presumably the Dépôt), he had several meetings with Towgood and others concerning bequests for the United Kingdom Alliance. One of his traits was the inability to keep friends; falling out with the London vegetarians, he asked himself: 'Is Vegetarianism a SECRET SOCIETY!?! Des Culcons?!?'.⁵⁷

Women.

Although the subject of gender will be examined in detail in chapter 5:2, this analysis of the London personnel is incomplete without a few comments on the participation of women. They participated through the central provision of food, and decoration of/presence at venues. It is clear that a number were not simply active through their spouses. Such activity was welcomed by the male, public figures. Hibberd addressed the role of women in food and moral reform in a lecture deploying conventional argument about women's innate kindness and empathetic impulses, and stressing the power of their 'fireside reform'.⁵⁸ The presiding over one meeting by a woman was delightedly received as recognition of the dignity of women. A 'Ladies Domestic Committee' was

visitor to Ham Common, wrote to the *VM*, February 1855, p.18: 'Perhaps it may interest you to know that Professor Daumer of Nurnberg, foster-father of Caspar Hauser, Gustav Struve a *man* in the noblest meaning of the word, and Professor Gottfried Kinkel, who is now living in England, and other political fugitives, are practical Vegetarians.'

⁵³ *Journal of Health*, February 1856, p.129. See British Library Catalogue.

⁵⁴ I am grateful to Professor Roger Cooter of the University of East Anglia, for informing me of references to London vegetarians in Baume's journals and sending photocopies of the Journal covering 11 June 1853 to 25 February 1854. All the other journals in the as yet uncatalogued collection were studied in person: for this privilege I am grateful to the archivist, Roger Sims.

⁵⁵ *Teetotal Progressionist*, 1852, p.331.

⁵⁶ One connection with the vegetarians was phrenology, as Baume was a phrenologist. However, he thought the vegetarian Inwards' phrenological chart ludicrous, see Baume Papers, Journal for 15 April 1855 to March 1856, reverse of p.W.

⁵⁷ Baume Papers, Journal for 15 April 1855 to March 1856, reverse of p.X. He then left for Manchester in fear for his life in late 1855, although he forged links with Manchester vegetarians and hoped that Horsell or Towgood would look after estate affairs in London.

⁵⁸ *VA*, 1 February 1851, pp.93-95.

created.⁵⁹ Elizabeth Horsell spoke at meetings, hosted soirees and published a vegetarian recipe book. Her distribution of bouquets to the audience at one lecture was praised. Other activists included Jane Hurlstone*, who travelled to Manchester for the second Annual Banquet and was influential in organising Talfourd Tavern and Whittington Club events. Mrs Dornbusch* supported Horsell's *Truth-Tester* and corresponded about the diet's worth for young mothers. Mrs Dorcas*, another member of the Association, had earlier lectured (at the Owenite John Street Institution) on the 'Rights and Position of Women'.

IV

Assessment.

Clearly many of the London vegetarians were not mainstream in their political and social views, though most were not out-and-out 'outsiders,' by intent or in practice. Though Aurora Villa mixed dietary radicalism with secularism and perhaps, at least in sympathy, sexual progressiveness; Horsell rebutted a press comment connecting vegetarianism with Owenite free-love.⁶⁰

Yet Horsell was evidently too radical (or perhaps just eccentric) for some despite this, as a letter from the national leader, Simpson, in May 1856 suggests tensions between Manchester and some London elements associated with Horsell. In the letter (an isolated survival unfortunately) he proposed William White* and J.G. Crawford* as local secretaries with Dornbusch:

...after mature consideration of the direction assumed recently by the local arrangements of the association in London, which recently rejected Mr Dornbusch's further services as Secretary; and on the ground of his lameness (a disability he at once disproved) elected Mr Horsell in his place, this step leading from the private reputation attached to Mr Horsell, to do harm to the Vegetarian cause in London, & bring it under the imputations & objections which ought carefully to be avoided.

In the appointment of these two additional local Secretaries, I think the interests of vegetarianism would be considerably advanced in London, by fresh circles of society being opened up to the influence of the movement, and any steps taken by the association at all unfavourable to the general interest of the movement being thus somewhat modified, as far as our control of the public influence of Vegetarianism in London will permit.⁶¹

The significance of a vigorous, and ideally acquiescent metropolitan presence *was* recognized by Simpson and others travelling 200 miles south to participate in several meetings, including the meeting in 1851 at Freemasons' Tavern. The banquet, attended by general temperance reformers

⁵⁹ *VM*, October 1854, local operations: p.84.

⁶⁰ *The Truth-Tester*, 15 June 1848, p.65.

⁶¹ G.M.C.R.O.- V.S., G24/1/1/1, letter dated 5 May 1856.

too, had wide coverage, and a graphic record in the *Illustrated London News*.⁶² An Annual Meeting was again held in London in 1862.

How did Londoners respond? Early on, there seemed interest, with enquiries and applications for lectures. Early audiences were generally attentive and animated in their debates, some of which were prolonged by request. The Commercial Coffee House meetings lasted 3 evenings until a vote in favour of the diet was reached. Coverage of the movement in *Punch* helped generate interest, and vegetarianism appeared in general physiological lectures. It was like phonography a few years before, a novelty. The London movement was too small, poor (in 1856 the annual report showed a balance of £10) and scattered to exploit and sustain this, or make any great impact, although the national press (based in London) did report national activity (and indeed an Association meeting was reported by the *Morning Advertiser*, *Nonconformist* and *Patriot* in 1854). Dornbusch in 1852 pointed to the difficulties that all reformers knew, with 'penetrating and moving' this 'immensely huge metropolis'.

It is somewhat singular, but it not infrequently happens, that the special adherents of the various *isms* of the day, which deviate in any remarkable degree from the prevailing customs of society, are living in almost daily contact with a circle of friends, to whom their principles, somehow or other, never get expounded...⁶³

One London convert (Charles Herve*) in 1854 had not heard of the V.S. before.

Although the *Vegetarian Messenger* gave prominence to the Association as a branch, and although it did continue to campaign, it remained minute. In a cosmopolitan environment- in fashionable London- vegetarianism possibly had more of a tendency to be an ephemeral enthusiasm (and as a fad it was centre-stage in 'Bloomerism, or Follies of the Day' at the Royal Surrey Theatre in 1851). Though the *Daily Telegraph* in 1859 thought it symptomatic of other agitations begun by 'idlers, rattle-brains, and wool gatherers, whose babblings are frequently so loud as to threaten us with the organization of a permanent nuisance,' London had insufficient vigour for prolonged and imaginative campaigns in the 1860s.⁶⁴

⁶²*Illustrated London News*, 16 August 1851, p.223, coverage also in *Advertiser*, and *Morning Chronicle* (see *VM*, November 1851: Controversialist, p.17). See report from the Paris *Journal des Debates*, reprinted in *The Times*, 2 August 1851, p.8; noted in *Reynold's Newspaper*, 7 September, 1851, p.13; and reprinted in America in the *International Magazine of Literature, Art and Science* (NY), vol.4, 3 October 1851, pp.402-403: 'There were about four hundred persons present, as many women as men, a great many children, and a great many Quakers'. Simpson apparently spent £200 on the banquet, see *DR*, May 1882, p.103. Another (Whittington Club) meeting attended by Simpson is reported in *VM*, July 1854, supplement: pp.59-63.

⁶³*VM*, February 1853, p.5.

⁶⁴*Journal of Health...and Vegetarian Messenger*, February 1860, p.30

There were other priorities. Dornbusch said simply getting a living diverted energies.⁶⁵ He sought relief (and refuge) in a vegetarian communitarian scheme. By 1870 Dornbusch was reporting that for the last year there had only been a few lectures and 'practice in private families'.⁶⁶ Metropolitan vegetarians, as elsewhere, found more urgent reforms (disestablishing the Church, education, prohibition).⁶⁷ Calls to re-establish an association went unheeded.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *VM*, August 1858, p.26.; and business pressures again, *DR*, April 1871, p.55.

⁶⁶ *DR*, April 1870, pp.4-5; see also *DR*, 1872, p.29.

⁶⁷ *VM*, September 1858, p.21, John Cunliffe: 'the work of our various philanthropic societies having been done by the same persons, who thus take the most pressing work first'.

⁶⁸ E.g., 'W.W', *DR*, July 1868, p.122.

Not until the mid-1870s, when a revival was occurring nationally, did London become reorganised, but when this happened, through the 'London Food Reform Society' (hereafter L.F.R.S.), it was on a broader footing and with many new leaders. By the late 1880s London's growing pretensions strained the relationship with the Manchester-based Society. Forward, and Twigg, accurately present London as the more vibrant and youthful centre for dietetic reform in the late Nineteenth century.¹ Though the Society's provinciality was itself being challenged by the more cosmopolitan and higher profile leadership of F.W. Newman (1873-1884) and the Cambridge classicist J.E.B. Mayor (1884-1911), the national movement was transformed by London's awakening by Arnold Hills, his protégés, and others. The London movement was independent-minded and more vigorous, through the good fortune of having Hills, a millionaire with the zeal of a recent convert.² Activity by the 1890s was well-directed, well-publicised, and recognised as a feature of modern metropolitan reformist, radical, or progressive life. Press reports showed it was worthy of attention, though still an unorthodoxy. This examination of London vegetarianism begins with an account of the L.F.R.S. It then examines the London Vegetarian Society (hereafter L.V.S.), local societies and other locations for vegetarianism in the 1880s-1890s.³

I

The L.F.R.S., National Food Reform Society and Auxiliary

A new association emerged after several efforts in the mid-1870s; when vegetarianism took its place with other metropolitan heresies in a study by the Reverend C.M. Davies's *Heterodox London* (included because it represented 'thinking differently', because the current tendency was to 'go to the basis of things, and accept nothing as final until proved by argument or experience' and because it was a social topic due to the 'famine levels' of meat prices).⁴ Vegetarianism was the

¹ Discussion of London vegetarianism in this period is to be found in Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement' ch. 6, at pp.113-117; where the focus is the L.V.S.'s formation (1888) onwards; it is dependent on Forward, *History*, ch.12. Twigg ignored the *Vegetarian* (established 1888), a major source for this era. Further material is in Forward's 'Forty Years among the Faddists', *The Vegetarian News* (the L.V.S.'s organ), February 1922, pp.188-193; March 1922, pp.204-206; June 1922, pp.263-266; August 1922, pp.295-299; October 1922, pp.339-342; November 1922, pp.352-355; December 1922, pp.371-375; 1923, p.98. He satirised the London movement, as A.K. Greet, *The Confessions of a Vegetarian* (London: Nichols, 1893), this has not survived. The 'apostate' Harold Begbie's *The Curious and Diverting Adventures of Sir John Sparrow, Bt. or, the Progress of an Open Mind* (London: Methuen, 1902), satirised London progressives, including vegetarians.

² More is said about Hills in Chapter 5's examination of working class connections; space precludes a chapter devoted to Hills, an important but neglected late Victorian reformer; but see biographical entry.

³ The branch and London societies are listed in appendix D, in volume II.

⁴ C.M. Davies, *Heterodox London, or Phases of Free Thought in the Metropolis* 2 vols. (London: Tinsley, 1874), vol.2, p.282. The chapter pp.282-313, extensively quoted Newman, R.T. Traill and recipes from the 'long defunct' [sic] *VM*. I owe the reference to A.M. Schellenberg, '“Prize the Doubt” The Life and Works of Francis William Newman,' p.183. Joseph or Arthur Gallico, who joined the V.S. Executive Committee, went to London 1872, and hoped to revive London vegetarianism with Dornbusch, see GMCRO-V.S.,

subject of lectures at a 'Social Progress Society' in Clerkenwell ⁵ and before secularists and republicans in 'heretical' Hackney.⁶ There was a 'Diet Reform Society' led by C.O.G. Napier*, who established another, also short-lived, in the later 1870s.⁷

The 1870s saw an attempt to broaden the movement to include non-vegetarians, through the more 'moderate' label of 'food reform' which allowed vegetarians to appeal to thrift societies, food supply organisations, temperance bodies and generally, the *philanthropic*. The 'London Food Reform Society', subsequently the 'National Food Reform Society', operated from 1875-1885. It owed its existence in part to an obscure, impoverished supporter of co-operation and industrial reform, Martin Nunn*, active from the 1830s. Devoted to the vegetarian cause, he lived a life of 'almost ascetic self-denial'.⁸ Free, twice-monthly lectures and debates on food were held at the poky Franklin Hall (off Oxford St).⁹ Strangers were encouraged to participate and 'introduce kindred subjects for debate'.¹⁰ Audiences initially were 'pitiably small' but gradually increased as a group of eager young men and well known food reformers gave their support.¹¹

The society's high-class journal referred opaquely to 'living-down' of opposition from a quarter which should have been supportive.¹² The V.S. thought its own organisation sufficient. London vegetarians, often new converts who knew little about the movement's historical geography, disagreed.¹³ Discussions in the early 1880s raising the possibility of the national HQ moving to London were abortive.¹⁴ The London society's annual meetings in 1882 and 1883 debated broadening ambitions. Some feared national claims would generate hostility, others pointed out that funds could hardly support such a claim. But the London designation was exchanged for that of 'National Food Reform Society'.

G24/1/1/2.

⁵ *DR*, July 1874, p.84, September p.101, p.108: at least 8 in this year, by D.W. McQuire*, Viettinghoff the chairman.

⁶ *DR*, March 1875, p.190.

⁷ *MD*, 10 November 1876, p.718, 14 July, p.444.

⁸ Forward, *History*, p.78. See his articles, 'Seven years of Hygienic reform in the Metropolis' in *HH*, October 1886, pp.112-113 and November, p.122, pp.124-125.

⁹ See *DR*, February 1878, p.34 for reference to the short-lived Dietetic Reform Club established December 1877 at 91 Oxford Street by James Salsbury*.

¹⁰ *MD*, 9 May 1879, p.289 (subsequent notices, p.336; p.416, p.543, p.572, p.591). *Food Reform Magazine*, January 1881, p.ii, advertisement section. Questions for debate included the land question, see *HH*, December 1879, p.283.

¹¹ The Food Reform Society features in C. Dickens Jnr., *Dickens's Dictionary of London. An Unconventional Handbook* (London: 'All the Year Round' office, 1879), p.147. A favourable treatment of Franklin Hall activity, restaurants and vegetarian arguments appeared in *Daily News*, 11 October 1879, reported in *DR*.

¹² In 'To the readers of the Food Reform Magazine', in unpaginated advertisement section, *Food Reform Magazine*, April-July 1882, 'from the editors'.

¹³ Forward, *History*, p.81.

¹⁴ Forward, *Vegetarian Review*, July 1894, p.113.

This lasted only until October 1885, when the V.S. paid off its debts, and established an 'Auxiliary' due to pressure from London vegetarians. The results were disappointing. The V.S. failed to keep the good will of 'food reformers' and lost the reversionary interest of the N.F.R.S. subscription list.¹⁵ Manchester closed the office but agreed to an 'Auxiliary' with independent financial responsibility. Conflict grew around the issue of 'advanced' literature which the Society refused to accept without prior approval.¹⁶ The inevitable split came in 1888.¹⁷

II

The London Vegetarian Society

An indication of the newly independent L.V.S.'s ambitions was its impressive journal, the *Vegetarian*. Hills funded it 'and in point of fact the history of the Vegetarian movement in London from 1889 to the present time has been in a great measure the history of Mr Hills'.¹⁸ Though Forward recalled a 'rough-and-tumble' period, the general mood was optimistic, reflected in plans to establish a 'Charing Cross Vegetarian Hotel and Restaurant'.¹⁹ Several branch societies existed. Offshoots were claimed with the affiliation of societies at Oxford, Nottingham, Brighton, Guildford and Reading.²⁰ New workers were attracted.

Due to increasing business, the L.V.S. and *Vegetarian* offices moved to the congregationalist Memorial Hall (Farringdon St) in 1889.²¹ Geographically the L.V.S. was at the heart of London reform, since Memorial Hall not only hosted their meetings, food exhibitions and congresses, but also meetings of land reformers, women's temperance organisations and others.²² National (1885, 1899) and international congresses (1890, 1897) were held at London.

¹⁵Forward, *History*, pp.108-111 recounts the amalgamation and strains.

¹⁶GMCRO-VS, G24/1/2/1 21 July, 7 August 1887. *Vegetarian*, 14 April 1888; for disapproval by London workers concerning Hills' language, see editorial, *HH*, June 1887, December 1887, p.152.

¹⁷The L.V.S. archive is preserved with the surviving national society's archive, in the GMCRO-V.S. collection. It includes the V.S. London Ancillary minutes 1885-1888; L.V.S. minutes 1888-1889 [G24/1/2/1], the L.V.S. minutes 1890-1899 [G24/1/2/2], the Literary Committee minutes, 1891-1894 [G24/1/2/3], various other committees: ladies, executive, quarterly, monthly 1893-1899 [G24/1/2/4], Meetings committee, 1894-1898 [G2/1/2/5], Finance committee 1893-1907 [G2/1/2/6], Minutes of the London Vegetarian Association, 1899-1905 [G24/1/3/1] and the St Pancras Society minutes 1894-1897 [G24/4].

¹⁸Forward, *History* (which was dedicated to Hills), p.111. See his later account, 'Forty Years among Faddists' in *Vegetarian News*, 1922-1923.

¹⁹Forward, *History*, p.112, see *VM*, April 1888 for Hotel prospectus, it operated 1890.

²⁰*Vegetarian*, 19 January 1889, p.39.

²¹*Vegetarian*, 2 March 1889, p.133.

²²D. Lazell's 'The Congregational Memorial Hall- once a living centre of Free Church witness', the Congregational Federation's official website (<www.congregational.org.uk/main/history/memorialhall.htm>), ignores vegetarians but indicates the building's prominence as evangelical meeting-place. See Begbie, *The Curious Adventures of Sir John Sparrow Bt*, on the 'Martyr's Hall' (p.113), a 'gloomy building in the middle of London, where the Vegetarian Universal League had their offices, held their meetings, and quarrelled among themselves from morning till night'.

There were a number of clubs and independent food reform societies. Specialist societies catered for children, athletics, rambling, music and even sketching. Vegetarian restaurants proliferated in this period (34 were in London in 1889) and served as meeting places for vegetarians and a number of reformist groups (see chapter 4). In 1889 the L.V.S. created a national 'Federal Union', to the consternation of the V.S. which resented Hills' view that it was obsolescent.²³ Affiliated societies included local metropolitan and suburban societies. In total, by 1899 there had been (since some were short-lived), 21 London/ suburban societies.²⁴ [They are outlined in the appendices] They were co-ordinated by a 'London Vegetarian Association' from 1895.

The 'Ideal Club' (1893-1898), at Tottenham Court Road (with a café/ restaurant) was funded by Hills.²⁵ It was conceived as an 'agency' for practical application of temperance and purity; and identified with thrift and benefit societies, co-operative production and distribution, and food reform. It was to involve the co-operation of both sexes who would be educated in the duties of citizenship and local social needs. Its founders hoped it would support itself through mutual ownership, and stimulate similar institutions. Clubs, lectures and amateur dramatics were projected. By October 1894 there were 1000 members of whom about 350 were women, including members of the Pioneer Club (see chapter 5). The men came from neighbouring businesses, but there were some artisans and medical students. Contemporary political and social questions were debated at the 'St Pancras Parliament' meeting there; on one occasion Sidney Webb and Walter McLaren debated the Employers' Liability Bill. It was recalled enthusiastically by the Labour politician Margaret Bondfield as a place 'where one could have discussions, dances, drill and fun... in the club we gloried in being pioneers'.²⁶

The 'Vegetarian Rambling Society' (1889-c.1893) was a sociable, recreational organisation; providing an escape from the city in the summer (Down House, St Albans, Arundel) and visits to cultural places such as Westminster Abbey, the Natural History Museum, etc., in the winter.²⁷ James Burns was a member and described it as free from 'intrusive familiarity' or favourites; a

²³ *Vegetarian*, 25 May 1889, pp.329-330. See *VM*, March 1890, p.67, July 1890, pp.187-192; for V.F.U.'s request to act in concert over missions, see *VM*, January 1895, p.51; for Hill's offers of money if V.S. restricted itself to North England and Scotland and V.F.U. to South, *VM*, October 1895, pp.316-317. Forward, *History*, p.148 refers to the V.S.'s jealousy of V.F.U.

²⁴ See appendices.

²⁵ *The Merry-go-Round*, 1894, pp.132, *Vegetarian*, March 1894, p.144; and *The Woman's Signal*, 11 October 1894, p.236. The *Vegetarian* reviewed the *Ideal Club Journal*, but no copy survives, see *Vegetarian*, 22 August 1896, p.408 [letter from A.C. Field]; 16 January 1897 p.36 for the *Journal*. It was apparently published every two months, price 2½d. One article was 'Ideals in Illness'. For closure, *Vegetarian*, 23 April 1898, p.269.

²⁶ M. Bondfield, *A Life's Work* (London: Hutchinson, c.1948), p.27 (also references, p.36, p.46, p.49). It is mentioned in M. Miliband's entry on Bondfield in J.M. Bellamy and J. Saville, eds., *Dictionary of Labour Biography*, vol.2 (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1974), pp.38-45. *HH*, November 1899, p.163 noted her efforts for seating for shop assistants.

²⁷ *Vegetarian*, 22 July 1893, p.338 for visit to Darwin's Down House.

company united by diet and personal purity. He frequently reported it in his spiritualist paper, *Medium and Daybreak*.²⁸ Its first offices near the British Museum, included a tea room, drawing room, ladies' room and back room. Another club, intended to provide social activities, papers and libraries failed to flourish in Forest Hill from 1897.²⁹ Others briefly existed as a result of vegetarian restaurants.

Apart from the 'Women's Vegetarian Union' (discussed in 5:2) and the umbrella-anticruelty organisation, the Humanitarian League, with its headquarters and many key officers and supporters in London, there were 12 other London-based food reforming societies. These stopped short of/ or deviated from vegetarianism, or incorporated vegetarianism in wider rules for Higher (and extended) living, or were specialist manifestations of vegetarianism, or represented dissatisfaction with Hills' 'religion of vegetarianism'.³⁰

III

Other vegetarian locations

The American-born unorthodox medical practitioner and writer, T.L. Nichols' British health reform activity began with the publication of *How to Live on 6d a Day* (1870).³¹ His 'Hygienic Institute' in Bloomsbury (established 1875) had a reception room for lectures and social meetings and windows displaying health reform goods for sale. Here the *Herald of Health* was published.³² The institute moved to 429, Oxford Street (Salsbury Hall, named after his friend James Salsbury*). Forward emphasised that the involvement of the well-known Nichols attracted people of 'all sects and opinions'.³³

Three hospitals supported and managed by antivivisectionist, antivaccinationist teetotal-vegetarians, were located around London: Oriolet at Loughton, Essex (established 1895), Allinson's Hygienic Hospital at Rucklidge Avenue, Willesden, and St Francis's Hospital, Southampton Road, the Strand.

Organisations associated with the 'simple life' tendency, part of a 'late Victorian revolt' whose call for *simplification* echoed vegetarians' long-standing plea included the essentially metropolitan 'Fellowship of the New Life' - attracting the young middle class intelligentsia and lower middle class clerks, teachers and journalists (formed 1883).³⁴ The Croydon Brotherhood

²⁸ *MD*, 20 June 1890, pp.402-403. *MD*, 28 November 1890 was almost totally devoted to the society. On the establishment see *VM*, February 1889, p.50. Activities also included lectures, experiments, dramatic evenings.

²⁹ *VM*, February 1898, p.85.

³⁰ They are outlined in the appendix E, in volume II.

³¹ T.L. Nichols, *How to Live on 6d a Day* (London: Nichols, 1878) Postscript, p.60.

³² *HH*, July 1875 (Prospectus), p.1 for a description.

³³ Forward, 'Seven Years of Hygienic Reform in the Metropolis', *HH*, October 1886, pp.112-113.

³⁴ See N and J. Mackenzie, *The First Fabians* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1977), pp.21-27; 179-183.

Church, and Brotherhood House, Kingsland which included a co-operative store (established 1894), selling labour, socialist, vegetarian and other 'advanced' periodicals and literature was another.³⁵ During the 'International Vegetarian Congress' humanitarian sermons were given at the church.³⁶ Also in this area were Theosophical, New Fellowship, anarchist socialist and Social Democratic Federation groups; highlighted along with the local vegetarian society in a letter to the (socialist) *Clarion* in 1896.³⁷ The Croydon V.S. gave lectures at the Brotherhood Church.³⁸ Another cluster of vegetarians was the group of Russian Positivists led by William Frey (having, according to the *Pall Mall Gazette* the 'suave manners of a Russian gentlemen'), which followed a vegetarian-Tolstoyan lifestyle in 'one of the dreariest streets of the Finsbury Park district'.³⁹ Closely connected with London, through personnel and supporters (city workers) and press coverage, were a couple of 'back-to-the land' colonies in Essex involving vegetarianism. These were Wickford, created after a meeting at the Central Vegetarian Restaurant, 18, Bride St (1898), and Purleigh (1896).⁴⁰

IV

Propagation of the vegetarian message

Social events reaffirmed the sense of a vegetarian movement and attracted inquirers. There were May meetings (modelled on long-standing evangelical practice). Soirees, and drawing room meetings were for the better-to-do who would not attend public meetings, although it was stated that only ordinary dress was expected.⁴¹ The L.V.S. organised many social events, such as the 'Fancy Dress Cinderella Dance' at Queen's Hall, Langham Place in 1895, and frequently used A.F. Hills' mansion and grounds. Local societies had their monthly meetings, some, like Bermondsey Society, notable for musical and dramatic sensibilities.⁴²

³⁵See advertisements in the Brotherhood's journal, *New Order*, January 1897, p.8. See N. Shaw, *Whiteway. A Colony in the Cotswolds* (London: C.W. Daniel, 1935), chapters 1- 2 for recollections by participant; and W.H.G. Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp.342-358 for examination of J.B. Wallace, the inspiration for the Croydon activities, and the Tolstoyan communities which developed.

³⁶*VM*, March 1897, p.96, *New Order*, February 1897, p.12.

³⁷*Vegetarian*, 3 October 1896, p.478; p.489 for praise of Brotherhood House; also *Vegetarian*, 24 April 1897, p.171.

³⁸*Vegetarian*, 18 July 1896, p.340.

³⁹'A Visit to the Russian Positivists', quoted in *Vegetarian*, 5 May 1888, p.76. Frey's life was serialised in the Allinsonian paper, *Hygienic Advertiser*. See A. Yamolinsky, *A Russian's American Dream*, (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1965) based on material in the Frey collection, New York Public Library.

⁴⁰See P.Tovey, *Vegetarian Review*, 1897, p.358, on Purleigh. For an insider's account see Shaw, *Whiteway*, ch.2. *Essex County Chronicle*, 22 October 1897 described participants as city men and Russians, cited in D. Hardy, *Alternative Communities in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Longman, 1979), ch.6. See also Armytage, *Heavens Below*, pp.342-358. R.Goodrich's Methwold colony (Norfolk) was closely reported by the London vegetarians (e.g. *Vegetarian*, 3 August 1891, p.404; 8 August, p.416; 1895) and briefly published a London edition of a newspaper *The Methwold Express and Village Industries Gazette* (May 1896).

⁴¹*Food Reform Magazine*, April 1882, 'The Journal of the London Food Reform Society', September 1881-April 1882, p.4.

⁴²See for example, *Vegetarian*, 11 July 1896, p.328.

Public venues for vegetarians in London (as elsewhere) included thrift, temperance and 'progressive' organisations, churches and chapels. Fruit and cooked meals, food value tables, photographs of 'notable vegetarians', lantern slides supported the *serious* message in lectures on the 'mistakes of civilisation', how people lived and ought to live, the food question and national prosperity, national eating and drinking habits.

There were more entertaining approaches, though some felt that sweetening propaganda with music and comedy (for instance: mandolins at the Ideal Club), made instruction seem an intrusion.⁴³ James Burns condemned as futile and costly, much official vegetarian activity and thought recitations 'rather Sunday schoolish for an audience of progressive adults'.⁴⁴ A 'Home and Entertainment' campaign was established in 1891 to 'bring the refining influences of high class recreation within the reach of the poorest', and at the same time alert them to hygiene and food reform through 'short bright addresses and distribution of literature'.⁴⁵ Hills asked the vegetarian J.M. Gordon of the Savoy Theatre, instructor at the Ironworks A.D.S, to set up the 'At Home Company' which operated for several years.⁴⁶ A vegetarian choir was created.

In the 'Food Reform Society' period free lectures were given to other societies which showed an interest. Lecturers visited reformatory and refuge unions, ragged schools, chapel institutes, Lads Institutes, Dr Barnardo's. Addresses were given to coffee house and dining room proprietors. Innovative actions by the London Auxiliary in 1887 included soirees for secretaries of London-based charities and scientific societies such as the 'Royal Asiatic Society' and 'Kyrle Society'; and for national and suburban newspaper editors.⁴⁷ Gladstone was invited in May 1887 but politely declined.⁴⁸ The new People's Palace (Whitechapel) dedicated to class harmony and the meliorism of culture, was the venue for one meeting in 1887. The Palace usually turned away temperance advocates and the meeting was possible because Hills was a leading guarantor and member of the 'Committee of the Industrial Exhibition' held there.

Vegetarians certainly emphasised their kinship with temperance. Important audiences were the lodges of the 'Good Templar' organisation. The 'Danielite Order' sent delegations to metropolitan and suburban lodges. Vegetarians discussed other humanitarian concerns- vivisection, dog-muzzling and animal rights (with the R.S.P.C.A., 1894), Pasteurism. They hosted

⁴³ *HH*, November 1895, p.174. See Forward, *History*, p.132 concerning 'much opposition' when music was introduced.

⁴⁴ *MD*, 16 May 1890, p. 315; 19 September p.605.

⁴⁵ John Johnson, Box 1, *London Vegetarian Society and Bread and Food Reform League*, publicity leaflet (London: Memorial Hall, 1891).

⁴⁶ See *Vegetarian* 11 February 1893, p.64 for one entertainment at People's Palace; John Johnson, Box 1, for programme.

⁴⁷ *VM*, July 1887, p.222 (societies), August, p.260, p.262 (People's Palace), September, p.291; *MD*, 26 August 1887, p.538 (press banquet).

⁴⁸ *VM*, June 1887, p.161.

'Back-to-land' discussions, keen to show the practical result of fruit growing for social and political reform and even hosted a meeting on prison reform.⁴⁹ Forward described the L.V.S. as 'militant', carrying 'the war into the enemy's camp'. It has been seen (2:1) that there were efforts to win over orthodox medical practitioners at a banquet in Charing Cross Vegetarian Hotel in 1888. Dinners were also given to butchers and publicans in 1888.

Sites for dietetic polemics included middle-class societies recalled in G.K. Chesterton's autobiography and characterised by Norman Mackenzie as populated by 'genteel reformers', discussing 'parlour philosophies' on social, political and economic reform.⁵⁰ They included the 'Zetetical Society', a society established in 1878, to 'furnish opportunities for the unrestricted discussion of Social, Political, and Philosophical subjects'.⁵¹ Members included Sidney Webb and Shaw. Vegetarianism joined topics such as malthusianism, women's rights, vivisection and positivism. John C. Foulger's 'Progressive Association' (at Horsell's old offices at Aldine Chambers, Paternoster Row) included food reform amongst its range of lectures in 1882.⁵² Another society was the 'Balloon Society' (fl.1883), so named for its progressive 'overview' of all topics.⁵³ The Ladies Discussion Society associated with aesthetic Bedford Park discussed vegetarianism in 1884-along with topics such as dress reform, State interference, science for women, education.⁵⁴ Shaw defended the diet against the malthusian Alice Vickery at the 'London Dialectical Society' in 1889.⁵⁵

Ethical Societies discussed food reform (e.g. Battersea, 1899).⁵⁶ There were invitations to branches of the National Secular Society.⁵⁷ W.A. Macdonald*, an associate of the (vegetarian) social

⁴⁹*VM*, July 1894, pp.268-269 (back-to-the-land); *Vegetarian*, 4 June 1898, p.364 (prison reform).

⁵⁰G.K. Chesterton, *Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1936), ch.7; N. Mackenzie, 'Percival Chubb and the Founding of the Fabian Society', *Victorian Studies*, 23:1 (autumn 1979), pp.29-55.

⁵¹A. Henderson, *George Bernard Shaw: Man of the Century* vol. 1 (New York: Da Capo, 1972), p136; and William Irvine, *The Universe of George Bernard Shaw* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1949, 1968), p36, where it is characterised as 'an organization of advanced young middle-class intellectuals dedicated to the worship of Mill, Malthus, Darwin, Spencer, and lesser deities.' For general treatment of metropolitan secularism and 'new Christianity' see W.S. Smith, *The London Heretics. 1870-1914* (London: Constable, 1967).

⁵²See Mackenzie, 'Percival Chubb'; Allinson Papers, MS 3189, flier for July 1886 and report in *Islington Gazette*, 6 July 1886.

⁵³*MD*, 5 January 1883, p.10. John Pearce and C.L.H. Wallace discussed food reform and other 'health questions of an advanced character'; T.L. Nichols lectured here during a cookery exhibition, *HH*, January 1886, p.5. The society met at the Royal Aquarium.

⁵⁴M.J. Bolsterli, *The Early Community at Bedford Park. The Pursuit of 'Corporate Happiness' in the First Garden Suburb* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), p.99, cited in Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement'.

⁵⁵*Vegetarian*, 12 January 1889, p.27; there had previously been a vegetarian paper by Anna Kingsford, *DR*, August 1874, p.97 (attended by W.E.A. Axon, T.W. Richardson and other vegetarians).

⁵⁶See *VM*, 1899. See I.D. MacKillop, *The British Ethical Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) on the ethical movement, note his quotation from a novel by L.P. Jack (published 1921) featuring a vegetarian character. For complaints on the ethical movement's lack of support, see *Vegetarian*, 19 February 1898, p.121.

⁵⁷E.g., *Vegetarian*, 11 February 1893, p.64: See Allinson Papers, MS 3197 for flier for course of lectures on vegetarianism by Allinson and others, at North West London branch (Kentish Town) of the National Secular

reformer Edward Carpenter, and banned from the British Museum for wearing sandals, promoted his own ethical-vegetarian programme before a 'Natural Law Research League' devoted to the examination and solution of social problems. This met at the vegetarian 'Acme Restaurant', Gray's Inn Road, c.1894.⁵⁸ Literary societies investigated it.⁵⁹

Working men's clubs- radical and reform- were systematically visited by lecturers.⁶⁰ Papers were given to the Eleusis Club, 'one of the largest Radical clubs in Chelsea' in 1880-1881 and 1888.⁶¹ Working class progressive institutions debating vegetarianism included the Walworth Freethought Institute, a 'slightly puritanical club' characterised by 'temperance, ...great learning and malthusianism'.⁶²

Another means of publicising the cause was of course through literature, in the form of the smart London vegetarian journals, or tracts and handbills sold or distributed freely at meetings, given in house-to-house missions or posted in 'missionary parcels'. The literary effort is examined in chapter 4.⁶³

V

Demonstrating the vegetarian truth.

Key activities for the London/ National Food Reform Society were 'Robin dinners', (named after the Reverend Charles Bullock's appeal in *Home Words* 1880, for food for hungry human 'robins' at Christmas); and demonstrations.⁶⁴ Free dinners directed at the working classes, (to appeal, *via* palate and stomach, to their 'understanding') attracted press attention from 1883. Those invited included women members of parish organisations and mothers' meetings, and Oxford Street cabmen.

Concluding lectures represented the 'payment'. Publicity provided by *The Times* resulted in a flood of requests for the society's cookery book.⁶⁵ 'The Times Free Dinners' were paid for with the surplus

Society, 1887; MS 3189, flier for illustrated dinner, Camberwell branch, April 1886.

⁵⁸ *Vegetarian*, 12 February 1894, pp.71-72; W.A. Macdonald, 'Introduction', *Science and Ethics. Being a Series of Six Lectures delivered under the Auspices of the Natural Law Research League* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1895).

⁵⁹ See University of London Library, GB 0096 MS 500, Records of the 'Home Echoes Literary Society', 1888, which discussed vegetarianism, Ruskin and a Christian's role in politics.

⁶⁰ John Johnson, Box 1, *Fifth Annual Report of the London Vegetarian Society* (1893), p.9.

⁶¹ *DR*, November 1880, p.277, February 1881, p.36; *Vegetarian*, 16 June 1888, p.168. The club was probably the largest of the London radical clubs, with c. 1000 members, see S. Shipley, *Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London*, History Workshop Pamphlet no.5 (Oxford, 1971), p.43. C.M. Davies tried to locate it, see *Heterodox London*, vol.1, p.xvi.

⁶² S. Shipley, *Club Life and Socialism*, p.24. Audiences came to free or cheap lectures on novel subjects; but idealism, as Shipley demonstrates, was also important. On the idealism of London workers 'in their interior souls,' outside working hours, see F. Madox Ford, *The Soul of London: A Survey of a Modern City* (London: Alston Rivers, 1905), p.85, referring to Swedenborgianism, poetry, science and other interests.

⁶³ *Vegetarian*, 1 August 1896, p.372, 8 August, p.383.

⁶⁴ See *The Times*, 1883, 3 December, p.7; 5 December, p.7; and 14 December, p.2; 15 December, p.9; 1885, 5 January, p.7. Dinners were held across London, including at the Coffee Palace Hall, Notting-hill Gate; the Working Lads' Institute at Whitechapel; Bexley Heath; Enfield; and Grove-Walk Schools at Hoxton.

⁶⁵ T. Tarrant, *Food Reform Cookery Book. The Text Book of the Food Reform Association* (3rd edn, 1881);

from correspondents' stamps. Cookery demonstrations continued to feature, e.g., at the Duke of Connaught Coffee Tavern, 1892.⁶⁶

The popular 'International Health Exhibition' ('Healtheries') at Kensington in 1884, was devoted to all aspects of healthy living.⁶⁷ Vegetarians in London and Manchester were keen to be included and co-operated until 'differences of opinion'.⁶⁸ A vegetarian restaurant was permitted and proved a success: 161, 000 dinners were provided, with sales of £4,500 and £320 in literature. The publicity was highlighted by Forward as an important factor in vegetarianism's growth.⁶⁹ Vegetarians attended other exhibitions, such as the Polytechnic Exhibition, Regent St (1892), East End Art Exhibition (1898); and hosted their own at the Memorial Hall in 1890, during the International Vegetarian Congress (1897), and National Congresses of 1898, 1899.⁷⁰ Another way of exhibiting healthy living by vegetarians keen to stress the flesh-forming potential of their diet, was sports. The national and international achievements of London's flourishing 'Vegetarian Cycling Club' (established 1888, Ladies' section 1896), were well-publicised.⁷¹

VI

Size and social location of the London movement.

The Food Reform Society's small membership size is indicated by its finances. It began with a 'magnificent' fund of £15. An appeal in April 1882 stated work was 'crippled' though lecturers were unpaid and there was no 'ornamental staff'. Publicity from the Free Dinner campaign seems to have increased membership and capital. At its demise it had a subscription fund of 'nearly' £250. The L.V.S., had about 700 members and associates in 1899.⁷² The actual size of the London movement extended to include family members, and members of the other food reform societies

the British Library has the 6th edition of a 14 pp tract, *Health-giving Dishes, containing upwards of Ninety Recipes* (c.1885).

⁶⁶See John Johnson, Box 1, *The London Vegetarian Society Repertoire Programme*, p.27, on an intended 'National Vegetarian School of Cookery'.

⁶⁷See S.M. Newton, *Health, Art and Reason. Dress Reformers of the Nineteenth Century* (London: John Murray, 1974), ch.6, (reference to the restaurant, pp.102-103); *Food Reform Magazine*, October-December 1884, pp.35-38. Press coverage of the restaurant is reproduced in the *DR*, June-August.

⁶⁸*DR*, July 1884, p.197.

⁶⁹Forward, *History*, pp.100-101. See also *Daily Chronicle* report, 13 January 1885 (clipping in Allinson papers, MS 3188), the profits funded free dinners in London, Newcastle, Manchester, Salford, see *Daily Chronicle*, 13 February 1885.

⁷⁰*Vegetarian*, 16 January 1892, p.27 (Polytechnic); *MD*, 19 September 1890, p.605 for criticism of 1890 congress (badly depicted in the *Daily Graphic*); for other congresses see reports in *The Times*.

⁷¹The society was founded by Leslie Large* of Lewisham. This succeeded the 'Akreophagist Cycling Club' which existed c.1884, see *DR*, February 1884. See *Vegetarian*, 10 January 1891, p.21 for establishment of an Athletics Association.

⁷²*Vegetarian Review*, July 1894, p.113 estimated 600-700 members and associates. John Johnson, Box 3, *Fifth Annual Report of the London Vegetarian Society* (1893), records a membership (members, associates and subscribers) of 562.

(unless they also joined the L.V.S., as probably some *non-metropolitans* did). The L.V.S.'s income peaked c.1890 when it had just under £1400, by 1898 it was about £800, with £650 through Hills.⁷³

Although the question of class will be examined in 5:1, some comments about the social location of the London movement are necessary here. Working class activists and converts were prized by a movement keen to show cross-class support/ relevance to the lives of 'ordinary people'. Articles and tracts such as *Vegetarianism and Manual Labour* targeted them. The physical work of A.F. Hills' Thames Iron Works' vegetarian employees was important.⁷⁴ The works had a hall for entertainment and lectures on temperance, vegetarianism and purity, and a Dramatic Company used in vegetarian missions.⁷⁵ One mission (to Canning Town, 1888) involving marquee, displays, electric lighting and flags, attracted working men, although the marquee was half empty.⁷⁶

Despite aims and claims the movement did not attract working class support. It was not that the vegetarians *ignored* the social problems of the metropolis in the decades of the London dock strike, the match girls' strike, Salvation Army crusades, settlements and sociological investigation. The newly graduated Hills had spent several years closely observing his employees by living above his office in Canning Town and was keen to improve working conditions and *elevate* his employers. Food reform presented itself as a rational economy, 'the best method of spending their hard earned wages' through cheap but healthy foods. There were free breakfasts, penny dinners, schemes involving penny banks and sewing meetings, cookery classes at Victoria Docks (1888) to further this message. But food thrift was patronising and unpopular, interpreted by internal and external critics as a pretext for lowering wages. The 'Food Reform Society' was described as a combination to reduce wages.⁷⁷ A tract addressed to working men suggested vegetarians were derided by the 'common people'; and the wage-controversy endured.⁷⁸

Temperance movements did recruit working class supporters, but the claim that the clientele at the 6d dining rooms showed that they were 'largely recruited from the sons of toil' was an exaggeration (the appeal of these restaurants to workers is examined shortly).⁷⁹ The *British Workman*, complaining of limited working class response to an inquiry, concluded that manual workers were prejudiced.⁸⁰ The cost of fresh fruit and vegetables meant that the diet was not cheap

⁷³ *VM*, 1899, L.V.S. and London Vegetarian Association report for 1898. The L.V.A. income in 1897 was £959 19s (*VM*, May 1898).

⁷⁴ R.G. Abbott, *Vegetarian News*, autumn 1946, p.159 alleged that the Works 'gave a preference to men who were vegetarians'. See Forward, *History*, p.150 for image of vegetarian ironworkers.

⁷⁵ *MD*, 24 April 1891, pp.258-260; *Vegetarian*, 24 January 1891, p.54.

⁷⁶ *MD*, 17 August 1888, p.519.

⁷⁷ *Food Reform Magazine*, December 1882, p.88.

⁷⁸ R.E.O'Callaghan, *The Best Diet for a Working Man* (1889). See *Vegetarian*, 9 February 1889, p.90, on the wage controversy.

⁷⁹ *HH*, 1 March 1890.

⁸⁰ *Vegetarian*, 12 January 1889, p.27; 23 March, p.181.

for city-dwellers. Equipment such as hand mills were additional costs as one working man pointed out.⁸¹

New metropolitan recruits to the V.S. were variously occupied as writers, dairy managers, clerks, dial-writers, moulders, carpenters; to list a few joining in 1887. The high proportion of new members who were clerks is noticeable.⁸² These were often young men at the start of their careers, needing to be thrifty, dabbling in self-improvement and idealistic.⁸³ Vegetarian restaurants catered for them and they were satirised in *Punch*, *Funny Folks* and other journals.⁸⁴

Many of the L.F.R.S./N.F.R.S. officers were known philanthropists, especially in temperance circles, e.g., the congregationalist Reverend Frederic Wagstaff*, Manchester agent for the British Temperance League. Dr T.L. Nichols hoped for the support of luminaries such as Shaftesbury or the Duke of Westminster.⁸⁵ London vegetarianism attracted 'ornamental' support from philanthropists such as Lady Mount Temple* and the American Mrs Pearsall Smith. It did not become a fashionable fad (in the sense of attracting upper class support) until the Edwardian period. One event marking this development was the meeting at Lady Windsor's drawing room in 1899, rightly described by the *Vegetarian* as a 'new departure'.⁸⁶

A few comments may be made here about the gender composition of the London movement, although the activity of London-based female activists, who played a major role in the movement, will be explored in 5:2. The leadership, ornamental or active, of the L.F.R.S./N.F.R.S., was predominantly male. Members were described as 'active young men', opposed to tobacco, and members of the ultra-teetotal, transatlantic Good Templar organisation.⁸⁷ The 'London Vegetarian Club' was described as 'full of young fellows devoted to vegetarian

⁸¹ See 'Vegetarianism and the Working Class,' *Vegetarian*, 28 April 1888, p.59 on cost of handmills.

⁸² E.g., *VM*, January 1888, p.ix, new members 3175-3186.

⁸³ See G. Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), especially his introduction (pp.11-60) and G.L. Anderson, 'The Social Economy of Late-Victorian Clerks', pp.113-133. The section below exploring restaurant clientele provides economic reasons for their presence at vegetarian restaurants; thrift obviously related to the petty bourgeois ideology of 'personal mobility', youthful idealism and radicalism (opposed to parental/ petty bourgeois conservatism) were other factors (see comment by H. McLeod in his essay, 'White Collar Values and the Role of Religion', p.78; and in R.N. Price's essay, 'Society, Status and Jingoism,' emphasis on their contribution to socialism, p.107). Presumably in other commercial centres where the restaurants existed, prominence of white collar workers meant that they were well-represented as customers.

⁸⁴ *VM*, February 1894, quotes *Funny Folks*, 'City clerk's catechism, concerning a vegetarian who 'vegetates in the suburbs' and arrives by Covent Garden van.

⁸⁵ *HH*, 1879.

⁸⁶ *Vegetarian*, 17 June 1899, p.344-346; *VM*, September 1899, pp.313-319.

⁸⁷ *HH*, August 1875, p.25. The first public meeting of the L.D.R.S was aimed to coincide with the Grand Lodge session of the I.O.G.T., according to *MD*, 16 July 1875, p.428. The membership was still youthful in 1885. Forward recalled the activists as 'scarcely out of their teens', *History*, p.81. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.117, and Spencer, *The Heretic's Feast*, p.278, describe London vegetarians as younger and more radical than the Manchester-based vegetarians.

principles'.⁸⁸ From the 1870s women emerged into public prominence, with famous supporters such as the secularist-theosophist Annie Besant who addressed a meeting in Exeter Hall (1885), which was noted in the *Annual Register*.⁸⁹

VII

Assessment

What was the impact of this activity in London? There was some support for thrift *for* the working classes and moderation. *The Times*, the voice of London as well as 'the nation', was perhaps representative in this, and supported the N.F.R.S.'s dinners. Hyperbole about flesh was pardonable because of their useful work. People who could afford to, ate too much meat, including 'the whole class of domestic servants'.⁹⁰ This thrift message was picked up by Gissing who, from his own experience, depicted in *The Odd Women*, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* and shorter works, a London of cheap lodgings, boarding houses and vegetarians.⁹¹ Limited means played a part in drawing people towards a fleshless diet in the city, just as it was forced on many in the countryside.

It was, however, not simply economic necessity. It was fashionable or inevitable amongst certain groups: a recognised part of the metropolitan progressive milieu which was soon satirised in H.G. Wells' *Ann Veronica*. Wells had already identified it with the suburban 'Nonconformist Conscience' - in *Love and Mr Lewisham*.⁹² The movement celebrated its half century in a *fin de siècle* favourable to it.⁹³ As in the late 1840s- early 1850s, vegetarianism was recognised as a 'sign of the times'. Many elements of late Nineteenth century vegetarianism were not new: associations with temperance, religious unorthodoxy, wider reform in general. Its temperance, anti-vaccination and purity connections, reflected in its journals and platform, demonstrate the puritanism which was often 'progressive' in aspiration and self-understanding. But metropolitan and national vigour was new, and visibility was increased by the greater coverage in the serious and satirical press. Chapter 5 will examine the restaurants which were so important to metropolitan and national vegetarianism and the vegetarian press. But before this, the provincial movement in the late Victorian period needs to be studied.

⁸⁸ *VM*, January 1899, p.31.

⁸⁹ *Annual Register*, 1885, p.4 (a meeting at Exeter Hall to publicise the results of the Exhibition).

⁹⁰ *The Times*, 15 December p.9. Publicity resulting from its coverage in early December led Allinson to establish 'The Times Free Dinner' (*Times*, 14 December, p.2). For additional support, see clippings in the Allinson Papers such as *Christian World*, 20 December 1883, discussing the movement and N.F.R.S. in favourable terms in context of a 'food question' and the 'grim, cold days of winter'.

⁹¹ 'A Poor Gentleman', in *Pall Mall Gazette* (1899), 'The Crown of Life', *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*. See final chapter for further discussion of Gissing.

