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THE VEGETARIAN MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND, 1847-1981:
A STUDY IN THE STRUCTURE OF ITS IDEOLOGY

A thesis presented to the London School of Economics, University of London,
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, by Julia Twigg
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ABSTRACT

The subject of this thesis is the vegetarian movement in England from 1847 to 1981. The work combines an historical, sociological and anthropological approach, and has been based on published historical and modern materials, supplemented by interviews and observation.

The historical material is divided into four periods, concentrating on the four major phases of modern vegetarianism (the 1840s and early '50s; the 1880s and '90s; the late 1920s and the late 1960s and '70s). Particular emphasis is placed on the parallel beliefs and attitudes with which vegetarianism is associated. This has involved tracing historical connections within the fields of, among others, medicine, religion, political thought and aspects of life styles, as well as in attitudes to animals and the Animal, to Nature and the natural, both with a view to making sense of these interconnections, and attempting to place vegetarianism within the wider cultural context, particularly as part of the continuing upsurge in western culture of a Romanticist set of ideas.

The study has aimed to use certain concepts derived from anthropology, but in an advanced cultural setting. Vegetarianism has been chosen as providing an articulate body of material relating to food and food habits. The study has employed a modified structuralist analysis in terms of vegetarian food categories (for example, cold/hot, raw/cooked, natural/artificial) and the elaboration of these within the ideology

(pure/impure, life/death, non-time/time). Their meaning is examined also in the wider context of the structured relationship of food categories in dominant meat-eating culture. Particularly the role of meat and blood. The main purpose of the study, however, for which the examination of the wider social and historical context has been emphasised, has been to relate this analysis to the broader field of social relations that give it meaning.

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CHAPTER ONE: WHY VEGETARIANISM?

Sociologists of religion have in recent years, under the influence of the sociology of knowledge school and its elucidations of the ways in which reality is constructed, and in conjunction with data derived from investigations of beliefs and attitudes, increasingly shifted their focus towards what might be called the elements of meaning in people's lives. Under the banner of invisible or implicit religion, the enterprise has proved problematic. This is partly because the word religion has been a source of difficulty - a problem inherited from Durkheim, and made most apparent in the work of Luckmann. Durkheim's theory should more properly be regarded as concerned with the sources of moral obligation and reality in society. Religion has traditionally given at least some form and articulation to these, but in circumstances where such language/terminology no longer seems appropriate, or in areas where perhaps it never was, there are severe difficulties. But more than this, implicit religion has run into difficulties because of the kind of meaning it hopes to examine has proved refractory to analysis; access has been difficult and the source material has remained inchoate and elusive.

Anthropologists have had much greater success in this area partly because of the small scale of primitive societies and, rightly or wrongly, the assumptions of unity that are made about them. The assumption that meanings are shared by members of a society is regarded as relatively unproblematic, and this, together with the undifferentiated and relatively simple character of social life, enables them to interpret different realms of life within a common scheme. Thus the shape of dwelling houses, the structure of kinship, and the character of religion can all be gathered into one mutually endorsing framework.(1) Demonstrating the integrity of culture is part of the anthropologist's tradition. But anthropology has also the advantage of engaging with an alien culture where the indigenous taken-for-granted stands out with contrasting clarity, and it is this, rather than any true contrast between modern and primitive society (the term is used throughout as a shorthand and not a judgement), that has made it the arena for a number of debates centering around the nature of symbolism, the question of non-rational modes of thought and the problems of the expressive. None of these issues is exclusive to primitive societies, for all are also embedded western culture, though our analytic and cultural tradition has been such as to tend to bleach out such features in our accounts of ourselves. We can be very articulate in our treatment of areas of thought like science, but still leave large areas of the unspoken about, of which no very adequate account is given. There is a need to bring the issues back home.

It is in this field of the taken-for-granted that we should look for the kinds of meaning that invisible religion has sought. One approach lies in getting away from the term religion and from the rather free-floating and unfocused area of beliefs, to concentrate instead on a particular, concrete area within which one can attempt to uncover the implicit. One such area of the taken-for-granted is eating and eating patterns generally. Sociology has tended to neglect such areas as food, regarding them as trivial, of little sociological significance, belonging to the sub-world of the unremarkable and mundane. Faced with anthropology's interest in such matters, (2) it has been assumed that primitive societies are by their natures so limited in content and sophistication that food preparation bears a role which it lacks in advanced societies. Part of my argument will be to show that this is not the case; modern societies are not devoid of this symbolism. What the study of vegetarianism offers is an articulate body of material relating to food and food patterns, and as such an entrée into the examination of these issues.

Meaning as sought here may not be present in the articulate form of the actor's conscious intentions. It is meaning embedded in the patterns of social life itself, so that as you act through the patterns you gain the meaning. It is the world-known-in-common, but taken for granted. For example, people in western society do have extensive knowledge of the meaning of meals and eating and of their subtle manipulation to express various intentions; few, however would be able to say much concerning them. That the meaning is not consciously, or rather, analytically, thought of does not however take away from its significance: it is no less their meaning for being implicit and unstated.

Vegetarianism is not obviously a symbolic system in the ways that, for example, religion or art are; overtly it is based on a rational, non-symbolic account of its action. However the symbolic element is present very strongly, as it is also in eating more generally. Though food is primarily needed to sustain the life of the organism, any account of eating patterns that stops here has missed the greater part. The very variety of food patterns and food avoidances makes impossible any view that regards food choice as instinctual or based on a reasoned selection by flavour or nutritional fitness. (3) This fact is recognised in nutritional literature; indeed the understanding of the central importance of cultural factors has revealed nutritional knowledge itself to be a slightly shadowy area of medical science, whose base framework has, certainly in the past, been marked by cultural relativity.

Within vegetarianism you can find respectable rational-scientific accounts of what the diet is about. But these do not explain some of its most prominent features. For example, they do not explain the way in which the food is regarded - the warm emotional charge that surrounds the vegetarian language of wholeness and goodness. Such accounts explain some aspects, but never the whole. For example, if we look at one small aspect of the 'goodness' in food: vegetarians strongly favour raw food, arguing with the support of rational-scientific criteria that such food contains higher levels of vitamins and minerals, having lost none in cooking. But this often-expressed and deeply-felt idea is not examined in any context of needs. A varied diet easily provides sufficient levels of such things, and there is no evidence that more than enough brings any extra benefit. The goodness of raw food has some absolute quality to it, separate from the scientific justifications; it is, as it were, charged with some special positive essence. Raw food also features in other parts of the ideology - for example through its status as 'natural' food. Rational-scientific accounts can make good sense of particular features in particular contexts, but they cannot explain their meaning and recurrence throughout the ideology, nor their links with religious and ethical ideas. Nor can they explain the recurrence in vegetarianism of parallel features; things are explained in a variety of ways that appeal to different realms of knowledge or experience, and yet share a common underlying theme. For example, accounts of what is wrong with meat are cast in different forms: thus it is prone to decay; it contains the animal's waste products that are carried in the blood and thus left in meat when the heart ceases to beat; it is full of bad 'vibrations' from the act of killing; it is full of harmful hormones secreted into the body by the fearful animal in the slaughterhouse; it is eating a corpse; it comes at the end of the food chain, and thus contains the accumulation of pollutants and disease. The spheres of reference of these accounts are different, but the underlying focus around the material embodiment of death and corruption is the same. Similarly scientific accounts of the benefits of eating, for example, sprouting seeds in terms of plant hormones, auxins, and their role in the regeneration of cells in their youthful and not aged form, are mirrored elsewhere in more mystical accounts of this taking in of the living essence of the plant.

It is not my intention to present vegetarianism as 'irrational' in any pejorative sense. Nor am I trying to expose 'irrational' elements by subtracting the rational and explaining the residue as something other than it purports to be. Rather I am concerned with the set-up as a whole, and with the ways in which rational explanations play their part in the larger evaluative scheme.

Nor do I want to suggest that this sort of mixture is peculiar to vegetarianism; dominant culture's attitudes to food are no more straightforward.

The background of this analysis lies in structuralism, but less in its explicit formulations than in its more general influences. These - its most fruitful aspects - I take to centre around structuralism's concern with communication, particularly the ways in which culture communicates, how it is patterned and the nature of the messages thus encoded. These messages and the code itself are not overtly known to the users, but have to be extracted from the use itself. Structuralism aims at unveiling order in diverse, seemingly unconnected things. The second aspect that I wish to take is its emphasis on relationality; it is the positional relation of the elements within the whole and not the elements alone that are the proper focus of study.

I should perhaps qualify these references by mentioning some of the ways in which I am not intending to use structuralism. I am unsympathetic to its claims as a full-blown theory as opposed to an analytic method, and its ultimate purposes concerning the structure of the structuring human mind, I am not concerned with here. The binary logic in which it seeks its final foundation is now widely disputed; and the ultimate problem of how one can know the knowing mind remains unresolved.

As a method of analysis it has proved more fruitful, though again there are problems that have severely reduced the power of its application. In particular its claims to uncover deep structure need to be regarded with caution. Any scheme that relies on reducing the complexity of its subject matter to certain - frequently one-word - concepts involves some distortion and vulgarisation. It can be very illuminating to look at the underlying equations and oppositions, and it is certainly true that the structured relationship of one to another does act to define the meaning; however it is important to bear in mind how and at what expense this heuristically useful schematisation has been produced. V.L. Leymore's claim, (4) for example, that the successful reductions whereby constituent units are arranged so as to culminate in an exhaustive common denominator (by means of which she builds up her deep structure), reduces the system of appearances to its defining principle, but does not impoverish or detract from the system, is unconvincing. Structuralism can draw out - and present very dramatically - central themes in the material; however one must also allow for finer adjustments in meaning than their simplicity can allow. (5) These adjustments are carried out at the level of so-called surface

structure, i.e. in terms of one's knowledge of the subtleties of meaning in different contexts, and structuralism, therefore, as a method of decoding culture, has finally to be 'corrected' at a level it claims to get below.

The linguistic model implicit in structuralism has brought many benefits in the understanding of symbolism and ritual; however, it also has severe limitations. Because language is so highly developed and differentiated, it is capable of great elaboration and precision of meaning; translating symbols into categories can give them too definite a meaning that ignores their soft focus and their essential ambiguity. It is not so much that the symbol's referent is only perceivable fully through the symbol - though this is ultimately true - but that symbols gain their power from their condensation of referents and their ambiguity of meaning. Symbols work by the haze and penumbra around them. Their 'simplicity' compared with the articulation of language is bound up with their capacity to draw on a powerful range of feeling and meaning. Structuralism also tends to be too classificatory and insufficiently interpretive. There are two different purposes in a structuralist analysis. One is to show that culture is structured; this should be understood as showing more than just that the elements can be arranged in a formal pattern, but that cognitive styles and structures cross from one area of meaning to another. This is a perfectly proper aim, but a structural analysis should also be to another purpose. The final aim should be the uncovering of meaning - and preferably meaning we were unaware of before. Too often structuralism seems to be a round-about way of telling us things we already know.

Lastly - and most seriously - structuralism tends to suffer from a lack of social structure. The working through of the logic is not one of random permutations but is highly constrained by social structure. The problem is that there have been two methodological traditions; one which interprets in terms of logical, intellectual structure concentrating on myth and symbol, and interpreting social action as communication; and the other which interprets in terms of social structure in the more traditional sense employed by sociology. The first tends to regard the primary reality as the hidden one; the classifications in people's minds, which are endowed with a false sense of fixity and autonomy. Thus social life becomes abstractified. The logical categories and their expressions become the sole focus and how the category system is generated and how it relates to the material concerns of society is left aside. The reverse error of some sociological analysis is to regard the symbolisation as unreal, a mere surface illusion, a froth on top of social reality, and cultural features are here reduced to their socio-economic carriers or roots, and symbolisation can come thus to be just a direct expression of utilitarian

concerns or perhaps of social values, whereas the fit is not, in fact, of that simple one-way, causal nature.

What I would like to do is to break down this division and focus instead on the interpenetration of the two. This involves both attempting to describe the realm of social action - and its historical development - that generates and nourishes the categories found in vegetarianism, and examining the nature of the 'cognitive' structure (6) that gives underlying form and unity to their preoccupations. It also involves showing how the two meet at the experiential level; how vegetarianism - and of course other cultural phenomena - by virtue of existing in both realms, from a bridge between the abstract level of society as ideas held collectively in people's minds and material society as concrete objects and actions.

In vegetarianism we have an example of the science of the concrete. It is part of the wider process whereby we give to our abstract ideas a material representation. We realise our thoughts in concrete objects and in concrete actions – in rules of behaviour, in patterned expectations, and also in the conscious breaking of these. Meaning is thus projected out on to the physical world, which in turn by virtue of its objective reality acts back on consciousness. Just as we build up and develop our thoughts by means of the abstract forms of words or mathematical concepts, so too can we do so - though in a slightly different way - by means of the material objects of the world. They can act as the building bricks of thought.

By stressing how meaning is projected out and used to structure time, space and social existence, I do not intend to suggest a totally idealist scheme. Material reality has its full force, and indeed acts upon the development of the meaning. It becomes one of the elements fed into the symbol system. For example, within vegetarianism much stress is placed on the capacity of meat to rot. Frequent mention is made throughout the periods studied to cases of bad meat being sold, to outbreaks of food poisoning traceable to meat, and it is certainly true that by comparison with vegetables and fruit, meat is much more susceptible to decay and to being a health hazard. But vegetarians then go onto regard meat literally as rotting matter, sometimes equating it directly with excrement.

Through metaphorical transformations this rottenness as a quality of food becomes rottenness in other senses – the corruption in human relations or in the state, for example. The implications from one are linked with the implications of another. A physiological quality is taken up and woven into a much larger scheme concerning the nature of impurity. It is not that the scheme

originates in this material reality of meat; rather it is a feature that can be made to fit; it is useful; it opens up a new expressive area. Not all such features, however, are taken up. For example, whisky is a sweet drink. It is however a masculine drink, and so its sweetness is overridden; for sweetness both as a taste preference and as a feature of character is thought to belong to women. The pattern of the meaning is selective. It is in this sense that I want to show how food can be in Lévi-Strauss' words: 'good(s) to think with as well as good(s) to eat'.