⁹² H.G. Wells, *Love and Mr Lewisham* (London: Harper, 1900), p.196. [written 1898, serialised in *Weekly Times*, 1899]. See the final chapter for discussion of Wells.

⁹³ See essays in K. Beckson, ed., *London in the 1890s: A Cultural History* (London: W.W. Norton, 1992).

3:7 Late Victorian Vegetarianism as a Provincial Movement

In 1874 *Chamber's Encyclopedia* noted incorrectly that since 1861 there was no vegetarian organ and few disciples; and the *Dietetic Reformer* complained that the press rarely discussed vegetarianism and when they did it was 'generally with slight or for jest, often with high contempt and much misrepresentation'. Yet in 1874, F.W. Newman's suggestion concerning an 'associate grade' to invigorate the movement was accepted, and the Society rapidly grew.¹ In 1876 the *Graphic* published four leading vegetarians' portraits: Newman, Davie, Pitman and W. Gibson Ward.² Gibson Ward, a trustee of the Northern Agricultural Labourers' union, and contributor to the *Labourer's Union Chronicle* played an important role in the revival through letters to *The Times* advocating vegetable alternatives for the working classes at a time of concern about the cost of food. Ward and the V.S. were inundated with requests for information as a result.³

In the late 1870s, as the movement revived, an effort was made to re-establish local organisations; but real moves began in 1888, with preparations for local society membership and the establishment of branches in Bath, Oswestry, Birmingham, Kettering and Nottingham.⁴ A sense of a *national* movement was made possible with the introduction in 1876, at Newman's suggestion (in emulation of other movements), of May Meetings which acted as social outings, conferences and press campaigns.⁵ In 1889 the Vegetarian Federal Union (V.F.U.) was formed by London vegetarians, who carried out many high-profile provincial missions.⁶ By 1900 a total of 58 English societies had existed. Many were weak, short-lived or resuscitated on several occasions; there were a few strong centres such as Bolton, Chester and Exeter.⁷ The English societies will be examined first, before turning to Scotland, Wales and Ireland, where vegetarianism was less vigorous. As with the survey of earlier provincial vegetarianism the account follows a geographical structure, beginning in north England, which remained an important location.⁸

¹ The associate grade introduction was controversial, see *DR*, 1873, August, p.303, September, p.318, October, pp.334-335, November pp.339-341, and note C.D.H.'s comment, p.334, that it was well known there were more *sympathisers* than *members*. See also Forward, *History*, pp.74-75; p.75 reproduces statistics for 1875-1896 inclusive: 2,159 members and 1,785 associates.

² *DR*, December 1876, p.203, reproduced as cover of *HH*, February 1876.

³ *The Times*, 24 December 1878. See W.G. Ward's letter to E.E. Orlebar, dated 14 January 1879, reprinted in Orlebar, *Food for the People. Or Lentils, and other Vegetable Cookery* (London: Sampson Low, 1879), p.9. In *Vegetarian*, 15 June 1889, p.378, a leading London food reformer, F.P. Doremus, surveying the movement's history and revival, emphasised the zeal and energy of Robert Bailey-Walker*.

⁴ *VM*, April 1888, pp.93-94.

⁵ From 1876 there were meetings at Manchester, Leicester, Cambridge, Salford, London, Birmingham, Norwich, Exeter, Leeds, Liverpool, Sheffield, Portsmouth, Bradford, Accrington, Chester and Southport.

⁶ Forward, *History*, p.142.

⁷ See *Vegetarian*, 17 February 1894, p.79, Oldfield's comments on the short life of societies of the 1880s.

⁸ T.L. Nichols noted he had delivered more food reform lectures in the north, *Vegetarian*, 7 January 1888, p.8. The sources for regional vegetarianism/food reform are the vegetarian journals, *The Vegetarian Yearbook*, and local newspapers (many local accounts were extracted in vegetarian journals). Local societies

Vegetarian organisations in northern England.

In **Bolton** a society was established in March 1890⁹; after three residents, Otto Pupke*, John Nayler* and W.M. Farrington* sent out 12, 000 explanatory leaflets and gave a cookery demonstration. From 1890-1896 the president was Nayler, a Methodist and journalist specialising in commercial matters. Pupke's relation Lida Pupke (possibly his mother), nurtured vegetarianism in Leipsig.¹⁰ Farrington, the secretary, was a Congregationalist and post worker. The vice-president was an unitarian minister, H.M. Livens (who used his pulpit to preach vegetarianism). Another member, J. Gregson, was a decorator. John Fletcher was a socialist, miner and president of the local field naturalists' society. Other members included Webster, a machinist and engineer; Lee, a businessman and Sunday School teacher; Turner, a steel worker and Primitive Methodist; Tootill*, a farmer. Others were mostly young men, nonconformist and temperance workers. Nayler reported 'much opposition and indifference' in 1892.¹¹ In 1893, as a preliminary to managing a restaurant, the society became a limited company.¹² Eventually there was a restaurant at 3, Mealhouse Lane.¹³ There were 36 members and associates in 1894; by 1898 there were 43 members and 26 associates.¹⁴ Activities included lantern lectures, indoor meetings (27 in 1897), tract dissemination, and adverts inserted in the local *Evening News*.¹⁵ Farrington compiled a food diagram to be given free (as lithographs) to every public school in England and Wales. The scheme cost nearly £1400, with £800 given anonymously, probably by A.F. Hills, a vice-president in 1898.¹⁶ Bolton vegetarianism should be seen in the local context of late Victorian radicalism, with an active labour church and Independent Labour Party supporting various advanced causes.¹⁷

were encouraged by the V.F.U. to send detailed reports, some (with information on finances) were summarized in the journals. There has been no detailed study of the *provincial* movement in this period, but for general treatment of the period c.1870-1914, see Twigg, 'The Vegetarian Movement', pp.113-209; Forward, *History*, ch.13, sketches the V.F.U. and local societies. The branches are listed in appendix D, volume II.

⁹ *Vegetarian Review*, August 1896, pp.354-357; *The Hygienic Review*, 1893, pp.495- 500; *DR*, January 1893, pp.14-17; April 1890, p.121.

¹⁰ *Vegetarian*, 4 April 1891, p.208.

¹¹ *VM*, January 1893, p.17. See account in *Vegetarian Review*, July 1894, pp.14-19. See also 'Report of the Vegetarian Federal Union', (John Johnson, Box 1), where the lack of support by c. 7- 8 male converts was noted with dismay.

¹² *Vegetarian Review*, July 1894, pp.14-19.

¹³ Forward, *History*, p.107 notes that the 'Bolton Vegetarian Co.,' has apparently 'achieved permanent success', along with the Manchester Co. On the restaurant, see *VM*, June 1898, p.285.

¹⁴ 39 members and associates are recorded in *The Vegetarian Yearbook for 1896*.

¹⁵ *VM*, February 1895, p.36.

¹⁶ *VM*, June 1898, p.286, October 1898, p.435.

¹⁷ C.E. Shaw, 'Identified with the One: Edward Carpenter, Henry Salt and the Ethical Socialist Philosophy of Science', *Prose Studies. History Theory* 13:1 (May 1990), pp.33-57.

Rochdale vegetarians established a trading company of 'Dietetic Pioneers' (named in homage to the co-operative pioneers), in 1874.¹⁸ It was still in existence c.1878, presided over by the Reverend W.N. Molesworth* and J.W. Cunliffe*.¹⁹ The short-lived **Stalybridge** society (1891-1892), was led by Nathan Betts, a plate moulder (and spiritualist) in his sixties, who had become vegetarian to cure dyspepsia. They provided food for poor children and met monthly at a Coffee Tavern.²⁰ At Betts' death the society ended.²¹ Following a meeting at Middleton²², a Health Society was formed by vegetarians at neighbouring **Heywood** (November 1880). Its task extended beyond food reform, to collect information and lecture on health, agitate for recreational provision and the removal of nuisances.²³ In 1880, a society was established at **Nelson, Burnley**.²⁴ One leading member was a Quaker, Frederic Hodgson*. Food Reform Stores were then established.²⁵ In **Halifax**, Charles Watson* circulated vegetarian literature in 1880 and a Vegetarian and Food Reform Society was operative 1894-1896.²⁶ It was established after a meeting in late 1893 at the Central Hall, Union Street, presided over by the Reverend I. Parkinson, vicar of St George's.²⁷ Members of the committee included Michael McHugh, a working class man who was elected Poor Law Guardian c. 1898. A vice president was C.H. Worsnop*, an 'electro-metallurgist'.²⁸

Chester 'Food Thrift Association' established 1881, organised cheap food provision, wholemeal bread, and a lecture by Anna Kingsford.²⁹ The agent, E.D. King* was a congregationalist lay preacher, agent for the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope and secretary of the Manchester and Salford Temperance Union. The secretary was Edmund Baillie*, member of the Linnaean Society, Horticultural Society, Chester Paxton Society and a founder of the Chester Guild of Arts and Crafts. A Ruskinian, he wrote a biography (1882) which the great man politely received. Shortly before his death he became president of the Annual Conference of the Welsh Presbyterian Church. In 1895 Chester hosted the May meeting.

¹⁸ *DR*, November 1875, p.301.

¹⁹ *DR*, April 1878, p.98. A new society was established 1898, see *VM*.

²⁰ *MD*, 2 February 1892, p.25; *Vegetarian*, 7 January 1893, p.4.

²¹ *Vegetarian*, 2 August 1891, p.446.

²² *DR*, October 1880, p.222.

²³ *DR*, November 1880, p.263. It provided vegetarian meals, see *DR*, June, p.145. Its foundation owed much to the Unitarian minister William Bennett*.

²⁴ *DR*, June 1880, p.128.

²⁵ At 16, Hargreaves Street, see *DR*, July 1881, p.124.

²⁶ *DR*, November 1880, annual report, p.241, *VM*, August 1894, p.308.

²⁷ *VM*, January 1894, p.32.

²⁸ *Report of the Vegetarian Federal Union*, (John Johnson, Box 1), *VM*, June 1895, p.190.

²⁹ *DR*, July 1881, p.145, second annual report, *DR*, 1884, p.118. The association circulated literature and made house to house visits to the poor.

Southport society was formed early 1890, with the president W. Garnett Flyntt*.³⁰ After a May meeting in 1896, a 'Food Reform Association' was established with 9 members in 1897.³¹ Maud Hompes*, a teacher and regular contributor to the *Vegetarian Messenger* on continental vegetarianism, was president. W.H. Webb*, an anti-vaccinationist and member of the National Association of Herbalists established a Vegetarian Restaurant and Health Store.³² About 52 'friends' met at the first social there in 1898, indicative of the extent of local support. Lectures were given at various chapels (Primitive Methodist, Church of Christ), at a hospital, the town hall and a debating society.³³ In 1899, when the restaurant closed, Hompes had to defend herself from charges of local inactivity.

In Cumberland in 1884 a **Workington** society briefly operated but **West Cumberland Society** came to nothing.³⁴ More successful was the **Newcastle on Tyne** Food Reform Society, so titled to admit non-vegetarians such as Colonel W.L.B. Coulson JP*, of the Humanitarian League. Activity began in the 1870s with a banquet for several hundred people, after placards inviting 'Thinkers, Men of Progress, Philanthropists, and all those interested in the future well-doing of the people'.³⁵ A 'North of England Branch Society' was established in 1875, with William Couchman*, Edmund Proctor*, W.H. Dennison (a lecturer), J. Dobeson (an agent) and others.³⁶ Proctor, corn-miller turned editor of a short-lived moral/social reform magazine *The North of England Review* (1876), and subsequently the *Temperance Pass-word*, was president in 1880.³⁷ The society was revived in 1881 as the 'Newcastle and Gateshead Diet Reform Association': it issued leaflets.³⁸ It was next reformed, in 1889, 'on a new basis' with J. Nicholson as president and W.G. Clark*, who had been involved in London vegetarianism; he became the Chief Templar of the 'City of Newcastle Lodge'. It met monthly at the *Apricot* restaurant, Nelson street.³⁹ In 1890 its vice-presidents included Thomas Burt MP*, Reverend Moore Ede*, Reverend Marsden Gibson, Reverend George Robinson, and M.D. Stephens JP.⁴⁰

³⁰ *VM*, April 1890, p.117 and *Vegetarian*, 31 January 1891, p.70.

³¹ *VM*, April 1896, p.134. *Southport Visitor*, 30 March 1897 (clipping in Allinson Papers, MS 3193, which also includes a flier for lecture by Allinson).

³² *VM*, January 1899.

³³ *VM*, March 1899, p.109.

³⁴ *DR*, April 1884, p.117 (Workington), p.118 (West Cumberland).

³⁵ *DR*, October 1873, p.273.

³⁶ *DR*, June 1875, p.226.

³⁷ *DR*, April 1880, p.ix.

³⁸ *DR*, June 1881, p.125. See *HH*, May 1883, p.53 for T.L. Nichols' lecture for the V.S. here.

³⁹ *VM*, April 1889, p.104. Report in *Newcastle Leader*, reprinted *VM*, March 1889.

⁴⁰ *Vegetarian*, 22 February 1890, p.121. The society's 'cheap dinner scheme' was financially supported by A.F. Hills, see *Vegetarian*, 11 July 1896, p.328; it was still operative 1897: *Vegetarian*, 27 November 1897.

In 1889- c.1892 there was a **Sunderland V.S.** The Reverend W. Birks FRAS was president and the Reverend Thomas Snell, Reverend Isaiah Jones and councillor J. Blumer were vice-presidents.⁴¹ James P. Beel, the 'enthusiastic secretary', intended a mission to the lower part of Newcastle for temperance, sanitation and diet reform.⁴² The 'Order of the Red, White and Blue,' a children's branch (formed 1892), modelled itself on the Bands of Hope, Mercy and the 'Dicky Bird Society'.⁴³ In 1892 the president was John Rutherford*, on the literary staff of the *Newcastle Daily Reader*.

In **Sheffield** in 1879 J. Nugent attempted to establish a society; in 1889 a society was formed through support by Liverpool and Manchester and advice from Henry Swan* (associate of Ruskin, engraver and inventor).⁴⁴ A Scottish Quaker, R. Barclay Murdoch*, was the honorary secretary; a postman, W. Addy Hall*, a 'reformer in many ways,' was president c.1896.⁴⁵ The society continued into the late 1890s, with eleven officers in 1896 when a restaurant was still operating.⁴⁶ The radical reformer Edward Carpenter was living in Sheffield; study of his activity reveals continuities with earlier radicalisms (like Owenism and chartism) and the informal links between reform groups. Eclecticism was apparent in the *Sheffield Weekly Echo* which supported Kropotkin, feminism, social purity and opposition to the Contagious Diseases Act. Carpenter corresponded with the *Commonweal* on the local Ruskinian Totley farm community, later attributing its failure to fear of surveillance by blue ribbonites, vegetarians and other puritans.⁴⁷ In 1898 six young Sheffield workers, including Hugh Mapleton*, made a 'determined effort at a return to Nature' in forming a Kropotkinite tomato-growing colony at Norton. Strict vegetarians, the *Vegetarian* heralded them as pioneers of 'true socialism'.⁴⁸ The colony attracted hundreds of visitors from the city but was short-lived; members joined the Starthwaite colony near Kendal in late 1898.⁴⁹

In **Liverpool**, a Dietetic Reform Association was established (January 1876) on a 'broad basis' and revived in 1879.⁵⁰ Vegetarian dining rooms operated at the Liverpool Exhibition in

⁴¹ *Vegetarian*, 8 June 1889, 14 February 1891, p.102, *VM*, June 1890, p.186; February 1892, p.56.

⁴² *VM*, March 1892, p.91, from *Newcastle Leader*.

⁴³ The Dicky Bird society was established by the radical W.E. Adams in 1878, see *Vegetarian*, 4 July, p.360.

⁴⁴ *Vegetarian*, 13 April 1889, p.231, 16 November 1889, p.724; *VM*, May 1889, pp.117-118.

⁴⁵ *Vegetarian*, 1909, p.177.

⁴⁶ *Vegetarian*, 11 July 1896, p.328, the Restaurant Company was formed c.1892, see *VM*, March 1892, p.86.

⁴⁷ On broader Sheffield radicalism, see S. Rowbotham, '“Our Party is the People”: Edward Carpenter and Radicalism in Sheffield', ch. 8 in J.G. Rule and R. Malcolmson, eds., *Protest and Survival. The Historical Experience. Essays for E.P. Thompson* (London: Merlin Press, 1993); S. Rowbotham and J. Weeks, *Socialism and the New Life. The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis* (London: Pluto Press, 1977), Part I.

⁴⁸ *Vegetarian*, 5 November 1898, p.704.

⁴⁹ *Vegetarian*, 12 November 1898, p.734.

⁵⁰ *DR*, February 1876, p.30; May 1876, pp.79-80. On the revived society, see *DR*, March 1880, p.57;

1886.⁵¹ From 1890 a Liverpool V.S. was led by the Reverend F.W.C. Bruce (unaware of the earlier society⁵²), as president.⁵³ Revived, the first public dinner was in 1897, at W.H. Chapman's vegetarian restaurant, Eberle Street, Dale Street.⁵⁴ The secretary, the pharmacist T.S. Wokes*, in 1898 called for the society to continue its regular, if minor, existence.⁵⁵ Liverpool also had a 'Food Association' established by Herbert Lee Jackson Jones* to provide for the poor; this was the model for the London vegetarian-organised National Food Association. The Association continued into the Twentieth century as the 'Liverpool League of Welldoers'.⁵⁶ Jones joined the V.S. (becoming a vice president) and the Liverpool Society.⁵⁷ A small **Warrington V.S.** (c.1880-1881) manifested itself through an open air address and literature distribution.⁵⁸ There was some Manx activity due to G.H. Roberts*, who briefly managed a restaurant in Douglas. He gave two vegetarian lectures in debate with an old friend of F.R. Lees, Joseph Johnson.⁵⁹ Douglas also possessed a Vegetarian Hygienic Home, managed by a vice president of the V.S., Henry Rickards*, and his wife.⁶⁰

A **Hull and District** Association operated from late 1879, with 20 members and associates of the V.S.⁶¹ The Primitive Methodist Reverend Charles Kendall was the president. The secretary was a gilder and clerk, C.F. Corlass.⁶² Hull issued a concise handbill in 1881; and hosted a lecture by Anna Kingsford in 1884.⁶³

Leeds branch society was led by a spiritualist, J. Latchmore*, in 1878.⁶⁴ Leeds also had a Dietetic Dépôt, owned by F.W. Smith at 31, Meadow Lane. In 1895 a Leeds and District society

November 1880 (second annual report).

⁵¹ *Daily News*, 5 May 1886, p.3.

⁵² *VM*, July 1893.

⁵³ *VM*, October 1890, p.314.

⁵⁴ Material relating to the society (1893-1901) is in John Johnson, Box 1, 2, 3; and includes xylographed invitations, published booklets with officers and syllabus, fliers for meetings, and menus. There are also items in the 'League of Welldoers'/ H.L. Jackson Jones* papers, see biographical index entry.

⁵⁵ *VM*, February 1898, pp.60-61.

⁵⁶ The Merseyside Record Office holds the archives of the League and Lee Jones (364LWD). I am grateful to Ruth Hobbins, the archivist at Liverpool Central Library, for providing me with further information on Jones, and the collection.

⁵⁷ Liverpool Record Office, *The Vegetarian Home for Children*, 1897-1986, descriptive list and notes. See the letter (1 October 1893) on vegetarianism (and Liverpool propaganda) to Joseph Edwards (editor of *Labour Annual*), in John Johnson, Box 2.

⁵⁸ *DR*, September 1880, p.221; August 1881, p.169; first annual report, October, p.219.

⁵⁹ Information on Johnson and the tract (Manx Museum shelf mark 3272, B 498) supplied by Frances Coakley, Senior Lecturer at the Department of Electrical Engineering, University of Surrey. See *Isle of Man Examiner*, 15 March 1884, for report on Johnson's lecture, Theatre Royal.

⁶⁰ At Pulrose House, see *DR*, March 1889, p.54; and April 1891.

⁶¹ See *DR*, November 1880, for report of first annual tea.

⁶² See C.F. Corlass, *Intentional Oddity* (reprinted from *Hull Quarterly and East Riding Portfolio*), in John Johnson, Box 1. Corlass also published a series of two-page *Reform Leaflets* in 1881, see *DR*, December, p.267.

⁶³ *DR*, September 1881, p.191; for Kingsford's lecture, *DR*, February 1885, p.59.

⁶⁴ Listed in *DR*, March 1878, p.viii.

was organised by S.S. Peat.⁶⁵ A **Bradford** branch existed in 1884, with a food reform and book store.⁶⁶ A **Harrogate** society existed in 1890, led by John Boocock.⁶⁷ **Great Horton** vegetarian activity continued under Joseph Wilson, with tea and social gatherings. In 1873 there were eight or ten experimenters and twenty vegetarians (of whom 10 were Society members), the group formed an auxiliary in 1878.⁶⁸ The town's Good Templars provided one venue for propaganda.

There was a short-lived society at **Middlesborough** on Tees (formed October 1879) with the Reverend Charles Kendall* as president.⁶⁹ Joseph Clayton*, the secretary, established a Vegetarian Dépôt at 10, Cannon Street, in 1880.⁷⁰ A **Darlington** local society existed in 1890.⁷¹ In **Barnard Castle**, Durham, an auxiliary branch existed in 1877-1880, presided over by the Reverend B. Smith, with J.P. Dalston*, vegetarian after years of ineffective treatment for asthma, as vice-president.⁷² In **Dereeness**, Durham a society was established in March 1894. The membership in 1896 was ten.

Vegetarian activity in the Midlands

In the midlands there were societies in **Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Coventry, Northampton, Nottingham, Whaley Bridge** and **Leicester**, encouraged by the V.S. and London vegetarians.⁷³

Nottingham vegetarians attempted to establish a society in 1876 and were listed in 1878.⁷⁴ One local supporter of T.L. Nichols' food reform campaign in 1876 was Charles Bell Taylor*, a leading ophthalmologist who had treated Nichols' wife.⁷⁵ A society existed in 1886 but required re-establishing in March 1888.⁷⁶ A Vegetarian Club was also formed in late 1888 and organised

⁶⁵ *Vegetarian Review*, January 1895, listed on back cover.

⁶⁶ *DR*, March 1884, p.87; store listed in January. A Mr Mackey had a vegetarian store 1898, see *Vegetarian*, 31 December 1898, p.843.

⁶⁷ *Vegetarian*, 22 February 1890, p.122. In 1895 a watchmaker, Mr J Priest and his son offered to distribute up to 600 *Vegetarians: Vegetarian*, 16 November 1895, p.555.

⁶⁸ *DR*, May 1873, p.271; *DR*, January 1874, p.11, September 1874, p.108; *DR*, December 1878, p.259.

⁶⁹ *DR*, November 1879, p.238.

⁷⁰ *DR*, March 1880.

⁷¹ *Vegetarian*, 22 February 1890, p.122 (for its formation, see 5 October 1889, p.631).

⁷² *DR*, October 1878, p.209.

⁷³ J.H.Cook, *How to Run a Health Food Store Successfully. By the Founder of the First* (Four Oaks, Warwick, Pitman Health Food Company), records Hills' annual expenditure of 'hundreds' on food reform in Birmingham and Midlands.

⁷⁴ *DR*, July 1877, p.125, *DR*, March 1878, p.viii.

⁷⁵ See B. Aspinwall, 'Social catholicism and health: Dr and Mrs Thomas Low Nichols in Britain', in W.J. Sheils, ed., *The Church and Healing* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1982), pp.249-270; and *DR*, March 1876, p.37 for Nichols' itinerary. Aspinwall does not mention Bell Taylor's importance as a figure in the anti-Contagious Diseases agitation.

⁷⁶ *DR*, February 1886, p.viii: society's subscription; *VM*, April 1888.

illustrated dinners at a vegetarian restaurant at St James's Street and 'robin dinners' in 1889.⁷⁷

About April 1889 it was amalgamated with the 'Nottingham and Notts. Vegetarian Society'.⁷⁸ Some 30 vegetarians and friends attended the Christmas social in 1889.⁷⁹ The last reported activity was in 1890 when an illustrative 6d dinner was organised at the restaurant.⁸⁰

A **Whaley Bridge** (Derbyshire) society existed from c.1875- early 1880s, led by Robert Jackson and his wife, who ran the Post Office.⁸¹ The *Dietetic Reformer* carried monthly notices of excursions to Whaley Bridge, where guests received teas after rambles and lectures.

Leicester V.S. existed from 1877, with the temperance worker J.M. Skinner, confectioner W.H. Richardson*, J. Abbott and Ada Brocklehurst as officers.⁸² 39 members and associates joined and the Abbotts opened their home at Erskine Street as a restaurant. W.H. Henser, the secretary in 1880, ran a Vegetarian Dépôt at 104½ Wellington Street: selling Dr Nichols' books, equipment and foods.⁸³ Another seller of vegetarian books was Richard Lawrence (78, High Street). A centrally located vegetarian restaurant opened in late 1880.⁸⁴ The society held a public fruit banquet in 1881 attended by a 'good proportion' of women.⁸⁵ In 1889 the society was re-established following a lecture by the Vegetarian Society's secretary Joseph Knight.⁸⁶ In 1890 there was a Leicester mission headed by the spiritualist Reverend J.P. Hopps* and supported by the mayor, Dr Lankester (a V.S. associate).⁸⁷ It was necessary to resuscitate the society in March, with a minimum subscription of 1s, and associates and members having an equal voice, to set it on a 'more popular basis'.⁸⁸ This 'Leicester Food Reform Society' included the councillor and leading anti-vaccinationist J.T. Biggs as president and the silver polish manufacturer and temperance worker J.W. Goddard as treasurer.⁸⁹ The secretary was a draper, William Hordern. It was still operative 1897.⁹⁰

⁷⁷ *VM*, February 1889, p.50, and March 1889, p.79.

⁷⁸ *VM*, April 1889, p.102.

⁷⁹ *Vegetarian*, January 1890.

⁸⁰ *VM*, March 1890, p.88.

⁸¹ *DR*, March 1875, p.190.

⁸² *DR*, January 1878, p.18.

⁸³ He also opened a vegetarian room at 2, Minster Buildings, Church St, Liverpool, see *DR*, November 1880, p.276. The Leicester store moved to 12, Halford Street by May 1881, see advertisement in *DR*.

⁸⁴ *DR*, November 1880, p.275.

⁸⁵ *DR*, October 1881, p.219.

⁸⁶ *VM*, May 1889, p.124.

⁸⁷ *Vegetarian*, 1 February 1890, p.75.

⁸⁸ *VM*, April 1890, p.117; *Vegetarian* 15 March 1890, p.174.

⁸⁹ *VM*, June 1892, report by Joseph Knight., p.177.

⁹⁰ *Vegetarian*, 24 October 1896 p.508, *VM*, April 1897, p.132; for later activity: *Vegetarian*, 11 March 1899, p.118.

In **Birmingham** there was a Dietetic Reform Club from 1877.⁹¹ Revived in 1880, in 1881 the president was a physician, Dr T.G. Vaudrey.⁹² Thirza Tarrant, author of a vegetarian cookery book, managed a vegetarian restaurant in Pall Mall, and soon afterwards, the 'Garden,' which opened late 1881 and was reported in local satirical journals.⁹³ A restaurant and fruit store was also opened at Paradise Street.⁹⁴ In the late 1880s there was a new branch, the president was the unitarian minister J.C. Street. The secretary, Alfred H. Saunders*, became secretary for the 'Midlands Province' of the V.F.U.⁹⁵ James Newey*, a member of the U.K.A., prominent in methodism and chairman of the Directors of Newey Brothers Ltd., button, eye and hook makers, was on the committee. Another committee member was T.C. Lowe* of Hamstead Hill School, a Swedenborgian. G.H. Roberts ran two vegetarian restaurants in the city, the 'Garden' and the 'Orchard', when the society was re-launched in April 1894 after a visit by the V.F.U.'s agent F.P. Doremus. It was a 'hard uphill fight' to maintain it, with complaints that not all local vegetarians were supporters.⁹⁶ In late 1898 the Society debated and passed a motion to abolish the 'Associate' grade in membership.⁹⁷ From 1898 J.H. Cook* managed the Pitman Vegetarian Hotel, Restaurant and health-food shop (see 4:1). The 'Edwardian Lady', the Fabian, spiritualist, anti-vivisectionist E.M. Holden was a vegetarian campaigner in Birmingham in the Edwardian period.⁹⁸ At nearby **Wolverhampton** a society existed in 1898.⁹⁹

The '**Coventry** Vegetarian and Food Reform Society' was established in July 1896 through Alfred Saunders' efforts. It met monthly (c.1896-1899) at the house of W.B. Barr*, a spiritualist interested in medical reform and hydropathy, who managed a Turkish Baths establishment.¹⁰⁰ There were 24 members in March 1897.¹⁰¹ In **Northampton** a society was formed after a Good Templar meeting, in 1882.¹⁰² In **Leamington** a society, styled 'the Mercian branch of the Vegetarian

⁹¹ DR, February 1878, p.32. DR, January 1875, p.164, mentions a planned society in November 1874.

⁹² HH, December 1881, p.137. For revival, DR, March 1880, p.59.

⁹³ DR, September 1881, p.191: a cartoon appeared in the *Birmingham Owl*, comment in *The Dart*.

⁹⁴ DR, September 1881, p.192.

⁹⁵ *Vegetarian*, 19 November 1898, p.745, for an interview with Saunders.

⁹⁶ See report in *Report of the Vegetarian Federal Union, for year ending December 31st 1894* (John Johnson, Box 1).

⁹⁷ *Vegetarian*, 17 December 1898, p.804.

⁹⁸ S. Edwards, 'A Nostalgic Radical: The Utopian Visions of an Edwardian Lady', abstract of paper given at 'Envisioning Futures' conference, University of Cambridge, 2000; and I. Taylor, *The Edwardian Lady. The story of Edith Holden Author of the Diary of an Edwardian Lady and the Nature Notes of an Edwardian Lady* (Exeter: Webb and Bower, 1980).

⁹⁹ VM, April 1898, p.177-178.

¹⁰⁰ *Vegetarian*, 25 July 1896, p.352.

¹⁰¹ *Vegetarian*, March 1897, p.108.

¹⁰² DR, July 1882, p.151.

Society,' was established in June 1880. The treasurer was a Sergeant French of the Borough Police Force.¹⁰³ A **Rugby** society was established in 1896 following efforts by Alfred Saunders.¹⁰⁴

In **Oswestry**, Shrewsbury, resided the vegetarian activists Thomas and Mary Owen*. Thomas Owen's interests ranged across the various self-help physical health activities. Air bathing, skin health, 'lung culture', Turkish baths, teetotalism and vegetarianism were promoted in his *Oswestry Commercial Circular*.¹⁰⁵ His wife wrote articles for the vegetarian *Daisy Basket* and published a tract, *The Best and Most Nutritional Food* (1893). A society was established after a dramatic poster concerning 'Why men die' appeared across the town; the chairman of the meeting being in the dark about the nature of the lecture.¹⁰⁶

Oxford had a vegetarian branch from 1878, when Frank Podmore was the honorary secretary. The honorary secretary in 1880 was H.C. Macleod* of Balliol College. In 1888 a mission by the L.V.S., revived the branch with 14 members.¹⁰⁷ In 1889 another mission involved James Burns and others, attracted a small audience to a suburban schoolroom, a debate at the Oxford Union and press coverage.¹⁰⁸ By 1890 there were nearly forty members.¹⁰⁹ But the city had an apathetic vegetarian presence and the president (J.C.A Yockney) was disappointed when, despite favourable press coverage, an appeal for funds resulted in a mere 6s.¹¹⁰ In 1891 the honorary secretary was a farrier and athlete, W.I. Anstey*. There was only a temporary secretary in the later 1890s.

Vegetarian Activity in southern England

The L.V.S initiated activity in **Reading** with a mission in 1888 involving F.E.B. Mayor, T.L. Nichols, T.R. Allinson, Thomas Baker of Wokingham*, and the clerk/geologist O.A. Shrubsole*, who had been unaware of any fellow local vegetarians until the campaign.¹¹¹ A Reading Food Reform Society was established in that year with a Band of Hope supporter Alfred W. Pollard as President. Food reform activity in the 1890s was organised by D.W. Bishop Ackerman, with the presidency held by Shrubsole. Ackerman, a Guardian, and member of the local C.O.S. Committee,

¹⁰³DR, August 1880, p.177.

¹⁰⁴Vegetarian, 6 June 1896.

¹⁰⁵VM, August 1896, p.263. The paper was established 1879. It continued as *Oswestry Commercial Circular and Literary Miscellany and Sanitary Reformer* till 1941, see copies at Colindale. He claimed c.10,000 readers, see *Vegetarian*, 9 May 1891, pp.263-264.

¹⁰⁶VM, February 1898, p.76; April 1898, pp.108-181, p.188.

¹⁰⁷WTE, 2 June 1888, p.6.

¹⁰⁸Vegetarian, 19 January 1889, p.39, 25 May p.323.

¹⁰⁹Vegetarian, 18 January 1890, p.43.

¹¹⁰Vegetarian, 16 March 1890, p.204.

¹¹¹Vegetarian, 17 March p.4 and 31 March 1888, p.4; *Reading Mercury*, 31 March 1888, p.7 and *Reading Observer*, 17 March 1888, p.3.

Philanthropic Society, Anti-Vaccination Society, Band of Hope and Reading I.O.G.T. lodge, liked 'nothing better than a stiff debate' on vaccination and temperance.¹¹² The committee met monthly for business and discussion; it held public meetings and missions to surrounding villages. Ackerman reported many undeclared local vegetarians but he felt the place was antipathetic to vegetarian addresses.¹¹³ There were 20 supporters at the inauguration of the society in 1888, in 1896 the society had 32 members and 18 associates. There was also a branch of the children's vegetarian 'Ivy Leaf' society. The society had space in the Provincial Hygienic Exhibition in April 1895 (when funds were slightly over £5), and participated in the Food and Trades Exhibition in 1896.¹¹⁴ Ackerman was a Provincial Secretary of the V. F. U., but resigned in 1898 apparently due to the insufficient salary.¹¹⁵

Salisbury had some thirty vegetarians according to G. Cook in 1890, when a meeting was held there in the Baptist Mutual Improvement Society Hall.¹¹⁶ Supporters included the Anglican Reverend C. W. Sherard.

Forward highlighted the south west as a 'beacon' for food reform. **Exeter** and Devon saw activity from 1882, through efforts by J.I. Pengelly*, a magistrate's clerk who wore vegetarian boots, and Augustine Honey*, an engineering student.¹¹⁷ They invited Dr Nichols to Exeter in 1882. Newman also came to Exeter in this year, attracting an audience of nearly three hundred. Pengelly funded the socials and literature distribution (this was later by the Exeter bookseller, Wheaton). Meetings including practical demonstrations through meals, were held at the Eastgate Coffee Tavern. Agitation took the form of letter writing, essays and lectures in the Exeter region, in the literary societies, mutual improvement societies and Good Templar societies. In 1882 there were 60 full and associate members, presided over by a 'practical vegetarian' Alderman William Huxtable*.¹¹⁸ Pengelly lamented aloofness by the upper classes, professionals and 'intelligent persons of all ranks' but was hopeful of interest from the Exeter medical faculty.¹¹⁹ The president in the 1890s was the Reverend J.H. Napper Neville*, friend of the hygienic reformers Joseph and Chandos Wallace. By 1896 there were 88 associates and members.¹²⁰

¹¹²*Vegetarian*, 4 March 1899, p.105.

¹¹³*Vegetarian*, 26 October 1895, p.513.

¹¹⁴*Vegetarian Review*, March 1895, p.143, *Vegetarian*, 3 October 1896, p.477.

¹¹⁵*VM*, June 1898, pp.284-285. See *Vegetarian*, 4 March 1899, p.105 for report.

¹¹⁶*Vegetarian*, 1 February 1890, p.74, this followed a meeting, presided over by the President of the British Pharmaceutical Society, reported in *Vegetarian*, 2 March 1889, p.133.

¹¹⁷Forward, *History*, p.140. On his boots, see *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 13 February 1884, p.5.

¹¹⁸*Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 16 August 1882.

¹¹⁹See *DR*, 1884, p.239.

¹²⁰See *Vegetarian Yearbook for 1896*.

As an indication of the energy of Devonshire vegetarianism in the late Nineteenth century, in 1896 there were 34 special meetings held in church, Y. M. C. A., temperance, mutual improvement, literary and debating society venues. The total number of people addressed, it was claimed, was 6000. There were cookery demonstrations, refreshment stalls, and food and flower exhibits. Missions to eighteen local towns and villages were organised.¹²¹ Press reports in Exeter were favourable, with vegetarianism identified as a worthy reform in alleviating poverty and illness. There was public support by the mayor and other local worthies. The May meeting in 1884 was held in Exeter and supported by the mayor.¹²²

A branch of the Devon society was established in **Salcombe** (1898), with a 'faithful few' such as Albert Jarvis, whose children composed an 'Ivy Leaf' branch there.¹²³ Activity was also stimulated by Pengelly's work with S.H. Beard (at Ilfracombe), in the 'Order of the Golden Age'.¹²⁴ An **Ilfracombe V.S.** (operating c.1892, with Albert Wrighton proprietor of the vegetarian 'Garden' restaurant, as the honorary secretary¹²⁵), resurfaced in 1899 as a branch of the Order and there were numerous meetings and exhibitions.

A **Bristol** Society was established in 1879 due to activity in Good Templar groups and was led by the temperance worker J.G. Thornton*. There were said to be 20 vegetarians and sympathisers at its inauguration. The officers were men and women 'active in temperance and Christian effort'.¹²⁶ In 1880 the Danielite Hellen Richardson* was president and the treasurer was Mrs L. Osborn.¹²⁷ The Misses Barracough opened a restaurant in 1881.¹²⁸ A vegetarian restaurant in the High Street was used by the novelist Gissing.¹²⁹ The society was particularly active with lectures, free meals and illustrated cookery lessons for the 'deserving poor' and 'artisan families' in working class districts in 1889.¹³⁰ The group of 'Bristol Spiritualists, Vegetarians and others' existing

¹²¹This activity was summarized in the *Vegetarian Yearbook for 1898*. For an earlier, apparently well received lecture, see report of H.S. Schultess-Young's lecture at Torquay, *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 1 April 1885, p.7.

¹²²See, for the period 1882-1885, *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*.

¹²³*VM*, April 1898, p.177.

¹²⁴See *Herald of the Golden Age*, 15 March 1900, p.31 for local impact. The Order reported 'circles' elsewhere: a Miss Elizabeth Redfern was instrumental in the creation of one at Hanley (Stoke on Trent) in 1900, (*Herald*, 15 March, p.32) involving a few unmarried women. The Harvies*, in Newcastle, established a circle, which planned to meet at W.G. Clarke's restaurant in Nelson Street (*Herald*, 15 June 1900, p.66). Miss Marriott planned a Food Reform Depot in Northampton (*Herald*, 15 September 1900, p.103). Allen led a Leicester society.

¹²⁵*VM*, August 1892. See *Danielite Star*, 1924.

¹²⁶*DR*, January 1879, p.15. A.T. Parker (proprietor of 'The Garden' restaurant) was one of these, well known in temperance, and his daughter Daisy, see *Vegetarian*, 4 April 1891, p.199. On Bristol temperance, see H.E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City. 1870-1914* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), pp.163-168.

¹²⁷*DR*, April 1880.

¹²⁸*DR*, August 1881, p.168; at 11, Lower Maudlin St. It was continued by A.T. Parker.

¹²⁹P. Coustillas, ed., *London and the Life of Literature in late Victorian England. The Diary of George Gissing, Novelist* (Harvester Press, 1978), p.254.

¹³⁰*VM*, February 1889, p.52; also *Vegetarian*, 9 November 1889, p.711.

c.1892 has already been mentioned (2:4). The society's last reported activity was a parlour meeting at Redlands Park Hall in 1894.¹³¹ The Bristol and Somerset V.S., with Isaac Pitman as president and Arthur G. Stooke*, a temperance worker, as secretary was operative c.1896.

Weston-super-mare saw activity due to F.W. Newman c.1873-1874, recruiting several associates (such as Herbert H. Catford, a book-keeper), and holding some meetings.¹³² It was organised as a society at some period before 1899 when C.P. Newcombe listed it as one of many *inactive* societies: possibly the fact that there was a 'Golden Dawn' temple there made the place more receptive to the dietetic avant-garde.

In **Bath** there was a Food Reform Society operating 1883-1885.¹³³ S.T. Tanner attempted to establish a society in 1888. This was not vigorous, since in April 1890 the Bible Christian Reverend James Clark, on a lecture tour, suggested that it could 'now be revived with advantage'.¹³⁴ **Gloucester** had a branch society in 1878, presided over by the Reverend J. Turner and George Newman.¹³⁵ The son of F.C. Newman* who had become vegetarian in 1849 and had been involved in local vegetarianism, he was a leading local anti-vaccinationist with W.R. Hadwen.¹³⁶ There were plans to reform the society in 1894 and 1896.¹³⁷ There was also a **Cotswold Food Reform Society**, in existence in 1881¹³⁸ and a **Yeovil Food Reform Society** which had 13 members, led by the 'fancy draper' James Moffat*.¹³⁹

Ravenswood Hall at Southampton was the first British base for the vegetarian American Seventh Day Adventists. The minister, J.N. Loughborough, sold Adventist health tracts.¹⁴⁰ **Southampton** had a short-lived society c.1890-1891 stimulated by the sisters Ellen Hawkins* and Emily Harding*. A fruit banquet held at the schoolroom of the South Front Primitive Methodist chapel involved sixty friends and members.¹⁴¹ These included Philip Domoney*, member of the Southampton Temperance Society committee, chairman of a school board, writer in the London

¹³¹Though there were efforts to reestablish a society 'at once' when the autumn congress of the V.F.U. was held here, see *Herald of the Golden Age*, 15 November 1896, p.161.

¹³²*DR*, July 1873, p.298; and (for recruits) December 1874.

¹³³*DR*, February, 1882, p.38, the prospectus linked vegetarianism with spelling reform. *DR*, February 1886, p.58.

¹³⁴Isaac Pitman chaired Clark's two lectures in the city, see *VM*, April 1890, p.105.

¹³⁵*DR*, April 1878, p.76.

¹³⁶See D. Porter and R. Porter, 'The Politics of Prevention: Anti-Vaccination and Public Health in Nineteenth century England,' *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp.231-252 [p.248].

¹³⁷*Vegetarian Review*, 1894, p.208; *Vegetarian*, 15 August 1896, p.394. Bates's address 42, Victoria St.

¹³⁸*DR*, January 1881, p.16; September 1881, p.192; it largely limited itself to papers at Cirencester.

¹³⁹*DR*, January 1881, p.18; February 1881. See *Report of Vegetarian Federal Union*, 1894, p.7 for absence of support in Wiltshire.

¹⁴⁰See autobiography, published at

<http://www.calacreek.com/religious/JNLoughborough/14CalledToEngland.html>. (accessed September 2001). He attended V.S. and Anti-Narcotic League meetings, and lectured to the Newcastle V.S. See *DR*, July 1881.

¹⁴¹*Vegetarian*, 14 February 1891, p.102. Coverage of February 1890 activity in *Southern Echo*.

and provincial press on land reform, capital and labour relations, Ireland, temperance, thrift and education and a former associate of Ernest Jones. Audiences at several meetings included many women.¹⁴² A vegetarian meal was provided for a hundred poor children in March 1890.¹⁴³ Hills addressed another meeting in July, and Allinson followed in December.¹⁴⁴

In Andover a society was intended in 1880.¹⁴⁵ Frederick Harvey gave a vegetarian lecture to the local I.O.G.T. in 1881, and produced a quarterly vegetarian paper for the lodge c.1884.¹⁴⁶ Harvey, son of the tailor William K. Harvey* (vegetarian since 1845), was proprietor of a food reform store in London Street from 1881 (when seventeen). He printed his own series of reform tracts.¹⁴⁷

Portsmouth vegetarianism was organised by the unitarians G. Cozens Prior* and Francis Wood*. Prior was a solicitor, notary and deputy registrar at the County Court. Wood and his wife Elizabeth ran a vegetarian restaurant in Queen Street, Southsea. After lectures and soirees in the 1870s, a society was formed in 1886.¹⁴⁸ One soiree in December 1886 involved several nonconformist ministers, T.R. Allinson, the Governor of Kingston Gaol, and an alderman, Cudlipp.¹⁴⁹ The latter's daughter Alma, was the society's first honorary secretary. Groups targeted included sailors and members of mutual improvement societies.¹⁵⁰ Local vegetarians included two active female suffragists, Nora and Margaret O'Shea.¹⁵¹ Portsmouth hosted a vegetarian congress in early February 1890, an event which has historical significance through the presence of Gandhi as a participant. Gandhi again attended the May meeting in Portsmouth, 1891, where he gave a paper on 'The Foods of India'.¹⁵² The local Medical Officer presided over a public meeting following the banquet.¹⁵³ In 1897 the president was Lieutenant Colonel A.T. Wintle*.

¹⁴²*Vegetarian*, 15 February 1890, p.102, p.108.

¹⁴³*Vegetarian*, 15 March 1890.

¹⁴⁴*Vegetarian*, 12 July 1890, p.440 for Hills' visit; see Allinson Papers, MS 3192, for poster and flier issued by Southampton V.S. for Allinson's lecture.

¹⁴⁵*DR*, September 1880, p.221.

¹⁴⁶*DR*, June 1884, p.182.

¹⁴⁷F.R. Harvey, *Incontrovertible Facts in Relation to Diet*, (Andover: F.R. Harvey, 1881). See also the material relating to Andover meetings (posters printed by Harvey), in the Allinson Papers, MS 3188.

¹⁴⁸*DR*, May 1886, p.148. See *DR*, 1876-1877 for work by the warder W.L.Turner*.

¹⁴⁹*VM*, February 1887, p.58.

¹⁵⁰A meal was provided for fifty at the Sailors Resort in Beach St, 1887, see *DR*, February 1888, p.60. Prior gave a lecture to a temperance-mutual improvement society in 1891, said to be 'very appreciative', see *The Portsmouth Evening News*, 14 February 1891.

¹⁵¹See L. Lenemen, 'The Awakened Instinct: vegetarianism and the women's suffrage movement in Britain,' *Women's History Review* 6:2 (1997), pp.271-287; referring to S. Peacock, *Votes for Women: the women's fight in Portsmouth* (City of Portsmouth, 1983), p.8.

¹⁵²On Gandhi in Portsmouth see M. K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography. The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (orig. Gujarati, 1927-1929; Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), ch.20, and, in more detail, G. Ashe, *Gandhi. A Study in Revolution* (London: Heinemann, 1966), p.36.

¹⁵³*Portsmouth Times*, 9 May 1891, *The Hampshire Post*, May 8, 1891 (where Gandhi and Mozanda of Bombay noted) and *The Portsmouth Evening News*, 4-7 May 1891 ('Gandhi' noted on 6 May).

There was a **Guildford** Society in 1888, this did not last long.¹⁵⁴ A local secretary for **Godalming** and district was announced in November 1898 but the society was short-lived.¹⁵⁵ In 1878 a branch society was listed for **Plaistow**, but was probably limited to the 'local secretary'.

Brighton had a society in 1888, following a mission by the L.V.S. The honorary secretary was Baddeley of the Brighton Y.M.C.A., and the president was Merille de Colleville*, a pastor in the National Reformed Church with Belgian temperance connections.¹⁵⁶ This lapsed, since a 'Vegetarian and Food Reform Society' was established in 1890 (still operative 1899).¹⁵⁷ Amongst those involved were Mrs Alfred King and her husband the borough organist, philanthropist I.S. Isger and William Slatter. Vegetarian activity, accompanied by music, centred on Alpine House (14 Ship Street). This was the home of Madame André, widow of Professor Carl André, they had previously ran a vegetarian hotel at Littlehampton (see below). In late 1894 Brighton hosted a vegetarian congress, with a 'grand conversazione' in the Royal Pavilion, the ex-mayor in the chair; and again in 1895, at the Y.M.C.A., and Pavilion where a meeting was presided over by the local Medical Officer. Also living in Brighton was Gideon Ouseley, the Catholic priest who founded the vegetarian 'Order of Atonement'.

Littlehampton Alpine House was established in 1887. André, a Swiss Protestant who had come to England to retire after a life of globetrotting with his temperance 'Alpine Choirs' which had made him well-known in England, continental Europe and the United States, established a vegetarian guesthouse which expanded, such was the demand, to fill four houses. In 1889 he built a dining room for three hundred, with room underneath for the bicycles of vegetarian ramblers, and set up a vegetarian cookery school.¹⁵⁸ Visitors included Allinson, Major General Standen* and Lady Coomara swamy*.¹⁵⁹ When he died the hotel was taken over by the London Ideal Club (see 2:6).

In 1880 the tailor George Pflöging* advertised a home for vegetarians at St Leonards.¹⁶⁰ Vegetarianism featured in the Hastings Health Congress (1889).¹⁶¹ **Hastings and St Leonards** society was established 1889, the president was a Dr Humphreys*, other members included the Godbolds*, an active couple in the vegetarian world (running a well-known vegetarian home).¹⁶² Also in Hastings was Annie N. Patenall's 'Phrenological and Hygienic Establishment' in Queen's Road, which was said to be 'well known' (there was a branch in Brighton). Patenall, formerly a

¹⁵⁴*Vegetarian*, 4 August 1888, p.277; *Vegetarian Review*, July 1894, p.57.

¹⁵⁵*Vegetarian*, 12 November 1898, p.730.

¹⁵⁶*Vegetarian*, 14 July 1888, p.231.

¹⁵⁷*VM*, January 1895, p.23

¹⁵⁸*WTE*, June 23, 1889, p.5.

¹⁵⁹*WTE*, July 28, 1889, p.4.

¹⁶⁰*DR*, May 1880.

¹⁶¹*Vegetarian*, 11 May 1889, p.295.

¹⁶²*Vegetarian*, 1 June 1889, p.342; 15 February 1890, p.74; *VM*, June 1890, p.186.

nonconformist preacher and lecturer who had been forced to learn her living as a phrenologist and lecturer when conversion to Swedenborgianism had lost her her employment, was sympathetic to vegetarianism.¹⁶³

Kent was not 'very receptive', according to a report in 1891, with a **Dover** Society struggling against garrison town 'conservatism'. The honorary secretary was an anti-vivisectionist Major Rogers*. Handbills were displayed in local butchers' shops.¹⁶⁴ Then in 1894 the **Kent** County Society was established in Maidstone, presided over by Walter Kruse, and chaired by the Quaker Frederick B. Sainty.¹⁶⁵ In **Folkestone** a society was established in 1898.¹⁶⁶ It became inactive within a year. In Tunbridge Wells a vegetarian worker, Mr A.E. Hunter produced leaflets in 1881.¹⁶⁷

There was a society in **Cambridge** established (as a Diet Reform Society) in April 1880 by the classicist Professor J.E.B. Mayor, Charles and Maurice E. Frank, with '20 names'. Mayor encouraged a Food Reform Store in the Arcade. A fruit banquet to guests who included the mayor, Anglican and nonconformist ministers, undergraduates and even a college servant, made food reform 'the topic of the hour,' according to the *Manchester City News*.¹⁶⁸ A May conference was held in the Guildhall.¹⁶⁹ It was restarted in 1884, with the participation of 'town' (represented by Frank) and 'gown' (represented by E.L. Holden of Trinity Hall). The L.V.S had a mission to Cambridge in 1888, with the active involvement of Mayor, then the Vegetarian Society's president. Other officers of the society were drawn from Ely, March and Newmarket. On the committee was a local historian and honorary secretary of the local Peace Association, W.R. Brown. The society's 'press representative' was E.D. Shelton*, who, with his wife, had managed a vegetarian hotel in Ventnor.¹⁷⁰ Another member c 1884, was R.C. Buist*, a vegetarian for humanitarian reasons who became an important figure in Edinburgh University, an obstetrician and medical historian. In 1894 the society was 'reinstated' through the V.F.U. at Professor Mayor's rooms. The committee was composed of the 'influential and representative': a collegian, a Hindu, an University Librarian, three townsmen and two women. Some 35 'from all classes' were members, including 'University men,

¹⁶³MD, 27 March 1891, pp.193-194.

¹⁶⁴*Vegetarian*, 3 January 1891, p.7.

¹⁶⁵See report in *Report of the Vegetarian Federal Union*, (John Johnson, Box 1), DR, May 1895, p.151.

¹⁶⁶VM, July 1898, p.333.

¹⁶⁷HH, October 1881.

¹⁶⁸As reported in DR, May 1880, pp.95-98; see also VM, June 1896, p.186, where Mayor recalled his attempt to engineer interfaith and cross-class dialogue through seating arrangements.

¹⁶⁹DR, June 1880, pp.116-117.

¹⁷⁰*Vegetarian*, 12 March 1898, p.173.

lady students, townsfolk, several Parsees and Hindoos'. Several meetings were chaired by college and ecclesiastical dignitaries and Brown organised literature and provision depôts.¹⁷¹

Norwich formed a branch in 1884 when visited by T.R. Allinson, in 1887 it was led by John Clarke and Thomas Lloyd.¹⁷² Lloyd, a clerk, had been an abstainer since the 1840s and vegetarian from 1854. A return visit by Allinson in 1890 attracted a large attendance and 'hearty welcome', with a dinner of fourteen courses to demonstrate the diet's practicality for working men, there followed a 'May meeting' in the city.¹⁷³ Lloyd was still involved in the cause in 1891 when his recipes were published in the *Medium and Daybreak* and he attended a 'fruit culture' conference in London.¹⁷⁴

Bury St Edmunds Food Investigation Society was established in 1898. The president was Mrs Kennard, wife of the Reverend J.F. Kennard*. The members were not vegetarians, but were concerned with investigating the 'food question' though the inaugural meeting involved the V.F.U. speaker, T.W. Richardson.¹⁷⁵

II

Other Locations.

There were several other locations for activity and support where no societies were formed. Individuals or families were the focus. In the Northamptonshire village of Tuxford for instance, the eccentric veterinary surgeon R.S. Wilson* provided from about 1889, a venue for meetings and vegetarian food provision in cottages on his estate, though he complained of 'stubborn prejudice and other obstacles'.¹⁷⁶ In Wigan the Cripps* family provided regular support for lectures and was advertised as available for discussion of vegetarianism.¹⁷⁷ In Stockton-on-Tees steel pen manufacturer W.M. Wright* was an active worker, joining forces with a Quaker George Ennmett and his daughter in a 'Flower, Fruit and Love Mission Band' in 1889.¹⁷⁸ In Kempston, Bedfordshire, the father of Howard Williams, the Reverend Henry Williams, encouraged vegetarianism around 1880.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷¹See report in *Report of the Vegetarian Federal Union*, (John Johnson, Box 1).

¹⁷²*Eastern Daily Press*, 12 November 1884, see clipping in Allinson Papers, MS 3188; *DR*, February 1886, p.57; July 1887, p.223.

¹⁷³*Eastern Daily Press*, 18 April 1890, clipping in Allinson Papers, MS 3192; *VM*, June 1890, pp.161-164.

¹⁷⁴*Vegetarian*, 14 February 1891, p.102; *VM*, May 1891, p.154. *MD*, 10 July 1891, p.445.

¹⁷⁵*VM*, June 1898, p.283.

¹⁷⁶*VM*, June 1892, p.177. See also *VM*, 1889, July 1890, p.217, October 1895, p.403.

¹⁷⁷*VM*, March 1895, p.48.

¹⁷⁸*Weekly Star*, 1889. There had been a food reform restaurant in 1879, see *DR*, April 1879, p.61.

¹⁷⁹*DR*, March 1880, p.58.

Other locations included vegetarian restaurants and stores (discussed later), ‘colonies’ and schools. Abbotsholme, founded by a follower of Edward Carpenter in 1889, is a well-known example of a ‘new school’ which favoured vegetarianism; but it was not the first.¹⁸⁰ Percy Harrison, who supported spiritualism and vegetarianism, established a ‘Progressive College’ in 1875.¹⁸¹ G.W. Sibly’s* Wycliffe College (founded 1882, still existing), Gloucestershire, encouraged vegetarianism.¹⁸²

III

The Provincial Movement in the late 1890s

In 1887 the *Westminster Review* noted that vegetarianism was not dead but ‘of late its voice has been almost lost in the din of political and social struggles of a more exciting nature’. In an effort to strengthen the local voice, Forward suggested a new organisation, in a paper at a London May conference in 1889. This became the V.F.U. In 1895 the *Vegetarian Review* complained about the lack of a well-devised provincial campaign, and a *drifting* cause failing to exploit ‘its inherent basis of dynamic truth’.¹⁸³ Many local societies established in the late 1880s-1890s had disappeared by the time Forward wrote his official history.

The financial situation was unhealthy, an annual income in 1894/1895 of £449 (down by almost £60) was partly attributed to trade depression lowering sales of literature. However, an anniversary history of the movement in 1897 noted that financial weakness had been an enduring problem since Simpson’s death, with activity supported by many small sums of money but few significant legacies.¹⁸⁴ Yet the national movement could reassure itself that it was part of a truly international movement, reinforcing this sense of brotherhood through international congresses.¹⁸⁵

Note on numbers

The V.S.’s rolling membership list did not take account of those who died or abandoned the diet, so that the numbers given are an accurate reflection of some form of total membership, but not of the society at any particular time. By 1887 there had been 3, 172 full members on the Society’s books and 1,335 associates: a total of 4, 507. By 1899 there were 3972 members and 1823 associates: a total of 5, 795. This probably does

¹⁸⁰Other vegetarian schools attempted: a boarding school for girls at Harleston (Suffolk), *MD*, 19 September 1890, p.605; C.P. Newcombe’s, Muswell Road, *Vegetarian*, 12 October 1895, p.495.

¹⁸¹*MD*, 19 November 1875, p.737 (also *DR*, September 1876).

¹⁸²See S.G.H. Looseley, *Wycliffe College, the First Five Hundred Years* (photocopy of this recent history sent by Dr Collins, headmaster of Wycliffe College). It had a vegetarian house from 1909 but had ‘almost always’ had vegetarian pupils, see W.A. Sibly, *Vegetarianism and the Growing Boy* (V.S. and L.V.S., 4th edn 1942).

¹⁸³*Vegetarian Review*, February 1895, p.50.

¹⁸⁴W.E.A. Axon, *Fifty Years of the Vegetarian Society* (Manchester:V.S., 1897).

¹⁸⁵*DR*, November 1881, pp.233-234 records a suggestion by the French V.S.’s president, for an International Vegetarian Committee. An International Congress was held in Cologne, 16 September 1889, with British representatives.

not include all c. 700 members of the L.V.S. who were not necessarily members of the older organisation. It is impossible to know the exact size of the movement in the late Nineteenth century. Estimates must take into account the enrolment of one family member when a *whole* family was vegetarian, the larger movement of associate members and the tendency to abandon the diet by many converts.¹⁸⁶ Non-members who were subscribers to the journal may have been vegetarians or active sympathisers. Peter Foxcroft* claimed there were vegetarians in almost every town, people who were often not members of the V.S., Joseph Knight* estimated Society membership was only a twentieth of the real number of vegetarians.¹⁸⁷ Naturally, vegetarian societies emphasised the gains (most patently when noting the addition of ‘thousands’ with the affiliation of Indian vegetarians, but also including some American vegetarians).¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶The non-inclusion of a whole household is stressed by Joseph Knight, *DR*, June 1888, p.209; the representation of families is stressed by ‘A.Stz’ in *The National Food and Fuel Reformer*, 5 June 1875, p.53.

¹⁸⁷*VM*, July 1893, p.244; *VM*, April 1887, p.98 (Knight).

¹⁸⁸*VM*, February 1894, pp.44-45 responds to comments in Densmore’s *Natural Food*, that V.S. membership had declined, by emphasizing that members of the independent American, Scottish, Irish and London vegetarian societies established after 1880 were not necessarily members of the ‘parent society’.

Vegetarianism was strongest in England, but there existed food reform societies (14 in all) in Wales, Scotland and Ireland. What follows is the first detailed account of this activity.

I

Welsh vegetarianism.

In Wales, the spiritualist-vegetarian-Good Templar of 1877, encountered earlier (2:4) was almost alone in dietetic reform.¹ A 'Silurian' eager to organise a gathering in 1881 was told to contact G. Smart at Cardiff, and Thomas L. Davies in Swansea.² The V.S., conscious of a linguistic barrier, produced a translation of the 'Explanatory Pamphlet' appealing to notions of Welsh thrift and idealism.³ Activity was mainly limited to lectures, house-to-house visitations, tract distribution and press campaigns conducted by the Vegetarian Federal Union's secretary for the 'South West', G. Cholwick Wade*.⁴ He established a **Newport** society presided over by a telegraphist, Wallace Grant*; one meeting in 1899 had Salvation Army supporters.⁵ He moved his base from unreceptive Newport to **Cardiff**, where he organised banquets and established a society.⁶ His account of 'Four Years Crusade in Wild Wales' makes it clear that apart from interest during a miners' strike in 1898, activity was fairly limited to individual conversion, to a demand for reformed foods which could not be met due to the lack of stores, 'generous' press coverage and attempts to introduce the question into the Eistedfodd and Gorsedd.⁷

Wade, formerly a solicitor, had become vegetarian to cure rheumatism. He led a 'life of absolute solitude and social ostracism' because of his opposition to vaccination and drug medicine, his teetotal-vegetarianism, and 'above all' his Swedenborgianism.⁸ Another arch-individualist was the famous Dr William Price* of Llantrisant. Formerly a chartist, Price was an active physician and druid. He opposed vaccination, would not treat smokers, washed all his coins and refused to wear socks. Inevitably, he was vegetarian. Fathering a son in old age; when the infant died he was burned

¹ *MD*, 11 May 1877, p.295

² *DR*, October 1881, p.ix. An activist around Abergavenny in 1882 was Alfred H. Austin, see *DR* reports.

³ *VM*, January 1894, p.6. Nichols' *How to Live on 6d A Day* had been translated, see *DR*, August 1880, p.179, and recipes were also issued in Welsh, October 1890, p.285 (and reproduced in *Banner and Times*).

⁴ *VM*, January 1895, p.50, for claims of 'marked success' in 'Swansea, Newport, Cardiff and other Welsh centres'.

⁵ *Herald of the Golden Age*, July 1899, p.78; the society was established 1898, see *VM*, April 1898.

⁶ *VM*, September 1898, pp.424-425 (note the reference to full local press coverage). *VM*, March 1899, p.107, for a banquet attended by the mayor of Swansea, at Treboeth.

⁷ *Vegetarian*, 12 January 1901, p.5. For interest during a miners' strike, see *Vegetarian*, 12 November 1898, p.729.

⁸ *Vegetarian*, 7 December 1895, p.601.

on a hilltop, creating a scandal and resulting in a trial in 1884 which helped lead to the legalisation of cremation.⁹

II

Food reform in Scotland.

There were societies in Aberdeen, Arbroath, Dumfries, Dundee, Dunfermline, Edinburgh and Glasgow in the late Nineteenth century.¹⁰ This reflected native efforts and outside influence. John Davie remained a leading Scottish vegetarian until his death. Prominent English-based vegetarians lectured in Scotland throughout the period. T.L. Nichols paid particular attention to the formation of Scottish food reform societies, although his role was not as pivotal as one account suggests.¹¹ A 'Scottish Vegetarian Society' was founded in 1892 in response to a sense of *weakness* and to ridicule as cranks, and began shakily with the press dwelling on the farcical nature of some meetings.¹² Probably there were no more than 1000 members or associates of the V.S. in the 1890s, for when the *Glasgow Evening News* noted a recent Glaswegian vegetarian boom had petered out (1895), the vegetarian John Barclay replied that there were 500 members affiliated to a Scottish Vegetarian Union, and 'many' Glaswegian members of the Manchester V.S.¹³ A May meeting was held in Glasgow in 1898; the first Scottish 'Summer Conference' was held at the Bridge of Allan hydro in 1899, the banquet was attended by 130.¹⁴ A journal, *Scottish Health Reformer* (1903-1906) covered vegetarianism in the Edwardian period.¹⁵

Glasgow was connected with food reform through Hay Nisbet, T.L. Nichols' publisher.¹⁶ C.O.G. Napier* and Arthur Trevelyan* sponsored a popular banquet here and in Edinburgh in 1876.¹⁷ A 'Scottish Food Reform Society' was established in 1879, with an active President, David

⁹ *DR*, March 1884, p.89 reported that the prosecutor had discussed Price's vegetarianism until Justice Stephens stopped him.

¹⁰ The only previous examination of the Scottish movement 1892-1980s, is a few paragraphs by L. Lenemen, *Vegetarian*, winter 1999, p.11. For the dietary background, see A. Gibson and T.C. Smout, 'From meat to meal: changes in diet in Scotland', ch. 2 in C. Geissler and D.J. Oddy eds., *Food, Diet and Economic Change Past and Present* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

¹¹ B. Aspinwall, 'Social catholicism and health: Dr and Mrs Thomas Low Nichols in Britain' in W.J. Sheils, ed., *The Church and Healing* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1982) pp.249-270. See *HH*, March 1879. Aspinwall's essay is a fair summary of the Nicholsons' career in Britain but exaggerates the originality of Nichols' ideas, and in assessing the food reform activity does not place Nichols in the context of the established vegetarian movement. See Davie's letters to Nichols, *HH*, May 1883, p.58.

¹² *Vegetarian*, January 1909, pp.5-6.

¹³ *Vegetarian*, 29 June 1895, p.310; Barclay said there were vegetarians totaled 300 affiliates in Glasgow.

¹⁴ *VM*, August 1899, pp. 280- 281.

¹⁵ *Scottish Health Reformer* (Progressive Press, 12 High Street, Paisley) 1903-1904; renamed *Health Reform* in 1906. See *Vegetarian*, 1906, p.2.

¹⁶ Hay Nisbet, 219, George Street, Glasgow, recommended to Nichols by a London gentleman as 'good, honest, reliable', was a pioneer spiritualist, see L. Barrow, *Independent Spirits*, p.168.

¹⁷ *DR*, December 1876, p.204, *DR*, March 1877, p.35.

Fortune.¹⁸ Aspinwall, in an essay on T.L. Nichols, emphasises his role in its formation and suggests that 'in Glasgow, perhaps owing to temperance support, the movement seems to have been particularly strong'.¹⁹ This overstates its vigour at the expense of London and other centres, but he points to the existence of a short-lived cookery school under the direction of Miss Thyrza Tarrant and an American universalist minister, Dr Caroline Soule.²⁰ Nichols was not alone in his support, the local press covered a banquet attended by the Englishmen Gibson Ward and the Bible Christian Reverend James Clark. Aspinwall found that most members lived in the Crosshill suburbs, where the American-born phrenologist, vegetarian and spiritualist James Coates also resided.²¹ In 1884 a new Food Reform Society was established.²² Mrs Macbean, who gave cookery classes, published a recipe booklet in 1890, when, if the society still promoted a wider food reform, the tendency was towards vegetarianism.²³ The secretary, Ernest Clark (the son of the Reverend James Clark and a 'life vegetarian') managed to attract an audience of 600 to a meeting at the City Hall, but with his departure the society dwindled.²⁴

The 'Scottish Vegetarian Society' was formed in Glasgow in November 1892 through Joseph Knight, late secretary of the V.S.²⁵ It was independent of Manchester and London. Its headquarters were in the Athenaeum in Buchanan St. H.S. Bathgate, the president, was a builder, life teetotaler and non-smoker, active in the Peace movement and Church and Sunday school work. He gave generous financial support to Scottish vegetarianism. In 1895 that there were c.300 Glaswegian members of the several vegetarian societies, 'chiefly young men', with a third women, and practically all teetotalers (indicative of acceptance in the Scottish temperance world, the Scottish Temperance Life Assurance Co. had a vegetarian section²⁶).²⁷ One member (J.W. Biggard) was the public analyst at Greenock. There were 70 members of the Scottish V.S. in 1896.²⁸ The city possessed several successful vegetarian restaurants (retailing vegetarian journals) established by L. McCaughey, whose wife managed his Irish restaurant. In 1898 the society was hopeful of prosperity: 'The officers ...mean business, and things will be made to "hum" in Scotland when they have

¹⁸ *DR*, 1879, p.226.

¹⁹ Aspinwall, 'Social catholicism and health...', pp.268-9 on Glasgow.

²⁰ C.A.W. Soule (1824-1905) was ordained about 1880; a Scottish mission by the universalist church began in 1876. Her verse 'A Lady's Reply' was published in the *DR*, July 1880, pp.148-149.

²¹ His 'phrenological and hygienic establishment' is advertised in *HH*, e.g., February 1883.

²² *Food Reform Magazine*, July-September 1884, lists four Food Reform restaurants in the city.

²³ Mrs Macbean, *Food Reform: Ten Specimen Dinners* (Glasgow: W. Rankin, 1889) with preface by John Barlow, MD FRCS.

²⁴ *Vegetarian*, 17 October 1896, p.496.

²⁵ *VM*, January 1893, p.26.

²⁶ *VM*, April 1898, p.147.

²⁷ *Vegetarian*, 29 June 1895, p.310. See account of meeting at Eden restaurant, *VM*, June 1895, p.187.

²⁸ *Vegetarian Review*, April 1896, pp.147-153.

consolidated themselves'.²⁹ Assistance with lectures came from F.P. Doremus and the London vegetarians.³⁰

An **Edinburgh** Food Reform Association existed from 1882.³¹ Possibly as a result of local advocacy, the 'Edinburgh Health Lectures for the People', delivered by Dr Noel Paton in 1890, supported food reform in the fifth lecture.³² In **Arbroath** a society was founded by Alex Bell of Dundee c.1897. Members included the Honourable Mrs Frederick Bruce*, the wife of a brother of the 9th Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, and formerly Page of Honour to the Queen. Another Arbroath vegetarian on 'principle' was a farmer, Mr Anderson, a friend of John Davie. In **Aberdeen** leadership came from the prominent unitarian minister Alexander Webster (chairman of the Arbroath School Board, his wife was also vegetarian) and Mrs McBean.³³

In **Dumfries** the Free Church minister David Mearns and a few others established a society in 1882.³⁴ In **Dunfermline**, a society created in April 1894 was still extant in 1898. There were 17 members in 1896, when the honorary secretary was the book-keeper Robert Leitch, vegetarian through the influence of the hydropath Dr Hunter of the Bridge of Allan.³⁵ His children were members of the vegetarian 'Daisy Society'. A life-teetotaller, he had established a Good Templar lodge in the late 1870s and superintended a large Band of Hope. Also at Dunfermline resided the artist and writer, Hume Nisbet (who endorsed T.L. Nichol's *Esoteric Anthropology* in advertisements) and his wife Helen who raised four children to be vegetarian. She elicited a favourable response to vegetarianism from Ruskin in May 1883, having written to the *Dunfermline Journal*.³⁶

Uniquely, the **Dundee** vegetarian society can be traced through a surviving minute book.³⁷ The small 'Dietetic Reform Society' operated 1877-1883. It had 18 members by 1882 though more attended open meetings and sympathised with the cause. Newspaper accounts indicate that its activities generated no controversy (respectful press notices were inserted by the society itself). It functioned with mixed success as a mutual support group, as social events often had desultory attendance. How vigorous the society was may be gathered from the frequent inability to transact business when there was an insufficient quorum. There was little attempt to spread the cause by

²⁹ *VM*, February 1898.

³⁰ *Vegetarian*, 1918, p.87.

³¹ Established at the artist Hume Nisbet's* studio, see *DR*, December 1882, p.255. Further reference, January 1884, p.6 (lecture by Kingsford), p.26 annual meeting.

³² *VM*, February 1890, p.37.

³³ *VM*, February 1898; *Vegetarian*, 19 March, 1898, p.187, it was founded by a tea merchant, Mr Alexander, and had 14 officers when formed.

³⁴ *DR*, December 1882, p.225.

³⁵ *Vegetarian Yearbook for 1896*. See *VM*, January 1890, for his enrolment.

³⁶ J. Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera*, Letter 90 (May 1883), vol.29 of E.T. Cook and Wedderburn, eds., *The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin* (London: George Allen, 1907), pp.434-436.

³⁷ I am grateful to Angela Lockie of the Dundee City Archives for photocopying the complete archive (GD/Mus36), which comprises a Minutes and Accounts Book with clippings and notes attached.

directly lecturing to the 'poorer classes' (i.e., the majority of the local population) who were referred to as the beneficiaries of a 'reformed diet' on several occasions. The diet was highlighted as a therapy for illness, although non-physiological aspects were expounded in discussion.

The members active initially were men, with wives being mentioned and participating infrequently. Forbes Marshall, a Quaker and retired confectioner, was a member of the S.P.C.A., Anti-Tobacco, Total Abstinence and Peace Societies.³⁸ Hector Macgregor was a bookseller, William Matthew was a 'mechanic', Henry Hutcheson was an architect, James B. Duncan seems to have been a phrenologist, since he gave a lecture on heads with illustrations at the first banquet, Matthew Forbes was vegetarian from 1874, with his whole household.³⁹ Arthur Cairncross, vegetarian since 1875, said he would work quietly: 'While reason remained to him, he would never, he thought, go back'.⁴⁰ Moving to Ireland in 1877, he sent news of a Belfast V.S.

In January 1878 it was agreed that women could attend meetings.⁴¹ Perhaps the most significant figure in Dundonian vegetarianism was Margaret Parker, the English wife of a merchant. She was a national figure in temperance and social reform; her home at 'The Cliff', Newport was often visited by American and European reformers. As a representative of the Scottish Good Templars she travelled to America in 1875; she was instrumental in the creation of the British Women's Temperance Association and a leading advocate of women's rights.⁴² At the vegetarian society's first banquet she gave an address on its work as affecting ladies.⁴³ She took classes in cheap cookery in autumn 1879. Her progressive career culminated in the Women's International Congress in Chicago which she helped organise in 1893.⁴⁴ Another important participant, from March 1880, was James Scrymgeour*, a former chartist sympathiser, a friend of the poet Guthrie, previously associated with vegetarian activity in 1857 and now agent of the Prison Aid Society. His son Edwin was to be a famous Dundonian, as a Prohibitionist MP.

The society aimed to spread the message through cheap literature, and the secretaries were ordered to 'to get one or more booksellers to push the sale of some of the cheaper publications'.⁴⁵ Notices were sent to local papers and published, in the *Dundee Advertiser* and the *People's Journal and Evening Telegraph*. Weekly advertisements were inserted in the *Journal* to sell vegetarian literature. Discussions and testimony were important parts of the meetings. Arrangements were made to ballot

³⁸DR, 1879, excerpt from obituary in *Dundee Advertiser*.

³⁹GD/Mus36, p.17.

⁴⁰GD/Mus36, pp.2-3.

⁴¹GD/Mus36, p.20

⁴²I.Tyrrell, *Woman's World. Woman's Empire. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), p.18, p.243.

⁴³GD/Mus36, p.17.

⁴⁴*Dundee Year Book*, 1896, pp.78-79. I am grateful to Sheila Marshall for this reference.

⁴⁵GD/Mus36, p.9.

for papers 'on some topic of vegetarian interest'.⁴⁶ Topics covered included consumption, ('attributing the diseases of the respiratory organs in Great Britain in great measure to the large use of highly oxidised substances such as sugar'), on the mental effects of the diet, the earth prepared as a place for man (with fossil evidence to show grains had arrived with man) and coffee as a deleterious food. Mrs Parker gave a paper in early 1879 on tobacco addressed particularly to 'the ladies'. There were discussions about Bible aspect such as the 'fish difficulty of the new Testament'.⁴⁷

Activity also took the form of picnics, such as that arranged in August 1877 to the gardens, hot house and the mortuary chapel at Lord Kinnauld's Rossie Priory. A festival was held in December 1877 at Godfrey's Hotel. Only twenty were present to enjoy tea and cocoa, white and brown bread, biscuits, fruits, cheese, cake and preserves but it was repeated in the future as a 'fruit and bread festival'. There was also an attempt to enlist temperance support through an invitation to a U. K. A. member for the banquet, in the event they had an address from the Dundee Temperance Society at their small festival (which included twenty ladies) in early January 1879.

The January 1880 festival attracted only forty people. The society was in debt. With the death of Marshall, Davie became honorary president. The suggestion that six ladies join the standing committee was eventually agreed to in April, and from this point women became more prominent in the society. In January 1883, the report showed the society to be 'in anything but a prosperous condition'. Continued existence but without further public meetings was agreed to. Dundonian vegetarians had failed to set the town on fire with their teachings, hardly surprising given the limited means at their disposal. But these limited resources were themselves the result of a failure to attract support despite Dundee's dire urban health problems of inadequate diet, poor sanitation and housing; problems which could have produced a more fervent crusade.⁴⁸ Nor did the vegetarians *en masse* form part of any 'network of radicalism' in the town.⁴⁹

A late Nineteenth century Dundee/ Brought Ferry society was led by Alex Bell (c.1896-c.1902).⁵⁰ The conversion of the Reverend Walter Walsh* of the Gilfillan Memorial Church, 'every inch a reformer', promised much for the Scottish movement according to the *Vegetarian* in 1899.⁵¹ A

⁴⁶GD/Mus36, p.13.

⁴⁷GD/Mus36, p.10; GD/Mus36, p.21; GD/Mus36, p.23; GD/Mus36 p.26; GD/Mus36, p.15; GD/Mus36, p.12; GD/Mus36, p.10.

⁴⁸See C.A. Whatley, D.B. Swinfen, and A.M. Smith, *The Life and Times of Dundee* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993), ch.10, on living conditions in this period. Forbes Marshall had been concerned with local health (see 2:1), and Scrymgeour's addresses brought in the wider health issues.

⁴⁹On the local radical network, see W.H. Fraser's review of M. St John, *The Demands of the People. Dundee Radicalism, 1850-1870* (Dundee: Abertay Historical Society), in *Scottish Historical Review*, 78:1, no. 205 (April 1999), pp.132-133.

⁵⁰McCaughy established a restaurant at Dundee High Street, see *Vegetarian*, 1 August 1896, p.370; 5 September 1896 p.424.

⁵¹*VM*, May 1899, p.177.

Dundonian, Walsh had preached universal salvation and the extinction of hell, in Northern England, and lectured in secularist halls. Becoming influenced by Tolstoyan ideas of a spiritualized social reform, he succeeded his friend David Macrae (famously expelled from the Presbyterian ministry for heresy over future punishment) who had established the Gilfillan church on the 'broadest Christian basis'. Walsh established a 'Free Religious Church' in Dundee, and was active in housing reform and local philanthropy. He was on the Grand Council of the *Order of the Golden Age* in 1899. His association with the vegetarianism was to be longstanding; the London vegetarian press carried advertisements for his 'Free Religious Movement', inaugurated in 1916 after he left the Theistic church (he had succeeded Charles Voysey in 1913).

III

Ireland and food reform.

The Irish movement was weak and relatively inactive before the 1870s but one centre for activity when the British movement revived from the late 1870s was **Belfast**.⁵²

Some propaganda had been undertaken by the Reverend C.H. Collyns in 1877, in a series of lectures (repeated in 1878) at Victoria Hall, chaired by the Reverends Charles Seaver, J.C. Street, A. Morrison; James, later Sir James, Haslett, and Robert L. Hamilton JP. A society was established in 1877 by a few young men including J.S. Herron. Herron, advertising manager of Messrs W and G Baird, Royal Avenue, Belfast, was vegetarian since the late 1860s. A Congregationalist, active in the 'Extreme Lodge' of the Good Templars, and 'lively' as a social reformer despite a retiring nature, he published a *Vegetarian Almanack* from 1879. His wife, an 'earnest reader' of Swedenborg and theology was vegetarian too and wrote (contributing poetry and doing much of the editorial work for the *Almanack*) and spoke privately on the subject.⁵³ A society at nearby **Lisburn** was established in late 1878.⁵⁴

A 'Belfast Vegetarian and Food Reform Society' existed in 1880, meeting monthly in a room at the Evangelical Union Church school, publishing W.H. McLester's *Vegetarianism Popularly Considered*, and having a shop.⁵⁵ At that period the president was the Reverend A.M. Morrison, the honorary treasurer, Thomas Strain was an anti-vaccinationist⁵⁶ and the honorary secretary Thomas

⁵²*Vegetarian Review*, June 1896, pp256-264 on Irish activists.

⁵³*Vegetarian*, 30 November 1895, p.578, from *Vegetarian Almanack*, 1896.

⁵⁴*DR*, January 1879, p.13. 20 men and women who favoured vegetarianism met at Salem chapel, a society of six men and two women was formed.

⁵⁵*DR*, June 1880, p.118; p.128, for the shop at Sandy Row, see September 1880, p.221.

⁵⁶*DR*, November 1881, p.244.

Brennian, converted to vegetarianism by Herron.⁵⁷ Belfast also had Leonard McCaughey's 'XL' Vegetarian Café.

Members of Belfast's Trades Council supported the movement to the extent that a deputation requested assistance in 1899 in provision of cookery classes for slum-dwellers who had 'lamentable' ignorance.⁵⁸ New methods were attempted, with lantern lectures, open-air meetings and cookery demonstrations. Good Templar meetings were especially important, providing the 'nucleus of a good meeting'. Literature was 'always eagerly sought'. Herron and others distributed leaflets and backnumbers after attracting crowds with temperance songs, concertina playing, and fruit banquets at Belfast.⁵⁹ Religion remained a key issue in Belfast vegetarian discussion, indicated by correspondence on the subject in the *Belfast Evening News* in early 1899.⁶⁰

The Irish Vegetarian Union, established in 1890⁶¹, had a pretentious title given the minute group involved. Its creation was stimulated by the L.V.S. which had previously sent the Reverend Bristow to lecture. It was established by J. Bruce Wallace*, then editor of the *Belfast Evening Star*, and well known for his humanity and 'advanced' social and political views.⁶² In 1892 the paper reported his efforts, having visited West American colonies, to set up a 'Voluntary Co-operative Commonwealth'. He became an important member of the 'Brotherhood' movement. The first president was the author of the standard biography of Swedenborg, the Englishman George Trobridge*, headmaster of the Government School of Art and a life vegetarian (all his family were vegetarians). Apart from Herron and the restaurateur McCaughey, other members of the Irish Vegetarian Union committee included John Coulter of Belfast, an anti-smoker who published *Curious Notions*, a series of moral-reform verses; the Scotsman John Straiton, pastor of the Christian Brethren community in Belfast and opposed to vaccination and vivisection; the Scotsman R. Semple, a general secretary of the Irish Order of Good Templars and editor of *Irish Templary* was another, vegetarian with all but one of his family.⁶³

A **Londonderry** V.S. was established in 1898 by John Corkey, the son of the Reverend Dr Corkey of Gledermott, the family having all 'converted'.⁶⁴ A **Dublin** V.S. existed c.1890.⁶⁵ The

⁵⁷ W. Johnston, MP for South Belfast was reported to be vegetarian, *Vegetarian*, 6 July 1889, p.420, but his letter 13 July, p.443 denied this and expressed his outrage at the journal's socialism and theosophy: 'the strange mixture of diet and diabolism'.

⁵⁸ *VM*, April 1899, p.145.

⁵⁹ *Vegetarian*, 22 August 1896, p.401.

⁶⁰ *VM*, February 1899, p.73.

⁶¹ *VM*, August 1890, p.219.

⁶² *Vegetarian*, 31 May 1891.

⁶³ Other meetings reported *VM*, June 1895, p.190; October 1895, pp.406-407.

⁶⁴ *Vegetarian*, 9 July 1898.

⁶⁵ *Vegetarian*, 3 January 1891, p.7.

Dublin Evening Telegraph reported the extension of a vegetarian 'Royal Café' in early 1894.⁶⁶ Adrienne Veigelé* helped establish a 'Dublin Society for the Study of Food Reform' (so named because twelve only of the initial members were vegetarian⁶⁷), in 1899, with a long standing vegetarian, Mrs E King-Flewitt, and the support of the vegetarian Mrs Sophia Gough, wife of the proprietor of Gough's Temperance hotel (28, Exchequer Street).⁶⁸ The honorary secretary of the society was J.E. Walshe*.

According to Herron, the Irish were 'stiff-necked' and very opposed to vegetarianism. Semple, interviewed by the *Vegetarian* in 1898, attributed lack of progress to inherent Irish conservatism and stupidity. He believed that 'the most responsive class we get to talk to is the fairly well educated artizan class' including the women-folk. Resistance came from religious and temperance quarters (the latter, afraid that vegetarianism would act as a 'red herring'). The best arguments to use for the 'Northern Irish yeoman' were economic.⁶⁹

Vegetarianism was one of the causes espoused in *fin de siècle* Dublin in an advanced circle that included W.B. Yeats, 'A. E.' (George Russell), James Joyce (*Ulysses* depicts a 'literary etherial' vegetarian couple, the man in homespun, beard and riding a bicycle⁷⁰), the writer and poet Padraic Colum, James H. Cousins and Margaret Cousins⁷¹, the Palmers, Oldhams and the Sheehy Skeffingtons (the latters' collection of vegetarian tracts is in Trinity College, Dublin). The associates and members of this circle, which gathered at a vegetarian restaurant, supported the militant Irish Women's Franchise League, the Gaelic revival, antismoking, antivaccination and theosophy.⁷²

⁶⁶ *Vegetarian Review*, July 1894, p.51.

⁶⁷ *Vegetarian*, 26 November 1898, p.763.

⁶⁸ *Vegetarian*, 7 January 1899, p.11.

⁶⁹ *Vegetarian*, 5 November 1898, p.713.

⁷⁰ J. Joyce, *Ulysses* (Everyman's Library, London: David Campbell, 1994), pp.239-240; p.248. The 'beard and bicycle' was George Russell. A theme of this section, 'Lestrygonians', is the animalistic habits of man.

⁷¹ James H. Cousins's address 'The Ultimate Issue' before the Dublin Vegetarian Association was reprinted in *Figaro and Irish Gentlewoman*, 1901. See also Margaret Cousins, *A Woman's Place in the Vegetarian Movement* (Dublin, 1910); and C. Condry, 'Relating Feminism, Nationalism and Imperialism: Ireland, India and Margaret Cousin's Sexual Politics', *Women's History Review* 3 (March 1994), pp.581-594, which examines Margaret Cousin (who married James in 1905), in the period 1907-1913.

⁷² C. Murphy, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p.28, pp.96-97, p.114 and p.117. Forward, *History*, p.106, lists a restaurant at 48 Grafton Street, see *Vegetarian*, 4 April 1891, p.199.

4:1 Vegetarian Restaurants, Food Stores and the Vegetarian Movement

Vegetarians brought a new form of urban refreshment.¹ Temperance activists had long been interested in creating counter-attractions in the provision of drink and entertainment, from the movement's earliest days there were schemes to create restaurants and 'fruit rooms'.² In Manchester in the 1850s there was Barnesley's 'Vegetarian and Temperance Hotel' and Mrs Hollinworth's vegetarian dining room.³ In London, the 'vegetarian ordinary' at Talfourd Coffee House provided lunches (Sundays excepted) advertised as 'Novelty! Cholera Prevented- Better than cured'.⁴ Temperance hotels provided vegetarian food during the 1860s- early 1870s when the movement was struggling.⁵ Vegetarian restaurants were a factor (as cause and effect) in the revival and growth of the movement from the late 1870s.⁶ The *Food Reform Magazine*, noting their steady advance, claimed 'they have long since passed from the transient stage, and have now become permanent institutions of the country'.⁷ This section begins by examining London, where many were concentrated (in 1889, 34 out of the 52). It then examines the provincial restaurants. These occasionally operated with food reform stores, which are briefly considered. The clientele and the relationship between the movement and the restaurants are assessed.

[Note: listings of metropolitan and provincial restaurants and stores are provided in Appendix B]

¹ On Victorian urban refreshment in general, see R. Thorne, 'Places of refreshment in the Nineteenth century,' ch.7 in A.D. King, ed., *Buildings and Society. Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), which footnotes Forward's *History* (where they are discussed, pp.102-107), but does not examine the vegetarian restaurants. They are briefly discussed by Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', pp.115-116. See J. Burnett, *Plenty and Want* (1966; London: Pelican, 1968), p.229 on the new upper-class fashion (which included upper-class women), for dining out. The change from chop-house to larger and brighter restaurants and shops is noted in H. Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties. A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (1913; London: Pelican, 1950), p.30. I have not studied 'mainstream' catering journals, but *DR*, January 1882, p.41 refers to vegetarian diets published by demand, in *Caterer and Hotel Proprietors Gazette*.

² E.g., the *British Workman* public houses created by R.S. Hind-Smith (secretary of Leeds Y.M.C.A.) from 1867. The organization's officers included was vegetarian William Harvey*. See E. Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns, Cocoa Houses and Coffee Palaces: Their Rise, Progress, and Prospects; with a Directory* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1878); also M. Girouard, *Victorian Pubs* (London: Studio Vista, 1975), p.175. On fruit-rooms, see *Truth-Tester*, 15 March 1848, p.88.

³ *VA*, September 1849 (Talfourd), October 1849; on Hollinworth's, 2, St Ann's Place (is dinner) 1 February 1850, pp.62-64, reporting the *Manchester Examiner and Times*' comment on its 'admirable style'; advertisements in *VM*, January- March 1850, reverse of cover. See March 1850, p.60 for vegetarian testimony by one converted by the Ordinary; *VM*, April 1851, p.31 for Christmas dinner). 'A Vegetarian Eating House', *Punch*, July-December 1854, p.53 was set in Leeds, though in reality there was none.

⁴ *VA*, vol.2, p.13. The Coffee House was noted in the response to an inquiry, in *Family Herald*, 1851, p.315.

⁵ In E. Bulwer (Lord Lytton), *Kenelm Chillingley. His Adventures and Opinions* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1873, 4 vols.), vol.1, ch.3, the hero stays at a Temperance Hotel which caters for vegetarians. He is mistakenly offered stewed cauliflower and rice-pudding. There is a local vegetarian society; 'the landlady says they are philosophers'.

⁶ *DR*, March 1876, p.11 for restaurant arrangements at Liverpool, London, Mrs Matthews', Princess Street, Manchester, and Newcastle.

⁷ *Food Reform Magazine*, July-September 1884, editorial notes. In August 1882 the *DR* estimated 3000 daily meals served nationally in vegetarian restaurants.

London vegetarian restaurants, 1876-1900.

Following the success of the 'Healtheries'; the 'National Food Reform Society' encouraged restaurants, and in 1876 arranged a dinner with Roland McDoual who aimed to introduce continental-style cafés through his 'People's Café Company'.⁸ One visitor described his customers as having 'rather a hungry, unsatisfied, uncomfortable look about them'.⁹ From 1879 Nichols's Sanitary Dépôt (23 Oxford Street) incorporated food reform and vegetarian dining rooms.¹⁰ A flyer in the *Herald of Health* described it as 'The novelty of the Nineteenth century!.. No fish!- no flesh!- no intoxication!'¹¹ This, the 'Alpha Restaurant', continued into the late 1890s.¹²

Several other London restaurants flourished: Robert Reid's 'Garden', opened 1880, Andrew Glendinning's 'Apple Tree' at London Wall and the 'Orange Grove' (later St George's Café) at St Martin Lane. Reid had come to see the reformed diet as the root of all temperance success and when he settled with his sons in London he established the 'Garden' at 24 Jewin Street to create a 'centre for the propagation of vegetarian truths'.¹³ He also wrote tracts for free circulation. Glendinning's first restaurant at 34, London Wall was opened in 1882. Another, the 'Mansion House' in the Poultry, prominently emblazoned its vegetarian status.¹⁴ Renamed the 'Apple Tree', it took upwards of seventy different journals daily and weekly, including temperance and vegetarian journals.¹⁵ Glendinning produced an *Apple Tree Annual*.

The visibility of these restaurants is reflected in the Sherlock Holmes story 'The Red-headed League', where Holmes passes a prominently situated restaurant.¹⁶ In 1888 London had 25, providing 4000 meals daily; in 1890 there were 33, down to 31 in 1897.¹⁷ Their names were often floral and botanical, or superlative as in 'Hygeian', 'Ideal' and 'Acme'. The 'Food Reform Restaurants Company' (operating seven restaurants c.1880) and the 'Charing Cross Vegetarian

⁸ See E. Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns*, ch.7, on the People's Café Company. This was held 22 May 1876.

⁹ E.E. Orlebar, *Food for the People. Or Lentils, and other Vegetable Cookery* (London: Sampson Low, 1879), pp.77-82 [p.81]. Orlebar reprinted the bill of fare, p.79.

¹⁰ T.L. Nichols, *Penny Vegetarian Cookery*, p.38, claimed a daily serving of 300 meals could easily be doubled or trebled if there was more room. The manager was James Salisbury*; vegetarian posters covered the walls.

¹¹ Loose flyer, dated 30 January 1880, inserted in *HH*, February 1880.

¹² See *Vegetarian*, 18 September 1897, p.505 for interview with the current proprietor, F.E. Hansen, a 'burnt out' City man who took it over from a Mr Castle.

¹³ *HH*, May 1908.

¹⁴ See photograph, Forward, *History*, p.103. It was recalled by Sir Ernest J.P. Benn, *Confessions of a Capitalist* (London: Hutchinson, 1925), p.30; and praised for its spick and span, cosy and elegant appearance in the *City Press*, 9 October 1886, cited in *The Apple Tree Annual* (1887).

¹⁵ See appreciative comments in J.J. Morse's 'Practical Vegetarianism', in the spiritualist journal *Herald of Progress*, 7 September 1883.

¹⁶ A.C. Doyle, 'The Red-headed League', *The Strand Magazine*, August 1891, pp.198-199.

¹⁷ 25 according to *MD*, 11 November 1887, p.716. See Forward, *History*, p.102 (and *The Vegetarian Yearbook*, 1898) for a map of London restaurants.

Hotel' (c.1888) were failures.¹⁸ In late 1889 the 'London Vegetarian Restaurants Association Ltd' was established to develop 'Co-operative Vegetarian Restaurants'. The first was 'The Palm Tree' at Euston Road. Shares were set as 10s to involve the poorest.¹⁹ In 1899 a 'Vegetarian Cafe Company Ltd.' was planned, to establish dining and restaurant houses, bakeries, shops, stores, stalls, schools of cookery, and retail vegetarian and other literature.²⁰

Potentially, their existence signified vigour and advance. They could provide valuable models of economy, hygiene, culinary excellence and variety. They certainly provided social centres for activists, supporters and the 'progressive' in London and elsewhere. When the 'Bouverie' was established in 1886 over Charles Bradlaugh's Free Thought Dépôt, T.L. Nichols emphasised that 'tight' ceilings, floor and separate entrances rendered the freethought 'non-contagious'; but vegetarian restaurants could be radical meeting places. Groups such as Bernard Shaw's circle or the Humanitarian League used them, in the latter's case, for a weekly tea (the naturalist W.H. Hudson described being accosted there by a 'young devotee' who 'so terribly wished to see Edward Carpenter and other famous people'²¹). The 'Wheatsheaf', off Oxford Street, was favoured by Shaw. Briefly the home of the Rambling Club, in 1892 it had a 'Pythagorean' social club, kept reformist/ progressive newspapers and offered bedrooms.²² In late 1885 a dinner for cabmen and their wives took place here,²³ later it hosted health receptions and a banquet celebrating Shelley's centenary.²⁴ Mrs Britton's 'Pudding Bowl' had an evening institute for young women.²⁵ James Hayward's 'The Waverley', hosting meetings such as the conference on fruit farming and colonies in 1891, was described as more effective than many avowed vegetarian institutions.²⁶

Reid, Glendinning, Hodge of the 'Orange Grove', and the 'Cornucopia' (32, Newgate St) produced food reform literature. The menu cards of Martin's 'Savoy Café' incorporated Oliver

¹⁸See clipping in Bishopsgate Institute, 'Food Reform Company', *City Press*, 8 September 1880; *HH*, 1 March 1890, 'Unsymphonious Shareholders'. See *VM*, April 1888, p.96. Forward attributed part of the failure of the Charing Cross venture to the exorbitant rent. Further, legal material (Board of Trades, Companies Registration Office, files of dissolved companies) on the Charing Cross Company (1888), Vegetarian Restaurants Company (1884) which involved many leading members of the V.S., Buckingham Vegetarian Restaurants Company (1891), London Vegetarian Restaurants Ltd. (1891) Sheffield Vegetarian Restaurants Company Ltd. (1892), Vegetarian Cafe Company, London (1899), Bolton Vegetarian Restaurant Company Ltd. (1891), and in Registry of Friendly Societies, FS 8/40/ 2824 London Vegetarian Restaurants Association Ltd. (1885-1890) are preserved in the Public Records Office, Kew (information through the online catalogue).

¹⁹See *Vegetarian*, 14 December 1889 for paragraph and notice, p.798; *HH*, 1 February 1890, p.15.

²⁰*Herald of the Golden Age*, January 1899, back cover and reverse.

²¹*Vegetarian News*, March 1926, p.85, from Morley Roberts. Hudson disliked vegetarian restaurants because of the food's indigestibility.

²²*Vegetarian*, 7 January 1893, p.4.

²³*DR*, February 1886. Formerly the Charing Cross Vegetarian Hotel.

²⁴*Vegetarian*, January 1892; *VM*, August 1892, pp.288-289 (Shelley).

²⁵*Vegetarian*, 2 March 1889, p.134. It taught reading, writing, drawing, French, music and wood carving.

²⁶J. Burns, *MD*, 6 March 1891, p.156.

Goldsmith's vegetarian sentiments in 1900. There was even a short-lived *Weekly Star and Vegetarian Restaurant Gazette*, the organ of the Allinsonians (Allinson's Hygienic Hospital was supported by collection boxes outside the restaurants). There is little evidence to show what impact the literature displayed at the restaurants had.²⁷

Despite these important connections, the relationship between movement and restaurants was not necessarily close. Indeed the *Herald of Health* spoke of a 'great gulf'.²⁸ In 1888 only one proprietor joined the 'London Vegetarian Society' committee and only one vegetarian sat on of the Charing Cross Company's board of directors. Many of the restaurants were not vegetarian-owned; commercial exploitation obviously reflected the movement's popularity or at least its perceived potential.²⁹ Various places sold vegetarian meals as sidelines, so that Forward deplored the 'prejudicial influence' of temperance restaurants, cocoa rooms, Lyons and ABC tea-rooms. When a vegetarian restaurant itself went 'mixed' it lost its propagandist utility and became a damaging sign of weak demand.³⁰ Few of the speculative ventures by non-vegetarians sold vegetarian literature and the proprietors avoided association with the Society's efforts through notice-boards, contributions boxes or advertisements.³¹

Turning to the clientele, one observer believed that many were attracted by the novelty, some by a desire to reduce the meat in their diet for health reasons, a 'fair and growing proportion' for vegetarian sentiment but mostly by a cheap and prompt service.³² Commentators believed many customers were low-paid young clerks or office workers: who needed to have quick and cheap service.³³ The novelist George Gissing wrote of:

poor clerks and shop boys, bloodless girls and women of many sorts- all endeavoring to find a relish in lentil soup and haricot something or other. It was a grotesquely heart-breaking sight.³⁴

²⁷ *HH*, March 1908, p.52 (concerning Harry Cocking*); and *VM*, March 1895, p.82 ('E.D.,' of East Dulwich). See John Johnson, Box 1, advertisement for 'Arcadian' (proprietors Forster and Hazell) which included extracts from Sir H. Thompson on 'Food and Feeding'.