Vegetarianism, unlike other more exclusively cerebral ideologies, has written into it a powerful expressive quality - and in this it employs similar processes to those of religious ritual. Ritual makes concrete the abstract idea and emotions of religion; the actions and images provide units through which the ideas can be manipulated and elaborated, and this making manifest in doing can have a depth of impact stronger than words. There is a special power that comes from doing. As Turner (7) rightly points out, ritual is not just cognitive ordering, it also involves the whole person, rousing up and channelling powerful emotions. Ritual acts back on the participants, structuring reality you start by dipping your hand in the holy water and you end up believing in God. In the action of eating there is a direct uniting of bodily experience and the symbolic meaning carried in the food. Thus the transcendent conceptual world - here ideas of purity, of wholeness in life, of right living, of spirituality – is merged with the actual world. Through eating the two realms are brought into conjunction; the ideal is made actual. It is important to understand that this thinking is not primarily carried out at the level of formal, rational argument, though vegetarians do at times present portions of their arguments - usually the ethical aspect - in this more academic philosophical form. It is more like thinking in the style of Lévi-Strauss's bricoleur. Certain features are brought into prominence in the context of one argument, or explanation, or expression of feeling, but then allowed to fade out in another. (This will become more apparent when we examine the ways in which nature is perceived and presented). It became clear during the research that it did not help greatly in the understanding of the ideology to put the 'logical' inconsistencies to people, for one can end up with an accusatory tone whereby one seems to be trying to expose weaknesses in the argument. Such confrontations did sometimes produce revealing answers, (8) but more often they produced either a dead end of 'Well, we must do what we can,' or 'I'm not sure, I never thought about it'. The point I am making is not just that there are limits to the extent to which people pursue consistently - though that is true but also that such paradoxes and unresolved 'logical' problems

are part of the actual fabric of the ideology. It is a net to capture meaning, force it too hard and it tears apart. There are logical inconsistencies in any ideology that attempts to make sense of these sorts of dilemmas, and vegetarianism is a system that works as much by feeling and symbolising as by the more superficial operations of logic. The meaning is elusive and ambiguous by its nature. This is characteristic of many religious and similar ideologies where analysis aimed at logical consistency does great violence to the real significance of the body of beliefs and attitudes, whose ambiguities and elisions are the source of its richness and its power to generate meaning.

I would like to argue that these illogicalities and ambiguities are in fact negotiated by means of an underlying structure, and the unity that can be felt so strongly in the various strands of vegetarianism and its recurrent associations is a unity present at a deeper layer.

The vegetarian ideology exists at a number of different levels in physiological experience; in the presentation and character of the food; in nutritional ideas; the styles of living; in a wide range of associated interests and causes, in moral propositions, in theories about the nature of humanity and of existence. Meaning in one context is carried over and builds up meaning in another; the way we perceive things in one realm can structure our perceptions in another. Certain images have a special importance in the ideology. Such words as pure, whole, natural bear a key role, slipping over from one context to another, linking and validating, underwriting and building up the congruences between the different levels. They strike special chords of recognition and commitment; they carry great emotional warmth. Take, for example, wholeness. Whole food is food that contains the whole grain, fruit or whatever; but the word is embued with much more. Associated within the vegetarian milieu are also ideas of psychic wholeness. There are the associations with holistic medicine which aims to treat the whole body rather than the partial instrumental intervention of modern drug therapy) or the whole body and spirit (with all the ideas of the unity of mind and body and the role of the psychological that that implies). In their ecological interests, there is again the emphasis on the integrated whole. We find it crowned in ideas of the unity of all living creatures (central in arguments concerning the evil of inflicting suffering on animals); and above all in the cosmic union of man and nature, and in the belief that the summation of religion and philosophy lies in holism and immanence. Without losing their distinctiveness in context, these different meaning are at the same time allowed to merge into one another, so that there is an undefined

carry-over from one province of meaning to another; the concepts are not clear cut and custom made for the context, but washed over from other fields.

I hope to show that throughout the different levels of vegetarianism can be discerned transformations of the basic structure and that it is through the congruences between the different levels that the range of features that make up the ideology is united, thus actions of a simple domestic nature can be symbolic of issues of the highest and most abstract kind. These processes have relevance to the larger question of how culture coheres, for it is through such congruences that meaning and significance are built up and the different realms of existence connected.

I should, however, like to make one proviso here. While I believe such assonances are real and crucial in the way we structure the flux of existence and integrate experience and meaning, there is a danger in pursuing too dogmatic a fit. Allowance must be made for discontinuity, dislocation and absence of cross-meaning. It is proper to look for uniting structures, but not to assume them, particularly in so complex and differentiated a society. Furthermore, while there may be the kind of satisfaction which Mary Douglas argues for in such cognitive cross-fits, there is also an interest in singularity and difference. Culture must not be spun up too tightly.

In saying that modern English vegetarianism has an underlying structure, I am not of course implying that this is the underlying structure of the society. It is just one of many such. A variety of symbolic systems and cognitive classifications, together with their social-structural formations, go to make up the social and cultural system. The potential range of these is vast, and is only limited by the desire for coherence, the degree of which may vary greatly between different societies. In this study I have confined myself to a particular historical period - from the emergence of vegetarianism as a movement in the early nineteenth century until today - and a particular society - England, and no cross-cultural statements are implied (though there are important parallels and links with Germany and America, the centres of the other significant western vegetarian movements) The structure I outline therefore is of a vegetarian ideology - its coherence will be discussed in the next chapter - and not the vegetarian ideology. The meaning and structure of vegetarianism is not fixed. For example, medieval 'vegetarianism', that is the use of the avoidance of animals and animal products as part of

monastic abstinence, has a different meaning and is contained within a different structure. The context there is one of virtuosi religion, the patterning of fast and feast days and the straightforward denial of the flesh. (9) If we turn to the radically different cultural tradition of India, though there are shared ideas concerning vegetarianism, they are again worked through within a very different structure; in India, vegetarianism is used to underwrite the elaborate hierarchy of caste, and is therefore fully part of social structure, whereas in the western version, it is strongly associated with an egalitarian, anti-structural ethic. (10) Western vegetarianism is also dominated by the imagery of Eden and of its recovery; whereas in India the concept of such a return to a primordial innocence of matter is an alien one.

Though the potential range of objects and relations that are used symbolically is vast, and no 'natural' assumptions ought to be made, it does seem that certain things are potentially more evocative than others, and consequently make more frequent cross-cultural appearances. As with bodily symbols, with which it has associations, the distinction between the eating and non-eating of animals and animal products is a symbolic category that has often been taken up, though what has been made of it has varied. Placing the emphasis very properly on symbolic relations rather than objects, the cross-cultural appearance of a symbol does not necessarily imply any cross-cultural meaning; thus we can speak of culture as having a relatively small vocabulary but a vast grammar. Having stated this firmly – and it remains the predominating view in this study – there are certain recurrences in vegetarianism that raise the issue of ethnographic parallels in symbolism. For example, Indian vegetarianism reiterates some central ideas found in the English version: meat as heating to the blood, as stimulating to sexuality and to aggression, as tying one down to earthly and bodily existence. Pythagorean ideas, while there is dispute as to the exact significance of the texts, do seem to suggest a similar concern with the suppression of animal passions. The recurrent associations in the early modern period with 'spirituality' and the rejection of the carnal, the worldly and the material are very strong.

This raises a much larger question, beyond the scope of this study, and to discuss it adequately would require extensive graphic knowledge of the several cultures in which vegetarianism has featured. The issue, however, at least deserves to be alluded to; partly just to note the existence of such parallels, but more important because of their possible implications for an account of vegetarianism within a particular culture, for such recurrence does leave open the possibility that there are mechanisms at work, if not determining, at least inclining the selection of symbols in particular ways.

Leach rightly points out in his criticism of Lévi-Strauss that his mathematics of sensory objects fails to allow for the fact that while symbols used in mathematics are neutral, those used in 'primitive thought' are not. Taboos, evasions and repressions confuse the logical symmetries. The chief candidates for such underlying influences are either the bodily symbols claimed by Mary Douglas and rooted in our common bodily experience, or psychological factors.

There are two senses in which one might speak of the psychological as being relevant here. The first is in the narrow sense of psychological accounts of the individuals who take up vegetarianism. I have not in fact attempted to provide these. This is partly because proper evidence is lacking for the historical periods: the severe weakness of psycho-history has been its willingness to make assumptions concerning deep psychological motivations on the most superficial evidence. The techniques of psychoanalysis in particular rest upon the most intimate knowledge of the individual (and arguably the accuracy of its interpretation is only assessable in the context of its capacity to generate therapeutic insight) material that is grossly lacking even in the case of quite well-documented lives.

However a more fundamental reason why I have avoided such psychological explanation is that I have been concerned to show vegetarianism as a social phenomenon. It is a choice made available within culture. Too often in the past the emphasis has been on individual psychology, vegetarianism being seen either as part of the mechanics of adjustment in personality or, at a more popular level, as individual eccentricity or faddiness. It is conceived in terms of individual character, and its social ramifications and theories are regarded as having little reality compared with the working through of personality.

But there is a second and wider sense in which psychological explanation may be seen to be relevant; this relates to its possible role in symbolism. The meaning of blood, of meat and of abstinence carry in them an emotional charge whose exact nature and derivation is unclear and hard to pin down. If we turn to the symbolism of eating more generally this factor stands out more clearly. The power of commensality; the degree to which people remain emphatically fixed in their eating habits, and the identification of these with stability and rightness, the 'goodness' and 'badness' of food and the emotional charge it bears: all these draw on the primary experiences of childhood, and all can be said to have a psychological component. Psychoanalysis has traditionally tended to see symbolism as in the nature of evasions determined by the deeper patterns of the unconscious which in turn determine the content of culture. Vegetarianism in a simple Freudian account is seen as an ego defence against the

recognition of sadistic feeling, and such an account is extended to the parallel movements like pacifism. (11) However, the study of vegetarianism itself does not provide evidence relevant to such a view which, like all fully Freudian accounts of culture, tends to be an explanation by fiat whose ultimate plausibility rests elsewhere. However, what there is in vegetarianism is: the suggestiveness of the cultural parallels; the strong affective input around blood and the ingestion of animality; and the frequently observed relationship between sexuality and food; together with certain other, as it were, 'Freudian' themes that will emerge later.

What I want to suggest is a view that allows for the possibility of psychological factors but not in a crude reductive way. Victor Turner has explored this problem and his formulation offers a possible approach. In the Forest of Symbols, he argues that symbols juxtapose the grossly physical and the structurally normative; and that these are represented by two poles; the ideological pole which is concerned with the elements of moral and social order, and the sensory or orectic pole (Turner seems to use the terms interchangably) which is concerned with natural physiological events. The sensory significata arouse desires and feelings, and the ideological guides and controls. The power of the symbol lies in its unification and condensation of the disparate elements. Turner takes psychoanalytic accounts to task for regarding the ideological merely as rationalisation, in a direct parallel to the rationalisations of neurotics, and thus ignoring the reality of the social and moral order expressed in the symbol. Anthropologists, he believes, are well trained in the interpretation of the ideological pole; the problem comes with the sensory, for they cannot discriminate between the precise sources of unconscious feeling and wishing which he, agreeing with depth psychology, sees as helping to shape the form of the symbol. Turner believes that it is enough for anthropology that the symbol evokes emotion, even though the exact constituents of that emotion may lie outside its scope.

In the case of vegetarianism, the psychological can be seen as another element feeding into the system. Just as the vegetarian bricoleur takes up certain characteristics of meat and uses them to build up the larger symbolic patterns, so psychological factors may impart to the ideology a particular emotional charge and meaning. They serve as it were to push to the fore certain potential symbols in a way that may encourage their selection for certain meanings. They do not determine the content or form of the symbol - other cultural factors can override them and even reverse the meaning – but they do potentially influence the selection of symbols in a particular way.

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1. See for example, P. Bourdieu, 'Berber House', M. Douglas Rules and Meanings, 1973; and S.J. Tambiah, 'Animals are Good to Think and Good to Prohibit', Ethnology, 8, 1969.
 2. See for example, as well as the work of Mary Douglas and Lévi-Strauss, Margaret L. Arnott, ed, Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits, Hague, 1975; Thomas Fitzgerald, ed, Nutrition and Anthropology in Action, Amsterdam, 1977; J.R.K. Robson, ed, Food, Ecology and Culture: Readings in the Anthropology of Dietary Practices, 1980.
 3. Thus in Britain - though they are prized elsewhere - we count inedible; dogs, horses, insects, raw meat, decayed meat (by and large), animal's eyes and genitalia, and fertilised eggs.
 4. Varda Langholz Leymore, The Hidden Myth: Structure and Symbolism in Advertising, 1975.
 5. For example, Leymore op. cit. in examining an advertisement for butter, finds the term peace, and assigns the opposition war, where it is far from clear in this case that the peace of the English countryside does draw strength and meaning from a reverse image of war. There are other less clear-cut images behind it. Binary oppositions can frequently encourage one into such conventional and crude categories.
 6. I have used 'cognitive' advisedly here since I do not want to restrict this to formal rational thought but to include strong elements of feeling.
 7. Victor Turner, The Ritual Process, 1969
 8. For example, when the contrast between their image of harmonious nature and the great round of killing and suffering on which large parts of it rests was raised, one respondent replied that the carnivores may well once have been vegetarian. Or in the case of vitamin B12 (an element lacking in the vegan diet whose absence can cause serious damage, and since it has often to be taken in supplement, raising issues over the natural status of the diet) when pushed on this, a respondent said that we must once all have been able to produce this naturally in our bodies.
 9. The Rule of St. Benedict is slightly ambiguous on the point, and came to be interpreted as forbidding only quadruped meat, thus allowing fowls, fish and animal products. In practice, dispensations and periods of laxness resulted in the widespread consumption of meat in monasteries. Reforming orders or periods often restored strict abstinence, and sometimes extended it to animal products. See C. Butler, Benedictine Monachism, 1923; D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in Britain, Cambridge 1940, and The Religious Order in England, Cambridge 1948.
 10. For an analysis of caste and vegetarianism, see L. Dumont, Homo Hierarchicus, 1970. Dumont stresses the structure of hierarchy in Indian culture in contrast to the west.
 11. For such a psychoanalytic interpretation of involvement in animal welfare causes, see Karl A. Menninger, 'Totemic Aspects of Contemporary Attitudes towards Animals,' G.B. Wilbur and I. Muensterberger, Psychoanalysis and Culture, New York, 1951.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEFINITION AND UNITY OF THE IDEOLOGY