²⁸ *HH*, 1 November 1888, p.128.

²⁹ H. Light, *Vegetarian*, 8 August 1896 spoke of the 'greater number' of proprietors being non-vegetarian.

³⁰ *Vegetarian*, 5 September 1896.

³¹ G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/2/1, minutes of the V.S. London Auxiliary, 7 January 1886, p.16; 21 January 1886, p.19.

³² 'Vegetarianism in the City,' *City Press*, 8 April 1885, clipping in Bishopsgate Institute.

³³ The need for speedy service is emphasized by H. Light, *Vegetarian*, 8 August 1896; and J.C. Wilson, *Vegetarian*, 4 May 1889, p.282. See Bishopsgate Institute clippings from *City Press*, 16 September 1885 on the City Cafe Company; and 11 April 1888, the London Clerks café, for non-vegetarian establishments established to provide cheap dinners for clerks and others in the City.

³⁴ G. Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* (1903; London: Constable, 1939), p.231. See chapter 6 for further discussion of Gissing.

Punch depicted a group of clerks of literary turn discussing the relative merits of Swinburne, Browning, Herbert Spencer, Whitman and Milton.³⁵ The 'Alpha' restaurant was mostly patronised by Crosse and Blackwell's clerical staff in the late 1890s.³⁶ The 'Ceres' near St Pauls, (1889-c.1897) was used by young men and women, but also by people working at the nearby warehouse, publishers office and businesses.³⁷ Glendinning's restaurants' 6d three-course meals attracted office workers.³⁸ One American reporter noted that there was no choice of vegetables or fresh fruit because the emphasis was on illustrating cheap living for the poor.³⁹ But the poor being catered for were the lower middle class, as P.H. Echlin, critical of the 'too high class' metropolitan restaurants which catered for clerks, pointed out in 1896.⁴⁰ The price (when meat dinners could be almost as cheap⁴¹), and quantity of the food, opening times and even 'flashness' - factors rehearsed in the *Vegetarian* - prevented a significant volume of working-class customers.⁴²

Yet *Figaro* noted with surprise that Glendinning's restaurant was 'crowded with customers, many of whom were evidently substantial City men.'⁴³ Similarly surprised was the *Boston Herald* (America) which reported that rather than cranky, 'long-haired and wild-eyed individuals eagerly devouring bran pudding, sawdust soup, or something of the kind,' customers were sensible looking, healthy and clearly gentlemen.⁴⁴ 'St George's House Café' (formerly the 'Orange Grove') in St Martin's Lane opened c.1887, advertised as the 'famous house for coffee' (though also specialising in 'macaroni and egg cookery, together with special American dishes, curries etc.') attracted a

³⁵F. Anstey, 'At a Vegetarian Restaurant', *Punch*, 17 December 1892, pp.280-281: 'SCENE- "The Nebuchadnezzar's Head" in the City. Time- The luncheon hour. The interior, which is bright, and tastefully arranged, is crowded with the graminovorous of both sexes. Clerks of a literary turn devour "The Fortnightly" and porridge alternately, or discuss the comparative merits of modern writers. Lady-clerks lunch sumptuously and economically on tea and baked ginger pudding.'

³⁶*Vegetarian*, 18 September 1897, p.505. Earlier, customers had ranged from 'ordinary shopmen and artisan' to intellectuals and students, see *HH*, March 1880, pp.324-325.

³⁷*Vegetarian*, 2 October 1897, p.537.

³⁸R.G. Abbott, *Vegetarian News*, autumn 1946, p.159.

³⁹Reported by J. Nayler, *Vegetarian*, 23 April 1892, p.195.

⁴⁰*Vegetarian*, 16 May 1896, p.240.

⁴¹C.W. Forward, *VM*, November 1896, p.372 suggested that the fall in membership was related to the introduction of cheap refrigerated meat into the popular diet, and that prices in non-vegetarian restaurants were now competitive through meat's 'rock-bottom' prices.

⁴²*Vegetarian*, 15 March 1889, p.170 (where the working-class correspondent noted that non-vegetarian Lockarts had charged 1d for porridge when vegetarians had charged 3d); A.J. Marriott, *Vegetarian*, 30 November 1889, pp.762-763 (on closing time); Thomas Gent, 11 January 1890, pp.28-29 (who recommended a charge of 1½d). On quantity, opening hours and 'delicacy', see Horace Hubble, *Vegetarian*, 8 March 1890, pp.156-157. See T. May, *Vegetarian* 19 November 1898, p.749, concerning absence of mechanics and the 'so-called "working-men"' whose tastes were 'naturally' conservative. Thorne, 'Places of refreshment', states, p.245, that the clientele for the short-lived reformed coffee houses in London (121 by 1884) were working class.

⁴³*Figaro*, 25 December 1885, cited in *The Apple Tree Annual* (1887). One proprietor believed customers felt enabled to do better office work, see *Vegetarian*, 23 March 1889, p.187.

⁴⁴*Esoteric*, January 1898, p.302 (the writer visited Charing Cross Hotel).

wealthy clientele. Customers included Bernard Shaw⁴⁵, the actors Fanny Brough and Frank Wheeler, the mathematician Professor W. Garnett, an 'Austrian Count' and 'some olive or darker complexioned native of the far east ... a law or medical student.'⁴⁶ Gandhi, who deliberately visited all the London restaurants, divided them into the cheap (which he frequented) and well-to-do class visited by the intellectuals.

The proliferation of restaurants which 'respectable' women could patronise was a new development. In 1885 a food reformer had expressed concern that, whilst gentlemen could 'prowl about London and pick up a good deal of the vegetarian's diet in a perfectly satisfactory manner' it was not clear that 'ladies' could.⁴⁷ Female shop assistants, who had the expense (like clerks), of maintaining a smart appearance, were probably important customers.⁴⁸

II

Provincial restaurants.

In the later Nineteenth century restaurants and cafés were established across Britain, as the chapter on the provincial branch organisations indicated.⁴⁹ Their geography naturally reflected the geography of the branch societies, with restaurants often providing regular venues for activities. Bolton vegetarians were keen to establish a restaurant, from 1893 there was one at 3, Mealhouse Lane managed by Mrs Caughey. In Bradford an extensive restaurant, owned by a vegetarian and superintended by a teacher to the V.S., was established above a coach-builder's firm in the Town Hall Square in 1895.⁵⁰ The Liverpool Society of the late 1880s met at W.H. Chapman's restaurant, Eberle Street.⁵¹ The Chester Society held monthly meetings at the 'Apricot' at Nelson Street (earlier it had distributed tickets to cocoa rooms). Vegetarians and friends had socials at the St James Street restaurant (and boarding house) in Nottingham.⁵² W.H. Webb's restaurant and health store at

⁴⁵Shaw partially attributed his vegetarianism, to London vegetarian restaurants, see *Pen Portraits and Reviews by Bernard Shaw* (London: Constable, 1931, 1932), p.453, reprinting interview in *The Candid Friend* (11 and 18 May 1901).

⁴⁶*Vegetarian*, 13 March 1897, p.77; Forward, *History*, p.105. See Behramji M. Malabari, *The Indian Eye on English Life, or Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer*, (London: A. Constable, 1893) p.46: 'But what little I have seen of their culinary out-turn is far from satisfactory. Not until they learn how to draw the people by a variety of well-seasoned dishes will they compete successfully with the "roast beef of Old England." Why don't they employ Indian cooks for a time?' The *Vegetarian* in 1898, reported Pheroze Langrana's experiment in establishing an Indian vegetarian restaurant.

⁴⁷S. Britton*, *Food Reform Magazine*, April- June 1885, pp.126-127.

⁴⁸See comments on shop assistants' starvation by 'Julia Dawson' in *The Clarion*, 5 October 1895, p.320.

⁴⁹See W.E.A. Axon's paper (read at the 'National Coffee Tavern Conference'), *VM*, June 1890, pp.166-172: (after London's 33) Manchester 7, Liverpool 2, Portsmouth 2, Belfast 1, Birmingham 1, Bristol 1, Leeds 1, Newcastle 1, Nottingham 1, Ventnor 1.

⁵⁰*VM*, June 1895.

⁵¹Chapman started a hygienic and reform library in connection with this, see *VM*, July 1896, p.235.

⁵²*Vegetarian*, January 1890.

Southport hosted local meetings. In Bristol the leading vegetarian A.T. Parker* ran a restaurant at Wine Street. Other restaurants were established by vegetarians at Salcombe and Portsmouth.⁵³ There was even a vegetarian hotel at Ventnor, established by the Dolby Sheltons*.

Several places had significant vegetarian provision. Not surprisingly, Manchester was well-provided, with six restaurants.⁵⁴ Four were established by Frederick Smallman, who advertised his 'machine bread bakery' and restaurant lit by 'Edison Electric Light'.⁵⁵ The establishment at 6, Fountain Street included a large restaurant on the first floor and a meeting hall on the ground floor. The 'Fruit and Flowers Parlour' in Market Street, fictional representation of a Mancunian restaurant (set, slightly too early for authenticity, in 1870) by the bestselling novelist Mrs Humphrey Ward probably captures well the precious/ whimsical nature of businesses operated by committed vegetarians. Its printed bill of fare of marrow pie, *Haricots à la Lune de Miel Vol au Vent à la bonne Sante*, tomato fritters, cheese 'Ticements, *Salad saladorum* is concluded in bold red by:

No meat, no disease. *Ergo*, no meat, no sin. Fellow citizens, leave your carnal foods, and try a most excellent way. I.E. push the door and walk in. The Fruit and Flower Parlour invites everybody and overcharges nobody.⁵⁶

The 'Parlour' has scandalised some and delighted others, including many foreign (mostly French) clerks. Ward describes the kitchen, with its many simmering pans, tables laden with vegetable pies just out of the oven, stewed fruits and heaps of tomatoes, with Lancashire lasses peeling apples.

In Birmingham there were three, the 'Garden' in Paradise Street, the 'Orchard' in Bull Street (from 1890), and (from 1897) the 'Hygiene' in Hampton Street. The 'Garden,' owned by Alfred Hughes, became the 'talk of the local catering business' according to *The Caterer* and was seen as the major impetus to local vegetarian activity.⁵⁷ The 'Orchard' restaurant was owned by G.H. Roberts*.⁵⁸ In its first two years it ran at a loss. More ambitiously, Isaac Pitman's contribution to the movement was commemorated in the Pitman Vegetarian Hotel, a luxurious building (still existing, at 153-161 Corporation Street), in the 'later Renaissance style,' equipped with steam-powered

⁵³The Portsmouth restaurants had been patronised by dock yard workers, see W.C.F. Gunn, *Vegetarian*, 5 September 1896, p.426.

⁵⁴A 'shilling Vegetarian ordinary' operated at Mrs Matthews' Restaurant in Princes Street in 1875, after discussion in *DR*, December 1874, p.151, endorsed by Edwin Collier and Frederick Smallman.

⁵⁵*DR*, February 1884, advertisement. Smallman's career as vegetarian retailer began in 1875, see *Manchester Faces and Places*, (8 volumes, Manchester, 1890-1897) vol.4, pp.13-14, which states that in 1891 he served 750, 000 meals. In 1880 he published *How to Live Without Butcher's Meat* (*DR*, March 1880, p.60).

⁵⁶Mrs H. Ward, *The History of David Grieve* (London: Smith, Elder, 1892), p.251-252; pp.256-257, pp.351-352.

⁵⁷*DR*, February 1886, p.58; on its role in local vegetarianism see *DR*, April 1882, p.82.

⁵⁸*Vegetarian*, 23 October 1897, p.585.

kitchens, electric lighting, modern radiators and 'the finest collection of William E. Harris's Oil paintings in the kingdom'.⁵⁹ Terracotta reliefs depicted carpenters (part of the building was a furniture shop), and vegetarians dining. A.F. Hills (the motive force behind the scheme) and Joseph Malins attended the inauguration in October 1898. The company comprised a restaurant, shop and hotel (including coffee, commercial and smoking rooms).⁶⁰ Its director was a vegetarian, J.H. Cook*, converted by an address by Hills in 1895.⁶¹ Customers were 'a different class of people to those ... previously reached,' including, 'many Birmingham worthies'.⁶²

The McCaugheys played an important part in vegetarian activity in Ireland and Scotland through their restaurants. Leonard McCaughey* opened the well-situated 'Eden' restaurant in Jamaica Street in Glasgow. On two floors, there were tea and coffee rooms, lavatories, and a dining room for 200 on the first floor.⁶³ Steam heaters kept the restaurant's food piping hot. J.S. Herron appreciated the propaganda value of their first restaurant, managed by Mrs McCaughey in Belfast.

McCaughey and Smallman were successful businessmen committed to the movement and not simply commercial speculators. Their success encouraged others, but few were successful. When the 'Farrington and Food Reform Restaurant Company' failed in 1882, it was offset by the knowledge that 'new ventures' were springing up all the time. George Newnes (no vegetarian) established one in Manchester c.1881, to save money to establish *Tit-Bits*, the journal which initiated his successful publishing career.⁶⁴ By contrast, the Sheffield Vegetarian Restaurant Company's restaurant had to move to cheaper premises at Campo Lane, where the working classes could be catered for, according to the directors in 1895.⁶⁵ There was a dining room, smoking room, second-class room and ladies room. Thought reading and the display of Edison's phonograph inaugurated the establishment.⁶⁶

⁵⁹*Vegetarian*, 5 November 1898, advertisement on front cover.

⁶⁰*Vegetarian*, 29 October 1898, pp.689-691.

⁶¹J.H. Cook, *How to Run a Health Food Store Successfully. By the Founder of the First* (Four Oaks, Warwick: Pitman Health Food Company); K Keleny, *The First Century of Health Foods* (Stroud: Nuhelth Books, 1996).

⁶²Cook, *How to Run a Health Food Store*, p.121, drawn by the 'attractive manner' and a good table d'hôte at 1s 3d. The restaurant was, unlike the store and hotel, unsuccessful and the whole business was sold December 1901.

⁶³*VM*, April 1895, p.116; *Vegetarian*, 13 April, pp.181-182.

⁶⁴Entry in D.J. Jenny, ed., *Dictionary of Business Biography. A Biographical Dictionary of Business Leaders Active in Britain in the Period 1860-1980*, vol.4 (London: Butterworths, 1985), pp.436-438.

⁶⁵*VM*, April 1895, p.115.

⁶⁶*VM*, June 1895, pp.222-223.

III

'Health food' stores existed well-before the term became current.⁶⁷ It has been seen that in London in the late 1840s, dietetic depots were advertised. J.E. Duncan also sold vegetarian commodities.⁶⁸ Late Victorian vegetarian journals carried advertisements for a range of items such as Tidman's sea salt, Nichols' sanitary soap, W.G. Smith's vegetarian soap, dietetic biscuits, farinaceous foods, preserved fruits⁶⁹. These could be obtained at stores in London and elsewhere. Canning in Liverpool, for example, had a chain of food reform stores and then founded a restaurant in 1882.⁷⁰ Several produced their own vegetarian tracts. A short-lived store at 30, Lamb's Conduit, London (1878) was associated with a 'Diet Reform Club'.⁷¹

IV

Assessment

How successful was the movement in attracting a wide range of social groups? The broader context of temperance refreshment (courted by vegetarians) was unpromising.⁷² According to G.J. Holyoake in 1859, the forty best teetotal and vegetarian coffee houses 'must be rolled into one to make a room as half as brilliant' as ordinary refreshment rooms.⁷³ The teetotal restaurant and café movement relied on middle-class subsidy, and was only vigorous in the north, elsewhere the companies flourished 'like mayflies in the summer' - and few lasted into the last decade of the century. The overtly religious interior decoration of many coffee houses made them uninviting as places for refreshment and recreation.⁷⁴ Rather than epicurean relish, observers saw a similar 'zeal' operating in vegetarian restaurants.⁷⁵

⁶⁷J.H. Cook claimed (*How to Run a Health Food Store*) to coin the phrase c.1898.

⁶⁸Duncan sold foods and the works of Shelley at 335, Commerce Strand, Redmead in 1848.

⁶⁹E.g., advertisements in *Food Reform Magazine*, July-September 1884 for Nichols' sanitary preparations, Tidman's sea salts (for a domestic sea-bath); October-December 1884, back cover, for William Parnell's Food Reform Specialities; January-March 1885 for Scott's Pure Wheatmeal and Samuel Saunderson's preserved fruits. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', mentions some Edwardian firms (Mapleton's, Pitman's) which followed 'general retailing trends'; and 'idealistic food factories' of the interwar years, p.216.

⁷⁰*DR*, March 1882, p.67; July 1882, p.150.

⁷¹*DR*, April 1878, p.76.

⁷²*Food Reform Magazine*, February 1879, pp.21-22; *VM*, April 1890, p.118; see *Vegetarian* 20 April 1889, p.246 for appreciative article in the temperance catering *Refreshment News* on a conference involving the Coffee Tavern Protection Society, at Charing Cross Vegetarian hotel. The L.V.S. secretaries wrote on vegetarianism in *Refreshment News*, see *Vegetarian*, 1 June 1889, p.342. *The Coffee Tavern Gazette and Journal of Food Thrift*, was sent to vegetarian journals.

⁷³G.J. Holyoake, *The Social Means of Promoting Temperance with remarks on errors in its advocacy* (G.J. Holyoake, 1859), p.19.

⁷⁴Girouard, *Victorian Pubs*, p.176; Thorne, 'Places of refreshment', p.245

⁷⁵'The Vegetarian Creed', *The Speaker*, reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, vol. 216, issue 2792 (8 January 1898), p.127.

Articles, meetings and conferences discussed the restaurants. Forward found it 'difficult to form a satisfactory opinion' about their effects upon the movement. He feared 'prejudicial influence' from temperance restaurants, cocoa rooms, Lyons and ABC tea rooms where non-flesh foods could be bought.⁷⁶ The propaganda value of businesslike, hygienic and attractive enterprises was offset by 'so-called' vegetarian restaurants mismanaged by inexperienced and commercial speculators.⁷⁷ These were in 'many instances actually hindering the cause of Food Reform' through badly cooked, adulterated or insect-infested food:

I often find the good effect of my addresses is largely discounted by someone in the audience relating his experience of an experimental dinner at one of the existing restaurants, misnamed "Vegetarian".⁷⁸

Complaints about food quality in the *Vegetarian* led one restaurant to ban it.⁷⁹ Yet criticisms about pricing and quality were also levelled against provincial restaurants.⁸⁰

Despite this, there was demand: one London vegetarian complained of the 'greatest difficulty' in getting a seat for lunch because of crowded rooms.⁸¹ Undoubtedly the restaurants had novelty value for the metropolitan and local press, and though there was much to criticize, they also received favourable coverage. In 1880 there was a 'first rate notice' of dinners, in the *Graphic*.⁸² *Punch* poked fun at the clientele but was appreciative about Spiers and Pond's restaurant in 1886.⁸³ Even the medically orthodox *Medical Press and Circular* and the *British Medical Journal* gave appreciative notices about a restaurant at Farringdon Street.⁸⁴

Vegetarian restaurants, and to a lesser extent the health food shops, were important signs of the movement's earnestness and the perceived commercial viability of the reformed diet. The propagandist and practical value of restaurants and ordinaries had long been appreciated but for much of the period the movement had to rely on the power of the platform and print. The latter - the 'vegetarian press' - is next examined.

⁷⁶Forward, *History*, p.103.

⁷⁷Forward, *History*, p.103

⁷⁸*Vegetarian*, 29 October 1898, p.696.

⁷⁹*Vegetarian*, 19 November 1898.

⁸⁰'T.M.', *Vegetarian*, 18 February 1891, p.81, on grounds of expense, lack of variety and staleness.

⁸¹*Vegetarian*, 29 October 1898, p.701.

⁸²*HH*, March 1880, pp.324-325 (from *Graphic*, 7 February).

⁸³'Fruges consumere nati', *Punch*, 20 November 1886, p.244.

⁸⁴*DR*, May 1880. This was to be the first of series of 'Food of Health Restaurants' intended in various parts of London, see 'Food of Health Restaurants', *City Press*, 3 May 1880. It did not remain purely vegetarian, see *DR*, February 1882, p.41.

4:2 *The vegetarian press, 1840-1901.*

Vegetarianism was spread through lectures, demonstrations and debates. Proselytism amongst personal acquaintances, such as the temperance colleagues addressed by the Quaker Thomas Roberts, was urged (and indeed the Society had relied on this method in its first year).¹ The dissemination of serial literature and other publications by societies (national and branch) and by individuals was also important. The serial literature is examined here for the first time.²

I

The readership

Standard 'movement' practice was followed in the production of an 'organ' subsidised largely by a few wealthy members and (an additional cost) gratuitous copies to mechanics institutes, mutual improvement clubs and other institutions. Articles were reprinted as tracts and the message spread through 'wafers', charts, posters and almanacs.³ These were sold at the societies' depôts and, alongside other 'forward' publications, by provincial agents. Henry Cook in Bristol sold them with the *Progressionist*, *Working Man's Friend*, *Cooper's Journal*, *Eliza Cook's Journal*, *The Public Good* and *Medical Journal*.⁴ The leading liberal Glaswegian bookseller and Thomas Cook of Leicester were agents for the *Vegetarian Advocate*; William Bremner the *Vegetarian Messenger's* Manchester publisher (a vegetarian) retailed literature on 'religious, temperance, peace and kindred subjects'.⁵ At the end of the century a Christian Scientist at Devonport sold American esoteric journals and literature on 'metaphysics, divine science, mental science, vegetarianism, and reform in religion, business, medicine and food'. He advertised in the vegetarian Joseph Edward's *Labour Annual*, which detailed the vegetarian press as part of the social reform world.⁶ As previously discussed, vegetarian restaurants also disseminated literature.⁷

¹ *VA*, 1848, p.73; 1850, p.103.

² 'Pro-vegetarian serials' are listed with vegetarian journals, in Appendix C. A version of this research, the first monograph on the vegetarian press, was delivered to the conference of the 'Research Society for the Victorian Periodical', at Birkbeck College, in 2000. See Forward, *History*, ch.10 for earlier treatment of vegetarian literature, and reproduction of covers to late Victorian papers, p.88. For a sense a related movement's literature, see J. Oppenheim, *The Other World. Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp.44-47.

³ Posters survive in the Allinson Papers, and reproduced in the *Vegetarian*. Use of placards is reported throughout the period, see *VM*, January 1859, p.12 for reference to a 'well-executed and short dialogue extensively posted on the walls of Leeds' before the annual banquet.

⁴ *Reasoner*, vol.9, 1850, p.11: his depot was advertised as 'liberal and progressive' in 1846.

⁵ William Love of Glasgow, who married a daughter of Alexander Campbell*, is listed as an agent about 1851. *VM*, 1854, January, p.2 of advertisements for Bremner. His address, 15 Piccadilly, was shared by the V.S.'s corresponding secretary.

⁶ See advertisement for Osbond's 'Scientor House', *Labour Annual*, 1899, p.168. Material relating to the *Annual's* vegetarian notices is in the John Johnson collection.

⁷ Webb's 'Vegetarian Restaurant and Health Store' in Southport retailed an American moral reform journal in 1899, by Dr Melville C. Keith, devoted to philosophy and medicine 'in accordance with Bible Truth and

Since James Simpson financed distribution of journals to mechanics institutes, literary institutions and libraries across Britain, it was not always necessary to purchase a copy to follow the early movement's activities (for instance, several 'hard working men' at Brentwood Wesleyan chapel enjoyed copies of the *Messenger* in 1851).⁸ The *Messenger's* first editors hoped members would circulate it amongst religious and philanthropic societies, and called for lists of volunteers for such work. Earnest vegetarians- like the school master in Wrexham in 1873 (not a Society member), who had his bookseller display copies- circulated old issues and subscribed for several numbers.⁹ Later, 'XYZ' in 1889 framed assorted vegetarian literature outside his shop window under the title 'health and wealth'.¹⁰ Sometimes response to this literature was hostile. One Church Guild and Young Men's Institute's copy of the *Herald of the Golden Age* was removed and torn up by several butchers in the choir.¹¹ Although the chief of the Y.W.C.A. organisation approved the distribution of *Heralds* to reading rooms, the Beckenham secretary would not allow copies.¹²

Forward, an editor of several vegetarian journals, deplored reform papers' *outlandish* names. The English feared the 'faddist' label and who would buy a journal entitled 'The Hyperborean' or 'Transcendentalist' for a train journey?¹³ Yet vegetarians, it has been shown (2:5), were aware of, and sometimes gloried in, their faddist reputation. Letters reveal readers' recognition of the reputation of their cause in the *unreformed* world and their occasional pique when additional pet fads were criticised. Others, posing as purely *rational* food reformers, were dismayed when things got too 'faddist' or too 'progressive'. This was particularly the case with the late Nineteenth century weekly, *The Vegetarian*, produced in London.

For some enthusiasts, buying a journal was insufficient. They produced their own. From the 1840s phonographic (shorthand) and phonetic 'ever-circulators' allowed small groups to discuss pet reforms. The Society operated a circulator for local secretaries in 1854; and vegetarianism was the subject of another circulator.¹⁴ A shorthand paper with a circulation figure of eighteen, the *Vegetarian Herald*, was produced by the shorthand expert R.N. Sheldrick*. The quarterly paper

the better life'.

⁸ *VM*, 1859, at £12 monthly. A free-circulation list when the paper was re-launched, included 'Trappists' in Iowa (*DR*, July 1867, p.96).

⁹ *DR*, September 1873, p.320.

¹⁰ *VM*, April 1889, p.95.

¹¹ *HGA*, January 1898, p.6.

¹² *HGA*, June 1898, p.67.

¹³ *Vegetarian*, 19 April 1898, pp.234-235.

¹⁴ J.E.Duncan* had an ever-circulator, see *Phonotypic Journal*, 1844, p.263, p.293. The *Phonetic Examiner and Aspirants' Journal*, serialised a paper on vegetarianism by Dornbusch in c. July-August 1853, see reference in *The Phonetic Journal*, 1853. William Tebb* began a *Dietetic Journal* ever-circulator in August 1851 whilst running a *Truth-Tester* magazine 'devoted to the discussion of social, religious, political and philosophical questions', *Phonetic Journal*, 1 August 1851, p.120; 15 December p.172. Other ever-circulators in the mid 1840s- early 1850s were for foreign languages, science, botany and spade husbandry. *VM*, March 1854, p.25 for the Corresponding Secretary's ever-circulator.

produced by F. Harvey* at the Good Templar lodge in Andover c.1884 has already been mentioned.¹⁵ The young Walter Godfrey* produced a quarterly manuscript *Investigator* (1896-c.1899), concerned with 'matters of reform in regard to our Physical and Spiritual life'.¹⁶

There were also journals which were planned but never produced, such as *Grub*, to be edited by Bernard Shaw and the monthly magazine, announced in 1887, entitled *The Servant of the Age*, to be produced in Exeter by the 'vegetarian butler' E.N. Radford* who invited correspondence and support from workers in temperance, vegetarianism and social purity.¹⁷

II

The organs of a movement.

It has been seen (3:1) that vegetarianism was advocated in the Concordist journals and J.E. Duncan's journals. William Horsell's *The Truth-Tester*, produced by the temperance leader F.R. Lees, continued the Concordists' promotion of vegetarianism (though it also intended 'to grapple with most questions affecting the social, physical, intellectual and moral Health of Man'). Horsell recalled its association of temperance and vegetarianism required 'some degree of courage'.¹⁸ Sales of the journal suffered as a result of this advocacy despite Simpson's funds and sympathisers' efforts to increase circulation.¹⁹ With some trepidation he published the *Vegetarian Advocate*, the Society's first organ and the first avowedly and specifically vegetarian paper. The 2d *Advocate* (published initially in the Isle of Man, then London after postal privileges were abolished), was earnest and ably-produced.²⁰ Despite appreciative reviews in some progressive temperance/ health reform journals and nation-wide subscription, circulation was small. The arrival (1849) of another official vegetarian magazine (intended to be complementary²¹), led to its demise with some financial loss.²² Several other short-lived pro-vegetarian journals and papers (such as *Two Worlds*, previously referred to) were produced by Horsell in the 1850s.

¹⁵'FRH,' *DR*, June 1884, p.182. *Vegetarian*, 7 July 1894, p.325, published a letter from the producer of little weekly magazine devoted to philanthropic, teetotal and vegetarian ideas with 400 readers.

¹⁶Priced at 2s 6d, with sketches by Walter and his brother. A title-page is reproduced in *VM*, September 1899, p.300.

¹⁷*VM*, July 1887, p.204 (1d, engraver and printer W.J. Southwood of Exeter).

¹⁸*VA*, editor's preface and farewell, 1850-1851.

¹⁹Simpson apparently funded the *Truth-Tester*, since James Gaskill* recalled, *VM*, December 1859, p.32, bringing Simpson, in search of an organ and Horsell, in search of funds for his periodical, together.

²⁰See Horsell's ambitious plans for the journal, in note to subscribers, 1 August 1850.

²¹*VA*, September 1849, p.1, it was intended 'as a medium of information between Vegetarians and friend who are not yet convinced'; the *VA* to remain the medium of information for Vegetarians, see *VM*, September 1849, p.1. See reverse of cover, *VM*, December 1849, for concern by 'W.H' about the journal's relationship to *VA*.

²²See the Editor's preface and farewell, in final volume (1850-1851). Despite its demise, it was listed with the *Messenger* in *Moore's Almanac*, 1853.

The newcomer, the *Vegetarian Messenger*, was funded by James Simpson.²³ It began as a plain, un-illustrated production. Artistic sensibility was not to emerge until the 1880s. It was similar to the *Advocate* in its essays on aspects of vegetarianism, temperance, health matters and broader reform concerns. There was a correspondence page, reports of local and annual meetings, and supplement. In addition, in 1851-1852 the Society published two ha'penny periodicals *The Vegetarian Controversialist* and the *Vegetarian Treasury*.²⁴ Circulation in 1854 was apparently 21, 000 copies independent of copies for friends and booksellers. Following Simpson's death, in December 1859 it was 'deemed expedient' to stop publication. Instead the Society paid for four pages in Horsell's *Journal of Health* and planned to disseminate stock of old volumes and Prize Essays.²⁵

In 1860 a new quarterly was launched. The *Dietetic Reformer* subtitled its concerns as 'temperance, long-life, happiness, humanity, thrift, health, plenty, peace, love'. Its first number had a print run of 'more than 800'. There were to be 1000 of the second, 100 of which were sent to 'leading papers and magazines', with supporting prospecti and content bills. The leading temperance publisher William Tweedie offered to publish it in 1863.²⁶ Some 6000 copies in stock in 1871 show that sales were below expectation.²⁷ Yet the journal survived, if not thrived. 12, 000 copies were despatched from October 1883- January 1884, indicating a monthly circulation of 3000.²⁸ Despite revamping the cover, in 1884 any suggestion of coloured paper or ink was rejected as too expensive and probably the stimulus of the London vegetarians was required to make the journal more attractive.²⁹ It was renamed *Vegetarian Messenger* in 1887, and briefly added '*Health Review*' in 1898 after it was 'amalgamated' with the London movement's *Vegetarian Review*.³⁰

²³Initially the publishers were Horsell in London, and William Bremner in Manchester, the printers were brothers R.T. and H.S. Clubb at Stratford St Mary 1849-1850. The first editor was H.S. Clubb. 5000 copies of the first number were issued (December 1849, p.26).

²⁴The supplement, *Vegetarian Controversialist* and *Vegetarian Treasury* was separately paginated, allowing separate distribution. The *Controversialist* was to publish 'free and open discussion' and respond to periodicals and books; the *Treasury* (in small type) culled items from modern and ancient writings and published converts' experience.

²⁵The V.S., concerned that a separate identity be preserved, set conditions and was cautious not to give a 'pledge' to Horsell. G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/1/2, Minute Book, 1859-1875: 21 December 1859; 20 January, 23 July and 2 August 1860.

²⁶Tweedie was informed 'no change was possible at the present.' Published initially by Alexander Ireland, by 1865 the publishers were Job Caudwell in London, Bremner in Manchester, J. Dickson in Edinburgh and G. Gallie of Glasgow. Pitman shortly afterwards was London publisher.

²⁷In 1871 the V.S. obtained estimates for the publication of 1000 monthly, from Ireland, J. Ward of Dewsbury, a Co-operative Printing Company, firms from Dunfermline and a Salford printer. The first number produced by Clark of Dunfermline (January 1872) was a 'disappointment'.

²⁸*DR*, March 1884. In November 1879, p.232 the circulation was stated as 5000 per month.

²⁹*DR*, February 1884, p.viii.

³⁰This was Forward's idea, see *History*, p.170. The announcement in *VM*, December 1897, made clear editorial control remained in Manchester. Amalgamation resulted in a size increase (12 pp.), typographic changes and inclusion of VFU reports. A joint advisory committee alternated between London and Manchester, financial and business responsibility was the Ideal Publishing Union's. However, no benefits being felt, as the *VM* reported, December 1898, p.559, January 1899 saw a return to the old title.

Press comment about the journal is rare though appreciative remarks by two Irish papers, *The Irishman* and *The Nation* in 1862 have been mentioned earlier. A few letters indicate readers' attitudes. In 1862, a teetotal schoolmaster who had read an advertisement for it in Pitman's *Co-operator*- and who had previously viewed vegetarianism as 'a sort of safety-valve, by means of which a number of peculiar individuals allowed their eccentricity to find vent'- was persuaded by the paper's wit, talent and logic.³¹ Another vegetarian (the architect W.L. Sugden*), produced a hand bill advertising the journal along with other 'progressive literature', including the *Examiner*, *Westminster*, *Secular Chronicle*, *Republican Herald*, *Labour Union Chronicle* and *Women's Suffrage Journal*.³²

III

London journals and specialist titles

The movement's revival in the later 1870s was reflected in the production of other periodicals, specialist publications such as annuals, and children's papers. The London movement had its own serials and there were several other pro-vegetarian health reform journals published in London. This development began in July 1875 when T.L. Nichols's penny monthly *The Herald of Health* was launched. In its first year it covered London's emerging food reform efforts and continued to cover vegetarianism in detail throughout its life.³³

It began as a four page *Journal of Sanitary and Social Science* (a copy was sent to the *Dietetic Reformer* which said that there was 'hardly anything we dread more than the appearance of another journal').³⁴ Its circulation in its initial year was mostly free, with over 50, 000 copies distributed in a month as Nichols appreciated the returns in terms of advertisements for his books, commodities and Institute.³⁵ Since there were already periodicals on *sanitary reform* he stressed a more personal and practical approach. The *Herald* was more concerned with individual health and less with the health of towns. Nichols hoped to alert people in the United Kingdom and, if possible, the English speaking world, to:

³¹*DR*, 1 April 1862, p.38.

³²'Finger Posts of Progress,' *DR*, February 1874, p.28.

³³*The Herald of Health. A Journal of Sanitary and Social Science*, 1 July 1875. 1d. Printed by Hay Nisbet, 219, George Street, Glasgow, (recommended to Nichols as 'good, honest, reliable', *HH*, December 1885, p.139). For Nisbet's obituary, *MD*, 1894, p.491.

³⁴*Nichols' Journal of Sanitary and Social Science*, July 1873 (1d; the only number issued).

³⁵*HH*, August 1875, p.24 on the circulation of 50, 000, resulting in orders of books etc., of £750. Nichols and Co., was established at 23 Oxford Street to sell his literature, equipment and commodities. Nichols' books were bestsellers; the firm continued to trade under his name after his direct association with it ceased, see *Vegetarian*, 11 September 1897, p.489.

the importance of health, as the solid basis of all genuine reform and true progress in man and society.

The great want of men and nations is health- the great waste, is the waste of life.³⁶

He was candid about the puffery involved, though he argued that earnest men tended to be egoists: 'The more a man believes he can benefit his fellows, the more personal he becomes.'³⁷ Nichols' earnestness took the form of articles covering such subjects as esoteric anthropology (the title of his famous sexual health manual), hydropathy, Count Rumford's reforms, cataracts, scrofula and consumption, dentition, the national food supply, vegetarian experiments, vaccination, the nervous system, and political subjects such as government and female suffrage. His column answering medical inquiries probably provided the example for T.R. Allinson's correspondence column in the *Weekly Times and Echo*. In the first year circulation reached 20, 000- 60, 000 and he estimated the true readership at five times that figure.³⁸ With the formation of a public company the *Herald* was put on a paying basis. Having hoped to make the *Herald* a weekly, in 1877 he announced a penny weekly, *Our Living Age. A Weekly Condensation of News and Thought* : this never appeared.³⁹

The *Norwich Argus* described the *Herald* as full of nostrums of all sorts: 'Everything that is bad, and can only be made better by entrusting the body and soul, to Dr Nichols and Mrs Nichols. Those who like extremes will find this journal to their taste, for a more extreme production we never met with.'⁴⁰ By contrast the Scottish *Christian Leader* described it as a 'lively health paper, full of bright, crisp sayings'.⁴¹

On Nichols' retirement (1886) the journal was continued by his publisher, James Salsbury* and edited by Forward.⁴² From May 1890 after Salsbury's 'repeated and earnest request' it was edited and published by Chandos Wallace, who made it the organ for the 'Wallace System of Therapeutics' and her husband's 'Physical Regeneration Society'. Owen's account of her life wrongly describes her *Herald* as devoted *exclusively* to dietary matters with the dropping of 'Sanitary and Social Science' from the title, since it remained eclectic (though concerned largely with health).⁴³ In taking it over, as she wrote to Salsbury, she intended it to be a commercial success rather than a philanthropic act:

³⁶ *HH*, 1 July 1875, p.2.

³⁷ *HH*, August 1875, p.24.

³⁸ *HH*, June 1876.

³⁹ *Vegetarian*, 8 May 1897, p.198; on making *HH* a weekly, see June 1876, p.185.

⁴⁰ *HH*, April 1881, p.47.

⁴¹ *HH*, February 1885, p.24. See January 1876, p.101 for Ellen J. Pearce's enthusiasm at the journal, though her fear that it was 'a little too advanced' for popularity.

⁴² Forward also 'wrote the chief part'. He recalled, *Vegetarian*, 11 September 1897, p.489, his impetuous, often near-libellous approach and claimed for it 'very striking results, especially in connection with the Vegetarian Society's operations in the Metropolis'.

⁴³ A. Owen, *The Darkened Room. Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England* (London:

If it is worth reading, it is worth its cost. I will see that it shall be indispensable to every household that has once given it an entrance.⁴⁴

She hoped it would become a penny fortnightly or even a weekly. The *Herald*'s coverage of the various *antis*: anti-vaccination, antivivisection and anti-tobacco, continued. It became the *Women's Vegetarian Union's* official paper in 1897. Its tone, even in the serialised fiction by Wallace and others, was earnest.⁴⁵ One story, *Mary Jane's Experience among the Vegetarians*, was illustrated by Jack Yeats.⁴⁶

The Food Reform Journal and other London journals.

Groom Napier's quarterly *Burlington House*, briefly represented his food reform society c.1878.⁴⁷ There were numerous articles (all by Napier) on vegetarianism, as a solution to trade depression, strikes, as a way of accumulating wealth, as a cure for consumption, and the answer to the 'Threatened Supremacy' of vegetarian Chinese workmen.⁴⁸ He also published letters on evolution by Professor Richard Owen and Frances Power Cobbe. Advertised as a critic of learned societies, the journal expressed Napier's eccentricity by discussing the Israelitish origin of the Scottish, the localities where 'the ancients' mined gold and tin, early Greek migration and included several coloured photographs and lithographs.

More rational was the L.F.R.S./N.F.R.S.'s high-class quarterly *Food Reform Magazine* (1881-5), which expressed its ambitions by a series of lithographic portraits of food reformers, beginning with Sylvester Graham. The periodical came in two parts, essays and verse in the magazine, and the administration and activity of the society in the journal. Contributors included the brothers-in-law H.S. Salt and J.L. Joynes*, and Anna Kingsford. The readership, if not extensive, was international, domestic readership was 'several thousands' with subscriptions from the U.S.A., Africa, India, Russia, Germany, France and Switzerland.⁴⁹

Virago, 1989).

⁴⁴*HH*, 2 June 1890, p.71.

⁴⁵*The Gentleman's Journal*, 15 April 1895 described it as 'one of the most spirited, varied and useful two penny monthlies. It is thoroughgoing, up-to-date, and teeming with information' (cited in *HH*, May 1895).

⁴⁶Subsequently published by the Philanthropic Press. On Yeats' illustrations in vegetarian journals, see H. Pyle, *Jack B. Yeats. A Biography* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p.33, and bibliography.

⁴⁷*Burlington House, a magazine and critic of the Royal Academy Museum, University Learned Societies and Burlington Debating Association. The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900*, p.780, reproduces the title page to the British Library's damaged copy of volume 1 (May 1878-1879). No other volume survives.

⁴⁸*MD*, 2 May 1878, p.330, for an appreciative review by Chandos Leigh Hunt.

⁴⁹*Food Reform Magazine*, April- July 1882. Editorial comment.

Edward Curtice*, a temperance publisher and Good Templar, planned another journal but it was the leader of the London movement, A.F. Hills, who introduced the next journal after securing copyright and goodwill from Curtice. The penny weekly *Vegetarian* was produced from 1888 (continuing, less frequently, to 1921). Sharing with others in the 1880s- 1890s, the desire to make the movement more appealing, Hills conceived it as an 'Independent journal' to be published 'under a more comprehensive title'.⁵⁰ When it was launched however, it was entitled the *Vegetarian*. Funded at a heavy loss by Hills; in response to criticism of his own mystical and idealist articles he emphasised that the journal was not officially the L.V.S.'s organ.⁵¹ However, since he was the driving force behind London activity the distinction was slight; and the journal carried detailed reports of metropolitan and provincial campaigns. By 1895 it was accepted as the Vegetarian Federal Union's organ.⁵²

The journal certainly reflected Hills' concern that vegetarianism should be recognised as a necessity to the 'ideal'. The prospectus announced its aim to be a 'radical, yet rational reformer, cutting at the roots of our national vices and sorrows, by breaking down the prejudices which protect them' and argued that food reform was directly related to problems of urban life-overcrowding, lack of housing and food for the poor which led to immorality and disease, the land question and resettlement of the unemployed in the 'natural home' of the countryside. All these topics figured in future issues.

The first year saw a serialisation of Hills' boys' story 'Sunshine or Shadow,' a health column conducted by T.L. Nichols, vegetarian and temperance biography, a series by J.E.B. Mayor ('Works of Mercy') examining 'cognate reforms', vegetarian tales from the East End (by Harry Phillips*, illustrated by Jack Yeats) and an essay on 'Individual Liberty and State Compulsion' by the political philosopher and vegetarian, Auberon Herbert*. There was a four-part study of Dr Barnardo's work (Barnardo was a contributor in 1892-1893). Later, an interesting feature was Raymond Blathwayt's short series of interviews with celebrities.⁵³ There were sections devoted to women and children. Columns dealt with cookery, gardening, sports and even the theatre, art and legal inquiries. Political and social questions covered included land reform (and a controversy over the 'feudalism' of the countryside), old age pensions, trade unions and the McKinley Tariff. Some of these questions

⁵⁰G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/2/1, 1887. See Forward, *History*, p.91 for Curtice's narrower conception of the journal. See *Vegetarian News*, December 1922, p.374 for Forward's recollections of the journal, and excerpt from his lost satire *Confessions of a Vegetarian*.

⁵¹'Personal Explanation', *Vegetarian*, 4 February 1888, p.6; for further criticism of his writings, 9 February 1889, (Richard Gill, *pro-Hills*) p.90 (p.91, Leslie Large, *anti*), and Hills' reply, 16 February, p.106.

⁵²*Vegetarian*, 16 March 1895, p.127.

⁵³*Vegetarian*, 15 January, p.41: Shaw; 29 January 1898, p.73: Naoroji; 12 February, pp.105-106: Reverend Russell Wakefield; 5 March, p.153: W.T. Stead; 26 March, p.199: Grant Allen; 16 April, p.247: Reverend W.D. Morrison; 26 November, pp.759-760: Haldane Macfall (stepson of novelist Sarah Grand); 31 December, p.839: Cutcliffe Hyne.

were represented in page-length cartoons by Sidney H. Sime and Jack Yeats.⁵⁴ There were even commissioned or reprinted short stories by Quiller-Couch, the Queen of Rumania and oddly, Henty.⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, by 1891 it described itself as a 'general newspaper covering all topics which tend to benefit humanity' rather than a vegetarian paper.⁵⁶

The journal was artistic, reflecting a transformation in publishing⁵⁷ and London's more sophisticated aesthetic sensibility, also represented by highly decorative handbills and posters (reproduced in the *Vegetarian*). The latter had their critics; a committee of the L.V.S. felt that the ornamentation was 'in excess of that Advisable'.⁵⁸ Preciousness was also reflected in one advertisement in the late 1890s, when the *Vegetarian* was advertised as leading:

towards PERFECT HEALTH. It points towards GENTLENESS, KINDNESS, HUMANENESS. It points towards SELF-CONQUEST. It gathers up the seeds that have been scattered by sages ever since the world began, and the jewels that are to be found embedded in every religion, and points to that Ideal Future when LIFE and PEACE shall be twin sisters through out all the world.⁵⁹

It was promoted as 'a radical and rational reformer' with expert articles on agriculture, horticulture and fruit-culture.⁶⁰ It was 'a weapon both of attack and of defence... every effort will be made to secure the best, the wisest, and the wittiest writers on behalf of the Reform advocated.'⁶¹ It certainly had a high reputation in the vegetarian world, the American *Universal Republic* describing it as one of the world's leading reform papers.⁶² The progressive *New Age* described the paper as 'spirited' and 'earnest' in 1899.⁶³ Even the critical *Fife Herald* acknowledged the paper was 'smartly' edited.⁶⁴ W.H. Smith's reported increasing orders in 1898.⁶⁵

⁵⁴E.g., *Vegetarian*, 23 August 1890, p.537, 'Dockers Union Refusing Members'; 11 October 1890, p.649, 'Free Trade vs Protection' (Sime: about the McKinley Tariff); 18 October, p.681 (Sime: Socialism and the Law); 29 November, p.761, 'meat inspection' (Yeats). Sime was a leading illustrator of the period, see H. Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties. A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, (1913; London: Pelican Books, 1950), p.35, p.286, pp.296-298.

⁵⁵*Vegetarian*, January 1897 (Carmen Sylva, Queen of Rumania); 27 February 1897 ('Q'); 10 April (G.A. Henty; a story also appeared 5 January 1895).

⁵⁶*Newspaper Press Directory* (London: C.Mitchell), 1889, p.64; 1891, p.74.

⁵⁷In *Vegetarian*, 4 January 1890, p.10, T.L. Nichols wrote: 'Only in our time has beauty become so cheap': the *Vegetarian* in 1896 reproduced paintings by Raphael and Botticelli.

⁵⁸G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24/1/2/1, 22 October 1888.

⁵⁹Advertisement in Lt. Col. L. T. Wintle, *The Dietary of Troops* (London: The 'Vegetarian' office, 1892).

⁶⁰In R.E. O'Callaghan, *The Best Diet for a working man, with month's dietary* (London: L.V.S., 1891). See *Newspaper Press Directory*, 1899: 'A high class journal devoted to a crusade against the barbarisms of a carnivorous diet. Pure food is discussed by medical men and scientists. An excellent advancing medium for natural foods.'

⁶¹*Vegetarian Yearbook*, 1898, advertisements overleaf of cover.

⁶²*Vegetarian*, 19 June 1897.

⁶³*Vegetarian*, 1 January 1899, p.1.

⁶⁴*Vegetarian*, 5 March 1898, p.140.

Since the *Vegetarian* was designed deliberately to demonstrate a 'many-sided Liberalism' on all current issues it necessitated a certain tolerance and/or selectivity by readers. Some clearly misunderstood its founder's intentions. One critic wrote that the *Vegetarian* was 'hardly the proper medium in which to discuss advanced social and political questions,' though this was because it had readers of 'so many different shades of politics' who might be driven to throw the journal on the fire.⁶⁶ By contrast a shop assistant, at a time of labour unrest and debate on working hours, asked the *Vegetarian* to take a position on political matters.⁶⁷ A clerk in a large store wrote to show his appreciation of an article by Tolstoy and report the favour the journal found at home; *despite* articles which questioned the 'necessity of death' he was now circulating numbers.⁶⁸ Another reader found it worthwhile to divide the *Vegetarian* according to the temperament of his correspondents (sending out sections on health and beauty to his daughter).⁶⁹ The Anglican clergyman Alfred Bodington had to remove 'eccentric' articles discussing nudism 'before venturing to circulate your otherwise admirable as well as bright and sparkling "weekly"'.⁷⁰ Another reader referred to the paper's 'peculiar class of literary matter in its pages, ranging from agnosticism to the doings of ladies who have figured prominently in the divorce courts'.⁷¹ Whilst some ultra-puritans were concerned about theatre reviews, others praised its moral tone, 'markedly its own, and differing greatly from the common order of 'New Journalism''.⁷²

There was also a monthly review produced independently by C.W. Forward (1891-1892) to 'infuse a little life into vegetarian literature'.⁷³ When Hills acquired the *Review* he hoped to use it to 'bring Vegetarian ideas into line with contemporary thought', with articles ranging from the practical to the abstruse ideal; space being the only limitation on discussion of subjects from the 'vegetarian view point'. The prospectus emphasised the quality of the type, paper and photographs.⁷⁴ It reviewed vegetarian and allied literature, conducted interviews, published essays

⁶⁵ *Vegetarian*, 3 December 1898, p.767.