[a. Definition]

Certain terms will be used, and some explanation of them is needed. 'Vegetarianism' involves avoiding flesh, fish and fowl, and veganism, the avoidance in addition to these of all animal products (ie: eggs, cheese and milk). In this study, vegetarian, as applied to diet, will be taken as an inclusive term that covers vegan, though in cases where specific distinction is made, the term lacto-vegetarian will be used to differentiate. Many in both groups extend the avoidance to include animal-derived products such as leather or some house-hold cleaning substances, though this is always less central than the question of eating. (1)

Though the word vegetarian is known to date from the early 1840's, it only gained a wider currency with the founding of the Vegetarian Society in 1847. (2) There have been recurring debates over its suitability ever since. Many have felt that the word was off-putting and implied that vegetarians live off vegetables. (3)

Though its original derivation is obscure, the vegetarians have vigorously defended the etymology put forward by Professor Mayor which derives the term from vegetus: vigorous, lively. (4) At different times other names have been suggested, for example VEM, which stands for vegetables, eggs and milk, and which Frances Newman put forward in the 1880's as a better, less faddy sounding term, although it was of course unacceptable to those who disapproved of all animal produce, and it never achieved popular success. Howard Williams about the same time suggested akreophagy, although this hardly solved the problem of the public's failure to understand the definition. The difficulty has been to fasten upon a name that will unite all vegetarians - which implies a negative term, conveying abstinence from meat - and yet also conveys the positive aspects of the appeal. Suggestions like Humanitarianism, or the Higher Phase of Temperance were both too vague, and stressed too heavily certain ancillary interests. (5) Disagreement has focussed in particular on the titles of the two main societies' magazines. (6)

Of the greatest influence on vegetarianism has been what is called diet reform. The two movements have been intertwined throughout the modern history of vegetarianism, and are to a large extent indistinguishable. Diet reform stresses a more unrefined diet, one using brown bread, raw vegetables etc., and it has often been associated with the avoidance of tea, coffee, alcohol, sugar and artificial additives. There are diet reformers who do not abstain from treat,

though the majority would restrict its use; and there are vegetarians who eat sliced white bread and refined packet food, however they are in the minority, and the overlap of the two movements is such that they cannot be understood apart.

In addition to these basic terms there are particular categories of the diet such as macrobiotic (see p309) and the fruitarian. This latter term is used ambiguously. Sometimes it implies quite literally a diet of fruit alone, (7) but it can also include, for example 'grains, sprouting seeds, herbs and nuts'. (8) One rationale put forward for the distinction among plant food is that eating vegetables in the form of root and leaf crops involves the destruction of the plant, and that it is thus better, and more in harmony with nature, to eat only fruits (9) – though other reasons are also given; Seed Regards 'health' as the principle aim of the diet, though it emphasises also that in eating fruit one is eating food with 'higher spiritual vibrations'. (10)

Of these forms of diet, all but the macrobiotic, have been current in vegetarianism from the start of the period studied.

1. Eating is always the most potent focus because it involves an actual incorporation of the animal and an intimate identification with it and with the deed, Even Henry Salt who stressed the issues of exploitation and cruelty admitted that eating, was the issue. Vegetarian Messenger, Jan 1934, p6.
2. Before then the term Pythagorean was frequently used.
3. 'The term "Vegetarian" at once brings into a person's mind the image of an insipid and tame individual who exists, and that is all upon cabbages and garden greens'. Stomach Worship: A Growl, by 'A Vegetarian', Liverpool, 1881. This is still a complaint.
4. Henry Salt, The Logic of Vegetarianism, 1899, p4; Charles Brandt, 'What is Vegetarianism' in [1957] IVU Congress report, gives a fuller account of the derivation. *[and much disputed for the last 100 years, there now seems to be some consensus that the 'vegetus' derivation was an invention of the late 19th century - ed]*
5. See for example the Dietetic Reformer (hereafter DR), Nov 1878 p226 and July 1882, p148, and more recently, The Vegetarian, Dec 1976, p5, for this issue.
6. In 1861 the Vegetarian Messenger became the Dietetic Reformer in the hope of widening its appeal. A similar situation has arisen at other times, most recently in 1978, when on advice of the distribution trade, the Vegetarian Society changed the title of its journal from New Vegetarian to Alive.
7. Seed regards this as the goal of the diet, Vol 4 No5, p20.
8. New Vegetarian, Nov 1977, p25.
9. Seed reports how some feel 'uncomfortable about eating plants as there is a life force permeating the plant kingdom, just as surely as there is one (the same one!) permeating the animal kingdom'.

10. Seed, loc cit.

CHAPTER TWO: THE DEFINITION AND UNITY OF THE IDEOLOGY

[b. Vegetarianism as a United Ideology]

I would like to turn now to the justifications for regarding vegetarianism as a united ideology. There are three elements here: the arguments, the parallel interests and the individuals involved.

Conventional wisdom distinguishes two major arguments for the vegetarian cause: health and animal welfare. They are on the face of it very different types of argument, and I started this study with the assumption that this would be a key division. Closer examination showed however, first that there were in fact four major focuses of the arguments - health; animal welfare and the humanitarian issue; economic/ecological; and spiritual - and secondly that they were in fact closely interconnected.

Fundamental to the humanitarian argument is the belief that it is wrong to cause unnecessary pain to animals, directly paralleling the moral obligation towards humans. Common sense demands that we recognise that animals suffer, and evolution shows them to be no different in essence from us. To animals therefore should be assigned rights. (1) To deny moral obligation towards animals is to deny the force of moral obligation generally within society. (2) The idea of rights may involve the argument that killing animals is wrong since they have as much right to live as we do. Not all vegetarians stress this; many focus on the question of cruelty. Killing involves the infliction of fear and pain ('humane' methods of slaughter have not eradicated this), and animal production, especially in its modern forms, is seen as involving the cruelty of a distorted life. Vegans extend the argument to all animal products on the grounds that even dairy and egg production causes suffering to the animals and is inextricably bound up with the production of meat (cows are kept in milk by regular pregnancies, half of which produce male calves which go to the meat industry). Finally, vegetarians say there is no argument from necessity to put against these arguments from morality and humanity. (3)

The second major group of arguments concerns issues of health. Our physiology, it is argued, was designed, or evolved, for a vegetarian diet, and evidence from our teeth and internal organs and from the fruit-eating habits of our nearest relatives, the higher apes, is invoked. (4) Like other forms of 'unnatural' life, meat-eating causes strain, both physiological and psychological. Health arguments differ as to the degree of harm done by meat-eating, some view meat as positively harmful, almost as a poison, while others concentrate more on the benefits of a vegetarian diet.

The economic arguments have remained a constant, though less central, feature of the vegetarian platform. Though there have been slightly different bases for the equations the argument centres on the proposition that meat production is a wasteful way of feeding people. Individuals can feed themselves adequately at a lower cost on a vegetarian diet, and vegetarianism has been recommended to and taken up by people on a limited income. But the economic argument has wider implications than these; it raises issues concerning the relation of people within society and between nations. (5) 'There is no shortage of food in the world', Peter Roberts stated in a debate on vegetarianism run by The Ecologist. There is starvation because of poverty and because of greed and because we devote the major part of the world's food resources and its expertise . . . to the feeding of animals instead of children'. (6) Here the economic clearly links with the political and moral. From an environmental point of view, the vegetarian way of life could also halt the large scale clearance of land and destruction of habitat, at least five times more land is required to produce the same amount of animal as opposed to vegetable protein. (7)

Lastly, there are the spiritual arguments. These are not the most immediately prominent, especially when viewing the ideology from the outside; internally, however, their role is very important. The religious argument is most frequently presented as the simple statement that a vegetarian diet is a more 'spiritual' diet. Vegetarianism has a long history of association with religious or spiritual aspirations, it has been used as part of ascetic discipline, been described as helping to 'cleanse the doors of perception', (8) and is regarded as a prerequisite for advanced meditation or yoga. Fruit and vegetable foods are described as having higher 'vibrational levels' than animal food, and eating such food is said to raise your spiritual vibrations. Meat-eating is here seen to stimulate a non-spiritual character; it makes you carnally minded, violent, and aggressive; furthermore, being involved in killing, even vicariously, militates against the life of the spirit; Killing fractures the harmony of nature and puts 'a veil of blood' (9) between the individual and holiness. Vegetarianism is the true diet of Eden, killing and eating are part of our fallen sinful state, or in other versions are part of the lack of concord in the universe.

A closer examination of the arguments, shows that they do not exist in isolation. Thus the wrongness of exploiting animals relates to the wrongness of the economic exploitation of the third world. The ecological arguments concerning the devastation of nature and the destruction of animal species relate both to the rights of animals to exist and to 'spiritual' conceptions of

the Whole and of the balance of man in nature. Natural balance is central in naturopathic ideas of health. Health in vegetarianism means much more than the absence, of illness; it has a positive sense and includes wide ideas of, mental and spiritual well-being. Spiritual well-being rests upon right action in the world. There is a web of such cross connections. The apparently discrete spheres of reference of the arguments prove in practice to be interrelated, and in fact to draw strength from one another. As the Vegetarian Messenger declared in the 1850's: 'The popular arguments . . . are . . . but individual lights thrown across the path, bespeaking a much higher, and much greater principle than could be contended for any separate line of argument'. (10)

Of special importance here are the key vegetarian themes of the natural, the whole and the pure. (11) As mentioned earlier they play a special role in the integration of the ideology, slipping across, linking and cross-relating the different areas. But they also act more fundamentally, for they form the mediating concepts of the ideology by means of which the, as it were, circumference - made up of the different spheres of argument with, connected to them, the parallel interests - relates to the core. The core is that to which all the parts relate, and it forms what will be called the underlying structure of the ideology. This core of meaning is concerned in some fundamental sense with transfigured well being; and its form and character will be described more fully in part III.

This brings us to the question of the wider ideological context. It is significant that the focus of dislike of the word vegetarian has been that it is too narrow and too negative. It fails to convey what is experienced by vegetarians as a central reality, that vegetarianism is not just a particular prohibition but an attitude to life. There are vegetarians who attack the association of it with all sorts of other causes, and this has been a constant issue in the life of the societies; however, it is probably true that the objections arise largely from the association of the particular society with specific causes that the objector disagrees with; few vegetarians see their vegetarianism as an isolated and unrelated part of their lives. The attitude that: 'it is an integral part of one's whole view and way of life . . . It is not a mere hobby like stamp collecting or model making' is the one that predominates. (12)

It is one of the most characteristic features of vegetarianism that it rarely occurs alone, but comes in conjunction with a complex of other beliefs, attitudes and parallel movements. What

vegetarianism as it were 'goes with' is as important in any understanding of the movement as its more intrinsic features. For these reasons I have extended the general use of the adjective vegetarian to embrace associated beliefs, attitudes, life styles; and the word is therefore of necessity, used as a fluid and inclusive term, intended to encompass this unity as much as to fix a category. Any attempt to define a clear ideal type, in particular one regulated by a rational development of central premises, could not cope well with these optional associations or tendencies towards sympathy with, and the failure would only serve to underline the point that these diversities are linked by an affinity at another level.

This brings us from the arguments and the associations to the individuals involved, and here there is further support for regarding vegetarianism as a united ideology. My initial assumption was that vegetarians would be grouped into different types, roughly according to motivation. This proved not to be the case, and I had difficulty in finding many who could safely be so allocated. Care is needed in making such a judgement, since it could result erroneously from the effects of the individual promoting a cause, particularly in print where one would naturally want to include all the possible arguments; thus over-all surveys, as for example Anna Kingsford's The Perfect Way in Diet cannot be safely used in the context of assessing an individual's approach. The need to present a united front and avoid weakening contentions has no doubt resulted in the playing down of individual disbelief in certain forms of argument and types of benefit; however it would be fundamentally wrong to regard vegetarianism as a pragmatic alliance of a variety of essentially different approaches. Those vegetarian biographies that can be pieced together suggest that the reasons for being a vegetarian are rarely single. This again became clear when talking to vegetarians. Many have developed, in response to frequent public questioning, a quick and acceptable explanation of their beliefs, which they produced when first talking to me, but further conversation revealed that the initial explanation was only the beginning - many other factors, feelings and beliefs were involved, and the immediate answer did not wholly reveal the true character of the belief. The experience also demonstrated the difficulty of secure attribution of motive.

Becoming and then being a vegetarian is an educational process. You may become a vegetarian for reasons of health, like Francis Newman, who first contacted the Vegetarian Society as a result of chronic dyspepsia and an addiction to 'dinner pills', (13) but then come to a fuller understanding and commitment to the other issues; thus in Newnan's later writings the greater emphasis is placed on the humanitarian arguments. Individuals may 'enter' the ideology at one

particular point of its circumference, and as they move further into it, they become involved in the cross-linkages of the structure and come to understand the larger whole.

I do not want to be over-dogmatic in this question of the unified nature of vegetarianism; the comparative rarity of people who disregard all other aspects should not disguise the fact that one can have a general orientation that gives an emphasis to one vegetarianism. Those centrally involved in the animal rights movement naturally put their emphasis there, and some regard the health claims as unreal. This is even more true of the parallel causes; thus although there is a general connection with the political left, there are also examples of the strongly conservative.

A segment theory best describes the relationship. The vegetarian ideology forms a whole which radiates around the central focus. Not all people need take up all aspects, for it can be a question of embracing or giving a pre-eminence to certain segments; (14) but these segments are heavily over-lapping and, superimposed on one another, unite to form the whole. The whole is there, in abstract at least, for people to call upon. There are parallels with the way Lévi-Strauss represents the working of myth: though the encoded message concerning the fundamental structure comes only in parts – the segments here - they can be 'added up' in such a way as to reveal the whole. Vegetarianism is not just an unrelated assemblage, and the interconnection of the parts is fundamental to its operation as an ideological structure.

1. 11. See p373 for modern development of the concept of animal rights.
2. 12. See Brigid Brophy, Alive, Aug 1978, p26.
3. 13. Vegetarians like Brigid Brophy point out that while the more widely opposed practice of vivisection can be seen as presenting a moral dilemma, with one evil being set against another, no such conflict applies in the case of meat-eating. See her article in S. Godlovitch and others, Animals, Men and Morals, 1971
4. 14. This is an area of scientific controversy, though orthodox scientific opinion seems to incline towards the omnivore view.
5. 15. For a good brief resumé of the economic arguments see Jack Lucas, World Food Production in the Balance, nd, see also p379
6. 16. Quoted in New Vegetarian, Feb 1977, p12
7. 17. Lucas p2 and p5.
8. 18. P.A. Wilson, Food Fit for Humans, 1975, though frequently used as a term.
9. 19. The phrase is Edward Maitland's Vegetarian Review (hereafter VR), Feb 1895, p48.
10. 20. Vegetarian Messenger, Feb 1852, p10.

11. 21. Pure has the same kinds of multiple meanings as the earlier example of whole; it can be pulled out in many directions and yet still draws the parts together. Thus a vegetarian diet is said to be a 'pure' diet; it avoids the toxins of meat; it is free from additives and chemicals; it purifies the body by encouraging elimination; it cleanses the blood; it is pure morally in that it is not stained, with blood or implicated in cruelty; it is Pure in that its effects on temperament are conducive to a higher, purer life; it is pure ethically in that it is not based on the deceits of meat culture.
12. 22. New Vegetarian, Apr 1977, p11, letter from David Mundy.
13. 23. Dietetic Reformer, April, 1868, p36
14. 24. Not always the most obvious segments; thus, Anna Kingsford's central preoccupations were with the occult and the spiritual and with animal welfare.

CHAPTER THREE: MEAT AND BLOOD

The food categories of dominant culture (1) have a structured pattern. This pattern emerged out of the study of vegetarian food categories, when it became apparent that these involved direct parallels with or specific transformations of, an ideological structure discernible in wider culture. To examine the meaning of abstinence from meat, we must look more generally at ideas concerning the eating of meat, for it is only in the context of the structured relationship between food categories that the full meaning of vegetarianism reveals itself. The pattern of food I am going to discuss here is selective; I have not tried to give a complete account of the patterning of food, for the dimensions are many, and further complicated by the cross influences of particular historical, class and regional factors; I have concentrated instead on one major dimension, that of animality.

Deeply embedded in dominant culture is the idea of animal food as containing certain qualities, a particular power centering around the qualities of sexuality, strength, aggression, passion – around what culture has designated man's animal nature. All eating, but especially that involving meat eating, or its avoidance, is concerned with the paradox of the relation of man to nature. Eating provides a crucial arena for this, since it involves a direct taking in of the animal and the incorporation of it. We are what we eat. (Eating can also concern itself with other issues, for example, social identity or family solidarity, but I am not intending to examine these here).

Animals bear a special and complex role in our relationship with nature. They are potent symbols. They are both in us, our enduring biological heritage, and beyond us, as an extension of human society, as a parallel society, and as a contrasted realm. (2) Much recent work in anthropology has been concerned with the ways in which animals are used to say things about man and society. (3) When we turn to the question of eating, we find that animals have a special significance here. Animal food is the most frequent focus of food taboos. Thus Simoons in his Eat Not This Flesh, (4) in which he charts by geographical incidence the major food taboos (pig, chicken, horse, dog, etc.) makes the point that food avoidances nearly always pertain to animal food, in particular, to flesh foods. Lionel Blue in his popular book on religion and food makes a similar point that vegetarian food is the only safe food to serve at an inter-religious meal. (5) Angyal in his study of disgust and related aversions found a similar focus around animal products: 'I find that no plant product was reported as disgusting, with the exception of certain slimy substances which greatly resemble certain animal wastes'. (6) Similarly nearly

every item in the catalogue of repulsive ingredients in Macbeth's witches' brew is animal; little of such feeling can be made from vegetable substances. This aspect is present more generally in the unease that can adhere to unknown animal, as opposed to vegetable, food. (7) In particular people dislike the 'odd' bits - blood vessels, eyes, feet - things that are distinguishable parts of the animal. In the same way the rejected parts of animal food provoke revulsion, while those of vegetable food - hard skin, cores, etc. – do not; they are quite neutral.

The vegetarians point to this underlying unease in dominant culture, which they interpret as the natural man speaking in all of us. Thus they argue, meat has to be cooked, to hide its taste and obscure its nature: cooking disguises 'the reek of raw flesh and sauces help to smother the sheer animality of the ingredients'. (8) They argue - persuasively - for an unease and even guilt over meat-eating evident in myths and in the systematic evasions concerning the nature of and origins of meat in dominant culture. (9) And yet, despite these echoes of uncertainty, meat is the most highly regarded form of food. Before we can turn to this aspect, we must look at one of the central factors in the meaning of meat, and that is blood.

Blood has a long tradition of symbolic significance. During the early modern period, dominated by alchemic ideas, it was the paramount humour; while health lay in the balance of the four, blood held a special position, comprehending the other three. Blood was central in the elaborate development of ideas of macrocosm and microcosm and in conceptions that stressed the unity of the body and the cosmos. This tradition - though in fragmented form – was carried into popular culture, and forms part of the background to the imagery of blood today.

One of the central conceptions concerning blood is of it as the seat of the soul. Blood carries life; as it ebbs away in bleeding so we die. (10) Blood evokes strong feelings; people faint at the sight of it. Spilt blood defiles; it cries to heaven for vengeance; it is only atoned for by a second spilling of blood. Blood cannot be washed from a guilty hand. Blood can stand as the symbol of wrong having been done, of the fracturing of harmony, of discordance; and the rain of blood represents the times out of joint.

There is something in the experience of blood coursing through the veins that makes it a potent symbol of the very self. Thus blood is conceived as the link in family inheritance. We accept unquestioningly the biologically incorrect equation of blood and kinship. Shared blood is conceived as producing a mystical union; blood covenants make an alliance into an indissoluble

bond. Blood is also believed to carry inherited qualities - noble blood, tainted blood etc. - and particular character traits. (11)

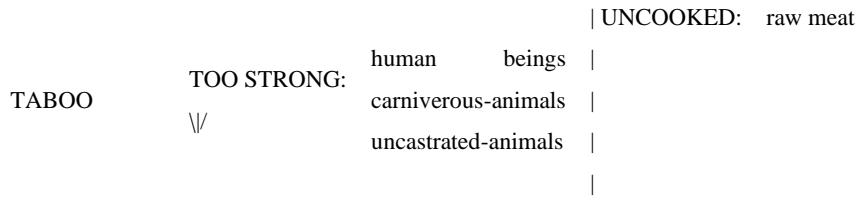
Blood is the seat of the passions; hot blooded is angry and impulsive. Blood boils. The blood of the young and vigorous is thought to be hot, thick and red, in comparison with the thin, watery blood of old age. Cold blood is rational, cruel, lacking in proper emotions or passions. Blood also carries a sexual emphasis. The blood in meat and in man is associated with strength, lust and lustyness. (Though the sexuality meat relates to is not eroticism; meat is never an aphrodisiac).

The meaning of blood has three major focuses: as the living essence; as the special character of the individual, the species or group; and as the passions. It also has the capacity to unite in essence. Various forms of ritual ingestion draw on these meanings. (12) This background of the meaning of blood contributes to the perception of meat in both dominant and vegetarian culture. Thus meat has traditionally been thought necessary for life and especially for strength, and men in particular are believed to need it. Through the direct, though nutritionally incorrect, equation of muscle with muscle, meat is thought specially suitable for bodybuilding and power. Dewhurst the butchers, keen to reinforce this idea, have recently sponsored sport and given free meat-tokens to athletes. Vegetarian food is felt in the dominant view to be lacking in this quality: 'I don't think it's potent', remarked one man during a community experiment in the substitution of textured soya protein for meat, 'There's blood in meat and there's none in this stuff'. In a similar style, anti-vegetarian prejudice presents vegetarians as pale faced and slightly feeble; and the condemnation of men is much heavier than of women, and vegetarian men are thought to lack the 'ruddy' good health and 'red blooded' virile approach of the meat-eater.

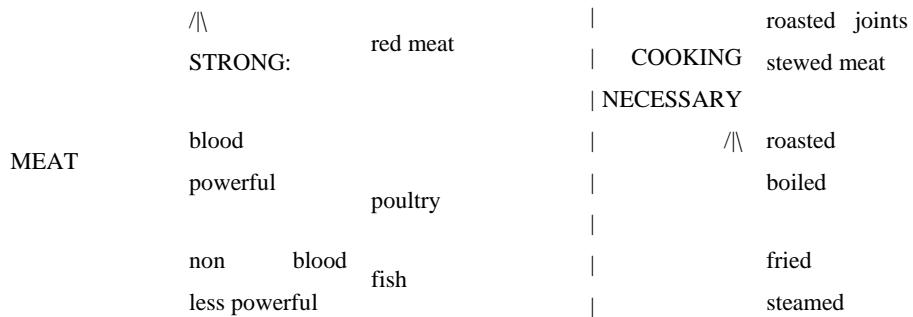
I suggest that dominant culture contains an hierarchy of foods. At the top, we have red meat; lower in status, (13) are the bloodless meats - chicken, fish - and below these we have the animal products - cheese and eggs. Though cheese and eggs are sufficiently high in the hierarchy to support a meal being formed around them, they are confined to low-status events - the omelette or cheese flan of light lunch or supper. Below these, we have the vegetables, regarded as insufficient and merely ancillary in the dominant scheme. If we look at the top of the scale, we see the highest in status also approaches nearest the taboo. This is a familiar concept in anthropology, where that which is most highly prized, most sacred, can by virtue of its power be the most defiling. Eating animals involves ingesting animal nature; blood as we have seen has a particular association with the living essence of the animal, and this is the

source of a certain ambivalence, for dominant culture prizes the characteristics of red bloodedness, but in a qualified way. Enough but not too much is the essence of its attitude towards such power.

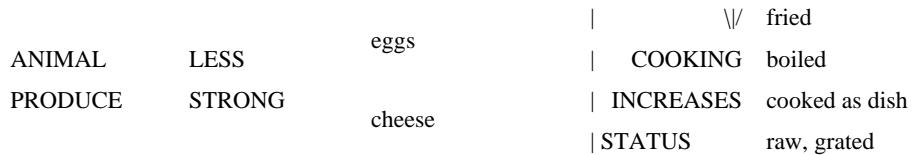
HIERARCHY OF FOODS



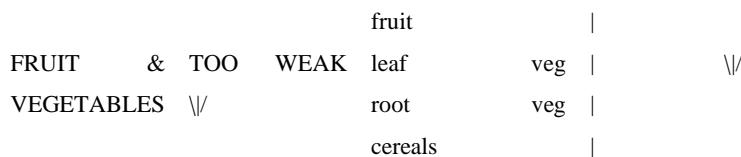
DOMINANT CULTURE'S BOUNDARY



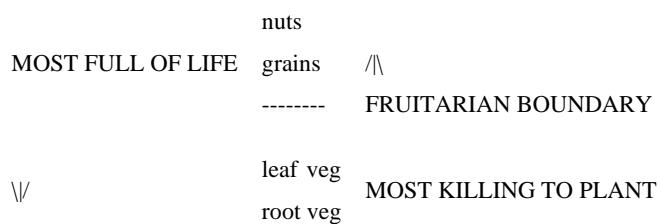
VEGETARIAN BOUNDARY



VEGAN BOUNDARY



VEGETARIAN VERSION OF THE VEGETABLE SCHEME



That which is not eaten reiterates the significance of the hierarchy. Thus we do not eat raw meat, (14) tearing at raw flesh with one's teeth is an image of horror suitable for monsters and

semi-humans. It is an image of the bestial, as indeed in the narrow sense it is properly so, for animals do capture, tear at and devour their prey, sometimes half alive; whereas man demands the animal be dead before it is 'meat' and that it be cooked. Thus by this transforming process are the raw facts of nature turned into the acceptable ones of culture. By cooking, as Lévi-Strauss has emphasised, man sets himself apart from the beasts.

We do not, by and large eat uncastrated beasts. The meat from boars and bulls has traditionally been regarded as tainted, though recent tests have shown it to be economic and wholesome. (15) (In the past there is evidence that bull's meat was eaten, though only after the animal had been baited. Baiting bulls was in the seventeenth century regarded as a necessary part of making their flesh edible, and even the early puritan campaigners for animal welfare allowed the necessity of baiting. The 'heat and motion' was believed to 'attenuate the blood', reduce its 'hardness' and make it possible to digest (16) though even then, it was best restricted to strong stomachs. Muffett links the reasons for the baiting of bulls with the treatment also of cocks: 'Perhaps also by this cause old Cocks are coursed with little wands from one another, or forced to fight with their betters before they are killed'. (17) John Ray links this baiting of bulls with the hunting of deer, explaining how seventeenth-century Romans put their beasts 'in a great heat and chase, for the same reason I suppose that we hunt deer and bait bulls in England'. (18) Baiting and the chase can perhaps be regarded as a substitute castrations, with the focus lying on the qualities of the blood; though here it is also part of the highly developed categorisation of food according to the humours. The role of the chase as a parallel to baiting offers an explanation of the major exception to the castration rule, that of hunted animals like deer). Uncastrated beasts, I suggest, are considered too powerful, contain too much of the ambivalent power.

Thirdly, we avoid carnivorous animals, though this is not nutritionally dictated, other cultures do not; I suggest that these are like a double dose, too much of a-good thing. (19)

The ultimate in such categories of the inedible is, of course, man himself. Recent work has suggested that there is a fascination with the idea of cannibalism and an eagerness to discover it that contains elements of projection, and cannibalism can be interpreted as primal offence on a parallel with incest. The connection between meat-eating and cannibalism is frequently made within the vegetarian tradition: Shaw referred to meat-eating as 'cannibalism, with its heroic dish omitted', (20)

Vegetarian ideas also display evidence of this hierarchy. (21) It is a common-place in the process of becoming a vegetarian that you give up first the red meat, then the white and the fish, until if you become a vegan you restrict yourself to the category furthest away from the top. During the 1880's, the Vegetarian Society institutionalised this by introducing grades of membership: all members eschewing red meat, though some still eat fish etc. 'Vegetarian' is sometimes used loosely in America in this way to mean someone who does not eat red meat, and one 'vegetarian' cookery book includes a picture of a fish on its jacket. (The pattern of food abstinence within the monastic and catholic tradition also follows this hierarchy of foods.)