⁶⁶ J.S. Herron, *Vegetarian*, 24 February 1894, p.96; see T.N. Roberts, *Vegetarian*, 19 April 1890, p.254 for similar criticism of politics (and reports on 'interspersed sports') in journal's new 'Mustard and Cress' section.

⁶⁷ 'The Vegetarian and Politics', *Vegetarian*, 26 April 1890, p.269 see also 10 May, p.300.

⁶⁸ 'C.R.H.L.', *Vegetarian*, 3 March 1894, p.109.

⁶⁹ *Vegetarian*, 1890.

⁷⁰ *Vegetarian*, 15 December 1894, p.616.

⁷¹ C.K. Murray, *Vegetarian*, 1 March 1890, p.141.

⁷² Walter Strafford, *Vegetarian*, 14 February 1891, p.108; W.G. Stubbs, 29 July 1893, p.358 on theatre.

⁷³ *Vegetarian Review*, July 1895, p.209. C.W. Forward (with assistance by R.E. O'Callaghan), ed., *The Hygienic Review* (London: Memorial Hall) 1891-1892, quarterly, price 2d; C.W. Forward, ed., *The Hygienic Review. A Journal of Hygiene, Dietetics, and Social Reform* quarterly, price 6d; renamed *The Vegetarian Review*, January 1894 (London: The Ideal Publishing Union); as a monthly from January 1895-1897, *The Vegetarian Review* (London: Ideal Publishing Union, Vegetarian Federal Union), price 2d (January 1896 it increased from 36 to 48 pages).

⁷⁴ *Hygienic Review*, July 1893, p.553.

and printed reports of provincial and branch activity. The *Review* (1893) had extensive illustrations and interviews with celebrities by the well-known journalist S.A. Tooley.⁷⁵ There was a sense of humour too, something not apparent in earlier vegetarian journalism or the wider temperance press. The *Hygienic Review* briefly sold as a 6d monthly before returning to the original cheaper price. Though said to be issued in large numbers, the report that the June and July numbers for 1895 were 'sold out' suggests this was unusual.⁷⁶

The 'Ideal Publishing Union' was established as a profit-sharing limited company to help make the periodicals financially successful.⁷⁷ It attempted what may be described as a 'humanitarian *Strand Magazine*', but the budget and talent were too limited to make the venture successful.⁷⁸ In 1898 the Union acquired the 'National Temperance Depôt', in order to extend its value as an educational agency for the temperance movement in general.⁷⁹

Another journal, published by Curtice's publishing partner Romeike, was the *Allinsonian Weekly Star and Romeike's Register of Houses, Apartments, Businesses, Vacancies, Wants, Auctions etc.*, (published 1886-1889) which became the *Weekly Star and Vegetarian Restaurant Gazette*.⁸⁰ It featured articles by Allinson, coverage of his 'Natural Living Society', letters of inquiry on health, recipes, notes on the Good Templars and various 'anti' concerns. One series of articles related to Edward Bellamy's highly successful utopian novel, *Looking Backwards*.⁸¹ When the *Star* failed, there was a brief hiatus before the publication of the *Hygienic Advertiser* (1891-1892), a small penny monthly owned by Ernest May, printed by the New Fellowship Press and devoted to 'Natural Living, Physical Culture, Health Reform etc., etc.,' which advertised the activity of Allinson's society,

⁷⁵Tooley interviewed women celebrities for Lady Henry Somerset's *Woman's Signal*, c.1894.

⁷⁶*Vegetarian Review*, July 1895, p.209.

⁷⁷Prospectus, *Vegetarian*, 9 December 1893; *VM*, February 1894, pp.55-57. Forward was managing director, Hills was to own 1000 of the 10 000 £1 shares and be chairman of the board of directors.

⁷⁸*The Merry-go-round. An Unconventional Journal*, (a 6d monthly, January to June 1894). This was presented as a publication for the general public which would aid vegetarianism and kindred movements like anti-vaccination, peace and anti-vivisection. It would not 'in any sense' be a vegetarian publication, unless editing, writing, illustration by vegetarians made it so. It was to be 'largely humorous' and lavishly illustrated. See *Vegetarian Review*, 1894, p.551.

⁷⁹See *Vegetarian*, January 1898, p.ii; November 1898, p.743. The Union's manager was H.J.Osborn*. Other titles produced by the Depôt included the *White Ribbon*, *United Temperance Gazette*, *Temperance Record*, *Temperance Mirror* and *Medical Temperance Review* The *United Temperance Gazette*, the organ of the National United Temperance Council established through A.F. Hills, did carry articles on vegetarianism, see 1896, pp.105-106; and 1897, pp.41-42.

⁸⁰Subtitled '*The anti-alcohol, anti-tobacco, anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, anti-physic and anti-gambling journal. The Organ of the Natural Living Society*'. 3 August- 21 September, 1889. The first extant copy at the British Library Newspaper Library, Colindale, is 4 May 1889 Curtice and Romeike established Curtice and Romeike's Press Cutting Agency.

⁸¹See reference in V.L. Parrington, *American Dreams. A Study of American Utopias*, p.90 to the correspondent Reynolds, author of *Prefaces and Notes, Illustrative, Explanatory, Demonstrative, Augmentative and Expostulatory to Mr Edward Bellamy's Famous book, 'Looking Backward'* (London 1890), who saw his own 'Nonsecomnes' -penned 'some thirty years' earlier- as an influence (Parrington refers to the *Weekly Star*).

without being its official organ. It was renamed the *Hygienic Adviser* to correct the impression that the paper was a commercial venture. Columns offered health advice on aspects of natural living such as reformed dress, fresh air, swimming and anti-vaccination, and news on the N.L.S. It endorsed phrenology and Ida Ellis' 'Universal Phrenology Society'. A biography of the vegetarian Positivist, William Frey*, was serialised. It advertised the Humanitarian League, Free Russia cause (starting an appeal for Russian famine victims) and *Malthusian Advertiser*.⁸² The *Hastings News* fairly assessed it as having 'a great deal of the American style of gross exaggeration in some of the "fad" portions of the little pamphlet', but was appreciative and other favourable notices came from the *Charity Record*, *Belfast Morning News* and other provincial papers. *The Vegetarian* thought it had the appearance of a quack medicine almanac and simply promoted its proprietor.⁸³ The journal briefly continued after May's split with Allinson. Another late Victorian journal partly concerned with food reform was D.H. Kress's *Life and Health*. Its first article was penned by Kellogg of Battle Creek: Kress had worked at the sanatorium for many years.⁸⁴

It has been seen that Burns produced a ½d monthly *Vegetarian Advocate*, (special editions 'nominal price') from 1890, partly directed against Densmore's 'anti-vegetarian quackery'.⁸⁵ It carried a great deal of material, often from the *Medium and Daybreak*. The circulation was small and because free copies were distributed at open-air meetings it was produced at a loss and added to Burns' publishing burden.⁸⁶

IV

Specialist serial titles

The 'Golden Age' and 'Danielite' Orders published journals. Richardson's *Danielite Herald*, published in Pitman's shorthand, began in September 1878; in 1900 he claimed it was the 'oldest shorthand ever-circulator'.⁸⁷ The *Danielite Star* (May 1887-1931) began as a plain halfpenny publication of four pages with one short article, aphorisms, witticisms and telling extracts. Its masthead was the Hebrew 'Danielim' surrounded by rays. Richardson modelled it on the Anti-Tobacco Society's *Monthly Letter* to reach scattered Danielites. It was temporarily abandoned with the notice that the *Vegetarian*, 'an excellent advocate of our principles,' made it redundant. *The Herald of the Golden Age* (1896-1918), was the Order's smartly-produced and illustrated penny

⁸²*Hygienic Advertiser*, May 1891.

⁸³*Vegetarian*, 30 May 1891, p.300.

⁸⁴*HGA*, 15 September 1899. It was published at Holloway Road.

⁸⁵No copies survive, but it is excerpted in *MD*. It was also described as *The Independent Vegetarian Advocate for Humane Natural Science and Social Progress*.

⁸⁶*MD*, 22 March 1895, p.5. See 'appeal to active vegetarians' in *MD*, 1891, p.81.

⁸⁷*Phonetic Journal*, 21 July 1900; it continued into the 1920s.

monthly (from 1897 the Scottish Vegetarian Society's official monthly). It advertised itself as advocating hygienic common-sense, practical Christianity and social reform; and claimed to circulate in twenty countries and colonies, including New Zealand, West Australia and India.⁸⁸ Articles were penned by members of the Order such as Pengelly, Forward and Oldfield, and other vegetarians such as the novelist Mona Caird* and J. Howard Moore of Chicago. Many illustrations were by Charles Dawson, a designer of rational costumes and covers for several other reform journals.⁸⁹ Advertisements appeared for similar 'moral reform' journals like the American *Esoteric*, *Temple*, *Self-Knowledge*, *World's Advanced Thought*, the British *Vegetarian*, *Theosophical Review*, and probably for its Tolstoyan connections, the *Anglo-Russian*.

In addition, there were specialist serials such as annuals, almanacs, yearbooks and juvenile literature. *Almonds and Raisins* (1882-1888) was the Vegetarian Society's Christmas annual, edited by Bailey-Walker* and then Beatrice Lindsay*, who emphasised that its function was encouragement and exhortation, not amusement.⁹⁰ Many articles were culled from food reform and other journals. Yearly calendars and guidance on seasonal diet were provided. The Irish vegetarian J.S. Herron produced the *Vegetarian Almanack* for over two decades from 1879.⁹¹ This illustrated publication included poetry, essays, vegetarian news, recipes, publication notices and obituaries.⁹² The *Apple Tree Annual* (1886-c.1891) was produced by the restaurateur Glendinning. The 1891 edition sold 30,000 copies, and contained recipes and articles which were 'broad and enlightened'.⁹³ Issued first in 1889 (and Forward's idea), the V.F.U.'s *Vegetarian Yearbook* provided biographies, polemics, portraits, dietary advice, interesting facts, directories of restaurants and hotels, calendar and publications for the vegetarian.⁹⁴

⁸⁸A Parsi, N. F. Bilimoria, translated articles for his vegetarian-temperance journal *Cherâg* [*The Lamp*] c.1900. Mr Stugelman of Calcutta canvassed subscribers and the membership lists 1905-1910 show many Indians supporter. The paper was quoted in a Montreal paper as a result of an enthusiastic member of the Order, Florence Helsby, described in *HGA*, January 1905, p.10, as a journalist of 'considerable influence'.

⁸⁹See *Labour Annual* (edited and published by Joseph Edwards*, Wallasey, Cheshire), 1899, p.181; and British Library catalogue.

⁹⁰*Almonds and Raisins*, 1886, The Editor. The British Library's copy of volume 1 (1882) is bound with *DR* for 1883.

⁹¹Earlier, as one in a range of almanacs, Horsell published *The Illustrated Physiological and Vegetarian Almanac for 1850* (1849), the only catalogued copy (out of some 5,000 printed), in the British Library, was destroyed in the Second World War. Another was produced in 1851. Nichols produced *Dr Nichols' Health Almanack*, c.1879-c.1885. Localised issues were retailed by Smallman in Manchester, F.W. Smith in Leeds, and James Smith in Edinburgh c. 1879. Sydney Young* produced an Almanac, 1888-1889.

⁹²4d publication (no copies in British Library), advertisement in *Vegetarian*, January 1898, p.v. See *Vegetarian*, 4 January 1890, p.13 for criticism of Almanacks as conventional and feeble, for criticism of commemoration of battles, races etc., see *Vegetarian*, 2 February 1895, p.64.

⁹³*MD*, 1891, p.173. Copies of the *Apple Tree Annual* for 1887-1891 are in the British Library. The 1890 edition noted that there were still orders for the first issue although there were no more copies, and that there were 'a few copies' for 1887-1889.

⁹⁴C.W. Forward editor 1889-1893. It lapsed in 1894 and was replaced by an enlarged report before being revived. J. Oldfield, ed., *The Illustrated Vegetarian Yearbook* (1896); Forward edited the 1898 edition. Forward also edited a *Vegetarian Birthday Book* (1898).

In 1893-1894, the attractively produced but pious *Daisy Basket* was published for the children organised since 1885 in a 'Daisy Society' (in the late 1880s there had been a magazine on tinted paper, *Daisy Leaves*).⁹⁵ Conducted by 'Uncle' Joseph Knight, it incorporated book reviews, correspondence, short stories and verse; but the poor response to prizes, and the recurring correspondents emphasises the juvenile society's small size. This was followed by Frances Boulton's *Rainbow*, with its suitably multicoloured cover. In the Edwardian period she founded *The Children's Garden*, a halfpenny monthly which reported the activity of her juvenile Ivy Leaf society and featured biographies and photographs of vegetarian children and their families. Its green cover depicted a brother and sister reading with their dog in an idyllic garden, and Luther's opinion that 'No greater harm is done to Christendom than by the neglect of the children; therefore to advance the cause of Christ, we must begin with them'. In the first year over 36,000 were circulated. In 1906 this was succeeded by *The Children's Realm*, conducted by George Bedborough*, who had gained notoriety as editor of *The Adult*, a pioneer sexological journal (1897-1899).⁹⁶

IV

Assessment

Horsell had little success when, after suffering the pioneer's fate with the *Advocate*, he attempted other journals supporting the range of good causes in the 1850s. The movement's small scale and the fragmenting nature of food reform, with its rival centres and schools in the late Nineteenth century meant that vegetarianism could support very few enduring journals. Such periodicals ran at a loss, especially with missions for free copies for public institutions. Yet they continued to be produced and in the context of frequently short-lived reform periodicals some (*Vegetarian Messenger*, *Vegetarian*, *Herald of Health*) survived for a relatively long period of time.⁹⁷ The Somerset butler's projected vegetarian/temperance journal for servants, bizarre though it was, reflects the food reformers' fervour. Since the more 'broad' food reform periodicals struggled, this scheme was unlikely to succeed, but it raises again the question of the movement's class dimension which has earlier been considered from the viewpoint of the restaurants' clientele. The next chapter begins by examining this question more closely.

⁹⁵The Daisy Society, founded by W.M. Wright (see *Vegetarian*, 9 June 1888, p.153), was funded by the legacy from the zoophilist Matilda Cooper.

⁹⁶*The Rainbow*; *The Children's Garden* (1900); *The Children's Realm. A Journal to teach the higher way of living to the young*, (1906-1914).

⁹⁷*Labour Annual*, 1899, p.133: 'as usual, the year's OBITUARY of the Reform Press is heavy'.

5:1 *Vegetarianism, the Working Class and the Labour Movement*

This chapter examines the movement's class and gender dimensions. Its social location will already have been apparent from subchapters examining temperance and other health reforms, in relation to provincial and metropolitan activities, and study of the restaurants' clientele. The first section considers the *appeal* to the working class throughout the period. Food thrift is explored as a manifestation of the middle-class philanthropy to which vegetarianism also belonged. As a coda to the section on utopian socialist and chartist links explored earlier (3:1), the relationship with late Victorian socialism is examined.

I

The appeal to the working class.

It will be recalled that Brown's essay on physical puritanism indicated the extent of support amongst middle-class and upper middle-class men and women of his acquaintance. Mention has been made of the novelty of 'vegetarianism in Mayfair' in the *fin de siècle*; elite acquaintance with food reform was also manifested by such events as debates at the Oxford Union and Eton College (a majority of two were in favour of it).¹ Typically the social location was humbler; but it was essentially middle-class and upper working-class. The *Daily News* of late 1855, erred in its belief that the movement was restricted to a few hundred 'working men'.² They were certainly avidly courted from the start. Dornbusch's private meetings were 'chiefly intended for working men', the Liverpool association held a soiree to demonstrate the cheapness and plenty to working class audiences.³ Audiences were described as 'respectable', suggesting preaching to the already converted self-improvers.⁴ The Society's statistics (published to demonstrate the diet's relevance for all classes and occupations) indicate the importance of working-class support in the pre-1859 period but caution is needed since no distinction between labourer, mechanic and tradesman is observed, most probably precisely to emphasise the movement's popular appeal.⁵

¹ *DR*, April 1880, p.80. Aristocratic puritanism was indicated in 2:2 in reference to Bertrand Russell's grandmother. Others were: the Mount Temples, the Dowager Marchioness of Queensberry, Florence Dixie, Lady Gwendolen Herbert and A.E.W.M. Herbert, and Arthur Trevelyan. See Jessica Mitford's *Hons and Rebels* (London: Penguin, 1962), pp.29-31 for her mother's dietary/hygienic fads. See also titled vegetarians, G.M.C.R.O.-V.S., G24 78, clipping from *Daily Mirror*, 24 August 1905.

² *VM*, November 1855, pp.96-99:

³ *VM*, June 1853, local operations: p.11 (Dornbusch); supplement: p.3 (Liverpool soiree).

⁴ E.g., *VM*, May 1855, supplement: p.23 (Birmingham).

⁵ See Appendix A for occupational profiles: A.1 tabulates occupational profiles 1852-1859. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement' p.87, tabulates statistics for only 3 sample years, February 1850, February 1853 and January 1858 and does not comment on 'double counting' in classification, which makes totals differ from the actual sums. Women were simply represented as a total, so class composition may be skewed by the lack of information.

Plebeians who combined self-reform and social reform, such as Perkin*, the forge-labourer mentioned earlier (3:4) who abandoned 'snuff, novel-reading, smoking' for solid, useful and elevating knowledge, were undoubtedly attracted. Vegetarian from 1849, he asserted that the diet allowed him to survive in a dangerous and laborious (12-14 hours daily work) trade and still have time for mental culture.⁶ Another working-class supporter, also already teetotal, was Nathaniel Griffin, whose presence on the platform as a representative 'independent working man' indicates the limited pool of suitable labourers for early propagandists.⁷ The 'independent working man' and the self-made man continued to figure in propaganda. The anonymous subject of Groom Napier's well-publicised 'Autobiography' rightly thought he should be an 'appendix to Smiles' *Self-Help*'.⁸

Annual reports expressed the opinion that 'exceptional prosperity' was inimical to the cause.⁹ Vegetarians appreciated their opportunities during times of economic hardship.¹⁰ Seasonal hardship provided another opportunity to demonstrate the practical benefits to vegetarianism, and, as mentioned earlier (3:6) such philanthropic work won vegetarians a measure of support. Stimulated by the example of H.L.J. Jones' efforts in Liverpool, the 'National Food Supply Association' (founded 1893) represented the combination of the London vegetarians with the Bread Reform League in the provision of hot food from metropolitan depots.¹¹

It has already been seen what efforts were made to attract working class interest in London in this period. If the Ideal Club catered for the '“common soldiers” in the ranks of labour,' their unemployed members were also targeted. A.F. Hills (a major paternalist employer whose interest in industrial and social problems is outlined in his biographical entry) linked vegetarianism with agricultural work at his 'Unemployed Farm' at Billericay.¹² The *Vegetarian* discussed General Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out* and reported activity (cookery classes, dinners, efforts to form a society) in the East End.¹³

⁶ *VM*, June 1854.

⁷ Griffin was at Accrington, *VM*, May 1854, pp.41-45; in Edinburgh, *VM*, November 1854, supplement: p.96; in Colchester, *VM*, 7 December 1854. *VM*, August 1857, local operations, p.16 reported the distribution of a thousand copies of his speech to 'working people' who thought vegetarianism a weakening regime.

⁸ C.O.G. Napier, 'The Autobiography of a Vegetarian. A True Narrative of a Successful Career' was first published in *Fraser's Magazine* in 1876, and reprinted in America in *Littell's Living Age*, 12 August 1876.

⁹ See annual reports, *DR*, 1866; January 1869. Such an attitude naturally risked alienating the public, as did dwelling on disasters; the *Glasgow Herald* posed as outraged by vegetarians' attitude ('cant and twaddle') to the rinderpest and potato blight and 'misrepresented' their statements on wages, see *DR*, April 1867, p.37.

¹⁰ See letter by 'J.H.', *DR*, October 1880, p.219; *Vegetarian*, 20 November 1897, p.653 (May Yates exploiting the 'present crisis' of the Engineers' strike), *Vegetarian*, 5 November 1898, p.729 (G.C. Wade, of Rhondda miners' strike).

¹¹ *The Merry-go-round*, 1894, pp.391-395; *VM*, January 1894, p.11. It was intended to have a national organisation but was limited to London.

¹² *Vegetarian*, 23 April 1898, p.264; p.775. Unemployment was the subject of his opening essay in the *Merry-go-round*. The *Vegetarian* advertised J.A. Hobson's *Poverty*.

¹³ Serial notices on Booth's work in *Vegetarian*, 1891; East End activity included the opening of rooms for

In the later Victorian period new (V.S.) members' occupations were printed by their names, making possible a detailed occupational profile of the movement. This suggests (as the lists were no doubt intended to) a movement with wide-ranging appeal.¹⁴ There was no doubt a desire to record plebeian voices but these, as opposed to artisan or middle-class converts, are uncommon. The rare statements on the class appeal of efforts in this period indicate that the most responsive were the 'upper working class and middle classes'.¹⁵ The unlikely assertion that vegetarians *were* 'largely recruited from the sons of toil' has already been encountered.¹⁶ Twigg presents vegetarianism in the late Nineteenth century as somewhat more middle-class, attracting the support of a new metropolitan white-collar population (identified earlier as key users of the restaurants) rather than 'labour' but the plebeian support in the earlier period should not be overstated.¹⁷ Also, there were serious attempts to reach out to 'workers'.

English plebeians like Perkin and the temperance lecturer Bormond were aware that most people (and not simply the oft-stressed Irish and Scots) were largely vegetarian of *necessity*.¹⁸ Vegetarians had to combat a general desire for a mixed diet in which meat was more than a mere flavouring. The relationship between rising living standards and increased meat consumption has been studied before.¹⁹ A middle class writer interested in the food question as a result of W.G. Ward's letters in the *Times*, asked her maid what her family ate, and was told 'Why beef and mutton, ma'am, every day! Working people *want* their meat.'²⁰ Her maid thought, like the majority, that a meat diet was necessary in the British climate.²¹

lectures and food (*Vegetarian*, 5 March 1892, p.112); efforts by Alderman Phillips who contributed a series of East End stories to the *Vegetarian*; plans to establish an East End society in Whitechapel were announced in *Vegetarian*, 19 February 1898, p.114. The 'Women's Vegetarian Union' established by Alexandrine Veigle had monthly meetings in the East End; an associated East London Pure Food Depot was established by C. Eamonson in 1899, see *HH*, August 1899, p.120.

¹⁴Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', errs in stating that occupational information ceases shortly after 1875.

¹⁵It is only in the *Vegetarian* in 1898 that replies by provincial secretaries (Wales, Ireland, Midlands) to questions about class appear.

¹⁶*HH*, 1 March 1890.

¹⁷Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', pp.115-116. Clerks comprised the major occupational group in the vegetarian movement from the 1870s onwards, though of course the variety in income and status was considerable, between, for instance, the railway clerk and bank clerk. See in general, the essays in G. Crossick, ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977). It would be interesting to study the journals of lower middle-class occupational groups such as clerks (e.g., *The Clerk's Journal*) to see what, if any coverage there was of vegetarianism; since there are no references picked up in the vegetarian press it is likely that the coverage was limited.

¹⁸*VM*, June 1854 (Perkin); and same number for comment by bricklayer at Hull meeting about the popular wonder *despite* their barely mixed diet (Bormond).

¹⁹A good survey of the subject is V.J. Knapp, 'The Democratisation of Meat and Protein in Europe,' *The Historian* 59, no.3 (Spring 1997), pp.541-551.

²⁰E.E. Orlebar, *Food for the People. Or Lentils, and other Vegetable Cookery* (London: Sampson, Low, 1879), p.12.

²¹See the anti-vegetarian *The Food Journal*, 1 September 1873, p.313, for condemnation of servants as 'gross animal feeders'. The question of middle class vegetarians' servants generated several attempts at Vegetarian Agencies, e.g., *DR*, October 1884, p.x; and efforts by the Women's Vegetarian Union. See

Frustration at working men and women's lack of interest in the movement was explained as 'stupidity' by Anna Kingsford: 'you cannot hammer anything into their minds. They have an idea that there is a certain fund of strength in meat which they cannot get out of anything else'.²² For her, it was chiefly the middle classes that would comprehend and sympathise with the movement since the poor were too ignorant and the rich were too self-indulgent.²³ The inability to remove such dietetic errors from working class minds was emphasised too by Dr Norman Kerr*, who said that they were convinced porridge was 'cheap and nasty'.²⁴ A similar lack of sympathy was shown by Dr Alfred Crespi* who condemned plebeian provisioning and cookery as 'laziness'.²⁵ The working man was a natural Conservative in diet, addicted to his beef, beer and bacca.²⁶ Even the plebeian Burns deplored the 'perverted' and 'fastidious' tastes of the near-destitute.²⁷

Conventional wisdom assumed that hard physical work required a mixed diet.²⁸ Apart from dietetic prejudice and sheer ignorance about the movement²⁹, there were economic barriers to a vegetarian diet. Low demand for vegetarian specialities meant high prices for wholemeal flour (flour-mills were an additional expense), lentils and beans, or their complete absence.³⁰ Fruit and vegetables were not cheap³¹, though indeed, they might be more expensive in the countryside.³² Recipes could be too elaborate.³³ Experimentalists found the diet was therefore not necessarily economical.³⁴

Almonds and Raisins, 1885, p.58 for Minnie Knight's dialogue between two vegetarians in which the servants' yielding to vegetarianism 'after a little talking to and the gift of a few tracts on the subject' is mentioned.

²²*Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.22 (a speech at V.S. May Meeting).

²³*Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.3.

²⁴*Food Reform Magazine*, July 1881, p.19.

²⁵*VM*, March 1889, pp.57-58 citing his article in *National Review*. Crespi was writing from experience of the rural 'poorer classes'. See *Vegetarian Review*, August 1895, for Crespi on the Dorset labourer. Florence Stacpoole (no vegetarian) similarly condemned popular dependence on meat as laziness in *Handbook of Housekeeping for Small Incomes* (London: Walter Scott), pp.110-111.

²⁶T. May, complaining that he never saw a working man in a vegetarian dining room, *Vegetarian*, 12 November 1898, p.745; George Poyntz ('artisan') *WTE*, 14 April 1889, p.6.

²⁷*Vegetarian*, 2 March 1888, p.137; *MD*, 22 February 1889, p.116.

²⁸See the typical response to early vegetarian propaganda in W.L. Sargant's *The Economy of the Labouring Classes* (1857), pp.165-170. Note also that Sargant, like many apologists, saw the value of animal food in ease of digestion and concentration, making it suitable for the mechanic, enabling 'him to work with activity a greater number of hours, and to get through a greater quantity of work than would be possible with a vegetable diet'.

²⁹See *VM*, March 1890, p.79 for the letter of T.F. O'Connell in Glasgow who found that none of the 500 workers at a hair factory knew anything about vegetarianism.

³⁰*DR*, 1880, pp.249-249; 'Vegetarian in embryo' *Vegetarian*, 28 April 1888, p.59.

³¹As 'Evacustes' Phipson*, of the Nationalisation of Labour Society (a vegetarian), pointed out, *VM*, April 1893, p.151.

³²'C.W.M.', in *VM*, August 1859.

³³*VM*, June 1890, p.157, H.G. Gibson. Elaborate public banquets designed to rebut charges of self-denial in the early 1850s led some to believe the system was expensive, see the Quaker 'A.W.', Darlington, *VM*, May 1859, p.62.

³⁴See *Vegetarian*, 18 June 1898, for the comment by the freethinker J.M. Robertson.

It has been seen how limited organised vegetarianism was in rural districts. Much late Victorian propaganda suggested that problems of rural poverty, agricultural depression and depopulation were to be solved by vegetarianism, fruit colonies and fruit growing.³⁵ Vegetarianism was 'patriotic' and the labourer's friend.³⁶ The fact that the active vegetarian W.G. Ward was also trustee of the National Agricultural Labourers' Union helped make this more plausible.³⁷ Land reform was another agitation to make connections with, the London vegetarians' land reform conferences have been alluded to earlier.³⁸

Literature providing artisan and working class access to vegetarian wisdom included the newspapers owned by Passmore Edwards*.³⁹ The *Weekly Times and Echo* featured Allinson's medical column, correspondence and paragraphs on the vegetarian movement.⁴⁰ Allinson noted 'a lot of signal men, tailors etc...' as inquirers.⁴¹ The *English Mechanic* featured inquiries on vegetarianism.⁴² Yet the 'vegetarian press' itself in the late Nineteenth century was predominantly middle-class/lower middle-class in tone. Most correspondents were middle-class, although the habit of identifying one's occupation does allow us to see where they were artisans and working class.

II

Vegetarianism and food thrift.

³⁵See, for instance, *VM*, January 1890 for W.J. Monk's letter in *East Kent Gazette* concerning agricultural wages.

³⁶See statements in '12 points why the Vegetarian Society claims the help of all', reproduced in propaganda and serial literature of the period.

³⁷Vegetarianism consequently appeared in the *Agricultural Labourers' Union Chronicle*, see *DR*, 1 July 1873, pp.292-293. See also debate on the parson-squire system in *Vegetarian*, 1892.

³⁸The Christian socialist Reverend Oswald Birchall* wrote in the Land Nationalisation Society's journal, *Land and Labour*, and 'many articles' promoted vegetarianism in the National Land Union monthly according to Delolme, *HH*, September 1879, p.251.

³⁹The *Hygienic Advertiser* classed the *WTE* ('A Liberal Newspaper of Political and Social Progress') as a 'contemporary' in the movement, its readership was lower middle class and working class. It was edited by E.J. Kibblewhite along with the *English Mechanic* and *Building News*. A self-made man who was 'very sympathetic to vegetarianism, he explained his paper thus: 'thoughtful men and women have reached manhood who do not consider it the sole end and aim of a weekly paper to chronicle murders and guide ingenuous youth to gambling; and that they have been waiting for some such a journal...a long time'. 14 October, 1888, p.9.

⁴⁰Correspondents included many who appear in the vegetarian journals, but there were also letters from obscure supporters of Allinsonian reform, or of schemes such as vegetarian colonies which were discussed 1888-1890. The journal is listed in R. Harrison, G.B. Woolven, R. Duncan, eds., *Warwick Guide to British Labour Periodicals* (Harvester Press, 1977).

⁴¹Allinson Papers, MS 3189, clipping 'The Gospel of Brown Bread' from *Progress*, May 1889. The *City* (New Orleans) 18 June 1892 described it as a 'Radical paper of immense circulation'.

⁴²*English Mechanic and World of Science*, 4 October 1867, pp.25-26; 3 March 1876 ('dear meat, cheaper food'); 4 February 1876 ('cheaper food for the people'), 18 February 1876, and 25 February 1876; May 1879, p.106. I am grateful to Dr Christine Garwood, Research Fellow at the Open University, Milton Keynes for these references.

Vegetarian concern about working class diet and cookery formed part of a wider interference with the diet of the 'poorer classes,' represented by hundreds of tracts for them, and articles and conference papers discussing their inadequate domestic cookery (though middle-class cookery was also condemned).⁴³ Food thrift as a means of survival on low wages or during unemployment, as well as a means of social advancement, was another aspect to the vegetarian movement.⁴⁴ This is reflected in the Food Reform Society's association with the 'National Thrift Society' (established 1878).⁴⁵ Bowden Green, the secretary, believed that when food reform was 'connected with economy, and the connection is by no means a slight one, so far does it legitimately come within the range of the Thrift Society to advocate'.⁴⁶

Vegetarians were keen to ground their cause, in part at least, in economy, whether individual or (since it could be related to concerns about national food supply and national defence), national.⁴⁷ Chester's society was unusual in being a 'Food Thrift Association' but tracts which quite clearly identified the diet with economy included Nichols' *How to Live Well on 6d a Day* (1861), the Reverend Kendall's *How to Live in the Street called Straight* (1882); others advocated the diet for prison, school and workhouse.⁴⁸ One orphanage was indeed run on vegetarian lines.⁴⁹

⁴³Some sense of the 'food question' is indicated by study of papers in the *Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, but the topic was perennial, and essays can be found in Dickens' *All the Year Round* etc. See 'The Diet of John Bull', in *The English Leader*, 6 January 1866, pp.5-6 for criticism of national conservatism in a radical journal. See J. Brown MD, *The Food of the People. A Letter to Henry Fenwick Esq. MP* (London: Longman, Green, 1865), p.43 for the claim that 'English cookery among the humbler class is about the worst and most wasteful cookery in the world'. A sensitive treatment of the plebeian 'mode of living' is found in Edward Smith's *Practical Dietary for Families, Schools and the Labouring Classes* (London: Walton and Maberley, 1864), pp.203-204.

⁴⁴The thrift message obviously attracted 'shabby genteel' too. The children's writer/ Fabian E. Nesbit (see J. Briggs, *A Woman of Passion. The Life of E. Nesbit. 1858-1924* [Hutchinson, 1987], p.146), and novelist George Gissing (see final chapter) practised vegetarianism because of straitened circumstances. Thrift was also required by new female office workers, see *New Age*, 1895, recording the vegetarian/ milk and fruit experiments of 'a Bachelor Girl,- or, life in a London flat': '... after the varied and substantial fare upon which I had been brought up, these did not seem very satisfactory... I felt no desire to become a convert to either sect'.

⁴⁵It wanted provincial centres, penny banks, provident dispensaries and libraries. Ornamental members of the organization included Earls Stanhope, Sydney and Glasgow, bishops of Durham, Lichfield and Dover, Lord Digby and Lord Colin Campbell.

⁴⁶'Thrift in Food', *Food Reform Magazine*, October 1881, pp.50-51 [p.51]. The society's president chaired a vegetarian meeting, see *Vegetarian* 25 February 1888, p.6. See papers on national economy and food supply in *Manchester Vegetarian Lectures* (Manchester: V.S., 1888), and note the audiences, including the Catholic Bishop of Salford. Emily Faithfull sent a supportive letter, Lydia Becker was present (p.23).

⁴⁷Vegetarianism could thus relate to a question which, regarded as 'one of the most important of the day,' justified the *Food Journal's* inauguration in 1869. See B.W. Richardson, 'Thrift in relation to food' in *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 1880, p.383 for reference to vegetarians in relation to the food question. See R.B. Marston, *War, Famine and Our Food Supply* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1897). A.F.Hills invited Marston to write an article on the subject in the *Vegetarian*, as noted in the final paragraph of the book, pp.214-215.

⁴⁸F.E. Hoggan, *Advantages of a Vegetarian Diet in Workhouses and Prisons* (London, 1883, reprinted from *Modern Thought* October 1882); W. Couchman, *How to Marry and Live Well on a Shilling a Week* (Manchester: 1884) according to Forward, *History*, p.57, this had 'enormous sales'; *Cheap Dinners for School Children, and the Economy of Our Food Supply* (Manchester: V.S., 1887); R. E. O'Callaghan, *The Best Diet for a working man, with month's dietary* (London, 1889); J. Oldfield, *The Cost of Living* (London,

III

*Vegetarianism, late Victorian socialism and co-operation.*⁵⁰

In the 1890s efforts to attract working-class support added Labour Churches, Social Democratic Federation meetings, Independent Labour Party halls and Women's Co-operative Guilds to traditional lower middle-class venues such as I.O.G.T. and Y.M.C.A. groups.⁵¹ In Blackpool Co-operative Guild vegetarian principles 'found a place with many' in early 1897.⁵² Padiham socialists showed 'much desire for knowledge'.⁵³ The geography is obviously important in considering the class dimension to the movement in this period. The I.L.P.'s heart-lands were in the industrial north of England (particularly Yorkshire) and around London, strong areas for vegetarianism as reflected in the distribution of branch societies (and it has been seen that northern England was also a centre for spiritualist and secularist activity).

The early vegetarians' associations with radical working class politics- with chartism, metropolitan secularism and millenarian and communitarian experiments, have already been examined. Edwards' *Labour Annual* counted vegetarian and temperance societies as part of a more general pro-labour reform movement. For some middle-class socialists (such as Fabians) and working-class socialists vegetarianism was undoubtedly an important *personal* cause.⁵⁴ It has been seen as part of the 'bohemian influx' into socialism in the 1890s; one of the key 'personal panaceas' (along with reform of marriage, anti-vaccination, birth control and faith-healing) the 'orthodox' had to contend continually with,

1892); C.F. Corlass, *How do you spend your Wages?; Saving Thrift and Spending Thrift; Out of Work*. See also *VM*, May 1887, pp.146-147 for publications on food thrift. The message was repeated in handbills. The Thrift Society's journal, *Thrift*, March 1882, published 'A Few Facts on Food' by T.R.Allinson.

⁴⁹J.W.C.Fegan's boys' orphanage, in the 1880s. *Trewman's Exeter Flying Post*, 16 August 1882, p.5, reporting on local vegetarian activity, suggested the diet ought to be tested in large prisons and penitentiaries.

⁵⁰See Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', pp.124-136 for treatment of the relationship between vegetarianism and socialism, including Fabianism; the attitude of socialist leaders such as Hyndman and Morris; the Croydon Brotherhood and colonies. Twigg does not explore the links with co-operation, the wage controversy, or treatment in socialist journals.

⁵¹Labour Churches at Halifax, Leek William Morris Labour Church (*VM*, April 1897, p.133); Social Democratic Federation meetings at Wigan, Bury, Blackburn, Hulme; Independent Labour Party halls at Bury, Stockport. The following I.L.P. branches were addressed 1896-1899: Glasgow, Pendleton, Hyde, South Salford, Stockport Central, Sheffield, Macclesfield, Openshaw, Nelson, Stalybridge, Blackburn, Bury (Lancashire), West Gorton at the Labour Hall. *Labour Annual*, 1898, p223, the V. S. advertisement included the note: 'The Society's Lecturer will be glad to book LECTURES in connection with I.L.P. and other Socialist organisations.

⁵²*VM*, January 1897, p.29.

⁵³*VM*, March 1897.

⁵⁴The Fabian Society's ancestry and its relationship with the pro-vegetarian 'Fellowship of New Life' is explored in N and J. Mackenzie, *The First Fabians*. Colin Spencer's assertion that most Fabians were vegetarian is an exaggeration but B. Potter, G.B. Shaw, E. Nesbit, F. Podmore and Swan were vegetarian. For the lower middle-class/ middle-class location of the membership, see E.J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men. Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), pp.250-271. The *HH* was requested by the Manchester and District Fabian Society, see April 1892, p.43.

...they had to make it clear to those who regarded their own limited and special reforms as adequate to social salvation, that unless they were willing to let their personal panaceas take their appropriate place in the socialist scheme they should not join the socialist movement.⁵⁵

Robert Blatchford (vegetarian by 1905), was a member of the Humanitarian League 'Humane Diet' department and reported the movement in his popular *Clarion* paper.⁵⁶ The *Clarion* movement had their own coffee-houses in the West Riding and a propaganda van which undoubtedly inspired the V.S. to 'go out to the people' with a van in 1898.⁵⁷ Margaret Sibthorp-associated with Edwards of the *Labour Annual* and Blatchford in the Humane Diet department-produced the feminist journal *Shafts* (discussed below), which was the clearest direct association of the 'working classes' with vegetarianism.

As Raphael Samuel has suggested, vegetarianism was part of the 'clean living' stance (and an extension of temperance) taken by many early socialist workers. Tom Mann's * vegetarianism has been noted before, Keir Hardie's support is less well known.⁵⁸ Whilst Hyndman famously lumped vegetarianism with 'humanitarians... antivivisectionists and anti-vaccinationists, arty-craftys and all the rest of them,'⁵⁹ and felt it kept 'a lot of useless people alive'⁶⁰ it appealed to the ascetic in many

⁵⁵H. Snell, *Men, Movements and Myself* (London: J.M. Dent, 1936), p.186, quoted (abridged) in N. Brady, '“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality: an examination of the Woman Question in the 1890s as seen through the pages of a contemporary journal' MA, University of Warwick, 1978. Snell recalled that 'For the most part these uncompromising zealots took us at our word, and we went on our way without them'. On socialism as another *faddism*, and its relations to 'faddist fanaticism', see E.B. Bax, *Essays in Socialism New and Old* (London: Grant Richards, 1907), p.79, pp.100-101.

⁵⁶E.g., *Clarion*, 23 January 1897, p.80 (W.M. Farrington's letter), p.32; Julia Dawson (conductor of the Lady's Column) on a friend who sent her an 'almost unlimited supply' of vegetarian and temperance works; and vegetarian references in the story 'The Exquisite Butcher', 10 July 1897. *Vegetarian* 5 February 1898, p.85 printed a letter which showed his sympathies, awareness of inconsistency and socialist priority. Blatchford's *Sorcery Shop* presents a utopia without money, weapons, government, legal system, political parties, alcohol, tobacco and meat. His publications carried advertisements for vegetarian products like 'Nucoline' in the Edwardian period, see back of 1908 edition of *Merrie England*: 'Since "Nunquam" gave up meat, vegetarianism has made more rapid strides than before, especially among Social reformers'.

⁵⁷J.F.C. Harrison, *Late Victorian Britain. 1875-1901* (London: Fontana, 1990), p.146. On the van, see *VM*, July 1898, p.290, August p.377, October p.476, November p.516. Vegetarians were advised to emulate socialists' open-air meetings, see J. Nugent, *Vegetarian*, 25 July 1896, p.358.

⁵⁸Mann, vegetarian from 1876-1878, 'joined in propagandist efforts with a group of similar minded enthusiasts,' see *Memoirs*; C. Tsuzuki, *Tom Mann, 1856-1941. The Challenges of Labour* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p.11. Hardie supported the 'National Food Supply Association', see *VM*, January 1894, p.12. See also the letter from the 'almost vegetarian' Walter Crane, *Vegetarian*, 16 September 1898. John Burns addressed a vegetarian meeting, see *MD*, 24 August 1888, p.530. James Burns said he was always being confused with the politician.

⁵⁹This oft-quoted condemnation is in S. Winsten, *Salt and His Circle* (London: Hutchinson, 1951), p.64, without any proper authority, as part of a conversation by Hyndman with Salt when the former came to remonstrate about Salt's 'absurd sentimentality'. Winsten said (p.18) the reported conversations were a 'synthesis of information'.

⁶⁰H.M. Hyndman, *The Records of an Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan, 1911), p.306, in which he attributed J.L. Joynes'* death to his diet: Salt disputed this in the *Humanitarian*. Other attacks on socialists' vegetarian sympathies include, famously Orwell's diatribe, *The Road to Wigan Pier*. Victor Grayson loathed

early socialists, and indicates connections between puritanism and socialism in the 1880s-1890s.⁶¹ Indeed, it has been well argued that Hyndman's attack is unrepresentative of grassroots socialism in the S.D.F. in this period, and that a distinction should be made between organisational hostility towards such reforms and the attitudes of individuals.⁶²

A secularist supporter of co-operative production (and land reform and abolition of game laws) equated vegetarians' cheap diet propaganda with 'a patent fire-stove that saves one-half the fuel, and calculations made as to what will produce the greatest amount of energy with the least expenditure of Food'.⁶³ Vegetarians' proposition that their diet was cheaper did generate controversy in the socialist and progressive press.⁶⁴ It has earlier been seen that, as reported in the *Food Reform Magazine*, workers thought the L.F.R.S. was a combination of employees to reduce wages.⁶⁵ Expression of anxiety about wage levels as a result of economy in diet became a common response to lectures. In autumn 1885 vegetarianism was attacked on these grounds in the *National Reformer*. Correspondence in the *Commonweal* debated the 'Capitalistic Advantages of Vegetarianism' in 1887⁶⁶, and the *Clarion* in 1896 also condemned vegetarian economics.⁶⁷ That the *Vegetarian*

the 'crank socialists who believe that collectivism means living on cabbages and carrots and drinking cold water', see R. Groves, *The Strange Case of Victor Grayson*, 1975, p.80, cited in A.J. Davies, *To Build a New Jerusalem. The British Labour Party from Keir Hardie to Tony Blair* (1992; Abacus Books, 1996).

⁶¹R. Samuel, 'The Discovery of Puritanism, 1820-1914: A Preliminary Sketch' in *Island Stories: Unravelling Britain. Theatres of Memory*, vol.2, (London: Verso, 1998), pp.276-322. For criticism of this tendency 'even amongst social democrats' see E.B. Bax, *Outspoken Essays on Social Subjects* (London: W. Reeves, 1897), pp.117-133.

⁶²H. Kean, 'The "Smooth Cool Men of Science": The Feminists and Socialist Response to Vivisection,' *Historical Journal* 40 (1995), pp.16-38 (see by contrast Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', p.134). I have not studied local socialist and working-class journals, but *Vegetarian*, 15 March 1890 at least reported support by Bolton's *Labour Light* (though not for vegetarians' anti-tobacco), p.182. See the comment by A. Johnson, *WTE*, 28 June 1889, p.11, that Socialists were largely teetotal and 'more or less vegetarian', and 'almost invariably stout opponents of Vaccination and Vivisection'.

⁶³*HH* January 1880, pp.300-301.

⁶⁴*HH*, June 1888 onwards, for Forward's treatment of the controversy generated by W.S. Manning's insensitivity at lectures before Battersea Social Democratic Federation branch.

⁶⁵'Working Men and Food Reform,' by H.G. Roberts*, a goods porter who adopted vegetarianism to survive during slack trade, *Food Reform Magazine*, December 1882, pp.86-89 [p.88].

⁶⁶*Commonweal* (the Socialist League organ): H. Davis, 'The Capitalistic Advantages of Vegetarianism,' 28 August 1886, pp.169-170; 4 September p.181 (R.C. Buist); 11 September p.190 (P.R. Domoney), 18 September p.198 (C. Walkden); 25 September, p.201 (William Morris); 9 October, p.222 (W.E.A. Axon), and p.229. See also the critiques of thrift such as April 1886, pp.29-30; D.J. Nicholl, 'The Benevolent Bourgeois,' 8 May 1886, pp.42-43 (which included vegetarianism); July 1887, p.218. T. Maguire, 'Teetotalist Economics,' 28 April 1888, pp.132-133, explicitly included vegetarianism. Morris's astute comment that universal vegetarianism would lead to class distinctions in diet (dainties vs cag-mag) is recorded (again with no adequate authority) in S. Winsten, *Salt and His Circle*, p.94. Morris apparently often dined with Salt at the Orange Grove vegetarian restaurant.

⁶⁷The *WTE*'s editor, 30 June 1889, p.10 denied the same charge made in J.M. Davidson's 'The Old Order and the New. From Individualism to Collectivism,' which it was serialising. See also rejection of vegetarianism and other panaceas, in J. Lane, *An Anti-Statist, Communist Manifesto* (1887). See H.S. Salt, 'Vegetarianism and Social Reform', in *A Plea for Vegetarianism and Other Essays*, pp.111-115 [p.114-115] for another rebuttal. The allegation was accepted by H.L.J. Jones, in a letter to Joseph Edwards, 1 October 1893, (John Johnson, Box 2), who felt the 'ideal' results more important than social economics: 'better have a low wage and a diet that will quell the passions and refine the ethical conception'.

Messenger was comforted by the sympathy of a Greek socialist paper, is indicative of the hostility in some British socialist quarters.⁶⁸

The V.S.'s journal avoided any party political tone (whilst clearly falling within the Liberal pale). Avowedly 'not Socialist, Individualist etc... But Vegetarian' it was with some discomfort that it published Walkden's* anti-capitalist letters which promoted land cultivation as the future of vegetarianism.⁶⁹ The *Vegetarian* was more outspoken in its politics, even emulating satirical magazines in its full-page cartoons on current affairs. It posed as a balanced paper critical of 'capitalist or unionist when either transgresses the rules of justice'. Correspondence from shop assistants has been alluded to, there was also frequent discussion of the merits of individualism vs. socialism.⁷⁰ More radical vegetarian associations were expressed in the *Weekly Times and Echo*, *Shafts*, the Tolstoyan *Seed-time* and Andreas Gottschling's* similar *Home Links*.⁷¹

Turning from print to activity, some vegetarian groups were manifestly pro-labour. Support for the striking dockers in 1889 was shown by the 'Natural Living Society', with money collected at open-air meetings.⁷² Allinson also supported efforts for working-class co-operative vegetarian provision. It has been seen that several early co-operators were vegetarian. Henry Pitman's* *Co-operator* supported vegetarianism.⁷³ In the 1880s a leading co-operator, Mary Lawrenson*, supported the vegetarian platform and the *Co-operative News* printed vegetarian letters and recipes.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ *VM*, May 1887, pp.130-131. *Arden*, the Greek journal contained an account (March) by an English member of the V.S. The journal's producer, Platon Drakoules, helped found the Greek socialist movement and married Mrs A.M. Lewis, encountered earlier (2:3). See *Vegetarian News*, 1926, p.265.

⁶⁹ *VM*, March 1892, p.77.

⁷⁰ H.S. Salt, 'Socialism and Vegetarianism, *Vegetarian*, 6 July 1889, and 12 April 1890, p.229 (see also Salt's essay, 'Socialists and Vegetarians, *Today*, November 1886, pp.172-174); Herbert Burrows, 'Socialism' *Vegetarian*, 26 August 1893, p.401; W.A. Macdonald's articles on 'scientific communism' were serialised in 1896. *Food Reform Magazine*, July-September 1883, pp.15-16, for J.L. Joynes' 'Remedies for Poverty' in which the insufficiency of socialism alone, was asserted.

⁷¹ *Home Links*, a quarterly journal (1898-1900) was edited, published and printed by him. It advertised Allinson's medical works, Humanitarian League and *Labour Annual* (see its advertisement in *Labour Annual*, 1898, p.223). Its programme included free speech, free thought, a free press, free homes and meals, employment for every willing worker, municipalization of housing land and building, abolition of politics, religion and aggression, abolition of punishments, end to sinecures, strikes, wages and salaries. It promoted spelling reform, international peace, social reform and Tolstoyanism.

⁷² *The Weekly Star*, 7 September 1889 and 31 August 1889. Alderman Phillips of West Ham was also an active supporter of the dockers' strike.

⁷³ These include (beyond coverage of Blennerhasset, see 3:4): *The Co-operator and Herald of Health*, December 1863, p.101 supporting a vegetarian cookery book for co-operative libraries and intending to issue a farthing book [and adverts p.96 and p.111]; 'The Best and Cheapest Food'; 1 January 1870, p.6; Newman's vegetarian lectures February -March 1871.

⁷⁴ On Lawrenson's activity see *Vegetarian*, 31 August 1889, p.550. On the Women's Co-operative Guild, in which she was a leading figure, see J.Gaffyn and D. Thomas, *The Centenary History of the Co-operative Women's Guild* (Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1983). For vegetarian recipes, generated by the Hygienic Co-operative Society, see 20 October 1888, p.1067, 3 November, p.1115; 10 November p.1139, 24 November p.1187, 1 December p.1211, 8 December p.1248, 15 December, p.1267 [all, 'Women's Corner' section]. Emily C. Sharland*, editor of the *Co-operative News*' 'Junior Page' converted after opening the page to vegetarians. References to *Co-operative News* articles in *Vegetarian*, September 1890 (letter by Reverend Oswald Birchall) and 1895. On qualms concerning butchering (following F.W. Newman's ideas on

A few co-operative societies supported vegetarian work.⁷⁵ The 'Hygienic Co-operative Society,' established 1888, was another manifestation of working-class support. Its formation followed suggestions by Gottschling, whose letters on vegetarian/progressive colonies were published in the *Weekly Times*. 'As much as I value Vegetarianism, Temperance, and other great movements,' he wrote, 'yet all these put together are but calculated to culminate in that great object of co-operation'.⁷⁶ Vegetarianism would benefit because co-operative retail cheapened vegetarian foods.⁷⁷

Inaugurated at the vegetarian 'Central Restaurant', the organisation was purely London-based and small-scale. It was a triumph over common-sense advice that, given vegetarians' sparseness and geographical spread, they should instead join ordinary co-operative societies. Forty-nine men and women attended the first meeting, chaired by a non-vegetarian delegate from the 'Guild of Co-operators', J.H. Chicken. W.S. Manning, of the 'London Vegetarian Association' reported Alderman Phillips's interest in establishing an East End branch. Allinson chaired an early meeting and educational meetings were planned to spread the 'hygienic co-operation and vegetarian living' message.⁷⁸

In October a meeting presided over by Mrs Allinson and attended mainly by ladies (including the president of Chelsea Women's Co-operative Guild, Mrs Benjamin Jones) discussed the relationship between hygiene and the co-operative movement. The society grew to 115 members, with £116 raised by the sale of 352 shares.⁷⁹ By March 1889 a land reformer J.B. O'Callaghan* was president.⁸⁰ The secretary was Isidore Phillips*, who had been scandalised at 'penny a day' arguments pedalled by one lecturer (W.S. Manning).⁸¹ Other officers included Peter

humane slaughter) see the cosmetic decision relating to one society's balance-sheets and doors, in G.J. Holyoake, *The Jubilee History of the Leeds Industrial Co-operative Society from 1847 to 1897* (Leeds: Central Co-operative Offices, 1897), pp.79-80.

⁷⁵See *VM*, January 1887, p.20 for a 'co-operative society' near London joining V.S. after a dinner at Bermondsey; the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society was a subscriber in 1892. The editor of the Pickering Co-operative's local version of the national movement's *The Wheatsheaf*, W.J. Farmer, used it to promote the movement and became an active contributor to the vegetarian press. See *VM*, July 1899, p.230. The *Banbury Co-operative Record*, November 1887, p.2 records a vegetarian lecture (copy preserved in Allinson Papers, MS 3197). The *VM* advertised the 'Co-operative Jewellers Association' in this period. In 1894 subscribers or donors included the Stockton Women's Co-operative Guild, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, Horwich Co-operative Guild and Masborough Women's Co-operative Guild. The *HH* was offered to co-operative societies, as noted in *Co-operative News*, 5 January 1889, p.17.

⁷⁶*WTE*, 24 June 1888, p.6.

⁷⁷*WTE*, 8 July 1888, p.6.

⁷⁸*WTE*, 9 September 1888, p.6; *Co-operative News*, 29 September 1888, p.985. Subsequent reports are *WTE*, 30 September p.6, 14 October p.6; *Co-operative News*, 10 November, p.1127, 29 December p.1331, 6 April 1889, p.339; *Vegetarian*, 11 August 1888, p.98, 29 September p.411, 15 September p.379; and 9 February 1889, p.91. The society was registered as a co-operative organisation [2711] in October, see *Co-operative News*, 2 March 1889, p.195.

⁷⁹*Co-operative News*, 10 November 1888, p.1127.

⁸⁰*Co-operative News*, 6 April 1889, p.339 (report of first quarterly).

⁸¹*Vegetarian*, 9 February 1889, pp.90-91. Phillips wrote to *VM*, January 1889, p.17 announcing his intention

Newbould*, a prominent temperance worker and member of the South East London V.S., and W.H. Sullivan, president of the vegetarian Rambling Society. The project was renamed the 'Co-operative Food Reform Store'. It sold 'pure, unadulterated vegetarian and other foods and articles'. There were said to be fairly large numbers of friends and members, though the second quarterly (June 1889), at the 'Ceres' restaurant attracted only seventy. The premise of the society was sensible, but the demand for commodities was evidently limited and in late 1889 it merged with the 'Socialist Co-operative Federation Ltd.'⁸²

If it was strategically and morally important to win support from the labouring masses, women also needed to be recruited. Their role in the movement in this period has only recently attracted some preliminary examination. The second part to this chapter is the first detailed study of their contribution. Before c.1870 the female voice was more rarely heard (and recorded in the vegetarian press) than that of the 'Working Man' though the evidence (indicated in chapters on the provincial and metropolitan activities) points to an often considerable input. Throughout the period women were cast as the major barrier to the movement's success, and the major force for dietetic good should they be won over. Even in 1895, after several decades of female prominence on the platform their intransigence was deplored, and the 'Women's Vegetarian Union' was established to combat this.

to produce a *Vegetarian Handbook and Directory*.

⁸²*Vegetarian*, 7 September 1889, p.567; *VM*, January 1890, p.28.

5:2 Women and Food Reform

It has been seen that the movement had politico-economic, religious, animal-welfare and health implications. Its public face and practice (platform, press and restaurant) have been examined. As a matter of diet, and as health reform it was also *domestic*. Indeed the *Vegetarian* asserted it was 'essentially based upon the home and home life'. This sphere, if not simply a feminine one, largely concerned women and thus female response was an important concern for vegetarians.¹

A feminist- vegetarian connection has been touched on by Twigg; surfaced in discussion of late Victorian British and Irish feminism; studied in an article on vegetarian Edwardian suffragettes; and is the thesis of Carol Adams' work.² The identification of women with animals as victims of male cruelty³, the idea that housewives could create a new moral world through dietetic reform, and vegetarianism's association with other purity campaigns, have been discussed before as explanations for female involvement in vegetarianism. These motivations are not disputed here, what needs to be discussed is the *form* of participation. Adams' study is sketchy on British vegetarianism, and her enthusiastic declaration that there 'is a feminist-vegetarian literary and historical tradition' is demonstrated largely through American examples. Her claim that vegetarianism was 'an integral part of autonomous female identity' needs to be grounded in more detailed study of the British movement.

The importance of several women has been indicated in the context of vegetarianism's relationship with spiritualism and the esoteric. It has been seen that women were involved in propaganda *before* the V.S. and played an important part in the early London movement. This final section is a more detailed examination of the female role in the period 1847-1870⁴ and in the late

¹ The wider context is 'domestic science'. Samuel Smiles emphasized the importance for 'all true female reformers' of the 'unaccountably neglected' question of improved food preparation and economizing in 'Home Power', *Character* (1878; London: John Murray, 1902), p.61.

² Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', pp.171-175 discusses *feminism* and vegetarian (essentially Edwardian), but not female involvement in detail. See L. Leneman 'The Awakened Instinct: vegetarianism and the women's suffrage movement in Britain', *Women's History Review* 6:2 (1997), pp.271-287 for the Edwardian period. C.J. Adams *The Sexual Politics of Meat. A Feminist-vegetarian Critical Theory* (1990; New York: Continuum, 1994), pp.166-185. C. Murphy, *The Women's Suffrage Movement and Irish Society in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989). Recognition of vegetarianism's role in a developing feminism is reflected in references in G. Fraisse and M. Perrot, eds., *A History of Women in the West. IV Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War* (Cambridge, USA and London: Harvard University Press, 1993), p.446, p.449.

³ See for instance *Shafts*, 19 November 1892, pp.40-41; A.M. Lewis, *Humanity and Vegetarianism* (1892). This view was expressed in other zoophilist movements.

⁴ I have discussed the female role in the early movement with Dr Kathryn Gleadle, who is investigating female health reformers as part of a research project on radical middle-class women and politics in the period 1780-1860. I am grateful to her for the opportunity of reading research in progress, which will appear as a chapter in A. Burns and J. Innes ed, *Rethinking the Age of Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Victorian era, particularly with reference to the hitherto unstudied Women's Vegetarian Union. Its leading members, activity, and profile in the movement and wider reform world are examined.

I

Women and the vegetarian movement. 1847-1870

Women were important in the Cowherdite sect.⁵ The significant female contribution to the Concordium has been outlined. The London Association had a ladies' committee which included Elizabeth Horsell*, who authored a cookery book and once lectured on vegetarianism outside London.⁶ Another important member was the artist Jane Hurlstone*, who supported Owenism, animal welfare and Italian nationalism.⁷ So significant was the female role, although generally overshadowed by the male activity, that one contributor to the *Vegetarian Advocate* felt:

that if the men were only *half as much* in earnest about the business as are the ladies of the Vegetarian Society, and went about the work, as if they meant *doing* it, instead of talking about and telling others to do it, we should long ago have escaped from the wilderness which lies between Egypt and Canaan...⁸

This is an important statement given the general impression, from frequent complaints in the vegetarian journals, of female resistance.⁹ The V.S.'s secretary complained that wives failed to join their husbands as members and interpreted this as sensuality or a serious neglect of husbandly 'duty'.¹⁰ The reform required 'favours of others' rather than mere abstinence and was vulnerable to 'household opponents'.¹¹ Fictional representations of vegetarians touched on the power of women to 'drag' idealistic spouses down.¹² But as one woman observed, male willingness to adopt

⁵ There is no detailed coverage of Cowherdite women in standard accounts of the sect, but see references in D. Antrobus, *A Guiltless Feast. The Salford Bible-Christian Church and the Rise of the Modern Vegetarian Movement* (Salford: Salford City Council, 1997). Martha Brotherton's* influential vegetarian cookery book, first serialized in 1812, went through five editions by 1870.

⁶ See *Hartwell and Temperance Festival* (London: Caudwell, 1864), p.5; E. Horsell, *The Penny Domestic Assistant and Guide to Vegetarian Cookery* (London: Horsell, 1850). A fourth edition was published by 1856 but no copy exists.

⁷ *People's Magazine and Progressionist*, August 1854, p.121, for her role in the Whittington Club meeting. Declining presiding at a meeting (*VA*, 1850, p.66), she was praised for 'kindness and hospitality in days gone by'.

⁸ *VA*, 1850, p.104.

⁹ E.g., J.S. Hibberd, *VA*, 1850, p.111, from 'fondness for their lords', i.e., health; 'domestic difficulties', *VM*, May 1850, reverse of cover where a working man reported wife's failure to accept it despite 'what I ordered': note editor's critical response; 'K.J.' of Rochdale, *VM*, October 1853, p.24; 'the sex hardest to win over', in the context of a lady secretary for Horton association, *DR*, October 1868, p.127; A.F. Scott, *Vegetarian*, 16 March 1888, p.173. Obviously 'domestic ties' might be *general family resistance* rather than female.

¹⁰ *VM*, April 1855, p.32. Statistics from 1866 suggest that in this period when there were a total of 701 members, 22.5% were female; but figures and names (published in the journals) are problematic since a husband's/ parent's name *might* represent a household.

¹¹ C.F. Corlass, *Intentional Oddity*, pp.6-7 (John Johnson, Box 1).

¹² G. Dunn, 'A Defeated Transcendentalist', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1893, pp.236-252.

vegetarianism stemmed from ignorance of cookery and blindness to all but the 'economy of the system'.¹³ Additionally, although references are rare, it must have been the case that many were converted through female advocacy in the family circle.¹⁴ The ideal was one of partnership.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, the divisions engendered were not dwelt on in vegetarian literature.¹⁶

Vegetarians were urged to be 'unceasing' in their efforts to convert women.¹⁷ A rare letter from a woman asserted that feminine love and kindness found the 'most comprehensive interpreter in Vegetarianism' and that women were pivotal in 'making the domestic hearth a shrine of peace and happiness'.¹⁸ More often, it was men (like Hibberd in 1851¹⁹) who stressed the power of 'fireside reform,' deployed conventional ideas about innate female kindness and appealed to womanly 'refined feelings'.²⁰ Almost forty years after Hibberd, James Burns appealed to women 'possessed of domestic insight, refinement and womanly sympathy'.²¹ A natural repugnance to meat on the part of young women was assumed by F.W. Newman.²² The maternal role- their 'extensive influence on the present and future generations'- was stressed (with examples including the mothers of James Simpson and Alphonse de Lamartine).²³ The diet continued to be promoted as an aid to expectant and new mothers (it has been seen that a 'Maternity Society' was formed).²⁴ Liberation

See E. Beavan, *Lil Grey, or Arthur Chester's Courtship* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1878), p.217 for the hero's relief that his bride would by contrast 'go up the path of progression' with him.

¹³DR, February 1882, p.43, reporting letter in *Dundee Evening Telegraph*.

¹⁴A rare testimony in VM, June 1850, supplement: p.15, reports efforts by a 'strong-minded and zealous woman, in circumstances of the greatest difficulty and opposition' who converted husband, daughter, nurse, servant, mother, two sisters and a brother.

¹⁵See 'Parallel of the Sexes', VA, May 1850, p.113.

¹⁶C.W. Earle's* statement that 'a united Vegetarian family I have never been fortunate enough to come across' was unusually candid, see *Vegetarian*, 5 November 1898, p.712.

¹⁷E.g., comments by the Reverend G.B. Watson, VM, October 1851, p.85.

¹⁸In 'Vegetarianism and suckling,' VA, 15 December 1848, pp.65-66, possibly by Mrs Dornbusch. See biographical entry for G. Dornbusch's feminist sympathies.

¹⁹VA, 1850, 'Women's Reformation' pp.93- 95. See also VA, 1 July 1849, 'Our Motto. No. 3: The Family', pp.133-134 [134].

²⁰E.g., H.S. Clubb, VA, p.141. Holyoake thought the 'sight of a young lady in a Butcher's shop,...is an incongruity that few can feel reconciled to,' *Reasoner*, 1850, p.47.

²¹MD, 20 July 1888, p.449, on the 'Progressive Food and Cooking Society'.

²²VM, January 1873, p.12. Amelia Lewis noted that ladies felt raw meat 'indelicate and vulgar', *The Housekeeper*, 8 January 1876, p.43. On Victorian women and girls' rejection of meat, as expression of sexual/ physical phobias, see C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, ch.8.

²³H.S. Clubb, VA, p.141; G. Dornbusch, VM, October 1854, local operations, p.84. For reference to Mme Lamartine, see VM, June 1850, supplement: p.15; on Mme Lamartine's influence see K.S. Walters and L. Portmess, eds., *Ethical Vegetarianism. From Pythagoras to Peter Singer* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1999), pp.77-79.

²⁴For accounts of comfortable confinements, see VA, 15 August 1850, p.12; A.F. Scott, *Vegetarian*, 16 March p.173. Elizabeth Martyn* contributed vegetarian articles to *Mother's Companion*, 1890. An early appeal to women 'and especially mothers' to educate children, appears in 'A Child's Question', VA, 15 March 1849, p.102.

from the kitchen or gross culinary preparation was stressed, and the occasional feminist statement appeared.²⁵

Women's cooking of dishes for public dinners, superintending of banquet tables, arranging of entertainment and presence as audience or dining partner were important contributions to the cause.²⁶ Their evident good health at the Freemasons' Tavern banquet in 1851 was reported.²⁷ Rarely however (outside London), did women address meetings and the penning of an essay by one was a novelty in 1854.²⁸ A few were on local committees but never as leading officers.²⁹ Absence from the public sphere in anything but a supporting role reflected contemporary social mores and the practice in other reform movements such as temperance; despite the fact that it could be seen as naturally a women's question.³⁰

Given the concern to attract female support, it was obviously important to target propaganda. However, no tracts targeted women specifically and no lectures to female organisations are reported in this period. Of course, vegetarianism would be known to female readers of *Punch*, *The Times* or other leading newspapers. Coverage in the local press and temperance organs brought the subject before them. The *Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial* even serialized an essay on vegetarianism, after publishing a profile of Simpson (with portrait) and the V.S.³¹

²⁵E.g., C. Lane, *Dietetics*, p.41; Freeston, *VM*, October 1867, p.112; W. Horsell, *The Science of Cooking Vegetarian Food* (London: W. Horsell, 1856), p.4; *Why the Vegetarian Society Claims the Sympathies of All* (where an end to degrading food preparation led to female elevation). Feminist sentiment was expressed by G.J. Ford, *VA*, 1850, p.63; Morgan, *DR*, January 1868, p.7; and J.L. Barker, 'Women's Rights', *DR*, April 1869, pp.40-47.

²⁶It seems they paid for some banquets, see *VM*, May 1859, p.62. For reference to female entertainment, see *VM*, January 1854, pp.13-14 (Malton and Glasgow). Wherever possible their presence was emphasized. It is unclear what *proportion* of the audience was female, there are references to 'about half' at Liverpool, *VM*, April 1853, supplement: p.7; a 'considerable number' at Malton, *VM*, January 1854, p.4; a 'large number', p.13; June 1854 a 'large number' at Hull, p.47; October 1854, local operations: p.83 a 'considerable portion'; and the 'majority' in side-galleries at a Birmingham meeting, *VM*, December 1855, p.67 (possibly the *expected* location for women at this venue). It is unlikely that female participation exceeded 50%.

²⁷*The Times*, 2 August 1851, p.8.

²⁸*VM*, September 1854, p.76.

²⁹Women were on committees at: Bolton, Edinburgh, Liverpool and London.

³⁰See L.L. Shiman, '“Changes are Dangerous”: Women and Temperance in Victorian England, in G. Malmgreen ed., *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp.192-215 [pp.194-195]. Horsell, a feminist, supported a public female role in temperance, see *VA*, 1 July 1849, p.138.

³¹*The Lady's Newspaper*, 6 August 1853, p.65; 'The Vegetarian System. By a Vegetarian,' was serialized, 27 August, p.111; 10 September, p.143; 24 September, p.175. The *Ladies Own Journal* published, unacknowledged, material sent by a vegetarian, see *VM*, June 1854, p.69. A task for further research is study of journals such as the *English Woman's Journal* (1858-1864), *English Woman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions* (1866-1910) and later journals to determine what coverage, if any, appeared in these. It is assumed however that any extensive debate in these, would have been picked up by vegetarians.

II

Women and the vegetarian movement. 1870-1900.

Complaints about female intransigence continued.³² But in the later Nineteenth century, reflecting general social trends, women were more prominent on the national and local platform.³³ From the late 1860s local association officers included women, and they fulfilled important practical and honorific offices in the national societies. If as late as 1895 the V.S. felt it a novelty to have a female chair a meeting, it was indicative of continued conservatism in some quarters.³⁴

Vegetarianism presented itself as a cause for 'progressive' women.³⁵ The newly artistic vegetarianism personified itself in female garb.³⁶ Margaret Sibthorp's *Shafts* (1892-1899, 'for women and the working-classes,' latterly 'a magazine of Progressive Thought')³⁷ and Gottschling's *Home Links*, associated vegetarianism with the emancipation of women and other 'progressive' causes.³⁸ This was a different 'New Woman'.³⁹ The vegetarian 'New Woman' condemned the 'fungrous growth' of the fashionable lounge and was horrified by aping of masculine errors such as smoking.⁴⁰

³²E.g., A.M. Lewis, *Humanity and Vegetarianism*, p.6: 'so few modern feminine advocates of the humaner diet'; Marie Joseph, *Shafts*, 11 February 1893, p.237: 'Men are always first in food reform,- women come last as a rule'.

³³Twigg, 'The Vegetarian movement', discusses feminism and largely Edwardian vegetarianism rather than analyse women's involvement in detail. See L. Lenemen, 'The Awakened Instinct,' for the Edwardian period. Lenemen contributed to E. Crawford, *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide* (London: University College London Press, 1998). This lists, amongst others, Sarah Amos, Ursula Bright, Alice Scofield Coates, Leonora Cohen and Charlotte Despard, as vegetarians.

³⁴*VM*, November 1895, p.348.

³⁵The president of the 'Women's Progressive Society', Mrs Snoad*, was a sympathiser.

³⁶See C.E. Dawson's *Vegetarian* covers (e.g., 2 May- 12 September 1896 a girl with a basket of apples, pears, walking barefoot through corn), Forward's *Herald of Health* cover, and the *Hygienic Advertiser* cover.

³⁷Dr Lesley Hall kindly shared a draft of her *New DNB* entry, the only extended treatment of Sibthorp, whose vegetarian testimony is in *Vegetarian*, 12 May, p.222. See also N. Brady '“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality: an examination of the Woman Question in the 1890s as seen through the pages of a contemporary journal' (MA, University of Warwick, 1978). Neither look at the vegetarian movement. See also B. Caine, *English Feminism. 1780-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) on *Shafts*, pp. 140-144. Sibthorp joined the Theosophical Society 1891 and was a founder member of Frances Swiney's eugenicist, feminist 'League of Isis'. On Swiney, see B. Gates, *Kindred Nature. Victorian and Edwardian Women Embrace the Living World* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998) pp.152-157. My thanks to Lyssa Randolph for this. Swiney emphasized her vegetarian credentials in *Vegetarian*, 10 June 1899, p.275.

³⁸'New Sex Links', *Home Links*, February 1898, p.9.

³⁹Several had university education. The 'Girton Girl' was a contemporary stereotype, see C. Willis, '“Heaven defend me from political or highly educated women!”: Packaging the New Woman for Mass Consumption,' in E. Richardson and C. Willis eds., *The New Woman in Fiction and Fact. Fin-de-Siecle Feminisms* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp.53-65 [55]. Beatrice Lindsay*, and Katharine Browning were Girtonians; *Punch*'s satire on the female student phenomenon incorporated a debate on vegetarianism, 25 December 1886, p.304. Alice Williams, a Girtonian, published an article on women students in *Vegetarian*, 1897.

⁴⁰See C.W. Morley, *Vegetarian*, 9 November 1895, p.544. Morley was an honorary W.V.U. member. Chandos Wallace wrote *The Other New Woman*, a 'book of the age' (68.pp, see *VM*, August 1897, p.303; no copy survives). Her 'New Woman Rational Cycling Society' championed rational attire. She felt female chauvinism harmed the cause, see *HH*, November 1895, p.174, but supported women's full mental, physical and social development, see *Labour Annual*, 1899, p.165. On the 'New Woman,' see S. Ledger, *The New*

The revival and expansion of the movement from c.1870 involved a few prominent women.⁴¹ Anna Kingsford studied the subject for her medical degree, published her research and lectured on the subject for provincial societies.⁴² The V.S. singled out her 'loving devotion' in 1882.⁴³ The previously secularist Annie Besant* was another prominent woman who addressed the V.S., though her main interests were elsewhere.⁴⁴ Prominence should also be given to Chandos Wallace* who moved away from spiritualism towards food reform, becoming a leading vegetarian entrepreneur at the turn of the century, with her husband Joseph Wallace.

The L.F.R.S., if composed largely of 'active young men,' had female participation in soirées, 'at homes' and cookery demonstrations. The philanthropist Lady Mount Temple, the American Hannah Whitall Smith*, Kingsford and Chandos Wallace were associated.⁴⁵ Female involvement was recognised as a crucial factor at the annual meeting in 1885 when one male speaker expressed his happiness that a large number of the audience were ladies, 'while the ladies stand outside they are an immense force against us'.⁴⁶

The sisters Ellen Hawkins* and Emily Harding's* metropolitan activity was cited by James Burns as examples of 'what might be done by ladies of leisure and means in elevating mankind and improving the tone of society'.⁴⁷ Harding, moving to the East End in 1884 to comfort the 'lonely' by a 'little sisterly sympathy,' developed a 'deep interest' in the poor and spread the vegetarian message through church, temperance and philanthropic organisations. Ellen hired a hall for cookery lessons. A.M. Lewis's work in the Humanitarian League has been referred to, she had earlier inspired Burn's East End food depot and brought the cause to the attention of the Women's

Woman. Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).

⁴¹ V.S. membership information reveals these percentages for female participation (excluding associates) 1874-1885: **12.78%** (140 out of 1095); and 1894-early 1899: **20.65%** (57 out of 276). At least **35%** (49 of the 140) in 1874-1885 were married to/ daughters of vegetarians; the later period at least **5.2%** (13 of the 57). New public prominence echoed wider temperance from c.1860, see Shiman, ' "Changes are Dangerous"...' who points out (p.206), that the B.W.T.A still experienced male domination in local activities and in editing its journal.

⁴² See her *In My Lady's Chamber. A Speculative Romance, Touching a few Questions of the Day* (London: James Burns, 1873). Her thesis (Paris, 1880) reached a 2nd edition and was translated into English. The *Perfect Way in Diet* (1882), heralded her major theosophic work, *The Perfect Way* (see Forward, *History*, p.122). She undertook continental vegetarian and anti-vivisection work.

⁴³ *DR*, November 1882, p.233.

⁴⁴ Vegetarian from c.1888, she published *Vegetarianism in the Light of Theosophy* in the year of the W.V.U.'s establishment. A cartoon depicts her vegetarianism and other 'isms', see J. Oppenheim, 'The Odyssey of Annie Besant', *History Today* 39 (September 1989), p.18. She addressed the V.S. in 1897 and participated in the National Congress in 1899, see *The Times*, 12 September 1899, p.9. See *Vegetarian*, 2 April 1898, pp.215-216 for interview.

⁴⁵ Whitall Smith was a friend of the Mount Temples* and mother of Bertrand Russell's first wife Alys, also vegetarian. Mount Temple was an honorific figure in this movement but her letters to F.W. Newman on vegetarianism were circulated in the press after publication in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 1882, see *DR*, May 1882, p.95, pp.98-99.

⁴⁶ S. Britton, *Food Reform Magazine*, April-June 1885, pp.126-127.

⁴⁷ *MD*, 25 April 1890, p.263.

Congress in Paris in 1889.⁴⁸ Another women whose work was prominently reported in the vegetarian press in the 1880s-1890s was Frances Boulton, founder of the Northern Heights V.S. Her cookery classes at her home, and in hired halls with assistants, were crowded. Skilled as an organizer and speaker, she founded the children's vegetarian Ivy Leaf Society and *Children's Garden* magazine.

The Victorian feminist movement had, in addition to involvement in the Anti-Contagious Diseases Act agitation, many connections with health-related movements.⁴⁹ Antivivisection and anti-vaccination were naturally related as movements of dissent. In Wallace, vegetarians' had a female prophet of health for the nation's physical regeneration but there were also a couple of female medical practitioners with orthodox qualifications who were associated with the movement: Kingsford and Frances Hoggan*.⁵⁰

Female temperance workers like their male counterparts, could be drawn to vegetarianism. It is difficult to answer Adams' query about the 'homosocial world' of British temperance and feminist workers *accentuating* vegetarianism⁵¹, though certainly female temperance provided a key location for vegetarian activity and support, as already indicated (2:2); and feminist activity was linked to temperance and purity.⁵² It has been seen how vegetarianism appeared in women's co-operative circles. It was also the case that vegetarianism was promoted or debated in other women's journals, including some trade journals.⁵³

⁴⁸*Women's Penny Paper*, 10 August 1889, p.7.

⁴⁹B. Harrison, 'Women's Health and the Women's Movement in Britain: 1840-1940' in C. Webster, ed., *Biology, Medicine and Society. 1840-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); A.L. Scott, 'Physical Purity Feminism and State Medicine in Late Nineteenth-century England', *Women's History Review* 8:4 (1999), pp.625-653. See M.A. Elston, 'Women and Anti-vivisection in Victorian England. 1870-1900', in N.A. Rupke, ed., *Vivisection in Historical Perspective*, (1987; London: Routledge, 1990), pp.259-294, for discussion of links between antivivisection, philanthropy and the women's movement, which also takes in the vegetarianism of Kingsford. The anti-vivisection movement had no women-only society. On the Contagious Diseases agitation, see P. McHugh, *Prostitution and Victorian Social Reform* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); and J.R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society. Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁵⁰The American Mary G. Nichols, active in unorthodox medicine with her second husband T.L. Nichols, should be included in any consideration of mid Victorian vegetarianism. She met H.G. Wright, follower of Greaves and joined the V.S. in 1849. See P.S. Brown 'Nineteenth century Health Reformers and the Early Nature Cure Movement in Britain', *Medical History* 32 (1988), pp.174-194; Bernard Aspinwall 'Social Catholicism and health' in W.J. Shiels (ed.) *The Church and Healing* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982); and Forward, *History*, pp.45-46.

⁵¹C.J. Adams, *Sexual Politics of Meat*, p.174.

⁵²See the strongly feminist *The Women's Penny Paper* and *Women's Herald*, 1888-1893, launched and initially edited pseudonymously by F. Henrietta Müller (sister of the feminist vegetarian Eva McClaren, and friend of Sibthorp). See 10 August 1889, p.7 for A.M. Lewis's vegetarian address at the Paris Women's Congress; 12 October 1889, p.5 for paragraph on the Cologne vegetarian congress; 30 November 1889, p.4 for menu given at fashionable party (A.M. Lewis), and letter, p.67, from Beatrice Lindsay, signed 'Graduate of Girton College and Editor of the Vegetarian Messenger'. It published letters and items on vegetarianism c.1890 and interviews with women associated with vegetarianism or the W.V.U., like Chant, Mallet, Reaney and Snoad. From 1894, taken over by the *Woman's Signal*, it was devoted more to temperance.

⁵³E.g., *Dressmaker's Chart and Cutter* in 1894. There was also coverage in the *Lady's Pictorial* (late 1894), and *The Queen*.

For Adams, where consumption took place, what the resources for such activity were (journals, associations, books) and what the contexts were (utopianism, animal welfare, temperance or domestic economy) are central questions. It is clear that women were active *public* participants within the movement's mainstream from the period of revival after 1870. V.S. journals were edited by a woman (Beatrice Lindsay), Chandos Wallace edited a journal into the 1920s, Sibthorp's *Shafts* was specifically for women.⁵⁴ Women contributed articles, a few had these or lectures published as tracts, and published letters in newspapers. They were listed as the 'managers' of private households to be contacted by vegetarians seeking accommodation. Though few restaurants were solely managed by women their joint management was an important contribution.⁵⁵ It was assumed they prepared the dishes for public meetings; hence the interest at the 'unwonted scene' of men publicly cooking dishes, described (by the male reporter) as the world 'turned upside down'.⁵⁶ The V.S. announced a ladies committee and encouraged these for local societies.⁵⁷ There were women in the Humanitarian League diet department.⁵⁸ Members of the Rambling Society (which had a ladies' clubroom) rambled together 'with benefit' and 'no ill-effect'.⁵⁹ A ladies section to the Vegetarian Cycling Club existed from 1896. There was also a *women's* society, established in London in March 1895 and existing for about five years.⁶⁰

III

The Women's Vegetarian Union

The Union was established by Alexandrine Veigelé*, 'an enthusiastic little French lady' and 'very earnest worker for women' who was already a vegetarian activist when she joined the L.V.S.⁶¹ She became vegetarian initially for economic and health reasons in 1888. A member of the Women's Progressive Society, she was to be honorary secretary of the Women's International Progressive

⁵⁴Beatrice Lindsay edited *DR*, and *Raisins and Almonds*, the Society's annual. She produced the movement's first history, *DR* 1885-1886. Herron's *Vegetarian Almanac* had many contributions by his wife.

⁵⁵The largely hostile E.E.Orlebar felt they represented a career alternative to governess for unmarried middle class women, *Food for the People. Or Lentils, and other Vegetable Cookery* (1879), p.78.

⁵⁶For the assumption, see *Vegetarian*, 29 June 1889, p.405; for the amusement/ sense of novelty at cookery by the 'sterner sex', see *VM*, December 1895, p.405.

⁵⁷*DR*, November 1883, p.311 (Annual Report): the committee met frequently according to this, but no names were given; it was presented as providing 'practical help' in the 'peculiar department' identified with women.

⁵⁸These included Lady Paget, Sibthorp, Florence Bramwell Booth, Edith Carrington, Mona Caird (Forward, *History*, pp.126-127 for her vegetarian son), Miss A.C. Woodward, A.M. Lewis.

⁵⁹*MD*, 27 June 1890, pp.402-403.

⁶⁰I am grateful to Molly Kramer, a doctoral researcher at the University of Oxford, for alerting me to W.V.U. material in the John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera, Bodleian Library. No detailed discussion of the W.V.U. has been published; Lenemen's essay on the vegetarian-suffrage movement connection, lacking a Victorian context, passes it over in three sentences (p.276). See short paragraph in P. Gordon and D. Doughan, *Dictionary of British Women's Organizations. 1825-1960* (London: Woburn Press, 2001).

⁶¹*Shafts*, January 1894, p.197. See interview, *Vegetarian*, 11 September 1897, p.497.

Union, (on which more below) founded by her daughter, Adrienne, a teacher, who was closely involved with the W.V.U. A letter to Edwards of the *Labour Annual* indicates their dedication: Alexandrine largely abandoned her teaching to concentrate on vegetarianism, whilst Adrienne* supported herself and her mother's philanthropy through teaching French and music.⁶² Alexandrine's initiative was prompted by a suggestion made by a food reformer, Elizabeth Martyn*, at a vegetarian congress. Her primary motive was to remove the barrier to success from wifely opposition.⁶³ Early overtures were snubbed and many early recruits apparently joined the Union simply to humour Veigelé since she did 'look so terribly in earnest over it'.⁶⁴

The declared aim was amelioration of the moral and physical condition of mankind by promoting a 'purer and simpler dietary'. The Union based its existence on the 'natural' maternal responsibility to promote the 'future well-being and prosperity of the human race'. A mother's duty was to raise children who were strong, intelligent and humane. The diet's relationship to animal welfare, temperance and peace and the elevation of women by 'relieving them from that which is degrading and repugnant in the preparation of meals' was also stressed.⁶⁵ The Union was to interest women of 'all classes,' through precept and example. Subscription was set at a minimum of 2s 6d.⁶⁶

The Union was sufficiently independent-minded and earnest to issue printed reports.⁶⁷ These make clear the small scale of the organisation. By 1896 the society had attracted c.200 members and associates. Initially the members were wholly British, but though London remained the headquarters, the metropolis was not the limit of its ambitions. Within a year the Union had expanded to over 300 members and associates. Many foreigners enrolled after the Union's reception for the World's Christian Temperance Union (hereafter, W.W.C.T.U.), in 1895 and there were French, Belgian, German and American vice presidents.⁶⁸ Finances remained limited, in 1898 income was still under £40.⁶⁹ By the time of the sixth annual report there were over 350 members and associates, but clearly it remained small and poor.⁷⁰

The Union's activities did not deviate from the general modes of activity which women had already performed: soirees, lectures, monthly cookery demonstrations. Lecturers visited female organisations such as Mothers' Meetings groups and Women's Co-operative Guilds. Other

⁶² John Johnson, Box 1, letter to Joseph Edwards of the *Labour Annual*, dated 24 October 1896.

⁶³ *Vegetarian*, 11 September 1897, p.491.

⁶⁴ *Vegetarian*, 11 September 1897, p.491.

⁶⁵ John Johnson, Box 1, *The Women's Vegetarian Union*, tract, n.d.

⁶⁶ *Vegetarian*, March 1896, article by Veigelé, p.122ff.

⁶⁷ *Women's Vegetarian Union, First (Third-Sixth) Annual Report*, etc. London [1896-1901].

⁶⁸ Lucy Mallory, editor of *World's Advanced Thought*, represented America. Walburga Paget* represented Italy.

⁶⁹ *Vegetarian Yearbook*, 1898.

⁷⁰ Sixth Annual Report, March 1900-March 1901, p.8.

institutions were natural groups for metropolitan vegetarian propagandists: Good Templar branches, the Co-operative Brotherhood Trust, a Clapham branch of the Independent Labour Party, Brixton Progressive Club, the Camberwell Socialist Society and the Tolstoyan Society. It was represented at conferences and gatherings (vegetarian and women's congresses, meetings of the Medical Society for the Study of Inebriety, the Church Penitentiary Association and the annual Crystal Palace temperance festival). There was a public reception during the national Vegetarian Congress in 1898, and a general meeting at the Athenaeum Hall, with physical education demonstrations.⁷¹ Monthly, advertised, lectures and discussions (occasionally with musical entertainment) were held at Charlotte Eamonsen's* at Limehouse and at 96 Crawford Street off Baker Street, West London.⁷² Reports were sent to the vegetarian and non-vegetarian press. The Union distributed and sold literature; Veigelé hoped for a small monthly magazine.⁷³

Veigelé opened a dépôt- a 'Vegetarian Universal Provider' according to the *Daily Telegraph*- and soon established a General [employment] Agency which allegedly co-ordinated 'many' employers and employees.⁷⁴ Growing demand led Veigelé to move the dépôt in 1898 (to 87, Praed Street, Paddington).⁷⁵ She wanted rooms for headquarters, a cookery school and a club offering bedrooms and meals.⁷⁶ A provident fund for employees was established. In 1899 a refreshment room was to be opened but this does not seem to have happened.⁷⁷

The Union failed to sustain a local branch organisation. A short-lived Lambeth branch was established in 1897, Adrienne Veigelé gave lectures and demonstrations in Aylesbury in 1898 and led open-air meetings in the East End and Hyde Park in late 1899, but no further English branch was formed.⁷⁸ A Dublin society was created.⁷⁹ French and American branches were planned but the 'international' network was limited to a Belgian branch which formed its own library and produced the first Belgian vegetarian journal.⁸⁰ This reflected connections already made by food reformers.⁸¹

⁷¹ *The Times*, 19 September 1898, p.7. The Athenaeum Hall, 73, Tottenham Court Road was also the venue for a fund-raising meeting late 1899, see flier, November-December 1899 in Allinson Papers, MS 3193.

⁷² *Shafts* in February and March 1897; see John Johnson, Box 1, cards for November 1897.

⁷³ John Johnson, Box 1, 'Second Annual Meeting Agenda', 1897.

⁷⁴ Third Annual Report, pp.6-7. See the Dépôt's price lists for 1897 and 1898 in John Johnson. Box 3 has an advertisement for 'The Healtheries' at 119a Praed Street, where Adrienne sold commodities and literature on 'all advanced subjects' connected with the woman, industrial and hygienic questions, and Tolstoy. See *Vegetarian Yearbook*, 1898, and sheet on Agency in John Johnson, which lists 'Vegetarian Doctors, Trained Nurses, Artists, Professionals, Journalists, Reporters, Palmists, Phrenologists, Psychologists, Teachers of Languages' amongst others who could be engaged through the agency. See advertisements in *Home Links*.

⁷⁵ See letter in *VM*, February 1898, and note in May, p.238.

⁷⁶ John Johnson, Box 1, MS Annual Report for year 1896-1897.

⁷⁷ *VM*, January 1898. See *Home Links*, 20 April 1899, p.216 for Veigelé's thanks to Dépôt's supporters.

⁷⁸ *Vegetarian*, 26 November 1898, p.763.

⁷⁹ *Vegetarian*, 7 January 1899, p.11; John Johnson, Box 2, letter to Joseph Edwards from Adrienne Veigele, 30 November 1898, for affiliation of this society to W.V.U., she also founded a W.I.P.U. branch here.

⁸⁰ John Johnson, Box 2, pamphlet of the 'Société Belge pour l'Étude de la Réforme alimentaire', and a copy of the organ *La Réforme Alimentaire* (no.1, October 1897, Bruxelles: D.Stevelinck).

The rules of the Union required members to be 'earnest women who have at heart the health, prosperity and happiness of the human race'.⁸² Many of these were prominent vegetarian workers in their own right, or active in other moral and social reform movements, such as Chandos Wallace, Margaret Sibthorp, Sarah Sheldon Amos*, Laura Ormiston Chant*, Emma Wardlaw Best*, Anna Allinson*, Adelaide McDouall* and May Yates*. Wallace covered the organisation's activities in her paper (the Union's official organ in 1897) and also gave lectures and made her home available for social gatherings.⁸³ The Union was established at Sibthorp's offices which provided a frequent meeting place for it and other reformers. Veigelé had (from February 1894) advertised her pedagogic services (French and music) in *Shafts* which announced the new society, reported its activity and published Alexandrine's vegetarian recipes.⁸⁴ Sibthorp's time was largely devoted to producing *Shafts* but support for vegetarianism was recognised by a photograph in Foward's *History*.

Concern with purity characterised Sibthorp and other members. Sarah Sheldon Amos, an associate of Josephine Butler and member of the National Vigilance Association was recalled by Bertrand Russell as devoted to 'Good Works, especially Purity' and of 'fanatical religiosity'.⁸⁵ Chant was a celebrated purity activist (also involved in temperance and women's suffrage), who became associated with the W.V.U., although previously merely 'sympathetic' to the movement.⁸⁶ Wardlaw Best, whose aphorisms were published by *Shafts*, was honorary treasurer. She was a member of both the National Vigilance Association and the sexual reform Legitimation League.⁸⁷

The Union was also supported by the Allinsons, whose malthusianism A.F.Hills considered to be *impurity*. Anna Allinson was a professionally trained artist who exhibited at the Royal Academy

⁸¹ May Yates lectured large audiences on bread reform and vegetarianism in Belgium in 1893 with the Godbolds*, see *VM*, May 1893, pp.184-185.

⁸² John Johnson, Box 1, Women's Vegetarian Union, 1/2: 'Rules of the Union'.

⁸³ John Johnson, Box 1, invitation to evening meeting at Chandos Wallace's, November 1897, subject: 'Women as healers in the home'.

⁸⁴ Adrienne contributed to *Shafts*, see 'Qualities admired by Men in Women and by Women in Men', April 1898, p.137. Lenemen, in 'The Awakened Instinct' ignores this and other appearances by the Veigelés and the Union (e.g., July-August 1898, p.143) when she refers to *Shafts* (p.276).

⁸⁵ *Vegetarian Review*, April 1895. See E.J. Bristow, *Vice and Vigilance. Purity Movements in Britain since 1700* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1977), p.119. Her husband, subscriber to *DR*, c.1873, was a professor of jurisprudence and member of Clementia Taylor's circle at Aubrey House, see P. Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England. Private Roles and Public Commitment* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p.65. See B. Russell *Autobiography* (1967; London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1978), pp.143-144.

⁸⁶ Both were involved in purity agitation to close the Empire Theatre, 1894 (see L. Bland *Banishing the Beast. English Feminism and Sexual Morality. 1885-1914* (London: Penguin, 1995) pp.105-107). On the National Society for Women's Suffrage executive, active in local government and agitator for women's right to preach, Chant was satirised in *Punch* as 'Prowlina Pry'.

⁸⁷ She announced an 'autonomistic alliance' with Alfred Wastall, a food and sex reformer, (editor of Densmore's *Pure Food*) in 1898, see *Labour Annual* 1898, p.153. On her membership of the Legitimation League see *The Adult*, vol.1, no.1, p.30, 'Our troops in India' and notice of the alliance; and Brady, ' "Shafts" and the quest for a new morality', p.61; which otherwise has nothing on her. On the League, see Brady, ' "Shafts" and the quest for a new morality'; and entry by Patricia J. Anderson in G.A. Cevasco, ed., *The 1890s. An Encyclopaedia of British Literature, Art and Culture* (London and New York: Garland, 1993).

before her marriage, when she fully supported her husband's activity in food reform and allied reforms. Their children were raised in 'humane principles'.⁸⁸ They offered their home as a meeting place, and Allinson lectured on 'rambles in North Africa' for the Union, 'dressed as a native Arab', at the *Review of Reviews* office.⁸⁹

'May Yates' was a pseudonym adopted by the artist Mary Corkling* in deference to paternal objections to the use of the family name on the reform platform. She led the 'Bread Reform League', but also supported the vegetarian cause from the 1880s when she associated the League with the N.F.R.S.⁹⁰ She was secretary of the L.V.S. from 1890- 1893. Her bread reform and vegetarian efforts attracted the support of the Women's Christian Temperance movement, and Frances Willard supported the creation of a 'World's Food Reform Department'.⁹¹ Yates was appointed Superintendent, in which capacity she lectured around the world for over 30 years.⁹²

McDouall chaired the 'women's session' of the vegetarian congress in 1894 and arranged the final meeting of the jubilee congress at the Central Vegetarian Restaurant in 1897.⁹³ Like many other vegetarians, she was interested in clothing reform.⁹⁴ Other activists comprising the committee included the sisters Caroline and Emily Coles, and Edith Tegetmeier. Caroline, an antivivisectionist and supporter of the R.S.P.C.A., had run a soup kitchen in Enfield; Emily later ran the Enfield branch of the World League against Vivisection.⁹⁵ Tegetmeier, daughter of a colleague of Darwin, had worked at the City of London Lying-in Hospital and joined the Maternity Society which also included the Coles, Chant, Mrs Warner Snoad, Lady Florence Dixie, Mrs Ernest Bell and Sibthorp. The auditor was Mrs Harold Cox (née Helen Clegg), wife of a Cambridge University Extension Society lecturer who had spent a year as an agricultural labourer and established the co-operative Home Colonisation Society in 1884.⁹⁶

The subscription list is reproduced in Appendix F: it included the Quaker socialist and feminist Isabella Ford*, who, like her close friend, the simple-lifer and sexual reformer Edward Carpenter, was not active in the vegetarian movement; Katharine Reid*, who co-authored essays on

⁸⁸*Vegetarian*, 7 December 1895, p.606.

⁸⁹See *Home Links*, 20 December 1898, p.143. See Allinson Papers, MS 3193, clipping from *Marylebone Times*, 5 February 1897, on W.V.U. social held at their house, Spanish Place.

⁹⁰Another female 'food reformer' in the 1870s-1880s was Louisa Freund, sympathiser rather than vegetarian enthusiast. She produced 4 newspapers, two devoted to food and fuel reform, and devised a reformed cooking stove. See my entry in the forthcoming *New DNB*.

⁹¹*Vegetarian*, 6 July 1895, p.322, this took place at the W.W.C.T.U. Convention, London 1895.

⁹²Beginning in 1895 with addresses at the conference on 'L'Alimentation et la Temperance', organised by president of the Belgian W.C.T.U., Madame Chantaine, member of the Maternity Society, and W.V.U.

⁹³*The Times*, 14 September 1894, p.4. Papers were given by Boulton, Chandos Wallace, Mrs Archibald Hunter, and by Yates (see 17 September p.10).

⁹⁴*Vegetarian*, 16 April 1898, p.252.

⁹⁵*Vegetarian News*, 1946, p.134.

⁹⁶*DR*, 1884, p.373.

‘modern chivalry’ and the ‘woman question’ in the *Vegetarian*; Matthilde Wolff van Sandau*, vegetarian through theosophy and humanitarianism and, another occultist, Fanny Samuel*, protégé of Chandos Wallace. Margaret Bondfield, the future Labour minister, became an associate. The Union claimed success for one of its most ‘important and useful’ functions, the debut of new workers in the vegetarian cause.

In 1899 the conductor of the *Vegetarian Messenger*’s ‘Ladies Page’, cautioned against *exclusive* absorption in vegetarianism: ‘lest I become a vegetarian and a woman, not a woman who is more truly and wholly woman, because I am a vegetarian’. The individuals referred to above indicate the wider connections and affiliations of women who would not have defined themselves solely or primarily as vegetarian activists. One society devoted to wider concerns, associated with the Union through the overlapping membership and shared address, was the Women’s International Progressive Union established in 1897 by Adrienne Veigélé.⁹⁷ Its aim was to ‘extend and develop’ the freedom of women, to educate their powers of influence for good, and to place them ‘securely in a position of perfect equality on all points with men’. No restrictions were placed on credal, political or professional status and honorary membership was extended to men. Members in 1898 included doctors, Board School teachers, journalists, musicians, nurses and novelists. Its activity took the form of drawing room meetings (venues again including the home of Charlotte Eamonsen, its honorary treasurer), lectures and debates three times a month, one was held at W.T. Stead’s *Review of Reviews* office.⁹⁸ Speakers included the feminist Mrs Wolstenholme Elmy (a contributor to *Shafts*), Annie Besant and Wardlaw Best. Its internationalist aim (reflected in a letter of ‘sympathy’ to Emile Zola after his defence of Dreyfus), manifested itself concretely in Belgian and French branches by 1898.⁹⁹ The spiritualist sympathies of one component group is clear from the account of one meeting where discourse ranged over women’s suffrage, phrenology, art and holidays.¹⁰⁰

The W.V.U. was a guest of a more familiar and similarly ambitious institution, the middle-class feminist women’s Pioneer Club.¹⁰¹ Its leader, Mrs E.L. Massingberd, friend of Sibthorp and Lady Henry Somerset (the British Women’s Temperance Association’s president) was

⁹⁷One source is *Home Links*, January- March 1898. One meeting, (Jessie Craigen on vaccination), was reported by the *Daily Chronicle*, 7 September 1896, see clipping in Allinson Papers, MS 3193.