The most powerful focus in vegetarianism is always around red meat, and in particular around the blood in meat – that is where the revulsion is centred. 'Blood is perhaps the most objectionable form of nutriment; flesh being principally composed of blood it is next to it in its gross, stimulating and exciting qualities , (23) Meat is regarded. as producing certain effects on temperament; 'I get aggressive if I have meat', Keith Michell told Seed magazine (24). Meat 'excites the lower prehuman aspect of mind, normally quiescent but easily aroused, accounting for . . . the horrors and bestialities of existence.' (25) It is thought to stimulate the passions, especially the sexual passions.

The second variable in the hierarchy is cooking. Throughout the dominant scheme, cooking increases the status of food, and we will find, in both the dominant and the vegetarian schemes, that there are muted parallels between ideas concerning meat and concerning cooking. Meat, at the top, 'has' to be cooked. Where part of a cooked dish, cheese is deemed to be a more adequate central feature to a meal, than if left uncooked. The use of raw vegetables in the dominant scheme is rare, compared with the vegetarian usage; cooked vegetables denote more of a 'proper' meal. In the social language of meals, a cold meal has less status than a hot one. Behind this lies the role of cooking as a cultural transformer. Cooked meals bear a heavier element of the social in them. Uncooked foods are relatively unstructured eating, they have a snack-like quality to them.

The method of cooking also has some relevance. There is a contrast between roasting, as opposed to boiling, steaming and poaching. Roasting, of all cooking methods, has the highest status. Why? It is certainly the most prodigal form of cooking, involving the greatest shrinkage and loss; boiling by contrast conserves. But roasting also demands the best cuts, so is this expense the simple source of its status? One can reverse the equation and argue that the 'best' cuts are those best suited to roasting, not all cultures put the emphasis that we do on dear muscle

meat. (26) I suggest, accepting Lévi-Strauss's point that roasted meat has a quality of being semi-cooked, that roasting is prized as bringing one near – but not too near - to rawness. Grilling has some of the qualities of roasting but not its full status, for roasting also involves relatively large pieces of the animal, and it is this nearness to animality that underlies the crowning status that we give to roasted joints. Steaming and boiling by contrast have traditional associations with invalids, the delicate and children. (27) As such they are part of the 'low' diet with its emphasis on the bland, the white and the non-stimulating. (I do not want to push this question of cooking style beyond what it can sensibly bear. Though I have mentioned one aspect of Lévi-Strauss's cooking scheme, I have been unable to draw on it in any major sense. (28) Nor have I attempted to suggest a fully developed structure according to cooking style. There are other connotations that complicate the pattern; (29) not to mention an important element of lack of significance.)

The vegetarians reverse this hierarchy and assert the value of rawness. They avoid the very category - meat - that has to be cooked. Certain vegetarians confine themselves to food that can be eaten raw; (30) and the majority certainly put heavy emphasis on food in that state. Explanations in the twentieth century have largely been in terms of the nutritional advantage of retaining all the vitamins and minerals lost in cooking, and in providing roughage; but rawness is linked to naturalness, in that no cultural mediation is involved. Raw food comes to us directly in the category of food, we pluck it from the trees. It is our 'natural' food in that it is how we must once have eaten before the coming of culture and cooking. Some extreme versions go on to regard cooking as making food into 'dead poisonous and unnatural pathogenic substances'. (31) Cooking as we shall see has an affinity with rottenness, and this has relevance also to the question of meat. Some of the other ideas about the effects of cooking mirror, in muted form, those concerning treat. The sexual patterning relevant to meat and discussed in the next paragraph, has its parallels in the contrast of raw and cooked food. Among vegetarian ideas there is some evidence for an association between raw food and the siding of continence. (32) There may be connections via the parallel imagery of heating, inflaming. Anna Kingsford and others have also made a link with spirituality; during one of her visions, she was told to abandon the 'heresy of Prometheus', and that this action would lead to a further clarification of her spiritual sight. (33)

The patterning also has a sexual dimension. Meat, especially red meat, has masculine connotations, whereas chicken and fish are by contrast female. (34) I am talking here at the

level of cultural stereotypes there is no taboo or shame involved in women eating red meat or men fish, and they do so happily. The symbolism is only at the level of associations, though these may influence eating patterns to some degree. (35) Hot/cold, cooked/raw are also related, for salads are more associated with women and men are thought to demand hot food. This is also extended into colour, as distinct from the connection with blood; thus red wine and men, white and women. There is also the contrast between light and heavy food; light meals are associated with women via refinement and delicacy, heavy with men via strength and power.

Thus we have a series of oppositions:

male : female

red : white

blood : non-blood

hot : cold

cooked : raw

heavy : light

in which vegetarian food falls upon the 'female'. Part of the explanation of this male/female symbolism however is less in terms of an opposition, than of degree; women eat down the hierarchy because they are felt to need less of its qualities or to be less associated with them. (36)

How then should we interpret the relationship of vegetarian and dominant ideas? Vegetarianism intensifies certain elements found in the dominant scheme, and it can be interpreted as eating down the hierarchy, and there are, as we shall see, features in the vegetarian tradition that fit such an interpretation. But the relationship is not that simple, for vegetarianism also upsets the hierarchy and reverses its valuation. Vegetarianism is also involved in more subtle re-interpretations, for the meaning of meat is unfocussed; thus it is possible to draw on the dominant idea of meat, but to interpret the particular qualities it is held to stand for. Thus its strength and 'power' can also come to mean violence, aggression, cruelty and insensitivity. We shall return to this issue in part III.

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1. Dominant culture is taken to mean the predominating meat-eating culture; it is used throughout in contrast to vegetarian culture, though it is, of course, itself very diverse.
 2. Animals can act as intermediaries between man and nature, they have a semi-human status. Man projects his perceptions on to them and uses this parallel animal world as a means of examining his own. Thus myths and fairy stories are full of talking, social animals. Animals also have a semi-human status as an extension of human society in the form of pets, and they are ascribed human moral qualities, and yet we also use them to underscore our separation from the animal world. Frequently this division is carried through into our natures, and we ascribe to the animal certain aspects of human existence, these focus around the physiological, the instinctual and what are regarded as the basic drives, and these stand in contrast to the reflective, the intellectual, the spiritual, the so-called 'higher' versions of love or the emotions compared with the baser ones, appreciation of beauty and art, refinement and shame.
 3. See, for example, the work of Mary Douglas, Lévi-Strauss, Leach, Tambiah, Willis etc.
 4. Frederick J. Simoons, Eat Not This Flesh: Food Avoidances in the Old World, Madison, 1961
 5. Lionel Blue, A Taste of Heaven, 1977
 6. A. Angyal, 'Disgust and Related Aversions', J. of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 36, 1941, p396.
 7. When presented with an unknown, or fixed-up and disguised dish, on learning that it is wholly vegetable, people will eat it with a confidence what would not apply were the contents known to be some animal product or part.
 8. F.A. Wilson, Food Fit for Humans, 1975, p20
 9. Eden has a long history of being regarded as vegetarian, even by non-vegetarians, and the idea recurs also in accounts of utopias. Children are discouraged from connecting the meat on their plates with the woolly lambs they are encouraged to love, and television programmes on the meat industry usually stop short of the slaughter-house door. Maureen Duffy in Animals, Men and Morals, S. Godlovitch and others, 1971, argues that meat-culture substitutes a fantasy relationship with animals whereby they become sentimental props and projections. So powerful are these evasions that the fantasy can be brought back into direct contact, thus we have Disneyland pigs cavorting in butcher's aprons or cartoon fish extolling, the virtues of cod fingers.
 10. For a popular account of the history of blood in medicine, see B. Seeman, The River of Life, 1961. Blood is most clearly seen as the life force in the Jewish tradition where it is hedged around with taboos because of its sacred power and ability to defile. Some of this sense has been transmitted into the western, Christian tradition.
 11. During the early, and unsuccessful, years of blood transfusions in the seventeenth century when all blood was believed to be the same substance, doctors used the blood of lambs, since it was believed to be specially pure and harmless. The religious echoes are obvious. See Richard Titmus, The Gift Relationship, 1970, p17.
 12. Seeman quotes a number of examples where people have - or have been thought to have - drunk blood as a means to gain a particular essence or quality. There are also indirect versions of this in the frequent substitution of wine for blood. Tonics are frequently red, and tonic wines almost invariably so, and both

draw on parallels with blood, for their effect.

The redness of blood also contains other forms of redness, pre-eminently that of fire, with its associations with heat and burning; thus people see red, burn with anger and desire, send red roses and visit red light districts. I am not suggesting any simple or single colour symbolism here; red also belongs to other sets of meaning - revolutionary, heraldic or ecclesiastical, for example - however, heat, burning, anger, passions do all have associations with redness and the redness of blood draws on these.

13. The status referred to in this context is not social status, but status attached to different foods in the range of foods/meals available. There may be a social-status dimension, in that those of high status/wealth may be able to choose more frequently the high-status items, but there is no simple equation.

14. Except in the relatively rare situations where the meat is sufficiently transformed and disguised that its rawness is overwritten, as for example in steak tartare.

15. See leaflet produced by MEAT, 1977.

16. Thomas Muffett, Health Improvement . . . 1655, p61.

17. Ibid p45.

18. John Ray, Observations made on a Journey 1673, p361

I am indebted to Dr. Keith Thomas for suggesting these *[above 3]* possibilities and references.

19. I should perhaps here include a reference to Leach's well-known article, 'Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse', where he rightly points out how the nearness to us of pets precludes their being used to eat (though an emotional tie between a people and particular animals does in fact not always produce such a taboo).

There are also more categories of animals than Leach allows for: thus we have pets/useful domesticated beasts, not eaten/domesticated animals, castrated and eaten/wild animals to hunt and eat/wild animals to hunt but not to eat/wild animals left alone; and there is no necessary equation between the number of categories and the grades of sexual closeness.

If we take up Leach's idea that there is a mirroring of sexual and animal categories on the near-to-us/far-away principle, can this be applied to vegetarian categories with any profit? Vegetarians abolish the categories to some extent and include all in a do-not-kill-or-eat group, and this can be extended in an obvious way to their ideas of brotherhood, but it finds no parallel in any abolition of the incest rules. The only possible reflection is in the dissolution of structures, (see, the communes and ethic of loving friendship, p426) but there is no evidence for any fuller dismantling of the sexual barriers.

20. Hesketh Pearson, Bernard Shaw, his Life and Personality, 1942, p48. See also 'The custom of flesh eating diminishes our natural horror of cannibalism', Illustrated Vegetarian Handbook, 1895, ed. Josiah Oldfield, p15.

21. Though they have a slightly different version of the vegetable part. At the top is fruit, encompassing images of beauty and fecundity, as in dominant society, though also here with a 'spiritual' emphasis - 'There can be little doubt that fruit is the most "spiritual" of foods, Seed, Vol 4 No.5, p20. Nuts come next in the vegetarian scheme, though they are not regarded as a food in the dominant scheme. Below these are the leaf vegetable, grown above the ground, and then the root vegetables, grown below. Grains and vegetables involve the destruction of the plant and are thus avoided by fruitarians.

22. Thus a distinction was sometimes made (see p21) between red meat and poultry, and invariably between these and fish.

Animal produce was also distinguished and lay one stage further along the scale of abstinence. Where an individual fell along this scale depended on the status of the day and on the strictness and asceticism of the lay individual or the order - thus Benedictines would eat fish in Lent, while the normally vegetarian Trappists would eschew all animal produce as well. In the context of the relative acceptability of fish, Dr. Keith Thomas has pointed out that the relatively asexual way that fish reproduce was used as a justification for their consumption in Lent. This has obvious parallels with the symbolism of red meat.

23. Vegetarian Messenger, July 1850, iii of appendix.

24. Seed, Vol4 No11, p5

25. P.A. Wilson, Food Fit for Humans, 1975, p37

26. V Stefansson's account, Not by Bread Alone, 1946, of eskimo habits for example, who have no roasting, makes clear that a different valuation operates, for they favour strongly flavoured fats, parts like brisket, and older animals, while the cuts like tenderloin were thrown to the dogs.

27. This relates to the tradition that regards such food, and especially red meat as 'too strong' for these groups, or for those of sedentary or bookish occupations. It carries an aspect of the body having to 'master' its food (see p for a parallel in Carpenter). But this less 'strong' food is also regarded as very 'nourishing'. Thus for children bland foods like milk puddings are recommended and stimulating drinks like coffee frowned upon. Meat, fried food, etc. can be too strong because they would upset the delicate and inactive, but also because they would have an undesired stimulating effect.

28. This is largely because his allocations rely on ethnographic particulars, although, true to his style, which ethnography we are not told. For example, the points he makes about the vessels and their relation to culture have little relevance; smoking for us does not involve a transient frame but a semi-industrial process. I agree to some extent with his roasting versus boiling, but not his abstract development of the permutations. Most seriously, he does not develop the ways in which his hypothetical triangle relates to other social forms, passing over this with an assertion that it is through such forms that society unconsciously translates its structure or resigns itself to revealing its contradictions; Lévi-Strauss at his most evasive. 'The Culinary Triangle', New Society, Dec.1966, p931

29. For example frying has masculine connotations, compared with boiling; but it also has today working-class associations through the absorption by the middle class of ideas concerning the bad effects of frying on health.

30. Some food reformers argue that cooking makes possible the eating of foods otherwise impossible, notably meat, but also potatoes and rhubarb, and that this fact should make us suspect such items. See for example, F.A. Wilson, Food Fit for Humans, 1975, p64. This is a more extreme view than usual; most vegetarians do not take the logic of cooking that far. (Bread does not count as cooked food.)