⁹⁸*Shafts*, October-December 1899, p.120, reprinted one paper by Mr and Mrs A.H. Currer; and noted p.119 the publication by the Ideal Publishing Union of *Woman the Individual*, by the phrenologist Esther Higgs, delivered before the Women’s Progressive Union and phrenological Fowler Institute.

⁹⁹*Shafts*, September 1897, p.255 for Brussels branch, whose rules were devised with advice from feminist leader Madame Popelin. See John Johnson, Box 1, for French leaflet for the ‘Union des Femmes Végétariennes’.

¹⁰⁰*Shafts*, September- October, 1898.

¹⁰¹Off Bond Street, founded in 1892, ‘What they seek, what they work for, is the welfare of humanity and the highest evolution of the race’. The club had 300 members at one time. On the Pioneer Club, see *Shafts*, and Brady, ‘“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality’, pp.38-39. See invitation, John Johnson, for 1 December 1897. The club is not to be confused with the club founded 1881, reviewed in *Women’s Penny Paper*, 12 October 1889, p.11, whose associates included J.Hume Clapperton and J.M. Robertson.

vegetarian.¹⁰² The Progressive Union's president (Miss Campbell Lang) was a member. Many Pioneers were 'in full sympathy' with vegetarianism, teetotalism and antivivisectionism.¹⁰³ The Union's reception for the W.W.C.T.U. points indeed, as the *Daily News* suggested, to a shared 'sisterhood of practical aims'.¹⁰⁴ The connections between *Shafts* and Frances Willard (which included Sibthorp's friendship with Lady Henry Somerset) who became vegetarian, have been noted before.¹⁰⁵ The 'shared sisterhood' was reflected in coverage in the feminist temperance journal, *Woman's Signal*.¹⁰⁶

Vegetarianism was advocated by Yates during a temperance discussion at the International Council of Women in London, 1899 and also raised by her, Adrienne Veigélé and Phillips of West Ham, in the context of discussion on animal protection. Yates described vegetarianism as the logical conclusion to 'a very proper and womanly conception' of our duties to the lower animals.¹⁰⁷ Many delegates accepted the invitation to Hills' home.¹⁰⁸

This invitation, from the London movement's financial and moral heavyweight (who provided the Union's first office), raises questions about the Union's relationships with the established societies (which claimed to represent *all* classes and *both* genders), and with men. The Union did not jealously protect its independence from men. Men could be 'honorary members' following a resolution at the first annual meeting.¹⁰⁹ But subscription lists and details of meetings and officers demonstrate a largely female composition. Alexandrine Veigélé was clear that the Union fulfilled the need for a society principally of ('good and sensible') women'.¹¹⁰ Veigélé's report for 1899-1900, asserted the right and ability of women to act as independent agents just like men, but stressed that philanthropy was the better for co-operation:

¹⁰²Brady, '“Shafts” and the quest for a new morality', p.18. Somerset's *Woman's Signal*, announced the existence of the W.V.U., 11 July 1895, p.28.

¹⁰³Although none (apparently) were anti-vaccinationists, see Marion Leslie, 'A Peep at the Lady Pioneers,' *Hygienic Review*, July- December 1893. On Massingberd's vegetarianism ('for temperance') see *Vegetarian*, 12 August 1893, p.379. Chant was a Pioneer. Mrs Charles Mallet, a Pioneer (and member of the Humanitarian League), entertained the W.V.U. and W.I.P.U. at her home in late 1896, see *VM*, February 1896, p.63.

¹⁰⁴*Vegetarian*, 6 July 1895, p.332.

¹⁰⁵R. Bordin, *Frances Willard. A Biography*, (London and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986) p.208. Willard supported S.H. Beard's Order, see *HGA*, 15 March 1898, p.30. However, she and W.C.T.U. had earlier been hostile, see *VM*, January 1890, p.23.

¹⁰⁶See *Woman's Signal*, 11 July 1895, p.28; 21 November 1895, p.321 for notices. The paper had absorbed the *Women's Penny Paper* in 1894. It helped that the editorial office for the *Woman's Signal* was the Memorial Hall. Reformed diet columns were started in the W.C.T.U.'s *Union Signal*, as noted in *HGA*, February 1896, p.24

¹⁰⁷*International Council of Women. Report of Transactions*, 7 vols., vol. 7 *Women in Social Life* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900) p.183; p.249. The pro-vegetarian Sarah Sheldon Amos and Chant took leading roles in the transactions. Other vegetarians included H.S. Salt, the naturopath Mrs Archibald Hunter and the Reverend J. Stratton.

¹⁰⁸*Vegetarian*, 8 July 1899, p.319.

¹⁰⁹John Johnson, Box 3, MS First Annual Report, for the year 1896-1897.

¹¹⁰*First Annual Report of the W.V.U.* (March 1895-March 1896), Preface, p.iii.

In spite of those who believed that women's place is in the drawing room or in the kitchen, we have given the proof that the place for women is where there is good work to be done. Women, like men, can stand alone, but it is better for both to work together, hand in hand, for the good of all.¹¹¹

The need to co-operate rather than segregate was also asserted by Eleanor Beeby (a contributor to *Shafts* and the *Vegetarian*), in her astute response to appeals to peculiarly *female* 'empathy':

I do not think it wise to call upon women specially to interest themselves in these things [vivisection, vegetarianism, cruel sports], because although- whether by nature or by training- they are now less able than men to witness, unmoved, suffering in others, while, from probably the same cause, they appear better able than men to endure it in their own persons, yet this is not, to my mind, a wholly desirable state of things, and I think that the more the two sexes can work together in this and every other reform the better; better for themselves and with better results...¹¹²

There were many male supporters.¹¹³ Gottschling's quarterly socialist, feminist and vegetarian *Home Links* published Veigelé's letters and an advertisement for her dépôt. The Union reports detail the support of men such as Josiah Oldfield, Hills, Bernard Shaw, and W.T. Stead*.¹¹⁴ Shaw gave an address for the Union at the Ideal Club (his earlier 'vivacious and humorous' address at the Pioneer Club was succeeded by Adelaide McDouall recalling all to seriousness). Stead provided a venue for meetings. His support of *Shafts*, involvement in the National Vigilance Association and spiritualism were points of contact (he was also aware of the 'logic of vegetarianism'¹¹⁵). Alan Leo* the astrologer (a vegetarian), hosted a meeting with his wife.¹¹⁶ John Nugent* distributed literature.¹¹⁷ Men joined in the performance of music at soirées. Yet the fact that printing of the reports was done by the Women's Printing Society, latterly also the printers of *Shafts*, reinforces the impression of a desire to support women's independent activity.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹Preface, *Fifth Annual Report of the W.V.U.* (March 1899- March 1900), p.3.

¹¹²*Shafts*, 11 February 1893, p.237. Beeby was a member of the Humanitarian League.

¹¹³F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p.32 cites the W.V.U. as typical of female-run societies, in the subscribers being largely (in this case 96%, see the figures, appendix IV) female.

¹¹⁴*Shafts*, December 1893, p.ii published this: 'Every reader of "Shafts" should read and contribute to The Vegetarian'.

¹¹⁵*Fifth Annual Report of the W.V.U.* (March 1899-March 1900) thanked him for an office at *Review of Reviews* since late March 1899. See biographical entry on Stead.

¹¹⁶*Third Annual Report of the W.V.U.* (March 1897-March 1898).

¹¹⁷Nugent wrote to *Shafts*, July 1895, p.64 as a 'constant reader', advocating a female V.S.

¹¹⁸Established by Emma Paterson in 1876, see J. Kamm, *Rapiers and Battleaxes. The Women's Movement and its aftermath* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1966), p.99.

The Union was included with the other societies in the *Vegetarian Yearbook* and its activities were regularly reported in the journals.¹¹⁹ This coverage was in the context of their general efforts to make women more visible as contributors. The *Food Reform Magazine* published papers by Wallace and Kingsford and an essay on 'Women as Food Reformers'.¹²⁰ Women's pages in the *Vegetarian Messenger* and *Vegetarian*, did not imply a desire to segregate but to appeal to their 'special needs'.¹²¹ The *Vegetarian's* policy of promoting a broad platform under the label of the 'ideal', ensured some explicitly feminist sentiments in the journal.¹²² The 'political programme' of 1892 included consideration of female suffrage.¹²³ One letter published in 1896 argued that the movement's limited past success stemmed from female non-involvement; but that their prominence in the Union, Ideal Club meetings, platform and in practical work relating to diet and cookery heralded a new era.¹²⁴

Yet the Union had its critics who believed the Union would hinder rather than forward the movement. Veigelé evidently felt the need to stress the support given as she established the Union by a prominent male vegetarian, Oldfield.¹²⁵ Though the basis for criticism was not stated it can be imagined that some feared competition with the L.V.S. and V.S. for funds and allegiances; or that the movement would be compromised by 'unladylike' activities. Conservative non-metropolitan elements may have seen the Union as over-ambition on the part of the London movement. Perhaps it was feared that the identification of 'Women' with 'Vegetarian' played into the hands of critics who identified vegetarianism with effeminate sentimentalism.¹²⁶ Indicative of tensions, Anna Allinson wanted the Union's affiliation with other societies to cease.¹²⁷

The women's society proved to be short-lived. The Lambeth branch languished without a secretary, and attendance was disappointing.¹²⁸ A late issue of *Shafts* published heartfelt words on

¹¹⁹Its first report was also mentioned in *WTE*, 3 September 1896.

¹²⁰Mary Dawtrey, *Food Reform Magazine*, January 1882 (pp.87-90), April 1882 (pp.134-136).

¹²¹*Vegetarian*, 1893, from 18 March, p.127, 'About Women- for Women', which had paragraphs on women's trade unions, lady doctors, and 'men as women saw them'. In 1893 there was also a housewife's column, articles on women photographers, women and sports, and 'maids à la mode'. 'For the Ladies', conducted by C.A. Eccles and Ruth Sharp appeared in *VM*, 1896 and was continued. This, and pages for children was a deliberate attention to 'special needs', see 49th Report, *VM*, 1896, p.320.

¹²²See *Vegetarian*, 9 December 1893, p.592, p.596: opinions of Eva McClaren and Mrs Morgan Browne on suffrage. A pro-franchise article also appeared 10 July 1897, p.344. In 1894 a 'Women and Their Works' series, profiled women like Cady Stanton.

¹²³*Vegetarian*, 4 June 1892, p.267.

¹²⁴C.W. Morley, 'The Coming of the Woman,' *Vegetarian*, 9 November 1895, p.544

¹²⁵*Vegetarian*, 11 September 1897, p.491.

¹²⁶See Kingsley's contrasting Shelley and Byron, *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1853: 'The age is an effeminate one; and it can well afford to pardon the lewdness of the gentle and sensitive vegetarian, while it has no mercy for that of the sturdy peer'. On the gender aspect see C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat* in general, p.38 quotes a comment of 1836 that 'Emasculation is the first fruit of Grahamism'.

¹²⁷John Johnson, Box 1, 'Second Annual Meeting Agenda', 1897.

¹²⁸*Fifth Annual Report* (March 1899- March 1900).

Veigelé as an 'untiring...worker' for the 'uplifting of humanity'.¹²⁹ Ill at the time, she declared 'I will not die before I see at least some of my projects accomplished for my heart breaks when I see all the misery some have to suffer, through wrong living, in every way'.¹³⁰ A year later she informed Joseph Edwards that work was hard in the absence of funds and that the depot had moved to cheaper premises. Resigning the presidency due to work pressures in 1901, she was succeeded by Yates, who was opposed to the 'hard self assertive spirit' of advanced women.¹³¹ The life Veigelé had dedicated to the 'good of others' ended in poverty.¹³²

It is instructive to relate the organisation to *Shafts*, which provided a sympathetic platform. The only extended study treats the journal's 'liberal feminist' core as participants in a 'new counterculture of vegetarianism, "rational" dress and liberated female behaviour ...combined with a social purity ideology, highly derivative of an earlier reformist tradition'. Yet vegetarianism's presence in *Shafts* presents less of a 'strange duality', than Brady supposed. Although a *fin de siècle* fad with avant garde associations (Brady identifies *Shaft*'s 'Bohemian outlandishness'), it was also part of the puritanism which fuelled the purity campaigns. Vegetarianism was a natural concern for Sibthorp and other women interested in moral regeneration and social reform.¹³³

Allusion has been made to vegetarianism's female personification in the iconography of the vegetarian press. Despite Carol Adams' demonstration of a 'feminist-vegetarian canon', Victorian women were no more prolific as vegetarian authors than men. The concluding chapter examines the external representation and treatment of vegetarianism in textual (and to a lesser extent visual) form, in order to gauge how far the movement (and practice) permeated public consciousness.

¹²⁹*Shafts*, July- September 1899, p.88.

¹³⁰John Johnson, Box 2, letter dated 16 November 1899.

¹³¹*Vegetarian*, 16 June 1894.

¹³²John Johnson, Box 2, letter dated 8 December 1900

¹³³Brady, ' "Shafts" and the quest for a new morality', p.15. Vegetarianism was not, as he suggests (p.76), innovatory like 'new woman' novels, Ibsenism or 'rational' dress. Examination of suffrage's associations with an 'alternative' lifestyle is recommended in a review by Dr Krista Cowman (Institute of Historical Research, Reviews in History, July 1997: <[http:// www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/suffrage.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/paper/suffrage.html)>), of S.S. Holton, *Suffrage Days: Stories from the Women's Suffrage Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

6. *Vegetarianism and the Victorians*

It is curious to notice how a quaint inquiry will come again and again upon one in the course of life, and ask one's passing attention, if not demand one's more serious consideration. Vegetarianism must have come and gone among those small recurring topics in the experience of many.¹

Vegetarianism was not a burning moral or social issue to most Victorians; yet references to it outside the temperance world or 'progressive' milieu are not infrequent. As might be expected of a movement that ran counter to contemporary practice and common sense, it was treated as a comic subject. Yet it was also the focus of serious discussion, with periods of controversy in the periodical press, for instance in 1898 as a result of critical articles by Sir Henry Thompson.² Novelty value and its association with similar 'progressive' movements generated discussion in the 1850s; this sense of vegetarianism as a 'question of the day' was repeated in the latter Nineteenth century. 'Dietetic discourse' ranged necessarily beyond mere foodstuffs to include associations made between diet/dietary reform and a variety of subjects, such as racial assumptions or imperialist sentiment, or concerns about atheism, faddism and 'sentimentalism'.

Observers depicted vegetarianism as a diet suitable only for brainworkers and intellectuals, and a 'poetic system' for the poetic; and vegetarians (whilst emphasising the utility of the diet for all) did make intellectual and cultural claims. Occupational analysis shows indeed the predominance of 'brainworkers' like clerks and teachers, and of those employed in printing and publishing. The *Vegetarian Advocate* forcefully emphasised vegetarianism's relevance in literary circles.³ It has been seen how London vegetarians targeted the opinion-formers of the press.⁴ Unlike hydropathy, which could be an attractive recuperative regime for the Victorian intellectual or man/ woman of letters; or mesmerism which permeated Victorian culture; vegetarianism attracted the sustained commitment of few leading 'eminent Victorians'. Nevertheless- and although it is not the primary function of this research- the list of famous Victorian cultural figures who responded to

¹ S. Brown, 'Physical Puritanism', *Westminster Review* 57 (1852), pp.405-442 [p.407].

² Sir H. Thompson, 'Why "Vegetarian"?', *Nineteenth Century*, April 1898, p.557-569; Thompson, 'Why Vegetarian?', *The Nineteenth Century*, June 1898, pp.966-976; J. Oldfield, 'Vegetarian Still', *Nineteenth Century*, August 1898, pp.246-252, H.S. Salt, 'Sir Henry Thompson and the Vegetarians', *Time*, January 1886 (latter cited, *Weekly Despatch*, 2 January 1886, p.5).

³ *VA*, February 1850, pp.81-82, responding to *Times*' comment (Christmas 1849, but not located), that 'the poetic or the political frenzy is the exception which proves the rule'- a reference to Shelley and J.E. Duncan. The writer claimed: 'In every new literary circle we enter we encounter some fresh disciple of our system, who although holding aloof from it as a "movement," perhaps not acknowledging it as a "system," who may even oppose it on the platform, or in the "leader" of a journal, who yet depends on that for his energy of mind, his capacity for continual and exhausting labour'. An early vegetarian haunt advertised in *VA*, 1 February 1850 as 'extensively patronized by the literati of London'. See 'A Lecture on Journalism', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 68: 422 (December 1850), p.697 on insubordinate young journalists, 'all mere moonshine- pure flatulency, superinduced by a vegetable diet upon a stomach naturally feeble'.

⁴ *VM*, September 1887, pp.291-293; *MD*, 26 August 1887, p.538.

vegetarianism (such as Ruskin in *Fors Clavigera* in 1883⁵) is by no means negligible or limited to second-rank figures.

This concluding chapter examines the literary and visual treatment of vegetarianism. It begins with a brief consideration of Shelley's influence. Non-fictional discussion in tract, book and serial are examined. The profile of vegetarianism in novels and short stories are considered. The utopian and fantasy genres are studied. Dramatic and musical treatment of the subject are detailed. Brief comment on British vegetarianism as viewed from abroad, concludes the chapter.

I

Shelleyanism.

Vegetarianism merits its own entry in a couple of recent encyclopedias of Romanticism, and has been the focus of a recent study of Shelley.⁶ As Adams notes, the 'proper diet of humanity' was debated in memoirs, poetry, novels, essays, and periodicals of the Romantic era. Some reformers, poets, and fictional characters were vegetarian and their dietetic theories 'display millennial fervor, mirror the Romantic interest in classical authors, and syncretize vegetarian beliefs with standard romantic themes'.⁷ Romantic vegetarianism, associated with other radicalisms and unorthodoxies, was certainly no mass 'movement', and attempts to present it as a tendency involving a 'significant' number of people in this period are not entirely convincing.⁸

The 'delicate and sensitive Vegetarian,' Shelley, was a major inspiration for idealistic Victorians, but his influence on the vegetarian movement is little documented.⁹ *Queen Mab*, wherein

⁵ Ruskin responded to Helen Nisbet's letter, 'the shortest and sensiblist I ever got yet on the vegetarian side,' in Letter 90 (May 1883) of *Fors Clavigera* (E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, *The Works of John Ruskin. Library Edition*, vol. 29, London: Allen, 1907), pp.434-436. He was to give 'results' in next *Fors* but never did, although aware of illustrious vegetarians - Scott, Burns, and according to him, Carlyle. He attributed recovery from recent illness to oysters and chops.

⁶ On Romantic vegetarianism see C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat. A feminist-vegetarian critical theory*; T. Morton, *Shelley and the Revolution in Taste, The Body and the Natural World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge Studies in Romanticism, Cambridge University Press, 1994). See also H.S. Salt, *P.B. Shelley. Poet and Pioneer* (1896; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1924), p.120; P. Foot, *Red Shelley* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1980); M. Kipperman, 'Absorbing a Revolution: Shelley Becomes a Romantic, 1889-1903', *Nineteenth Century Literature*, 47:2 (September 1992), pp.187-211; O. Oerlemans, 'Shelley's Ideal Body: Vegetarianism and Nature', *Studies in Romanticism*, 34:4 (winter 1995), pp.531-552; and B. Shaaban, 'Shelley and the Barmbys', *Keats-Shelley Journal*, 41 (1992), pp.122-138. Twigg, 'The Vegetarian Movement', pp.66-67 also sketches this era.

⁷ C.J. Adams, 'Vegetarianism', in L. Dabundo, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Romanticism. Culture in Britain, 1780s-1830* (NY and London: Garland, 1992) pp.594-595.

⁸ See Oerlmans's cautionary comment in 'Shelley's Ideal Body: Vegetarianism and Nature'. T. Morton, *Shelley and the Revolution in Taste*, pp.16-17, stresses the several hundred involved, 'large enough to merit critical study'. He is more accurate when he writes, p.5, that vegetarianism was largely 'a specific ideological formation with a fairly elite grouping which included professionals and upper-class radical freethinkers. The discourse of *bread* would have been more familiar to artisans and others in the labouring-class hierarchy'.

⁹ The phrase, in scorn, was Kingsley's, *Fraser's Magazine*, November 1853 (identified in R. Robson's annotated edition of G.M. Young, *Portrait of an Age*, [London: Oxford University Press, 1977]), p.200. See H. Waylen, 'A Few More Notes', *Vegetarian*, 1890, p.15. F.W. Newman encouraged Mrs Kingsley to be

the diet was advocated, was available to working class radicals in pirated editions such as Richard Carlile's; Carlile claimed many of his readers supported the diet it advocated.¹⁰ Yet his influence was asserted at only a few early vegetarian meetings and a reviewer in the *Vegetarian Advocate* believed his 'vegetarianism was ignored by most of his many admirers'.¹¹ The long-haired enthusiasts Barmby and J.E. Duncan were devotees, and the skits of *Punch* concerning the long-haired, reflects the Shelleyan legacy. The *Vegetarian Messenger* in 1853 recorded one member's hope for the 'realization of the anticipated period looked forward to with so much enthusiasm' by Shelley.¹² Horsell partly credited his conversion to Shelley; the poet had been avidly read by James Burns' father.¹³ Shelley was a hero for young idealistic men, so it is unsurprising that later critics of the system such as Samuel Brown, Robert Browning and G.H. Lewes, experienced brief vegetarian phases. A (minute) late Victorian survey of motivation concluded that Shelley's example was a major factor in taking up the reformed diet.¹⁴

II

Debates about vegetarianism in non-fictional writings.

The vegetable diet was, unsurprisingly, discussed in physiological works, and long before the Society was formed. There is no need here to explore the dietetic debate in this quarter since it has

vegetarian; Kingsley witnessed vegetarianism in Christian Socialist circles.

¹⁰Morton, *Revolution in Taste*, p.37 (Carlile quoted); see P. Foot, *Red Shelley*, pp.228-241 more generally for predominantly working class enthusiasm for Shelley and *Queen Mab* (1813). Book 8 of *Queen Mab* envisions a vegetarian future, supported by a lengthy note, 17; also in 1813 he published *A Vindication of Natural Diet* largely based on the poem's note. Shelley's son tried twice to be vegetarian according to his letter to Kegan Paul, 14 November 1883, cited in paper by W.E.A. Axon, *VM*, March 1891, p.77. Shelley's long-lived friend E.J. Trelawny* became vegetarian.

¹¹*VA*, 1848, p.26. Note the possibility of critics of Shelley's diet in radical papers like the *Reasoner*, where Robert Beith, 10 June 1846, pp.22-25 claimed his dietetic prejudices were confirmed by Shelley's writings.

¹²George Buckley, *VM*, 1853. Coverage of the Shelley Centenary celebrations at 'Wheatsheaf', appeared in *New York Times*, *Nottinghamshire Express*, *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Justice* and *National Observer*. See G.B. Shaw, 'Shaming the Devil about Shelley', originally in *The Albermarle Review*, September 1892. Shaw contrasted carnivorous and drunken poets with Shelley in 'On Going to Church', in *The Savoy*, January 1896. The V.S. published W.E.A. Axon's *Shelley's Vegetarianism* (1891), a paper read at a Shelley Society meeting, University College, London. His letters (19 May and 5 June 1890) to H.S. Salt on arrangements for the paper are in the British Library, Ashley 341860. The articles listed in C. Dunbar, *A Bibliography of Shelley Studies: 1823-1950* (NY: Garland, 1976) indicate that his vegetarianism only became a focus of discussion through vegetarians such as Axon and Salt, from the mid-1880s.

¹³*MD*, 17 February 1888, p.104. See *MD*, 1 July 1892, pp.407-408, p.424, for Burns' scornful account of the Anniversary's treatment of Shelley in materialist and prosaic fashion.

¹⁴In the later Nineteenth century, Shaw and Salt were influenced by Shelley, and Charlotte Despard became a vegetarian through *Queen Mab*, see A. Linklater, *An Unhusbanded Life. Charlotte Despard. Suffragette, Socialist and Sinn Feiner* (London: Hutchinson, 1980), pp.30-32. But see *VM*, August 1892, pp.288-289, H.J. Godbold's disavowal of support for all Shelley's views. Shelley was 'the poet' in London radical clubs of the 1870s, according to S. Shipley, *Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London* (Oxford: History Workshop Pamphlet no.5, 1971), p.28.

already been touched on in the first chapter.¹⁵ Naturally disquisition on the primitive food of man in works of anthropology, zoology, archaeology and sociology, often referred to vegetarian diet.¹⁶

Culinary and epicurean perspectives obviously had the potential to involve vegetarian discussion, though coverage in these quarters has not been explored in this thesis. The celebrated chef Alexis Soyer condemned it as a dreamy ideology by individuals attempting to return to a primeval Golden Age of innocence, milk, honey and nectar.¹⁷ Whilst accepting the long-standing analysis of historical dietary stages (the antediluvian frugivorous diet) Soyer asserted, conventionally, the duty and right of mankind to consume animals. The vegetarians who were eloquent in their declamations were a minority, since no nation had yet returned to the pre-Flood diet. Debates about food supply and food quality also provided obvious locations for commentary on vegetarian substitutes. Dodd's classic study of the feeding of the metropolis, records the current impact of vegetarian propaganda in relation to the 'institution of English beef' and the slaughter house. Dodd introduced his work with reference to dietetic works, including John Smith of Malton's.¹⁸

Given concern over food adulteration and working class dietary, and vegetarians' claims concerning these problems, it is unsurprising that vegetarianism should be alluded to when these subjects were discussed. The *Illustrated London News*'s detailed article on food exhibited at the Great Exhibition condemned the small section of the population who were 'phytopophagi' (vegetable-eaters), since to 'preserve the integrity and enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon race, the first medical authorities declare that a full meat diet must be used.'¹⁹ Sargant's *The Economy of the Labouring Classes* (1857), it has been seen, discussed the subject at some length.²⁰

¹⁵ An interesting reference is Thomas Williams, *A Sketch of the Relations which subsist between the three kingdoms of Nature* (1844), arguing that every progress in science reinforces the rectitude of a mixed human diet, but points out (p.38): 'even now, in this enlightened age, there are not wanting some pre-Adamites, who, in the plenitude of an eccentric wisdom, oracularly assign for man an exclusively vegetable diet'. He did not deny the diet's feasibility, because of Dr Lambe's example, but argued it fattened, rather than strengthened. Experiments showed that a purely vegetable diet could be harmful.

¹⁶ See A.H. Keane, *Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896), ch.6; F. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind* (translated from the German by A.J. Butler, vol.1, London: Macmillan, 1896), p.92. Diet and climate was frequently debated, e.g. J.W. Draper, *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, (2 volumes, London: Bell and Daldry, 1864), vol.1, p.26. Acclimatisation as part of colonialism also involved discussion of the suitable diet, e.g. W.Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe. A Sociological Study* (Lowell Institute Lectures, 1896) (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899), p.563. W.E.H. Lecky, in *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (London: Longman, Green, 1869), 2 volumes, vol.1, p.50 discusses utilitarianism in relation to animal rights and vegetarianism; and suggested most would be vegetarian if required to butcher food themselves (this latter point I have not located). Winwood Reade's influential *Martyrdom of Man* posited a vegetarian future: (17th edn, London: Kegan Paul, Trübner, 1903) p.513.

¹⁷ A. Soyer, *The Pantropheon, or History of Food and its Preparation* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1853).

¹⁸ G. Dodd, *The Food of London. a Sketch of the Chief Varieties, Sources of Supply. Probable Quantities, Modes of Arrival, Processes of Manufacture etc...* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longman, 1856).

¹⁹ *Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1851, p.560.

²⁰ W.L. Sargant, *Economy of the Labouring Classes* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, 1857), ch.8.

As a movement claiming a philanthropic, humanitarian or generally socially ameliorative role, vegetarianism naturally appeared in works discussing these subjects. Thus the 'felicific' claims of vegetarianism were debated in a late Victorian utilitarian work.²¹ Discussion of vegetarianism, it has been seen, appeared in socialist literature such as J.M. Davidson's *The Old Order and the New: From Individualism to Collectivism*, serialised in the *Weekly Times and Echo* in 1889 (Davidson included it in the chapter 'Fallacies and False Issues,' along with other 'quack remedies' such as thrift, voluntary co-operation, trade unions, and problems such as law, war and prostitution).²² Vegetarianism surfaced not surprisingly in debate about curtailment of individual liberty and the efficacy and justification of prohibition in an essay by the positivist Frederic Harrison discussed vegetarianism in one essay about individual liberty and prohibitionist movements such as temperance, sexual activity, parent-child relations.²³

III

Anti-vegetarian tracts, essays and journals, c.1847-1870.

A measure of a cause's contemporary significance is the extent to which it generated tract literature in opposition. Vegetarianism resulted in no flood of tracts comparable to the response to some other -isms but there were some (six) pamphlets. *A Grand Apostacy*, produced soon after the V.S.'s formation presented teetotalism and vegetarianism as proofs of infidelity.²⁴ The *Vegetarian Advocate*, priding itself on the system's truth, advertised *A Glance at Vegetarianism* (which it identified as authored by a member of that 'generally shrewd' working class), directed at the Society.²⁵ Another tract, published just before the V.S. was formed, attacked vegetarianism for harming the temperance cause.²⁶ Another, a published lecture, was *The Vegetarian Fallacy* of 1856.²⁷ This is hardly

²¹M. Macmillan, *The Promotion of General Happiness. A Utilitarian Essay* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1890).

²²The editor thought this stance erroneous, see *Weekly Times and Echo*, 30 June 1889, p.10.

²³F. Harrison, *Realities and Ideals. Social, Political, Literary and Artistic* (London: Macmillan, 1908; collection of earlier essays), Essay 14, 'The Veto on Drink'.

²⁴It was attributed by *Truth-Tester* to Govett, a religious writer and Anglican seceder. See J. Bowes, *Autobiography of John Bowes of Cheltenham* (Glasgow: G. Gallie, 1872), p.515 for a reference to him, now a pastor with a congregation at Norwich Bazaar, expecting the second coming, and holding 'lofty views of his own prerogative'.

²⁵*VA*, 1850, p.82. The 6d tract, *A Glance at Vegetarianism, being an analysis and a refutation of its fundamental principles, and showing their physical, moral, and social tendency. Dedicated to members of the Vegetarian Society* (London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1850), significantly, tried to discredit the cause by emphasizing Shelley's advocacy, see *VA*, 1 April 1850, p.98.

²⁶Metters, *Strictures on animal and vegetable diet* (Uxbridge: H.G. Crosier); reviewed in *Truth-Tester*, 1847, pp.119-120; and *Temperance News and Weekly Journal of Literature and Humanity*, August 1846, p.81.

²⁷Anon., [J. Johnson] *The Vegetarian Fallacy* (1856); 'Beef-eater', *The Vegetarian Humbug*, references in the *VM*, 1855 where it was condemned for misrepresentation. A later tract was C.R. Drysdale's *Vegetarian Fallacies* (London: George Standring: 1890, 2d). B. Moncrieff's *The Philosophy of the Stomach; or, an Exclusively Animal Diet* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1856), was not specifically

an impressive body of pamphlet literature, but there may have been locally printed tracts in response to local vegetarian efforts.

To the references to vegetarianism in books, tracts and satirical magazines must be added treatment in the daily and periodical press; the latter's importance as an indicator of public interest has only begun to be taken seriously by historians.²⁸ Thankfully, for the researcher of the vegetarian movement, its journals reported both contemptuous and appreciative notices in 'influential' and purely local journals. *The Times*, although covering annual banquets and meetings of the V.S. and the London societies, was invariably scornful of the diet and its practitioners as sentimental and idealistic.²⁹ In this attitude it posed as the voice of reason and 'common-sense'; a stance which it took on the range of moral radical issues. But regular reporting of annual meetings and coverage in particular of the congresses in the late Nineteenth century shows that the movement was recognised as a topic of public interest. This was the case with other papers, like the *Daily News*, *Nonconformist*, or the *Illustrated London News* which thought fit to provide an engraving of one banquet.³⁰ The *Morning Advertiser* described followers as 'amiable fanatics' and the diet as 'one of the most harmless delusions of the day'.³¹

It has been indicated how the movement could hope for some attention by temperance journals. Reformist and philanthropic journals might discuss the movement's philanthropic or progressive claims.³² The *Mechanics' Organ* was quoted in an advertisement by the *Vegetarian Advocate* as recommending it as 'in the wake of progress, and we welcome it as worthy fellow labourer in

against vegetarianism, though it discussed it, pp.69-70. W.J. Farmer reported receiving 'a pamphlet purporting to be a response to Tolstoi's *The First Step*', see *Vegetarian*, 25 February 1893.

²⁸In researching the movement's reception in periodicals and newspapers I have been stimulated by 'The Open Secret of Victorian Periodicals. Micro and Macro Research Strategies for the Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900, a paper given by John S. North at the conference and also at the annual conference of the 'Research Society for the Victorian Periodical', Birkbeck College University of London, July 2000. References to vegetarianism may partly be located through the Periodicals Contents Index electronic database (Chadwyck-Healey).

²⁹The *Palmer's Index* on CD- Rom is invaluable. Coverage began with notice of the 1848 public dinner, and generally took the form of small-print paragraphs; although there were several editorials in the late Victorian period.

³⁰*Daily News* coverage is reproduced in *VM*, October p.90, and November 1855, pp.96-99. 23 October-27 September 1854 the *Nonconformist* published correspondence about links between vegetarianism and consumption, but the index 1850-1856 has no other references apart from a report of the London meeting in 1851, and favourable review of Horsell's editions of the *Science of Human Life*, and *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* and Hogg's work (2 January 1850, p.17). The *Morning Chronicle* reported on vegetarianism 4 August 1851 (*VM*, November 1851: controversialist, p.17). In 1850 were two 'favourable' papers in *Reynold's Newspaper*. Surprisingly, given its moral radical status, the *Morning Star* apparently had no prominent discussion (though I have not checked through its files), since the only reported reference, a letter on lentils and dietetic reform, was in November 1867 (*VM*, January 1868, pp.19-20).

³¹*VM*, September- December 1852, controversialist section, p.19.

³²On these early Victorian journals, like *Howitt's*, and *People's*, see B. Maidment, 'Magazine of Popular Progress and the Artisans', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 17: 3 (1984), pp.83-94.

“clearing the way”.’ Obscure journals such as the *Osbornian Journal* (which called the *Advocate* a ‘friend of inquiry and progress’) might be supportive.

Clearly the novel movement attracted attention in this period beyond the measure of support from quarters where one would expect sympathy. More importantly for spreading awareness of the cause generally, responses to vegetarian propaganda appeared in periodicals. In his widely circulated *Household Words*, Charles Dickens attacked vegetarians, teetotalers and peace activists as extremists who lacked perspective: ‘Stew so much as the bone of a mutton chop in the pot with your vegetables, and you will never make another Eden out of a Kitchen Garden’. He ridiculed the ‘distinguished vegetarians’ and their platform.³³ Another interesting location was *The British Controversialist*, devoted to publishing contributors’ debates on issues of the day. H.S. Clubb and others answered several anti-vegetarians’ criticisms of the movement in 1851.³⁴ Vegetarians praised the mass-circulating *Family Herald* for good sense, benevolence, ‘acuteness and philosophical acumen’ when it examined the diet ‘as one of the speaking signs of the times- heralds of a coming era’.³⁵ This connecting of vegetarianism with other signs of progress or change was, of course, discussed in Samuel Brown’s article in the *Westminster Review*. Another significant journal of the period, *The Athenaeum*, by contrast, saw the movement as ‘fanatical’ in discussions in May 1850.³⁶

Responses to the movement also appeared in satirical journals of the period. The satirical approach is exemplified by *Punch*, which intermittently reported on the movement from 1848. *Punch* referred to it as a Manchester based society devoting itself to meeting occasionally ‘for the purpose of masticating mashed potatoes, and munching cabbage leaves.’ The ‘vegetarian humbug’ was merely a juvenile appetite for sweet and nice foods. A response from vegetarians resulted in the magazine’s patronising notice of a ‘movement’ - with press, society, boarding houses, schools, hotels, life insurance office, stationary and missionaries.³⁷ The sect’s diet was described as

³³*Household Words*, 23 August 1851, ‘Whole Hogs’. See G. Storey, K. Tillotson and N. Burgis eds., *The Letters of Charles Dickens*, vol.6 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988), p.457: 10 August 1851 to W.H. Wills on the intention to write about movements that ‘have lately been making stupendous fools of themselves’. As the editors note, he was attacked by the temperance worker Clara Lucas Balfour in J.S. Buckingham’s *The Temperance Offering*. In ‘Frauds on the Fairies’ he criticized Cruickshank’s temperance fairy-tales by showing the absurdity of Robinson Crusoe retold with vegetarian, teetotal or pro-aboriginal moral, *Household Words*, 1 October 1853.

³⁴*The British Controversialist*, June- November 1851, II: pp.226-230, 230-231, 265, 267-270, 307-309, 389-391, 426-430. Note vegetarian advocacy in ‘The Cultivation of Memory by a Disciplinarian’ (in literary occupation), p.277, pp.396-398. On this journal, see M. Wolff, *Victorian Periodical Newsletter*, (*Victorian Studies*), no.2, June 1968, pp.27-45.

³⁵*Family Herald* 9 November 1850, pp.444-445. Further references in answers to correspondence appears 1845-1846, 1850-1852, and is reported in *VM*, 1861. *Chamber’s Edinburgh Journal* extracted Smith’s *Fruits and Farinacea* 3 and 13 January 1846, rejected the vegetarianism in a reprint of Thomson’s ‘The Seasons’, 16 May 1846, and published a ‘Plea for a Vegetarian Diet’ in 1850 [not consulted].

³⁶For *Athenaeum* reviews, see 15 November 1845 (J. Smith); 8 August 1846 (Horsell); 28 August 1847 (James Simpson); 4 May 1850 (Asenath Nicholson, Charles Lane); 15 December 1860 (J. Smith).

³⁷See *VA*, 15 October 1848, pp.34-35, p.41, p.50, 15 November 1848, pp.51-52. for response to *Punch*. See p.51, on the ‘efficient services of Punch’ in spreading the cause.

cholera-inducing. The magazine related the movement to the range of physical reforms. Amongst the fifteen or so references in the 1850s were notes of vegetarian leather substitutes; the 'Grand Show of Prize Vegetarians', an amusing cartoon in the 1852 almanac; reference to vegetarian eating houses and annual banquets.³⁸ Where Mr Punch went, others, such as *Diogenes*, followed.³⁹

IV

Vegetarianism in late Victorian Newspapers and Periodicals.

With the revival in progressive movements from the 1870s came renewed discussion of vegetarianism. It was certainly a topic of comment in the late Nineteenth century press, both the newspaper and the burgeoning 'tit-bits' periodical market. Some sense of its public treatment may, again, be derived from vegetarian journals eager to convey the sense of a general (or specialist) discussion of food reform, however trivial. Some of the journals noted were quite far-flung, such as the *Levant Herald* which reported the International Vegetarian Congress in 1898. As vegetarianism was still quite an exotic movement in this period, the provincial press was diligent in reporting local activity, even when quite humble. Often these reports and letters sent by vegetarians stimulated further correspondence and editorial comment.⁴⁰ The appendix identifies some of the pro-vegetarian newspapers. Though it was clearly a matter of the editors' own sympathies, the local press were often sceptics and sneerers.⁴¹ The *North British Daily Mail* in March 1898, to cite one of many instances, wrote that, '[o]f all the apostles of lost causes Vegetarians deserve the deepest sympathy'; the *Glasgow Evening Times* in February of the same year was similarly disparaging of local efforts.⁴² Other newspapers showed respect for vegetarians' philanthropic activities and motives.

³⁸References in the period 1848-1857 are: 'The Vegetarians,' 20 September 1848, p.140; 'Vegetarian Movement,' 4 November 1848, p.182; 'Punch and the Vegetarians,' January-June 1851, p.101; 'The Green Ones,' July-December 1851, p.83; 'All Vegetable and entire animal,' July-December 1851, p.230; 'Vegetable Gas,' July-December 1852, p.77; 'The Vegetarians in the North,' July-December 1853, p.73; 'A Warning to Vegetarians,' p.113; 'The Quack's Diary,' January-June 1854, p.11; 'Domestic Reformer,' January-June 1854, p.80; 'A Vegetarian Eating House,' July-December 1854, p.53; 'The "Spread" of Vegetarianism,' 24 November 1855, p.214; 'Ways and Means,' 24 January 1857, p.33; 'The Delights of Spring. A Song by a Vegetarian,' 6 June 1857. In 'Punch's Almanac': 1852: 'Grand Show of Vegetarians' (reverse of May-June) and 'The Feast of vegetables and the flow of water'; 1853: 'Height of Anarchy'; *Punch's Almanac* for 1861, unpaginated: 'almanac for 1990'.

³⁹'Vegetative Ideas,' *Diogenes*, 19 March 1853, p.129.

⁴⁰In referencing sources for reconstitution of the provincial movement (chapter 3), it was decided not to refer to local press organs from which many reports were derived, nor has there been time to independently look through these except in the case of Reading, Exeter and Portsmouth. Additional newspaper references are contained as clippings in the Allinson Papers.

⁴¹*VM*, June 1890, noted that the susceptibility of practitioners to cancer was a 'standing dish for slack times' for the press.

⁴²*Vegetarian*, 5 March 1898, p.145, 19 February, p.130

The *Pall Mall Gazette* published frequent reports and notes on vegetarians.⁴³ Barry Pain, a celebrated journalist and editor of *Today*, opposed vegetarianism.⁴⁴ The *Globe* ridiculed the movement. The *Illustrated London News*'s scientific section was conducted by an anti-vegetarian, Dr Andrew Wilson, who complained that one had 'only to mention the word "foods," when there will be a hundred or more wise and learned persons to point out to you the only "perfect way in diet"'.⁴⁵ *Punch* had settled into gentle satire about banquets, restaurants, and vegetarian clothing.⁴⁶ Satirical and comic journals continued to exploit vegetarianism's humorous potential.⁴⁷ Other titles reported as hostile included *Wheeling* and *St James's Budget*.⁴⁸ Vegetarianism was the subject of articles in *Fraser's Magazine*, *Nineteenth Century* and *Westminster Review*.⁴⁹ Whereas *Notes and Queries* had avoided vegetarianism in the 1850s, there were now some inquiries, though these may have been planted to generate coverage.⁵⁰

⁴³E.g., 1882 on vegetarianism's 'surprising popularity,' reported in *DR*, January 1882, p.42; publication of Newman-Mount-Temple correspondence May 1882; 'Reflections of a "City Vegetarian"', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 April 1883; and letter from a vegetarian friend of Shaker F.W. Evans, reported *VM*, early 1884; 8 May 1890 reporting Professor André's* death. E.T. Cook, formerly W.T. Stead's colleague at the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and editor of *Westminster Gazette*, attended a dinner (Ideal Club) where he said that 'Personally, he was always glad to use what influence he had in forwarding the interests of the Vegetarian Society' (*Vegetarian*, 22 December 1894).

⁴⁴*Today*, 22 January 1898, noted in *Vegetarian*. Pain belonged to the so-called 'New Humour' of the 1890s, see H. Jackson, *The Eighteen Nineties. A Review of Art and Ideas at the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, (1913; London: Pelican, 1950), p.227, p.229.

⁴⁵*Illustrated London News*, 11 September 1897, p.368, 'Scientific Jottings', see also 2 October 1897, p.465. By contrast *Gentleman's Magazine* was interested in the reformed diet in the 1880s, in scientific notes by a supporter, W. Mattieu Williams. In November 1895 it published Oldfield's 'History of a Beefsteak'.

⁴⁶In 1865-1900 these references appeared: 'Anti Everything Societies,' 14 January 1865, p.15; 'A Strike Against the Butchers,' 15 July 1865, p.15; 'The Jovial Vegetarians,' 6 December 1873, p.224; 'An Epicure's Expostulation,' 22 January 1876, p.19; 'An Evergreen Vegetarian,' 15 February 1879, p.61; 'Verses for Vegetarians,' 28 May 1881, p.251; 'Fadkin's Hampers,' 1883; 'The Gay vegetarians,' 2 August 1884, p.54; 'Vegetarian Vagaries,' 18 October 1884, p.192; 22 May 1886, p.250; 20 November 1886, p.244; 'A Ballad of Salad,' 1 June 1889, p.267; 'Hamlet at the Vegetarian Congress,' 20 September 1890, p.144; 'At a Vegetarian Restaurant,' 17 December 1892, pp.280-281; 'A Salve for the Conscience,' 24 December 1892, p.297; 'The Vegetarian Dinner,' 1 January 1898, p.305; 12 February 1898, p.72; 'Why Vegetarians?' 11 June 1898, p.274; 5 December 1900, p.411. References in *Punch*'s Almanac: 1867: Lady of Shalott; 1882: 6 December 1881.

⁴⁷E.g., *Fun* (2 May 1863, 1884, 1894, 1896); *Moonshine* (17 November 1888, p.229); *Ally Sloper's Half Term Holiday* (1892); *Scraps; Funny Folks* (1878, 1892, 1894); these are simply references vegetarian journals picked. The leading black-and-white artist, Phil May, drew a cartoon reproduced in the *Vegetarian*, September 1894, p.419. Jack Yeats also contributed 'After the Vegetarian Dinner' to *Ariel*, or the *London Puck*, 21 March 1891, p.188 (listed in H. Pyle, *Jack B. Yeats. A Biography*, 1970). See also 'During the Process of Digestion' in *St James's Gazette*, 1890, reprinted in *Vegetarian*, 29 March 1890.

⁴⁸See also 'The Vegetarian Creed,' in *The Speaker*, late 1897, reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 8 January 1889, p.127 on a London vegetarian congress.

⁴⁹See C.O.G. Napier, 'Autobiography of a Vegetarian,' *Fraser's Magazine*, 1876; H.S. Salt, 'Food Reform', *Westminster Review*, October 1886, pp.483-499; O.A. Shrubsole, 'Practicability of vegetarianism', 145 (March 1896), pp.310-320; Lady Paget, 'Vegetarian diet', *Nineteenth Century*, 31 (April 1892), pp.577-585.

⁵⁰*Notes and Queries*, 30 August 1879, p.167 (inquiry by Axon); 20 December 1883, p.496 (inquiry by T.C. Hughes, BA, informed by friend of Shelley's vegetarianism); 12 January 1884, pp.30-32 (replies).

Fictional representations of the vegetarian.

Carol Adams's *The Sexual Politics of Meat* seeks to fashion a canon of feminist-vegetarian texts from *Frankenstein* to present-day literature. The problem that few Victorian instances are uncovered, is camouflaged by deployment of Colegate's modern (albeit Edwardian era-located) *The Shooting Party*.⁵¹ Vegetarian authors in the 1840s-1870s were, with the exceptions of the obscure J.E. Duncan, Fanny Lacy, S.A. Clubb, non-existent.⁵² Very few works of fiction had vegetarian protagonists, though there were a few which mentioned, *en passant*, vegetarianism. From the 1870s, propaganda appeared in fiction and poetry produced by V.S. members such as Kingsford, Harriet Beavan*, Chandos Wallace, O. E. Nelham* and J.A. Parker*.⁵³

The Healthian enthusiastically reviewed Anna Blackwell's only novel, *Ellen Braye*, in 1841, since 'Cunliffe Manvers' was a sympathetic portrait of a vegetarian philosopher.⁵⁴ It has been seen that a vegetarian episode played an important part in Kelty's *Visiting My Relations*.⁵⁵ In the same period, Kingsley's idealistic chartist John Crossthwaite in *Alton Locke* was another representation of a vegetarian. Small, pale, weak and prematurely aged, it was to his vegetarianism perhaps, that he owed 'a great deal of the almost preternatural clearness, volubility, and sensitiveness of his mind'.⁵⁶ Vegetarian preternaturalness also figured in the portrait of a American 'prophet' called 'Elias Baptist

⁵¹C.J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, pp.105-107, p.127-129.

⁵²'Edward Noble,' in J.E. Duncan, *Flowers and Fruits, or Poetry, Philosophy and Science* (London: Printed for the Author, 1843); F.E. Lacy, 'The Vegetarian; or, a Visit to Aunt Primitive', *The Metropolitan Magazine*, April 1847, pp.403-413; S.A. Clubb, *Good Influence. A Tale for the Young, who are willing to seek the stepping stone to health, intelligence and happiness* (Bath: Isaac Pitman, 1854), which appended recipes.

⁵³'Colossa' (A. Kingsford) *In My Lady's Chamber. A Speculative Romance, Touching a Few Questions of the Day* (London: James Burns), p.200, pp.238-245 (first appeared in her *Lady's Own Paper*, 1872), 'The Turquoise Ring,' first appeared in *Tinsley's Magazine*, February 1871; and E. Maitland, ed., *Dreams and Dream Stories* (1888); E. Beavan, *Lil Grey, or Arthur Chester's Courtship* (London: S.W. Partridge, 1879); J.A. Parker, *Ernest England* (London: Leadenhall Press, 1895), p.180, pp.300-307. Vegetarian poetry included R. Sargant, *The Revenge of the Beasts and other Verses*; and [H. Begbie?] *Odd Rhymes, Verses, Imitations, Jingles* (Ideal Publishing Company, 1899) and verse in M. Egerton King, *My Book of Songs and Sonnets* (London: Percival, 1893). Two children's stories featuring vegetarian messages were the Irish S. Rosamund Praeger's *The Adventures of Three Bold Babies* and F.K. Upton (inventor of the Golliwog), *The Vege-men's Revenge*, (both Longman, Green, 1898). W. Strong's *The Book of Giants* (London: Unicorn Press, 1898), a limited edition of wood engravings, featured a vegetarian giant.

⁵⁴*Ellen Braye, or, the Fortune-teller* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1841). Vegetarian references at p.101, p.107, pp.183-190. Anna Blackwell (1816-1900), the sister of Dr Elizabeth Blackwell, was raised in America, where the family settled. She joined Brook Farm community in 1845 before settling in France; translated George Sand and Charles Fourier and was a journalist (information from catalogue of Blackwell Family papers, the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Massachusetts). She set her only novel in England; it was published in London. Apart from this, no evidence exists for her involvement in the movement. See review, *Healthian*, no.2 (January 1842), p.13.

⁵⁵M.A. Kelty, *Visiting My Relations, and its results; a series of small episodes in the life of a recluse*, (London: William Pickering, 1851). See *DNB*, 1891, for entry.

⁵⁶C. Kingsley, *Alton Locke*, (1850; London: Macmillan, 1878) ch. 2, p.28.

Butterworth' in a poem by George Eliot.⁵⁷ Showing her fine sense of the *zeitgeist*, Eliot's recreation of provincial life in the 'Middlemarch' of the Great Reform Act period, makes reference to establishing 'a Pythagorean community in the backwoods'.⁵⁸ The connection between perfectionist communitarianism and diet also surfaced in Margaret Oliphant's *Zaidee: A Romance* of 1851.⁵⁹

Later, vegetarianism is present, albeit mostly in a minor way, in works by Mrs Humphry Ward, George Meredith, George Gissing and Israel Zangwill. Sherlock Holmes's journey past a vegetarian restaurant in 'The Red-headed League' also symbolises vegetarianism's physical presence as part of the *fin de siècle* background in London.⁶⁰ At the turn of the century further references appeared in works by H.G. Wells, and the humorists E.F. Benson and Harold Begbie.

Ward's best-selling *The History of David Grieve* depicted vegetarianism c.1870. The secularist Adrian Lomax becomes vegetarian in the radical Lancaster milieu of secularism, Owenism and anti-vaccination; but is dismissed from his post on the *Penny Banner* for his attack on carnivorousism. The novel briefly portrays Mancunian vegetarianism (centred on the 'Fruit and Flowers Parlour' he establishes). Its spread is attributed to an environment offering opportunities to any offering novel solutions to 'those daily needs which both goad and fetter the struggling multitude at every step.'⁶¹ Before Lomax's arrival it had been advocated in several prominent workingmen's papers and at a great public dinner 'the speedy advent of regenerate and frugivorous mankind, with length of days in its right hand, and a captivating abundance of small moneys in its waistcoat pocket' was heralded.⁶² Lomax lectures at Mechanics Institutes, writes letters, puts up posters and addresses passers-by.

George Meredith's *Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859) made reference to a vegetarian phase during the hero's 'spiritual seed-time'; for comic effect *One of Our Conquerors* (1892) featured a

⁵⁷'A Minor Prophet' in G. Eliot, *The Legend of Jubal, and Other Poems* (London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1874). The *North American Review* considered this the 'gem' of the collection, October 1874, p.486. Eliot, involved in the *Westminster Review*, had read Samuel Brown's 'admirable article' before it was published in April 1852, see *The Letters of George Eliot*, p.6.

⁵⁸G. Eliot, *Middlemarch. A Study of Provincial Life*, (published originally in serial form, 1871-1872) (London: Penguin, 1965) p. 203 [chapter 17, 'Old and Young']. The character Trawley is hot on the 'French social systems', but decides instead to be a hydropath.

⁵⁹In the figure of the philosopher and reformer Mr Cumberland, dedicated to 'Nature', eating 'sauer-kraut and radishes' and attempting the 'conversion of the world by vegetable diet'. He supports the Fourierists. See 'Zaidee: A Romance', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (volume 77: 476), part , June 1855, p.680 (republished in book-form 1856).

⁶⁰A.C. Doyle, 'The Red-headed League,' *The Strand Magazine*, August 1891, pp.198-199.

⁶¹Mrs Humphrey Ward, *The History of David Grieve*, (London: Smith, Elder, 1892), p.338. See E.H. Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward* (London: Heinemann, 1973), pp.91-97, she had been aided in research by cousins of Beatrice Webb. *Vegetarian Review*, 1897, p.534 notes that Ward had been associated with Mancunian vegetarians two or three years before. Her brother William Arnold* was vegetarian whilst at Oxford.

⁶²*David Grieve*, p.338. Other references, p.340-341, pp.251-252, pp.256-257, pp.329-330, p.337, pp.351-352. I have not studied reviews to see if vegetarianism was generally mentioned; the fragility of the copy of the *Women's Herald* at Colindale Newspaper Library precluded a study of one review which *did* discuss the vegetarianism (10 September 1892).

vegetarian drinker and a teetotal omnivore as a couple.⁶³ More significantly, Nevil Beauchamp and his mentor Dr Shrapnel in *Beauchamp's Career* were vegetarians. Beauchamp was based on Meredith's friend the radical Frederick Maxse, who had been teetotal and vegetarian.⁶⁴ Influenced by him, Meredith experimented with the diet. Shrapnel was an extreme radical who appreciated the need to be discreet about his diet. Beauchamp is described by an opponent as a supporter of 'pimping Republicanism and capsizing everything in ... Old England'. His austere, altruistic example leads one character, Cecilia, to investigate vegetarianism:

She had actually sweeping before her sight a spectacle of the ludicrous-terrific, in the shape of an entire community pursuing countless herds of poor scampering animal life for blood: she meanwhile, with Nevil and Dr Shrapnel, stood apart contemning. For those who do not partake of flesh in this kingdom of roast beef must be of the sparse number of Nevil's execrated minority in politics.⁶⁵

Shrapnel and Beauchamp are opposed to the age's hedonistic tendency to 'eat of good things and stick to them'. Beauchamp plans a daily or monthly newspaper, *The Dawn*, to oppose Toryism, 'fits of flunkeyism', middle class cowardice, the vested interests of the drink trade, parsons, landlords, the legal profession and the apathetic.

George Gissing's poverty-enforced vegetarianism led to several vegetarian characters in his novels and short stories, like the shabby-genteel Virginia Madden in *The Odd Woman* (1893) and Tymperly in 'A Poor Gentleman', professing vegetarianism to conceal poverty. The eponymous hero of *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft* (1903) senses 'an odd pathos in the literature of vegetarianism,' recalling his own study of the vegetarian periodicals and pamphlets 'with all the zest of hunger and poverty, vigorously seeking to persuade myself that flesh was an altogether superfluous, and even repulsive, food'.⁶⁶ Another, but on moral grounds, is Piers Otway in *The*

⁶³G. Meredith, *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859), ch.12; *One of Our Conquerors* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1892), p.61, p.70, p.98, p.122, p.209, p.414.

⁶⁴See S.M. Ellis, *George Meredith* (London: Grant Richards, 1920), p.103 for discussion of the novel (started 1871, completed 1874), Meredith's favourite, and for the novel's echoing of correspondence with Maxse. On his vegetarianism, see *DNB*; comments by H.S. Salt, *Vegetarian*, 1912, p.37; and H.M. Hyndman, *The Records of an Adventurous Life* (London: Macmillan, 1911), pp.85-86; C.L. Cline, ed., *Letters of George Meredith* vol.3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.349-350. He was interested in dietary simplification for health reasons, but ridiculed Maxse's vegetarianism.

⁶⁵G. Meredith, *Beauchamp's Career* (1897; London: A. Constable, 1902), p.455-456. Further references, p.395, p.454; pp.468-469.

⁶⁶In *Demos. A Story of English Socialism* (1886; London: Smith, Elder, 1897), p.42: Richard Mutimer's treasured guides for life include vegetarian, malthusian, and free-thought pamphlets and books. See also *The Odd Women* (1893), p.19, p.34, p.49; *The Crown of Life* (London: Methuen, 1899), references to Otway's teetotal and vegetarian habits, in ch.1 and ch. 6; Tymperley in 'A Poor Gentleman', (originally in *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 1899; reprinted as chapter 6, *The House of Cobwebs*, 1906); *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, (1903) 'Winter: 9'; and Sherwood and Milligan's projected Irish vegetarian colony discussed in consultation with leading London vegetarians in *Will Warburton* (London: A. Constable, 1905), chs.30, 31, 33, 38. On Gissing's vegetarianism see Mattheisen, Young and Coustillas, eds., *The Collected Letters of*

Crown of Life (1899). A scheme to establish an Irish vegetarian colony surfaces in *Will Warburton* (1905).⁶⁷

The now neglected Israel Zangwill had humanitarian sympathies which partly explain the vegetarian references in several works.⁶⁸ In a classic sealed room mystery, 'The Big Bow Mystery,' the hero 'Cowl' is a vegetarian, secularist, blue ribbonite, republican and anti-tobacconist, with an inverted world-view where the scorned conventions (monarchy, meat, drink etc.) are mere 'fads' that a 'plain man' can discard.⁶⁹ *The Children of the Ghetto* (1892) referred to vegetarianism as akin to Judaism: 'have I ever told you,' his character Sydney Graham asks, 'that my idea that Vegetarianism is the first step in a great secret conspiracy for gradually converting the world to Judaism?'⁷⁰ Zangwill's essay 'A Vision of the burden of man' lists, among many vexed questions, the question 'Is vegetarianism higher? or healthier?'⁷¹

H.G. Wells depicted the food and dress reform and feminist milieux in his controversial *Ann Veronica*, which, though published 1909, captures the atmosphere of the *fin de siècle* movement. Higher Thought, Simple Life, socialism, humanitarianism, suffragism, Fabianism and fruitarianism in the form of the Goopes couple are presented as right yet (as when substitute lard is earnestly discussed as an 'exceptionally purifying influence on the mind'), absurd. The heroine visits Fabian meetings and Dress and Food Reform Exhibitions where the supporters are mostly unattached young men and women, young artists and writers, self-supporting women or female students. Though these are presented as washed-out (the 'spectacle of failure protecting itself from abjection by the glamour of its own assertions'), Wells was certainly accurately identifying important constituents and tendencies of the *fin de siècle* 'progressive world'. He had earlier touched on teetotal-vegetarianism in the autobiographical *Love and Mr Lewisham*, written in 1898 and printed

George Gissing, vol. 2 (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1991), letters dated 13 October 1885 and 22 October 1885; and P. Coustillas, ed., *London and the Life of Literature in late Victorian England. The Diary of George Gissing, Novelist* (Hassocks: Harvester Press: 1978), entry for 1891.

⁶⁷Professor Coustillas informed me of several further references to vegetarianism in Gissing's writings. In May 1896 *The Idler* published a story which was reprinted in *Harmsworth's Magazine*, December 1900 as 'Vegetarianism vs Love', see B. Postmus, 'Mr Harmsworth's Blue Pencil: "Simple Simon" Revisited, *The Gissing Journal*, 31: no.1 (January 1995), pp.1-10. A discussion of vegetarianism in *Life and Beauty*, August-September 1900 is reprinted in vol.8 of *The Collected Letters of George Gissing (and see Mattheisen, Young and P. Coustillas, eds., The Collected Letters of George Gissing vol.7 1897-1899* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1995). There are two comments on vegetarianism, echoing comments in *Ryecroft*, in J. Korg, ed., *George Gissing's Commonplace Book* (New York: New York Public Library, 1962), p.67. I am grateful to Mitsuharu Matsuoka of the University of Nagoya, Japan, for the Gissing internet site which includes e-texts of all of Gissing's novels and short stories, keyword searches using this archive have greatly aided my research (see Bibliography for full citation).

⁶⁸Zangwill was no vegetarian, though he had some acquaintance with H.S. Salt who identified him as a fellow humanitarian.

⁶⁹'The Big Bow Mystery', in I. Zangwill, *The Grey Wig: Stories and Novelettes* (London: 1903), p.141, 150.

⁷⁰*The Children of the Ghetto. A Study of a Peculiar People* (1892; London: Heinemann, 1897), pp.372-373. This was a bestseller in Britain and America. The reference was noted in *VM*, August 1893, p.276.

⁷¹'A Vision of the burden of man', in I. Zangwill, *Without Prejudice* (London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1896), p.12. This probably appeared originally in *Pall Mall Gazette*.

serially 1899.⁷² Further allusions appeared in the scientific romances *The Time Traveller* (where the master-class evolved into vegetarian cattle for subterranean plebeians), and *The First Men on the Moon*, (in which Cavor was a water-drinker, a vegetarian, and ‘all those logical disciplinary things’).⁷³ Wells’ dislike of vegetarians, possibly due to the identification he made between dietary abstinence and celibacy, was expressed in a number of characters and references in later works.⁷⁴

The ‘anti-vegetarians’ Hilaire Belloc and G.K. Chesterton are outside the period of this thesis, but Chesterton’s study of Shaw is a penetrating one, and his autobiography documents the world of London clubs where vegetarianism was discussed.⁷⁵ Contemporaneously with *Anna Veronics*, a perilously open-minded baronet is sucked into the dubious world of London radicalism in the ‘vegetarian apostate’ Harold Begbie’s satire on ‘isms’ such as theosophy, Christian Socialism, vegetarianism (in the form of the eccentric and disturbing Peace family), fruitarianism (via a red-bearded enthusiast), communitarianism and sun-bathing.⁷⁶ Nature cure and allied fads were to be an enduring target in the works of the more famous E. F. Benson, from the Edwardian period onwards.⁷⁷

When a writer wanted a quirky character, vegetarianism was useful. Thus the novel *Episodes in an Obscure Life* had a vegetarian keeper of a menagerie, Mr Crook. His tamed cats, rats, monkeys and birds, are kept pacific through their diet. A ‘bit of a fanatic in a harmless way,’ Crook feels ‘like a preacher, too, when I wheel my family out’. He is unsure ‘that animals air [sic] animals’ natural food’ when brought to ‘an upright state of nature’ and is disturbed by thoughts of the animals he had eaten in his unregenerate past.⁷⁸ Later, the Edwardian ‘railway detective’ Thorpe Hazell, a wealthy amateur, was a health food enthusiast.⁷⁹ Either as a signifier of transgression or as provocative

⁷²H.G. Wells, *Love and Mrs Lewisham*, (London and NY: Harper and Brothers, 1900) p.196. Wells’ Fabian associations brought contact with several vegetarians, see N. and J. Mackenzie, *The Time Traveller. The Life of H.G. Wells* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973), p.62, 102, p.174.

⁷³H.G. Wells, *The First Men in the Moon*, (1900; vol.6 of Atlantic Edition of *The Works of H.G. Wells*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925), p.16. The story first appeared in Britain in the *Strand Magazine*.

⁷⁴See the references, and this interpretation, in P. Kemp, *H.G. Wells and the Culminating Ape. Biological Themes and Imaginative Obsessions* (London: Macmillan, 1982), pp.15-17. See for instance, *A Modern Utopia and other discussions*, with its vegetarian character the ‘Voice of Nature’ (1905; *The Works of H.G. Wells*, vol.9, London: T. Fisher and Unwin, 1925), p.60, pp.106-113.

⁷⁵G.K. Chesterton, *Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1936), ch. 7, and his passing reference to supporters of Blatchford’s *Clarion*. As Maisie Ward notes, *G.K. Chesterton* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1945), the journal *Bystander* suggested that Chesterton was ‘invented’ by Shaw to allow him escape from vegetarianism. His study of Shaw appeared in *Heretics* (1905). The detective Gabriel Syme in *The Man who was Thursday. A Nightmare* (1908) is the son of a puritan vegetarian mother and a father who follows ‘art and self-realization’ (see opening paragraph to ch.4).

⁷⁶*The Curious and Diverting Adventures of Sir John Sparrow Bt., or, the Progress of an Open Mind* (London: Methuen, 1902). Begbie, briefly vegetarian, published humorous works in the early twentieth century. A reference in Twigg’s thesis alerted me to this novel.

⁷⁷See E.F. Benson’s *The Freaks of Mayfair* (London: T.N. Foulis, 1916), and *Paying Guests* (London: Hutchinson, 1929).

⁷⁸R. Rowe, *Episodes in an Obscure Life* (London: Bungay, 1871).

⁷⁹Stories by V.L. Whitechurch featuring Hazell appeared in *The Royal Magazine* in 1905, and were collected

gesture given vegetarianism's well-known social purity connections, vegetarianism also characterised the sinister lodger in Marie Belloc Lowndes' *The Lodger*, now acclaimed as the classic treatment of the Whitechapel murders.⁸⁰

No doubt other vegetarian characters appeared in serialised literature, and were not picked up by vegetarians eager for sympathetic discussion or controversy. An example is the hero in 'A Defeated Transcendentalist,' *Blackwood's Magazine*.⁸¹ However, apart from the limited body of fiction which directly referred to vegetarianism, the movement was aware of a wider humanitarian literature which it took to be a sign of the good times coming.⁸² Thomas Hardy was seen as the leading example, but there were others such as, not surprisingly, the romantic novelist and anti-vivisectionist, Ouida, Hall Caine, Maxwell Gray, and somewhat surprisingly given his elegant satires on the *aesthetic* movement, Gerald Du Maurier.⁸³ These were the native voices, overshadowed by the explicitly pro-vegetarian Tolstoy.⁸⁴

Apart from Bernard Shaw (whose first novel, *Immaturity*, has a failed vegetarian, Robert Smith, as the central character⁸⁵), George Meredith, Gissing, Edward Carpenter*, E. Nesbit*, H.S. Salt* and J.L. Joynes*, there were a few literary men and women who dabbled in vegetarianism. The 'New Woman' novelist Mona Caird* was one.⁸⁶ Mary Montgomerie Lamb ('Violet Fane') was, like her radical aristocrat father, vegetarian: Oscar Wilde wrote to her on the subject in 1888, noting its anarchist, atheist, socialist and other political associations.⁸⁷ Edward Fitzgerald was

as *Stories of the Railway*, 1912.

⁸⁰*The Lodger*, published in 1913, was a bestseller. Sleuth, the killer, is a teetotaler, vegetarian and religious fanatic.

⁸¹G. Dunn, 'A Defeated Transcendentalist', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, February 1893, pp.236-252 (reprinted *Littell's Living Age*, vol.197, issue 2545, 8 April 1893).

⁸²Though *VM*, January 1851, p.1, identified literature written in the 'spirit of vegetarian philosophy' in *Household Words* etc.

⁸³All these authors, and Conan Doyle and Maxwell Grey, were noted by B.E. Kidd* in the 'Ladies Page', *VM*, January 1899, pp.28-29; Eccles added Ouida (see *Ouida. A Study in Ostentation*, London: Cobden-Sanderson, 1938, p.141 for her zoophilism). On Hardy, see R.D. Morrison, 'Humanity Towards Man, Woman, and the Lower Animals: Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* and the Victorian Humane Movement', *Nineteenth Century Studies*, 1998: 12. *Vegetarian*, 2 October 1897, p.539 picked up the incipient vegetarianism of Josselin in his final novel, *The Martian* (1896).

⁸⁴Tolstoy's vegetarian tract *The First Step* (which prefaced the Russian translation, 1892, of Williams' *The Ethics of Diet*) was printed by British vegetarians, see *VM*, March 1896 (essay by W.E.A. Axon); and 1899 for serialisation. 'A Visit to Count Tolstoi', *Cornhill Magazine*, January-June 1892, p.605 discusses his vegetarianism.

⁸⁵G.B. Shaw, *Immaturity* (1879; London: Constable, 1931), p.55.

⁸⁶See the interview in *Hygienic Review*, July-December 1893, pp.12-19. Caird's fiction had no vegetarian character until *The Great Wave*, 1931, her final novel, see S. Forward, in *Women's Writing*, vol.5, no.3 (1998), pp.437-455 [p.16]. Olive Schreiner was sympathetic, see *Vegetarian*, 2 September 1893, p.418; Sarah Grand was not, see interview, *Vegetarian*, 20 August 1898.

⁸⁷J. Mason, *Oscar Wilde on Vegetarianism. An Unpublished Letter to Violet Fane with an Introduction and Notes* (England: Tragara Press, 1991). Henry James noted vegetarian-political connections in his 1886 novel, *The Bostonians*, when he has Basil Ransom assume Miss Birdseye's circle are 'mediums, communists, vegetarians' (ch.4) and in ch.10 when discussing Verena Tarrant's background. James Snr. had been an acquaintance of Sophia Chichester, Henry James himself was no vegetarian (he did briefly take up the

vegetarian and his example stimulated a trial by Tennyson, whose disillusionment is recorded in a poem.⁸⁸ Dollie Radford was another vegetarian poet.⁸⁹ The humanitarian and mystical idealism which stimulated some intellectuals to become vegetarian is also reflected in Irish vegetarian-theosophist circles (as indicated in chapter 2). Hyndman's oft-quoted dislike of artsy-craftsy, vegetarian socialists was directed at this milieu in part. Vegetarianism and arts and crafts were targets of the Vorticist 'blast' before the First World War.⁹⁰

VI

Utopia and Scientific Romance.

Since Utopia involved re-examination of quotidian habits, it is unsurprising that Victorian utopian works touched upon the food of the future, as indicated in the Introduction.⁹¹ Lytton's best-selling *The Coming Race* presented a subterranean super-race of temperate vegetarians, who initially, on examination of the human hero's teeth, plan to exterminate him as a carnivore. Lytton's sympathy for the reformed diet is clear.⁹² W.H. Hudson's *The Crystal Age* (1887) depicted a future England of Anglo-Saxon vegetarians.⁹³ British vegetarians were naturally delighted when *Equality* (1897), Edward Bellamy's preachy sequel to *Looking Backwards*, depicted a world where humanitarianism had

Banting craze of extended mastication).

⁸⁸See A.M. Terhune and A.B. Terhune, eds., *The Letters of Edward Fitzgerald. Volume 1: 1830-1850* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), letter from Carlyle to Fitzgerald (p.690, December 1850) on a dinner of herbs suiting a passing 'abstemious philosopher'. Fitzgerald's vegetarian ditty appears in *Vegetarian*, 15 January 1898, p.41. Tennyson's verse 'To E. Fitzgerald,' in *Tiresias and other poems* (1885), records his ten-week vegetarian experiment. According to D.A. Wilson, *Carlyle on Cromwell and Others* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1925), p.169 Tennyson had earlier [1842] been temporarily converted by Bronson Alcott.

⁸⁹L.M. Richardson, 'Naturally Radical: The Subversive Poetics of Dollie Radford', *Victorian Poetry*, 38:1 (2000), pp.109-124 [footnote 1, p.121]. Radford's circle included Shaw, Wells, W.B. Yeats, Schreiner, Eleanor Marx and Aveling.

⁹⁰See Ezra Pound, 'America: Chances and Remedies', in *New Age*, 5 June 1913, p.143: 'Time was when the artist grew out of the master craftsman. Before art was arty, before the artist was recruited from the ranks of the vegetarian and simple lifer...the artist had to have the commonsense requisite for a decent carpenter's job or something of the sort'. *New Age*, under A.R. Orage, ironically, was characterized by vegetarian contributions.

⁹¹W.H.G. Armytage, *Yesterdays Tomorrows. A Historical Survey of Future Societies* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), K.Kumar, *Utopia and Anti-Utopia in Modern Times* (Basil Blackwell: 1987), N.B. Albinski, *Women's Utopias in British and American Fiction* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988). V.L. Parrington, *American Dreams. A Study of American utopias* (2nd edition, New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), notes, p.115: 'notions about vegetarianism, cremation, simple clothing, marriage, common dormitories, and circular cities appear in one form or another in most of the utopian novels written between 1888 and 1900.' J.F. Bray's utopian satire, *A Voyage from Utopia* (1842, see M.F. Lloyd-Prichard's edition, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1957) had condemned contemporary society, including the restriction of the majority in Brydone (Britain) and Erino (Ireland) to a 'chiefly vegetable diet', p.125.

⁹²E.B.Lytton, *The Coming Race*, (1871; London: Routledge, 1893), ch.15, p.103; ch.22, p.177, p.181, ch.23 on their food at length, ch.25, p.216. Fanny Lacy hinted at his sympathies in 1848, *VA*, p.30. See E. B. Lytton, *A Strange Story* (London: Routledge, Knebworth edn.), p.257 (chapter 49), comment on man's treatment of animals as a carnivore.

⁹³Anon. [W.H. Hudson], *A Crystal Age* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887), pp.54-55. Hudson's utopia had reacted against vivisection, p.79. Hudson joined the Humanitarian League; his opinion of vegetarian restaurants has been quoted.

swept away the old dietetic habits.⁹⁴ Robert Buchanan, whose father had been associated with the Concordium, created a vegetarian utopia in *The Reverend Annabel Lee: A Tale of Tomorrow*, where science rendered the need for animal slaughter or a mass of vegetable foods unnecessary and people lived on rice and fruits.⁹⁵ More obscure fictions no doubt envisioned vegetarian futures.⁹⁶ Perhaps the most famous 'utopian-satirical' treatment of dietetic ethics is Samuel Butler's revised version of *Erewhon* which takes vegetarianism to its absurd logical conclusions in 'The Views of an Erewhonian Prophet concerning the rights of animals' and, 'The Views of an Erewhonian philosopher concerning the rights of vegetables', which Bernard Shaw affected to view as an attack on himself.⁹⁷

The scientist Sir David Brewster had posited pacific and vegetarian extra-terrestrials.⁹⁸ Scientific romance might also involve vegetarianism: *Punch* predicted that Saturnians would conquer Earth and enforce vegetarianism in 1990, John Munro created a vegetarian race of Venusians.⁹⁹ Thoughts of the inevitable death of the planet occasioned by a lecture given by Sir William Thomson at the Royal Institute led a group of intellectuals to discuss future society in Octave Uzanne's short story for the American *Scribner's Magazine*. A 'gentle vegetarian and learned naturalist' envisioned a future where scientific food would make obsolescent butchers, bakers, wine merchants and restaurants and transform the world into a 'fair garden, sacred to hygiene and the pleasure of the eye'.¹⁰⁰ Another, non-fictional, utopian instance, where the discussion of vegetarianism was explicit, was Frank Perrycoste's *Towards Utopia* (1894) in which the question surfaces in discussion of 'unpleasant occupations'. An appendix, making reference to Lady Paget's article in *The Nineteenth Century*, accepts the aesthetic and humanitarian arguments and reveals his own dietetic experiment.¹⁰¹

⁹⁴E. Bellamy, *Equality* (London: Heinemann, 1897).

⁹⁵R. Buchanan, *The Reverend Annabel Lee, A Tale of To-morrow* (London: C.A. Pearson, 1898), p.73. Buchanan according to W.P. Ryan, *Literary London. Its Light and Comedies* (London: Leonard Smithers, 1898), pp.35-39, treated vegetarianism as the way to return to Eden, in *The Devil's Case. A Bank Holiday Interlude* (London: Robert Buchanan: 1896), but this actually has a mere anti-carnivore reference, but see H. Jay, *Robert Buchanan. Some Account of his Life, His Life's Work, and His Literary Friendships* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903), pp.144-152 for his relationship with H.S. Salt.

⁹⁶E.g., *Darkness and Dawn. The Peaceful Birth of a New Age* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1884); *Paradise Found at the North Pole* (London: Sampson Low, 1887); *The Angel and the Idiot. A Story of the Next Century* (London: Stott, 1890), all reported in *VM*. Note the first issue of the short-lived *The Utopian* (London: Swan and Sonnenschein, 1884) discussed vegetarianism.

⁹⁷S. Butler, *Erewhon, or, Over the Range* (these chapters, 26 and 27, were additions to the first edition, published to acclaim in 1872, when republished by Grant Richards, 1901). H. Festing, *S. Butler. Author of Erewhon. A Memoir* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 2 volumes, vol.2: pp.373-374. See also H. Festing, ed., *The Note-books of Samuel Butler* (1921; London: John Cape, 1930), p.361.

⁹⁸Sir David Brewster, *More Worlds than One. The Creed of the Philosopher and the Hope of the Christian* (London: John Murray, 1854), p.154.

⁹⁹'Saturn conquers Earth and makes its inhabitants Vegetarians,' *Punch's Almanac* for 1990 (1861; this was reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, 2 March 1861); J.C.E. Munro, *A Trip to Venus. A Novel* (London: Jarrold, 1897); its vegetarianism (on ethical grounds) picked up in *VM*, January 1898, p.5.

¹⁰⁰*Scribner's Magazine*, 1894: 16, pp.221-231.

¹⁰¹'A. Freelance' [F. H. Perrycoste], *Towards Utopia* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1894), Appendix to

The vegetarian movement, somewhat doubtfully given her character, made something of the fact that Ayesha in Rider Haggard's bestselling fantasy *She*, was a vegetarian.¹⁰² It was seen as proof of the compatibility of the *aesthetic* with the reformed diet.¹⁰³ Rider Haggard was concerned with indicating her *abnormality* and the diet was a useful device; the 'humane diet' resulted in no humanitarianism on the part of 'She who must be obeyed'.¹⁰⁴ Ayesha was a fin-de-siècle woman, 'corrupt' like one of the images of late pre-Raphaelitism so abhorred by Max Nordau in *Degeneration*. His notorious condemnation of the *zeitgeist* classed vegetarianism as a sign of the age's morbidity, as Shaw noted in his 'A Degenerate's View of Nordau'.¹⁰⁵

VII

Vegetarianism in the theatre and music.

Popular or controversial agitation stimulated theatrical and musical representations. Though the handful of examples demonstrates the lesser profile of the cause, vegetarianism was no exception. A play (unperformed) was even entitled 'The Vegetarians'; allusion has been made to the popular farce of 1851, 'Follies of the Day'.¹⁰⁶ In 1881, the *Literary World* announced that a gentleman was 'writing a play in five acts, on the subject of Vegetarianism,' in order to demonstrate that it alone allowed us to reconcile our theory of kindness to animals.¹⁰⁷ H.J.W. Dam's play *The Shop Girl*

ch.11: Unpleasant Occupations. Perrycoste opposed 'Lycurgeoan Sparta' or 'saturnalia of repression' in ch.9: Luxury and Waste, advocating a 'beautiful simplicity of life'.

¹⁰²H.R. Haggard, *She: A History of Adventure* (1887, London: Longmans, Green, 1894), p.137. There was a year of essays on the novel's meaning, in *Vegetarian*, 1889.

¹⁰³A.W. Malcolmson, *The Aesthetic in Food* (Manchester: V.S., 1899), p.9. The aesthetic movement does not seem to have had a strong connection with vegetarianism (though had connections with dress reform), although the sheet music 'My Aesthetic Love' refers to feeding on the lily (L. Lambourne, *The Aesthetic Movement*, Phaidon, p.133), and J. Barkas' history of vegetarianism quotes Gilbert and Sullivan's lines on 'vegetable passion' from *Patience*. For complaint about lack of aesthetic support, see 'Good Taste in Diet', *Food Reform Magazine*, October-December 1883.

¹⁰⁴Haggard wrote to C. Keylock that he was theoretically in favour of the reformed diet, but not in the British climate, see *Vegetarian*, 23 February 1889, p.122. His later fantasy, *When the World Shook* (1919) has a vegetarian, Yva, who is disgusted by the western characters' meat-eating, see ch.18. His novel on anti-vaccinationism, *Dr Therne*, 1898 has already been alluded to.

¹⁰⁵*The Sanity of Art. An Exposure of the Current Nonsense about Artists Being Degenerate*, published in the American anarchist journal, *Liberty*, 27 July 1895, reprinted G.B. Shaw, *Major Critical Essays* (London: Constable, 1932), pp.281-332. Nordau published the work in 1892, an English translation appeared 1895. See W. Greenslade, 'Fitness and the Fin de Siècle', in J. Stokes, *Fin de Siècle/ Fin du Globe. Fears and Fantasies of the late Nineteenth Century* (London: Macmillan: 1992).

¹⁰⁶Both manuscripts have been consulted. See *British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. Plays Submitted to the Lord Chamberlain. 1824-1857* vol. 173, September- November 1851 (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1964), listing, 43037, ff183-197b, 'The Vegetarians', altered from 'Travelers [sic] beware' and from 'Excursionists beware'. Performed at the Royal Surrey Theatre in 1851, it actually featured no vegetarian characters, though the character Sawney has a 'nice drop to correct the Vegetable Diet'. 'Bloomerism, or, Follies of the Day' listing, 43037, ff.254-269, was reviewed in *The Times*, 3 October, 1851. Information on the cast is provided in the entry A.K. Koger, editor, 'Calendar for 1851-1852', The Adelphi Calendar Project, 1992 (General editors A.L. Nelson and G.B. Cross, 1992), which has been published on the Internet.

¹⁰⁷*DR*, August 1881, p.170.

(1895) had a vegetarian character.¹⁰⁸ One other, at least, touched upon food reform, John T. Day's *The Fanatic*, performed in 1897, and reviewed by Bernard Shaw.¹⁰⁹

Just after the end of the period *Granta* published a two act 'vegetarian comic opera' by one 'Temple Chambers'.¹¹⁰ Earlier musical depiction of vegetarianism was limited to sheet music on 'the Vegetarian'.¹¹¹ The movement itself, as the account of the provincial and metropolitan activity has indicated, exploited musical talents to attract audiences and vary the menu at social events. Music was also appealed to as a test of the moral aesthetic status of the diet.¹¹²

VIII

The Foreign Response to British Vegetarians.

Colin Spencer has rightly spoken of a 'kind of world brotherhood among vegetarians' from the 1870s.¹¹³ It is possible to obtain a comprehensive picture of activity in the colonies (especially Australia) through the British vegetarian press. On the Continent, according to the food historians Drummond and Wilbraham, it 'aroused considerable amusement'.¹¹⁴ Further work is required to obtain an accurate picture of continental responses to the emerging British vegetarian movement in the 1850s or its revived activity from the 1870s.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁸See M. Walters, 'The London Musical Stage,' *Gilbertian Gossip*, no.43, 1995 for information on this musical farce which featured a 'Vegetarian song' by Mr Miggles. The British Library holds copies of lyrics and music e.g., *The Shop-Girl. An Entirely New and Original Musical Farce* (London: Hopwood and Crew, 1895).

¹⁰⁹See *Vegetarian*, 5 November 1897, p.615 for a review of Day's play, performed at Margate and the Strand Theatre, in which the faddist Isaiah Baxter MP was a vegetarian. See G.B. Shaw, *Our Theatres in the Nineties*, 3 volumes, vol.3 (London: Constable, 1932), pp.229-231 for reprinting of the review originally in the *Saturday Review*, 30 October 1897.

¹¹⁰'The Family of Smith, or Milk and Eggs, an entirely original and largely vegetarian comic opera in two acts,' in Anon., *The Works of Temple Chambers*, vol I (Surbiton: Bull, 1903), it was a limited reprint of a work in *Granta*. It featured vegetarian undergraduates, the editor of a weekly paper *The Herbivore* and his stepdaughters, and a Tyrolean setting.

¹¹¹'The Vegetarian. A Serio-Comico-semi sentimental song', performed by the popular artiste Howard Paul (previously a journalist, founder of the short-lived *Diogenes* magazine) in 'Patchwork', music and lyrics by Henry Walker. The cover is reproduced in the article publicizing my research, in *Wellcome History*, 16, March 2001, p.6. Several editions were published, copies (1859, 1869) are also preserved in the British Library.

¹¹²See H.S. Salt, *A Plea for Vegetarianism and Other Essays* (Manchester: V.S., 1886) p.22 (following criterion set by Ruskin).

¹¹³C. Spencer, *The Heretic's Feast*, p.274.

¹¹⁴Drummond and Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food, A History of Five Centuries of English Diet* (1939; London: Jonathan Cape, revised edn., 1964) p.399.

¹¹⁵For secondary work on vegetarianism in continental Europe, see studies cited in the Introduction.

Coverage in the 'leading European paper'- *The Times*- of the London meeting of 1851, was picked up by a French newspaper and reported in Belgian and German papers. Late Victorian British vegetarians, keen to show the movement's international appeal, reported any European activity they knew about and published 'Foreign Notes' in their journals.

Vegetarianism had no significant hold in France.¹¹⁶ What did French commentators make of this apparently new mass movement? Drummond and Wilbraham quote the chemist Anselme Payen's opinion that this 'numerous sect' was representative of British eccentricity.¹¹⁷ The Paris *Journal des Debats* reported the London vegetarian banquet of 1851, the satirical *Le Charivari* published a sketch of feeble vegetarians carried on stretchers to their restaurant in 1853.¹¹⁸ As British vegetarian journals emphasised through articles and features, the diet was popular in the Netherlands and Germany.¹¹⁹ The dissemination of translated British and American literature occurred quite early on.¹²⁰

Equally important is an examination of the dietetic debate in relation to India. Vegetarianism was frequently treated as ill-suited to northern climes, or as sustenance for a dominant race. A meatless national diet signified poverty, lethargy or indolence. Ireland, with its potato-dependence was taken, in one reading of Irish character and the Famine, as illustrative. Such prejudices, reinforced in works of anthropology, geography and physiology, were made known to the native Indian populations. M.K. Gandhi's consequent belief as a youth in the superiority of Britons through beef is perhaps the most commonly known instance.¹²¹ His participation in London vegetarianism has been ably studied; discovery of a group of men and women interested in Indian culture and the 'reformed diet' stimulated his own appreciation of Indian culture.¹²² Western

¹¹⁶The *Echo Agricole* published articles derived from the *Liverpool Mercury*, see *VM*, July 1853, p.43; and the *Messenger*, April 1854, p.43 reported correspondence from a French Lt. Colonel, who informed them about the French vegetarian Gleizes. Gleizes' novel *Thalysie, ou La Nouvelle Existence*, was quoted in the *DR*, January 1862 and 1880, and *Food Reform Magazine*, October 1881, pp.59-65. The non-vegetarian *Food Journal's* amused account of Jupille 'le Thalysien' (April 1872), a follower, was reported in *DR*. C.H. Collins* was asked to translate it, for publication, *VM*, February 1896, p.71.

¹¹⁷Drummond and Wilbraham, *The Englishman's Food*, p.398: 'Cependant en Angleterre, ce pays des excentricités, ou l'on voit une belle et progressive civilisation marche dans presque toutes les directions avec quelque accompagnement de barbarie, une secte nombreuse tend à exclure la chair des animaux du régime alimentaire de la population; elle prêche d'exemple et fait quelques prosélytes' [A. Payen, *Substances Alimentaires*, 4th edn., 1865]. See 'Across the Channel,' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, August 1862, p.222, for the comment that foreigners would obtain a false impression that England was composed entirely of Quakers and vegetarians if they stayed with one particular set or circle.

¹¹⁸K.J. Carpenter, *Protein and Energy. A Study of Changing Ideas in Nutrition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.85: 'Caricature of members of the Vegetarian Society carried to their annual banquets on stretchers,' 1853.

¹¹⁹*VA*, 15 October 1848, p.37 reported an article on vegetarianism and a translation of the tract *Do you Eat Flesh?* in the Hamburg *Der Freischutz*, possibly reflecting the Dornbusches* connections. George Coates of 18 Leipziger Platz, Berlin, was an early corresponding secretary. Alfred von Seefeld of Hanover communicated with British vegetarians at annual meetings, from 1867.

¹²⁰It has been seen that Simpson sent *VM* to 'G.W.' of Silesia, see *Messenger*, February 1854: p.18.

¹²¹Sarah Grand the 'new woman' novelist, interviewed in *Vegetarian* in 1898, noted that 'educated Eastern people' she knew, thought meat diet would make their people 'fiercer'.

¹²²S. Hay, 'The Making of a late Victorian Hindu: M.K. Gandhi in London, 1888-1891, *Victorian Studies*, Autumn 1989, which details his London vegetarian and theosophical associations. See M.K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography. The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (translated Mahader Desai), (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957); and G. Ashe, *Gandhi. A Study in Revolution* (London: Heinemann, 1968), pp.33-45. L.S.S. O'Malley, ed., *Modern India and the West. A Study of the Interaction of the Civilisations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1941), p.766 quotes S. Banerjee's comment, in *A Nation in Making* (1925): 'Everything

vegetarianism helped encourage a more open-minded relationship with Indian culture and British vegetarians participated in the questioning of relations between Europe (or the metropole) and the subcontinent. The Indian vegetarian societies founded in the late Victorian era are a neglected, if minor, part of the developing international vegetarian movement.

The subject will need to be explored in detail elsewhere, but several texts may be mentioned here to indicate positions taken.¹²³ The Indian reformer Raja Rammohun Roy's answer to the question 'what is your opinion of the physical condition of the Indian peasantry?' stressed climate and meatless diet. If Indians abandoned 'religious prejudices' in order to make 'frequent and common use of a moderate proportion of animal food' their physical state 'might be very much improved'.¹²⁴ By contrast, the English's dietary habits exemplified their slow imagination and deficient taste according to the 'pilgrim reformer' Behramji Malabari. A move in the right direction were vegetarian restaurants and hotels, but he felt that initially these required the expertise of Indian cooks: 'Anglo-Indian ladies ought to set the example to their sisters'.¹²⁵

English was good- even the drinking of brandy was a virtue' .

¹²³It has been the subject of research which I hope to publish elsewhere.

¹²⁴Raja Rammohun Roy, *Additional Queries respecting the condition of India*, September 1831, republished in Jogendra Chunder Ghose, ed., *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, vol.2 (Calcutta: Bhowanipore-Aruna Press, 1887), p.591.

¹²⁵ B.M. Malabari, *The Indian Eye on English Life, or rambles of a pilgrim reformer* (London: A. Constable, 1893) p.46.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

From a gaze largely focused inwardly on the movement the thesis has concluded by considering its reception in the outside world: its treatment in the daily and periodical press, and its representations in fiction, utopian or otherwise. The essential feature of many representations was a sense of the cause's novelty status. Vegetarians were comic characters, or people whose diet indicated transgression or eccentricity, or (for supporters), a minority of advanced people who yet reflected cultural or ethical trends. All were agreed they were not mainstream, though it was debated how far they were enjoying success in recruiting new supporters.

The movement had no chance of anything more than very limited success in winning over the public to dietary reform. Meat-eating was too entrenched and animal-derived materials appeared too difficult to substitute. Lack of provision for vegetarians, geographical isolation or family opposition resulted in frequent returns to the 'flesh pots'. It may be, as vegetarians and some of their opponents claimed (though it is difficult to prove), that the movement was useful in educating people about dietary matters such as the significance of non-animal foods for health, the importance of wholemeal bread and the value of new foodstuffs.¹ One sympathetic observer claimed that the movement, if not making abstinence from meat 'quite respectable' (this in 1892), had largely been responsible for making personal choice in dietary matters acceptable.² Certainly the vegetarian agitation contributed to the continual Victorian food question- what was the *proper* food for working people, women, children, or the sedentary; what was the solution to problems of food prices, supply and quality. For some poor vegetarians, a reasoned defence of a diet that they had been forced to examine on economic grounds, may have provided initial comfort and sustenance for self-respect.³

The movement can be credited with making people think about the food they ate: its nutritional values and the economics and ethics of its production. By empowering the individual

¹ As emphasised by C.W. Forward, *VM*, November 1896, pp.370-372 [372]. Qualified praise in *The Times* and elsewhere for their philanthropic and educative work has already been cited. 'J.O.' [Josiah Oldfield] stressed the 'extent to which public opinion and practice in matter of dietary has been affected' beyond membership, in his article on vegetarianism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (entry on 'Vegetarianism,' 10th edn., 1902-1903).

² *VM*, January 1892, p.5.

³ The worth of the diet's rational gloss, as a compensation 'for the loss of many kinds of self-esteem,' is stated by Gissing in his story 'A Poor Gentleman' (1899), where Tymperly convinces himself that poverty-enforced vegetarianism and teetotalism are economically and medically valuable and should be advertised. See by contrast the undoubtedly more usual sentiment, expressed by the clerk Thorne, 'It would never do to let Mrs Brown think that we dined on lentils and porridge' in S.F. Bullock, *Robert Thorne. The Story of a London Clerk* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1907), cited in R.N. Price, 'Society, Status and Jingoism: The Social Roots of Lower Middle Class Patriotism, 1870-1900', in G. Crossick ed., *The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p.97. Herbert Spencer identified advocacy of a low diet for children on hygienic grounds as originating in a convenient excuse for limited means, *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical* (London: G. Manwaring, 1861), p.153.

with the (dietetic) means to health and longevity it gave a sense of personal control in health matters, in keeping with a traditional recourse to family medicine rather than the medical professional, but it also sustained many supporters' antiscientific attitudes (along with antivivisection and anti-vaccination) after medical science had started to make significant breakthroughs.

To some extent the thesis has been concerned with presenting a more comprehensive history of the vegetarian movement in this period than is possible in shorter studies, rather than opposing the general conclusions reached by earlier historians. The richness of the subject has been demonstrated. Important themes and aspects have been examined in depth for the first time, by synthesising existing scholarship and by substantial primary research. Thus the first focused treatments of vegetarian-spiritualist connections, of temperance-vegetarianism and metropolitan vegetarianism, appear here. The chapters on the vegetarian press and restaurants are the first sustained treatment of these important aspects. The first study of the W.V.U. is included in the only extended examination of the role of women in the movement. No mention of episodes such as Lawson's vegetarian experimental farm, or the Stratford St Mary colony, have appeared before. Prosopographical work on the movement has never before been undertaken. The contribution to our knowledge of second-rank (and third rank) radical figures may be demonstrated by reference to the biographical entries on George Dornbusch, Samuel Houghton, W.W. Broom, the Vieusseux family and Martin Nunn. Though all these are metropolitan figures, a vegetarian spotlight on provincial figures has also been possible.

The conclusions to be drawn from this extended treatment of the movement are several. More definite statements can be made about the social base. The movement, throughout its existence, attracted most of its support from the middle classes and the 'aristocracy of labour'. The growth of the white-collar sector was reflected by the importance of clerks as new members and as customers in vegetarian restaurants, but this was hardly a bourgeoisification of the movement. Its geography and personnel did not deviate from that found in other contemporary moral and social reform movements, since northern England proved an important recruiting ground; yet societies were scattered across England and existed to a lesser extent in Scotland, Wales and Ireland. The total number of vegetarian societies in this period is surprising; their difficulties are not, since they reflected the weakness of the national movement (and the weaknesses of movements' provincial networks in general). Its chronology partly depended on contingent personal factors, in that the death of James Simpson, and the accession of A.F. Hills affected fortunes in the earlier and later periods; but the movement's emergence and its revival were stimulated by the broader environment for reforms.

The movement attracted a variety of people: those who saw a reformed diet as a cure for personal ill health and no more; those who identified it as a means to moral or material self improvement; those who saw it as an additional means to address social problems such as poverty, in line with standard soup and thrift philanthropy; those few who identified it as part of a refashioning of society along communitarian lines; those who saw it as a logical conclusion to other humanitarian causes; or as an integral part of their faith or philosophy. Despite an abstinence more radical than teetotalism, it was therefore both counter-cultural and conventional.

How far a self-described 'radical' movement could be conventional is reflected by the movement's gender roles and 'domestic ideology'. Despite being a natural 'women's question', and despite wishing to harness women's energies and expertise, in its slow development of a public role for women it echoed the temperance movement and other causes which accorded women only an ornamental or supporting role in public. Nevertheless, though not always easily recoverable, the female role in the early movement was crucial; and the research has found in figures such as Elizabeth Horsell, Jane Hurlstone and Fanny Lacy, women about whom it would be worthwhile finding out more; although it is unlikely that further material exists. The biographies of later Victorian vegetarians such as A.M. Lewis, Frances Boulton, Chandos Lewis and May Yates are contributions to the project of examining public female agency in Victorian movements; constraints of space have precluded more extended treatment of the Wallaces, or in the earlier period, the Horsells. They are good examples of the companionate marriage of reformers. On the other hand, the resistance of women to the vegetarian movement within the home indicates the power of many women within the private sphere.

One important point to derive from this research is the richness of the source material. Not only has it been a justification for a doctoral-length study, it also encourages further research. The White Quakers, the Ideal Club, Blennerhasset farm, Ronge's Humanistic Society and the Order of the Golden Age could all be the focus of article-length treatment. It has not been possible to discuss May Yates' bread reform work except in the appendices. Archival work will undoubtedly uncover further responses to vegetarianism in private diaries, letters and the records of mutual improvement-type groups. Though little remains to be studied in the movement itself, subjects for further research exist. The relationship between the British movement and Indian vegetarians; and the question of diet and empire, as reflected in the colonial press and archives, merit further study. The treatment of the movement in the foreign press (whether in reports of meetings and banquets, or reviews of vegetarian texts) has been identified as a worthwhile subject of inquiry. This will form part of the historiography of vegetarianism as a modern international movement, which is the wider context for this purely national study.

Many of the people outlined either in the thesis or biographical index merit further study as national or local figures of importance. These include figures such as Arthur Trevelyan, the Mount Temples and H.L.J. Jones. Undoubtedly further information about grassroots vegetarians could be obtained through local research, and the burgeoning Internet-aided family research. Further work on the files of local newspapers, and in local records offices may unearth more material on local responses to vegetarian restaurants and stores in the late Victorian era. The task of exploring provincial social, political or health reform movements will, it is hoped, be aided both by the detailed narrative and analysis of the provincial movement and the Biographical Index.

End of Volume I.

**Volume II
Contains
Appendices and Bibliography.**

**A separately paginated
supplementary Biographical Index is appended.**