31. Review quotation in Seed Vol3, No3, p9.

32. See for example DR, Sept, 1884, p261 for an account of a colony at Anaheim, California, which tried to live only on raw fruit: 'the use of uncooked food and fruit is found to have a powerful effect on the

rational and sexual nature, and is commended as a great aid to a continent life'. We can assume from other material that this means encouraging the first and discouraging the second.)

33. Edward Maitland, Anna Kingsford, 1896, also Vegetarian News (hereafter VN) June 1922, p47 for another reference to the link between cooking and occultic vision.
34. This holds true also of the red meat in chicken in contrast to the white.
35. Waiters will assume that fish has been chosen by the woman and steak by the man. Traditional female eating places like department stores always feature dishes like fish and quiche, rather than the roasts and fry-ups of male lunch places See also, A.P. Bender, 'Food Preferences in Males and Females, Proc. Nutri. Soc., 35, 1976
36. An explanation in terms of women's lower status is not convincing.

CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The four chapters that follow outline the history of vegetarianism in England from 1847 to the present day. (1) They are offered with three aims in mind. The first is to elucidate the social and ideological location of vegetarianism in English culture. This involves asking who were the vegetarians, where were they likely to be found, and with what other movements and concerns did vegetarianism have affinities.

The second involves looking at the changing historical context of vegetarianism, and at the ways in which the vegetarian ideology itself undergoes changes.

The third concerns the historical explanation of vegetarianism. There are two aspects to this. The first relates to the cyclic rise and fall of the phenomenon: up in the late 1840's and early 1850's; down in the '60s and '70s up in the 1880's and '90s; down around the First World War and in the early '20s; up to some degree in the 1930's (the pattern for the early twentieth century is not so clear); down in the 1940's, '50s and early '60s; up in the 1970's. Vegetarianism as we shall see rides upon the back of a series of other cultural movements, so that the explanation of its rise and fall relies both on factors directly conducive to its development and on factors indirectly influential through the parallel associations - thus the decline of utopian socialism at the turn of the century with the rise of the parliamentary Labour Party, or the experience of the First World War in the development of inter-war pacifism, both affect vegetarianism indirectly through its wider milieu. Lastly, and perhaps most important, there are deeper cultural shifts that operate across a wide spectrum of ideas and that endow, at a particular time, certain movements or ideas with an essential plausibility and appeal. Shifts like these are usually conceptualised - rather unsatisfactorily - in such terms as the Late Victorian Revolt or the Counter Culture; but accounts based on these, where they do attempt to go beyond explaining one feature in terms of a general nexus of similar ideas of the time, tend like all formulation at this level, to be metaphorical rather than explanatory. The forces that lie behind these overall movements remain obscure - movements in the economy have been influential, though here the relationship is not direct, but is heavily mediated through cultural forms - for we are dealing here with levels of causation that are remote and for which the evidence from vegetarianism, even where widely drawn, does not permit one to draw adequate conclusions.

What these movements do represent however, is the periodic upsurge in English culture of Romantic consciousness, Those features of such consciousness that are particularly relevant to

and occur recurrently in connection with vegetarianism are the concern with self-expression, the individual and freedom, and, in harmonic tension with this, the search for totality, unity and the whole, producing both a concern with community and the vitalist conception of the universe and nature that attempts to bring into relationship the subjective self and the cosmos. Romanticism emphasises nature as against civilisation, intuition and emotion as against intellect and rationality. Romanticism was in many ways an Anglo-German phenomenon, a revolt against French classicism and the cultural tradition of the South, (2) and vegetarianism follows the same basic pattern, with its further extension into American culture; thus the three significant centres of modern vegetarianism have been Britain, Germany and America, with the lesser addition of Scandinavia, and British vegetarianism is in different periods marked by German and American influences. (This pattern relates also to Protestantism and in particular to the post-Protestant experience.)

Against this pattern of rise and fall, there has been - as we shall see - a steady long-term growth, and this brings us to the second historical issue, that of the long-term underlying changes that have favoured the development of vegetarianism. The most fundamental of these has been the movement from a rural to an urban consciousness - albeit one that yearns for a rural existence. This shift from rural to urban produces changed relationships with animals, with nature, and with food.

From the eighteenth century there is evidence for an increased concern over animals and their suffering. (3) Such feeling appears to have been predominantly associated with the urban middle class, (4) and in particular with those touched by evangelicalism and, by the first Romantic movement. These connections continue into the early nineteenth century, when an organised animal welfare movement emerged - itself part of the larger humanitarian crusade. (5) This urban feeling was a revulsion from the unthinking brutality of rural life and from its conscious enjoyment of cruelty, and in this it was part of a larger and longer-term growth in the west of tendermindedness and squeamishness that occurred across a wide field, from attitudes towards punishment, both heavenly and secular, to children and child rearing, to street and domestic violence. (6) (The early-nineteenth-century vegetarians and others saw these developments clearly in terms of the march of progress, or later, of neo-evolutionary developments; though modern historians, denied these simple models, have found such long-term changes more difficult to account for.)

Urban life breaks the organic contact with animals and increasingly replaces this with the experience of them as pets, creatures whose special function it is to be the repositories of affection. From the eighteenth century and before, there is evidence for the emergence of a closer, more pet-like relationship between owners and animals like dogs; (7) and in the nineteenth century, the pet becomes a standard part of the middle-class family, with the related proliferation in the sentimental portrayal of pets and their relationship with their masters. This pet experience in turn affected attitudes to animals more generally; and this is clearly reflected in the form that animal welfare legislation took in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. (8)

In rural life, animals are known and exploited. It is a recurrent theme in the conflict between town and country that the townsman finds it inexplicable that the hunter should have knowledge and respect for the creatures that he then goes out and kills, or that the family should feel affection for the pig that will eventually supply their winter needs. There is an obscure closeness - though it is one that revolts vegetarians and many others in modern times - between the hunter and the victim that is killed and eaten: John Seymour refers to this rather elliptically in his belief that: 'we all owe God a death', and that in this lies some deep, organic relationship with the natural world. (9) Town life drives a psychic wedge between animals as food and animals as pets; and it is the bringing together of these otherwise separated aspects that in the context of modern consciousness provokes the disquiet and distress on which vegetarian arguments can operate. (10)

The second major change in sensibility relates to nature. While there is no simple equation between the growth in the consciousness of nature and those exposed to urbanisation, this latter development has had a profound influence on the development of the romantic conception of nature, on the concern for contact with it and on the perception of it as an alternative realm. As we shall see, this is a central aspect in modern vegetarianism.

Lastly, as a result of urbanisation, food becomes part of the market economy. Vegetarianism can only develop once there is a break with the accepting subsistence patterns of eating, and a substitution of selection in the market. (11) Choice makes possible alternative patterns; food becomes an area of conscious deliberation, and with this goes the development of experts, both orthodox and fringe, to advise and regulate the choices.

The second major change concerns the emergence of an ethic of individualism and a society organised less on organic bonds and more on internalised structures. That there has been such

a basic shift in consciousness is the common stuff of analysis though conceptualisations of it have varied. I shall take as the assumed background here the formulation of the Bergers and Keller in The Homeless Mind: Modernisation and Consciousness, which, despite certain reservation that I have, offers a useful framework for understanding the long-term reciprocal changes productive of the kind of modern consciousness found in association with vegetarianism. (12)

1. 'Modern vegetarianism', unless otherwise indicated, is here taken as encompassing this period.
2. Though, of course, it has its expression in France.
3. Though also before, as evidenced in the concerns of some seventeenth-century puritan reformers.
4. See Keith Thomas, 'Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in Early Modern England', *Trevelyan Memorial Lectures*, Cambridge, 1979.
5. See note on p 110.
6. In the context of hell, for example, the decline in the acceptability from the seventeenth-century of the pleasure of the righteous in the sufferings of the damned, and the growing repugnance in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for the idea of hell at all, and the tendency to shift from actual physical punishment, to mental suffering, to a self-imposed distress; in the context of secular punishment, the decline in the acceptability of public execution, torture and capital punishment; the decline in the acceptability of wife beating, of fist-fighting and public brawling: the vegetarians are connected with all these.
7. See Keith Thomas.
8. See Brian Harrison, 'Animals and the State in Nineteenth-Century England', English Historical Review, 1973.
9. New Vegetarian, Feb 1977, p11.
10. The strength of this bifurcation explains the principle exception to this developing tendermindedness towards the suffering of animals, that of food animals under the conditions of factory farming.
11. Such choice was of course available for the rich and the emerging middle class before extensive urbanisation, though the qualitative shift in the early nineteenth century is still significant here.
12. Putting the argument crudely, their account centres around the effects on consciousness of industrial, technocratic production and of bureaucracy, and the extension of the logic of these into wider spheres of life, producing in particular a highly compartmentalised and individuated experience of life. As a result, the reality of experience based around social roles and role-governed relationships is eroded, and we see the emergence of and increased significance given to the private sphere of life, and with this an increased stress upon subjectivity. Tensions within this modern form of consciousness have produced countervailing movements centred around opposition to the public/private dichotomy and aiming at a unity of experience.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

INTRODUCTION

On 30 September, 1847, a meeting was held at Northwood Villa, Ramsgate, out of which emerged the Vegetarian Society. (1) Vegetarianism was not new in the 1840's, though the word was, for the diet had been known from the seventeenth century and before. (2) During the eighteenth century the diet was often associated with people termed 'mystics' and with a medical self-doctoring and healthy-living tradition. The growing tendermindedness towards animals at this time has already been noted. The late eighteenth century saw the first significant upswing in vegetarianism, (3) associated with the explosion of Romantic sensibility - most notably illustrated here in the diet's connection with Shelley and his circle. (4)

In this study, however, I have taken as my starting point the conventional date of 1847. This marks the point at which an organised vegetarian movement can be said to have emerged. As part of the background of this event, we need to look at two prefiguring institutions both of which were strongly represented at the Ramsgate Conference: these were the Bible Christian Church and the Concordium.

1. Northwood Villa was a vegetarian hydropathic nursing home run by William Horsell and his wife.
2. As noted above, it existed, within a rather different structure, as an element in monastic discipline, for some seventeenth-century associations, see p75
3. For a brief account of eighteenth-century vegetarian literature, see C.W. Forward, Fifty Years of Food Reform, Manchester, 1898. Howard Williams, The Ethics of Diet: A Caetena of Authorities Deprecatory of the Practice of Flesh Eating, Manchester, 1883, gives a comprehensive, if over-inclusive list of vegetarian advocates.
4. For Shelley's advocacy of vegetarianism, see his, Queen Mab: A Philosophical Poem and A Vindication of Natural Diet, 1813 (written originally as a note to Queen Mab) for the general background see N.I. White, Shelley, 1947, and for a spoof of the period on vegetarianism see N.I. White, The Unextinguished Hearth, North Carolina, 1938.

Shelley based his advocacy on the interconnectedness of health, morality and diet, arguing that the depravity of the physical and moral nature of man derives from his unnatural habits 'Crime is madness. Madness is disease'. What was needed was to return to a simpler and more natural form of society, and with it a return to man's natural diet - vegetarian. Ancient myths like that of Prometheus, Shelley relates, tell us how man was free from suffering, until he stole fire, and applying it to cooking, initiated meat-eating. Vegetarianism, he argued, was a fundamental reform because, unlike mere legislation, it struck

at the roots of evil in: 'the furious passions and evil propensities of the human heart'. He pointed also to economic reasons - vegetarianism he argued would bring national independence and the end to trade rivalries and the corruption of the commercial spirit, as well as reducing the gap between the classes through the general reduction of luxury.

Thus Shelley displayed all the principle arguments for vegetarianism except, interestingly, the animal cruelty one, which is absent from the *Vindication* and only tangentially present in *Queen Mab*. At the heart of Shelley's conception was the visionary reconstruction of society, and in *Queen Mab* he gives a picture of this edenic dream in the form of the glorified earth where cruelty, bloodshed and tyranny are banished and man stands an equal among equals. This image is of recurring importance in the history of modern vegetarianism.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE CONCORDIUM

The Concordium was a vegetarian community established in the late 1830's at Alcott House, Ham Common, near Richmond, by a group of followers of James Pierrepont Greaves. (1) It stands here as the principle example of a number of such communitarian and socialist experiments of the period aimed at the establishment of a new order for society, one based on harmony and co-operation rather than competition and antagonism, and it belongs in essence to the same broad milieu as Owenism with which, indeed, it has a number of direct links. Owenism itself, especially in its communitarian expression, also had vegetarian connections. (2)

Greaves himself had in the 1830's been influential in the eclectic world of London coteries, influenced by romanticism and stressing a mixture of co-operation, mysticism and - sometimes - vegetarianism. (3) Alcott House had started in 1838 as a school and community aiming to put Greaves' ideas into effect, and it was from this that the Concordium itself developed as an 'Industrial, Harmonic Educational College for the benefit of such parties as were ready to leave the ignorant selfish strife of the antagonistic world'. (4)

Greaves had been a friend of Pestalozzi, and had been influential in the propagation of his ideas in England. (5) At the Concordium, open-air education was stressed and punishment was frowned upon. The moral growth of the children and not just instruction, was seen as the key, and this was to be pursued: 'with a view to their becoming integral men and women', rather than just fitting them for a particular role in society. (6) Together with others of the early socialists, they laid particular stress on the role of environment in the creation of personality and behaviour, and saw education as the key to producing people capable of living in a truly co-operative society.

Production at the Concordium was co-operative and property repudiated. An important difference between the Concordium and the most other socialists however, was the particular stress on moral rather than economic issues, and on austerity of life. The community was a mixed one, in which men and women lived in celibacy, following a simple and austere regime of early rising, cold baths (they had hydropathic connections), fresh air and simplified clothing. (7) George Holyoake visited them and wrote of them as: 'scrupulously clean,

temperate, transcendental, offensive to anyone who ate meat, attached to Quakers, especially the white ones, repudiated even tea and salt as stimulants, and thought most of their guests who ate their cabbage uncooked', and he added: 'Their cardinal doctrine was that happiness was wrong'. (8) Harriett Jay also mentions the belief in raw food and in celibacy: the married were refused entry to the inner or perfect circle. (9) This practice of celibacy marks the Concordium as belonging more to the religious communitarian tradition, than that of socialist models for a future society.

The religious atmosphere was one of romantic transcendentalism blending idealism and mysticism, and emphasising harmony and cosmic unity, and it was an outlook that easily turned into the rationalist atheism of the period. (10) Greaves himself repudiated any formal structure in religion, rejecting doctrines and churches, and substituting 'love' as an all-embracing concept. The aim of the community was to produce the: 'most loveful, intelligent and efficient conditions for divine progress in humanity'. (11) 'Most loveful' was a recurrent phrase of Greaves, and typifies his cloudy mixture of socialist brotherhood and transcendental mysticism.

The American Transcendentalists were very influential and there were a number direct links with leading figures like Emerson and Bronson Alcott in America. (12) Alcott, after whom Alcott House was named, visited the Concordium and addressing a gala in the garden summed up some of their ideas: 'Our trust is in purity not vengeance. Together with pure beings will come pure habits. A better body shall be built up from the orchard and the garden . . . From the fountain shall we slake our thirst, and our appetite shall find supply in the delicious abundance that Pomona offers. Flesh and blood we will reject as "the accursed thing". A pure mind has no faith in them'. (13)

The later history of the Concordium is confused, though it seems that the eventual split came in 1844 over the issue of discipline and self-denial. Some association continued, for Lane, having returned to England in 1846, was involved with Oldham in a school at Alcott House. This finally dissolved in the late forties or early fifties, and seems to have turned into an orphanage, possibly run on vegetarian principles.

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1. 5. This account is drawn mainly from a personal memoir by H.S. Clubb (*1896 article - also more recent article on Henry Clubb*), who as a young man joined the Concordium and was later influential in the Vegetarian Society, The Herald of Health, May 1906, p88, June p106 and Aug p148; Austin Feverel, Surrey Comet, Dec 1905, March 1906 (he used some recollections of local people); W.H.G. Armytage, Heaven's Below: Utopian Experiments in Britain, 1560-1960, 1961; and others noted below.
 2. 6. Greaves attracted many influenced by Owen's ideas. Though the two men disagreed over Greaves' mystical stress and his belief in self-denial, Owen did visit the Concordium as an old man and gave it his blessing.

Alexander Campbell, a prominent propagandist of the Rationalist Society was a member of the Ham Concordium, and after leaving, set up his own Concordium at Hampton Wick which was also an educational venture, serving 'chiefly vegetarian food'. Robert Buchanan, the actor, was sent there after attending the Ham school, but his biographer, Harriett Jay, says that the children pined for lack of nourishment. (Harriett Jay, Robert Buchanan, 1903). Harmony Hall at Queenwood, one of Owen's model communities, was also influenced by vegetarianism, though the diet was not universal there; Holyoake reported in his History of Co-operation, 1875, that the vegetarian table there was the 'merryest in the hail'. For the Owenite and utopian socialist background generally see J.F.C. Harrison, Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America, 1969 and G.D.H. Cole, A History of Socialist Thought: The Forerunners, 1789-1850, 1953.
 3. 7. For an account of Greaves, 'the Sacred Socialist', 1777-1842, see Alexander Campbell's introduction to The Letters and Extracts . . . of J.P. Greaves, Ham Common, 1843, 1845. Armytage, in Heaven's Below, traces some of the intricate cross-connections of this world, and includes incidental references to vegetarianism; see also Harrison, p127.
 4. 8. Prospectus, quoted in Armytage.
 5. 9. See Kate Silber, Pestalozzi: the Man and his Work, 1960, appendix on Pestalozzianism in Britain and the United States, for Greaves and his educational background. Silber also traces the differences from and similarities with Owenite ideas.
 6. 10. MS copy of advertisement for the Ham Common School, placed in The Psyche by the headmaster H.G. Wright, June 22, 1839, and bound in Richmond Notes, Vol 20, Richmond Local History Collection.
 7. 11. The exact details of the regime vary over the period. They wore cotton blouses, checked shirts and white trousers, but no collars or neckties, perhaps as these indicated gentility. According to Clubb, their diet seems to have been vegan. When he joined in 1842, there were ten inmates, with room for twenty or thirty.
 8. 12. G.J. Holyoake, The History of Co-operation, 1875, p152.
 9. 13. Robert Buchanan, 1903, p10.
 10. 14. See Alexander Campbell for example. The affinity with deism and atheism is apparent also among the Swedenborgian Bible Christians.
 11. 15. Prospectus of Concordium.

12. *16.* Both Alcott and Emerson were admirers of Greaves and corresponded with him. Alcott visited the Concordium, unfortunately shortly after Greaves' death. Three members of the community, Henry Gardiner Wright, Charles Lane and his son, returned with Alcott to the States, where they were involved in the setting up of Fruitlands the pioneer vegetarian community near Harvard. Fruitlands was an attempt to set up the new Eden, but it foundered over practical difficulties, and disputes concerning the role of the family. There were also strong Shaker connections, and two ex-members of the Concordiurn joined Shaker communities.
13. *17.* Quoted in Armytage and taken from F.B. Sanborn and W.T. Harris, Bronson Alcott: His Life and Philosophy, Boston, 1893, p342.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE BIBLE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

It was out of the Bible Christian Church that the Vegetarian Society developed [*editor's note*], and the two are in this early period so intertwined that this and the following subchapter on the Society must be read together.

The Bible Christians (1) - often called Cowherdites after their founder William Cowherd - were an offshoot of eighteenth-century Swedenborgianism. In 1773 Swedenborg's writings had attracted the attention of the Reverend John Clowes, rector of St. John's Manchester, and he became a leading follower of Swedenborg, though, despite doubts and criticism, he remained in the Church of England. Swedenborg had originally hoped that his ideas would permeate the established churches and lead to their spiritual rebirth, rather than form the basis of a separate sect, and Clowes, like many other Anglicans, found the church sufficiently tolerant of his views. Other Swedenborgians, however, including many who were dissenters, found their churches less accommodating, and from these groups came the main drive to establish separate Swedenborgian congregations. In the late eighteenth century these formed themselves into the New Church. (2) The desire for a separate Swedenborgian church was also felt among some of Clowes' congregation, and in 1793 they formed themselves into the New Jerusalem Temple, Peter Street, Manchester, and they invited Clowes' ex-curate, William Cowherd, to become their minister. In 1800, after a disagreement, Cowherd left Peter Street, and opened his own chapel at Christ Church, King Street, Salford. By 1808, through a combination of differences in interpretation and in personality, relations between Cowherd and the New Church, especially the London congregations, were increasingly strained. The break finally came in 1809 when Cowherd unfolded his new beliefs in vegetarianism and total abstinence; (3) from then on these were to be the two distinctive features and enthusiasms of the Bible Christians, as they were now to call themselves.

Before we look at the Bible Christians themselves, however, we need to place this schismatic version of Swedenborgianism within the wider context of an older, non-orthodox religious tradition, for Swedenborgianism, whether in the form of the New Church or in the more diffuse influence of Swedenborg's writings, is part of a more enduring, though submerged, religious strand that can be traced from at least the seventeenth century, and that is most clearly associated with the influence of Jacob Boehme. (4) John Harrison believes that this 'mystical,

antinomian' strand achieved in the eighteenth century a degree of popular following, and he identifies as the central features of this Behmenist influence: 'first, that all things have an outward and an inward form, and the former is the reflection or parable of the latter; and second, that God is made manifest within men'. (5) These were allied to a mystical apprehension of nature that drew on alchemic and astrological ideas and that can be said to have preserved elements of the hermetic tradition. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, there are important similarities between this earlier religious tradition and late-nineteenth and twentieth century developments in the broad context of Indian spirituality and of various forms of esotericism. While one need not accept the pedigrees that such gnostic groups have, since the late nineteenth century, produced to validate themselves, there are sufficient similarities to suggest the existence here of an enduring and coherent strand within the western religious tradition. The principle features of this centre around: the tendency to self-deification and God as indwelling; a neo-palagian strand of perfectionism; an interest in symbolism and in the microcosm/macrocosm analogy; an immanantist approach to the natural world; a concern with purity, sometimes including sexual purity or ideas of divine marriage; an emphasis on Spirit and Love; and, sometimes, on female symbolism. Vegetarianism is also a recurring association. It is essentially non-normative, both in the sense of being outside the socially accepted versions of religion, and in the sense of not being involved in the validation of social structures. Later periods add other features such as reincarnation.

Cowherd at Salford attracted a large following among the working class that extended beyond the actual membership of the sect, restricted by its temperance and vegetarian demands. (6) This was partly through their offering free seats and an open burial ground, but it was due also to Cowherd's concern for the poor - the people came to him for medical help and for his well-known soup. This approach was continued in other Bible Christian chapels, situated in the depressed areas of Hulme and Ancoats.

In 1817 a section of the congregation, some twenty adults and nineteen children, fired with the idea of America, set sail under the leadership of the Reverend William Metcalfe. (7) America at this time exerted a powerful appeal for radicals who saw in it the home of free republican institutions. (8) After many difficulties Metcalfe established a congregation in Philadelphia and began to make contact with the forerunners of American vegetarianism - Dr William Alcott, Bronson Alcott and Sylvester Graham. Metcalfe himself returned to England on more than one occasion to act as pastor for the Bible Christians and to work as a lecturer for the

Vegetarian Society. The English Bible Christians retained close links with their sister congregation in Philadelphia, and through them with the American Vegetarian Society. It is clear that the Bible Christians, and later the Vegetarian Society, belong to what Thistlewaite has called the Atlantic Community, that shared network of contacts and friendships on both sides of the Atlantic, centred around the humanitarian crusade, anti-slavery, peace and temperance, and ultimately resting on the interdependence of the Atlantic economy. (9) The Concordium's connections with the New England Transcendentalists are also part of this; and English vegetarianism retains its close American links until at least the 1870's. (10)

The Cowherdites had chosen the title Bible Christian to denote their reliance on scripture alone as the source of doctrine. (11) Despite the shared name, there were no links between the Cowherdite Bible Christians and the Bryanite Methodists; indeed like the main branch of Swedenborgianism represented by the New Church, their religion was markedly different in character from Methodism and from the traditions of Old Dissent, for though Biblical exegesis was central, following Swedenborg's 'science of correspondences' they applied a symbolic and rationalistic approach to scripture that was very different from the literalist and fundamentalist traditions. (12) The author of the preface to Cowherd's Facts Authentic to Science and Religion, probably Scholefield, attacked literalist interpretations as often absurd and even at times counter to the true essence of biblical religion, repudiating 'dry disquisitions about words' and urging that people look behind these fallible products of man for the true principles of religion which are grounded in religious 'facts'. (13) In the same way that science is grounded, so too can religion be, when it rests on facts revealed through scripture, properly understood. The approach was strongly rationalistic, and the model was science. Science at this time held a strong appeal for working-class radicals. It represented the fount of reason, providing true knowledge of the world and of men. It was part of the enlightenment attack on obfuscation and priesthood, and as such on privilege and traditional claims to power. This rationalistic approach gave an intellectualist cast to their appeal. The Bible Christians formed part of what has been termed the proletarian enlightenment, and this was reflected in their strong interest in medicine, science and education. We shall discuss this background further in the context of the Vegetarian Society. (14) The Bible Christians put great emphasis on independence of mind; 'we do not really believe what we cannot rationally understand' (15) and they emphasised freedom of belief, stating that they did not presume 'to exercise any dominion over the faith or conscience of men'. (16) They recorded that 'they did not form a sectarian church', (17) for in the same

way that science has no sects, they argued, religion, properly understood, reveals the same truth to all men. Their vaunting of reason and their popular scientism makes them at times appear very like the deists, and they clearly operated in the same social and intellectual milieu as did the early working-class deists and free thinkers; indeed Richard Carlile took the view that 'this sect of Bible Christians is so mixed up with infidelity and made up of infidels that it is to me incomprehensible' (18)

It was an approach that stressed religious optimism - original sin, the cross and salvation were set aside – and Christ's divine humanity glorified, so that man's aspiration became to realise the divine humanity within himself. There was no emphasis on personal sin or conversion. Man was not saved by the experience of faith, so much as by the value of his life as a whole. Their strong belief in free-will gave a Pelagian tone to their approach; the emphasis was on spiritual and moral regeneration according to principles rationally apprehended, and their vegetarianism was part of this.

Central to Swedenborgianism was the assertion of the reality of and primacy of spirit. Swedenborg, though trained in the new scientific world view, had turned away from its single world to assert the reality of another realm of being. (Though this did not, as we have seen, among the Bible Christians at this time imply the rejection of science.) This was the realm of true causes behind the surface phenomena of the material world; here, states of being rather than the measured time and space of science were the fundamental categories. Events in the world incarnate the deeper reality of spirit, which reality is made accessible through the doctrine of correspondences, and the literal events and descriptions found in the Bible are thus symbols of deeper religious truth. (19) It was an easy step from this cognitive style to the idea of eating patterns as manifesting a deeper moral relationship. Though Swedenborg does not appear himself to have been a full vegetarian, (20) his characterisation of meat-eating as symbolic of man's Fall lends itself to obvious vegetarian development. (21)

There is an implicit dualism in this tradition and certain thinkers, perhaps including Cowherd, took up its radical implications and argued for a total primacy of spirit; thus all the Trinity and not just the Holy Ghost was pure spirit and the death of Christ, so far from being the means of the atonement of the material world, was symbolic of the sacrifice of bodily necessity to free the spirit. Man too could become fully spirit, and thus restore the open vision which he had once enjoyed and which Swedenborg had experienced in his visions of Heaven and Hell. Eating the more spiritual food could be part of this. (22) However the secular activities of the Bible

Christians suggest that this dualist implication of some of their thought was much tempered in practice, and developments within the church and its partial transmogrification into the Vegetarian Society in the 1850's represent a subtle but important shift on this issue.

1. 18.The most useful account of the Bible Christians comes from W.E.A. Axon, The History of the Bible Christian Church, Salford, Manchester, 1909. Axon (1846-1913) was a member of the church, a librarian and journalist. See brief biography in Manchester Faces and Places, Vol III, Manchester, 1892, p109 and obituary in VM, Feb 1914, p52.
2. 19.I am indebted to Peter Lineham for information concerning the Swedenborgian groups.
3. 20.See VM, Aug 1850, p107, for an account of this in the memoir of John Wright, 'the Bolton Philosopher'.
4. 21.See, for example, the seventeenth-century vegetarian Thomas Tryon. Tryon was a follower of Boehme, who as well as advocating vegetarianism promoted raw food, the reduction of luxury and abstinence from tea, coffee and tobacco. See his Wisdom's Dictates, 1691 and an account of Tryon by Alexander Gordon, A Pythagorean of the Seventeenth Century, Liverpool 1871. See also Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, 1971, for Tryon and the Behmenist background. For Boehme see, John Joseph Stoudt, Sunrise to Eternity: A Study of Jacob Boehme's Life and Thought, Philadelphia, 1957.
5. 22.J.F.C. Harrison, The Second Coming: Popular Milenarianism, 1780-1850, 1979, p20,
6. 23.W.R, Ward gives the occupation, of the majority of Bible Christians as silk weavers, 'Swedenborgianism: Heresy, Schism, or Religious Protest', D. Baker, ed, Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest, Cambridge, 1972. See also p88 for these working-class links.
7. 24.WILLIAM METCALFE 1788-1862, went as an accountant to Keighley where he came under the influence of the Swedenborgian Reverend Joseph Wright whose daughter, Susanna, he married. He then became a teacher of classics at Cowherd's academy while studying there to become a minister. He was ordained in 1811, and was established at Adingham where he founded a grammar school. In 1850 he helped to found the American Vegetarian Society. (See Reverend Joseph Metcalfe, Memoir of the Reverend Wm. Metcalfe, M.D. Philadelphia, 1866).
8. 25.'The civil and religious freedom of the people of the United States has been the topic of many an hour's conversation among the teachers of the Salford Academy and the members of the church', Joseph Metcalfe quotes this remark of his father in his Memoir of the Reverend Wm Metcalfe, M.D. For the American history see also, The History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church, 1817-1917 [2mb PDF], Maintenance Committee, Philadelphia 1922. The committee included the aged H.S. Clubb - 92 at the time – whose memories went back to the Concordium and the early years of the Vegetarian Society.
9. 26.Frank Thistlewaite, America and the Atlantic Community, 1790-1850, Pennsylvania, 1959.
10. 27.Figures like Dr T.L.NICHOLS and his wife MARY S.GOVE NICHOLS, for example, were influential in London diet-reform circles in the 1860s and '70s. The Nichols' had been influenced by Henry Gardiner Wright of the Concordium, who had been a patient of Preissnitz, and by Sylvester

Graham, and they were important in the linking, of diet reform and water cure. They were also advocates of divorce reform and, to some degree, free love (Mrs Nichols had left her first husband). Mrs Nichols was a feminist and a water-cure practitioner in her own right, lecturing on health to women. She had, like her parents, revolted against New England Puritanism and had been influenced by mystical Quakerism and Swedenborgianism, and like many of the latter was involved in Spiritualism; she eventually became a Roman Catholic. The Nichols moved to England in 1861 on the outbreak of the American Civil War, where he founded and edited the Herald of Health. See T.L. Nichols, Nichols' Health Manual, being also a Memorial of the Life and Work of Mrs Mary S. Gove Nichols, 1887; Mary S. Gove Nichols, Experience in Water Cure . . ., New York, 1849; C.W. Forward, Fifty Years . . ., p45, and John B. Blake, 'Health Reform', E.S. Gausted, ed, The Rise of Adventism: Religion and Society in Mid-Nineteenth Century America, New York, 1975.

11. 28. See Axon, p22, for an account of the 1809 Conference that defined the character of the church.
12. 29. In The History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church, 1817-1917 [2mb PDF], reference is made to the churches of the period insisting on the zealous adherence to literal details of creeds and texts: 'No latitude was allowed to rationalise any doctrine' and Metcalfe's approach is contrasted favourably with this.
13. 30. Preface to Facts Authentic to Science and Religion, William Cowherd, Salford, 1818 and 1820. (Published after his death in 1816).
14. 31. Many pastors of the church - Cowherd, Scholefield, Metcalfe - practised medicine, both orthodox (Metcalfe graduated as MD in America) and unorthodox, frequently homeopathic. This combination of the religious and medical vocations exemplified the linking of the moral and the medical that is characteristic of vegetarianism. Cowherd himself carried out chemical experiments and made astronomical observations (see Axon). The quotations gathered in his Facts Authentic.., display his reading of scientific works. For the educational links see p101. This background and the religious tone of the church bear out the argument of Stuart Mews that working-class religion was not at this time confined to highly emotional versions of Christianity but that intellectualist approaches also had appeal, especially to some radicals. 'Reason and Emotion in Working Class Religion, 1794-1824', D. Baker, ed, Schism, Heresy, and Religious Protest, Cambridge, 1972.
15. 32. Preface to Facts Authentic...
16. 33. Report of the Conference held at Christ Church, Salford, 1809, quoted by Axon, p22.
17. 34. Ibid. Hostile critics like Hindmarsh and ex-members like Detrosier present the Bible Christians very much as an exclusive and eccentric sect. See Robert Hindmarsh, The Rise and Progress of the New Jerusalem Church, 1834, for an unflattering account of Cowherd and his followers. The Westminster Review, 1852, p405 rather grandly refers to them as a 'humble and fanatical' in its article on 'Physical Puritanism'.
18. 35. The Lion, Vol i, 1828. The ease with which Detrosier moved from the orbit of the Bible Christians to that of deism reinforces the point (see p103), The Dietetic Reformer, April 1863, p46, makes reference to Cowherd's 'advanced doctrines which were at that time considered by some too philosophical to be called religious'.

19. 36. For example, in Swedenborg's *Arcana Caelestia*, the Creation in Genesis is interpreted as the stages in the regeneration of man. This approach perhaps lies behind some of the unexpected imagery of the Bible-Christian hymns. Though their hymn book contains explicitly vegetarian and tee-total hymns, it also, under the section Holy Supper, includes hymns like No 125 that take up traditional eucharistic imagery: 'His blood is drink indeed/His flesh is sacred food'. (Selected Hymns for the Use of Bible Christians, W. Cowherd, appendix by Scholefield., 7th ed., Manchester, 1841). This perverse use of imagery seems almost to have had a positive appeal within the convoluted interpretations of the Bible Christians. Playing with such imagery perhaps underlined the drama of the 'correspondences': the symbol of what was polluting in material animal terms became transformed when related to God in the spiritual reality.
20. 37. Despite arguments by the Bible Christians. See W.E.A. Axon's pamphlet on the topic, Was Swedenborg a Vegetarian? Manchester, 1910.
21. 38. See *Arcana Caelestia*, Vol I, Swedenborg, trs Clowes, 1783, 1806 ed.
22. 39. John Wright gives an account of Cowherd's preaching on the issue: 'partaking of flesh was a result of the fall of man; and consequently was incompatible with that state of resurrection from sensual to spiritual existence . . . that flesh tended to inflame the passions, and to sensualise the man; and consequently to impede the reception in the soul, of heavenly love and wisdom'. VM, Aug 1850, p107.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

Introduction and origins

In this first period, the society was in essence a Bible Christian organisation, and its leading figures were nearly all members of the church. *[editor's notes]*

The driving force behind the society was James Simpson, its first president, and it was his liberality, pouring funds into the society, that sustained its activities. (1) These largely took the form of vegetarian dinners and soirées held in town halls and public rooms across the country, to which local people were invited to sample the possibility of a vegetarian diet and to listen to speeches and testimonials. Lecture tours were also arranged. A second major form of propaganda was the Vegetarian Messenger, published from September 1849 under the editorship of H.S. Clubb a former member of the Concordium. (2) It was distributed widely; in 1854 some twenty-one thousand copies were circulated. (3)

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1. 40. Axon gives as Simpson's motive for calling the Ramsgate conference, *[editor's notes]* his recognition of the need for an organisation to promote vegetarian ideas to official opinion as a means of solving the terrible distress in the manufacturing districts in 1845. For the general emergence of food as part of the social question in pauperism literature and for the beginnings of involvement of the state in nutritional assessment with a view to economic and military strength, see H.J. Teuteberg, 'The General Relationship between Diet and Industrialisation', B. and R. Foster, eds. European Diet from Pre-Industrial to Modern Times, New York, 1975, Teuteberg writes largely from German sources.
 2. 41. H.S. CLUBB: 1827-1922 *[link to longer article]*. His parents were Swedenborgians and for a time vegetarians. Clubb was working as a clerk in the post office at Coicchester when he heard of the Concordium and resolved to join it, arriving in 1842. There he taught shorthand. It was through an article in The Truth Tester that he came into contact with Simpson and became his secretary. In 1850 he was baptised as a Bible Christian. He travelled to America to work for the American Vegetarian Society, met Horace Greeley and became a journalist on the New York Tribune, where he became involved in the abolitionist cause. He was commissioned by Lincoln in the Civil War and was wounded. He and his wife later started a paper, The Clarion, in Michigan. In 1871 he was elected Senator, promoting the Michigan fruit interest. In 1876 he became pastor of the Bible Christians, and was involved in the reforming of the American Vegetarian Society. In 1901 he revisited Salford. (See Axon; Clubb's articles in the Herald of

Health, May to August, 1906; *The History of the Philadelphia Bible Christian Church, 1817-1917* [2mb PDF], 1922). [see also a contemporary bio and photo of Henry Clubb from the Vegetarian Messenger, January 1896, p.9]

3. 42. Whether they were read is doubtful - copies were distributed free to libraries, mechanics institutes and even hotels. Subscribers were encouraged to show it to those with parallel and sympathetic interests. (VM Jan 1858 p1) Members were encouraged to proselytise by letter and vegetarian writing paper printed with arguments and principles and published by Horsell, survives in Manchester City archives. There was a second journal, The Vegetarian Advocate, published and owned by William Horsell. It was not intended to rival the Messenger, but was to be a source of news of events for vegetarians. In 1852 it was absorbed into the Messenger.
- WILLIAM HORSELL: 1807-1863, temperance and hydropathic interests, editor and proprietor of The Truth Tester, owned the Ramsgate hydropathic nursing home.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

Society Members and their Beliefs

Who were the members of the Society? Of its leading figures, many were Bible Christian pastors, and three were drawn from the liberal manufacturing class. James Simpson, 1812-1859, was the son of a wealthy calico printer, educated privately in London and Berlin. (1) He was prominent in public life, supporting a variety of social and political reforms. He was a member of the Anti Corn Law League, and joined the tee-total movement, 'when few gentlemen would'. A Bible Christian and admirer of Swedenborg, he had through the influence of his mother been a life-long vegetarian. Joseph Brotherton, 1783-1857, was the son of an excise man, turned mill owner, (2) A follower of Cowherd, he became the pastor of the Salford Bible Christians in 1817. In 1819 at the age of thirty-six he retired from business with a 'competence'. He became Salford's first MP after the Reform Act and championed various causes including factory reform, especially the reduction of hours for children, free-trade and the repeal of the Corn Laws. He is credited with writing the first tee-total tract. William Harvey, 1789-1870, was also a Bible Christian and the brother-in-law of Brotherton. He was a cotton spinner and known as an 'advanced liberal'. He was alderman and mayor of Salford, and succeeded Simpson as the second president of the society in 1859. (3)

These leading figures were not, however, typical of the membership as a whole. Each month the Messenger published a break-down of the membership according to 'position in society', and from this it is clear that although groups like physicians and merchants were quite well represented, by far the bulk of the membership, well over two-thirds, was drawn from 'tradesmen, mechanics and labourers' (see table). Accounts and references in the magazine bear out this picture. The society drew in particular from the new industrial cities of the north; and it is in towns like Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Paisley and Rotherham that there is the greatest interest and activity. (4) There was some activity centred around London, (5) but the focus of the society was strongly northern and working-class. The working-class aspect is atypical of vegetarianism - or certainly of the vegetarianism of the subsequent periods studied here - I shall therefore concentrate on this here, using the Salford vegetarians as my principle illustration.

TABLE ONE:

Membership figures for the Vegetarian Society, according to 'position in society', a sample of three typical months, taken from the Vegetarian Messenger.

	Feb 1850	Feb 1853	Jan 1858
MP	1	1	1
County magistrate	2	1	1
Alderman	1	1	1
Private gentlemen	6	17	19
Physicians and Surgeons	16	20	17
Ministers	5	8	5
Authors	7	13	& Lecturers 5
Professional men	43	54	no category
Merchants	15	24	11
Farmers	6	9	12
Tradesmen, Mechanics & Labourers	245	466	427
		Students 17	13
		Book-keepers & clerks	55
		Schoolmasters & teachers	25
		Commercial travellers	7
Females*	158	242	218
Totals	478	889	851

* The social class of these females is not recorded. Reports of dinners etc. include the names of numbers of wives and daughters of leading figures (we know Mrs Brotherton published a vegetarian cookery book, possibly the first, in 1812) though there is evidence for the existence of at least one independent working woman, living in lodgings.

If we turn now to their beliefs about vegetarianism, we find that all the major arguments are present. There are, however, certain differences that mark the period and I shall comment briefly on these alone. There is a very close association with teetotalism; nearly all the vegetarians at this time were active abstainers from alcohol, and they often termed vegetarianism 'the higher phase of temperance'. They believed there was an organic link and that meat stimulated the desire for alcohol. The vegetarians have close links with the tee-total movement, and share many of its social characteristics. (6) Many also abstained from tea, coffee and tobacco, which like meat and alcohol were regarded as stimulants. Salt, pepper and spices were disapproved of by many, again through their being seen as stimulants, including of sexual desire, and the majority at this time believed in the virtues of a bland, unspiced diet. (7)

During this early period the society faced a need to establish that it was possible to live on a vegetarian diet. Both vegetarianism and teetotalism were widely regarded as dangerous experiments that threatened to undermine the health of anyone foolish enough to try them. (8) Much vegetarian propaganda was therefore aimed at dispelling these beliefs and great stress was laid on the health and longevity of vegetarians. (9) The healthiness of peasants who lived an almost vegetarian existence was related, as were the evils of a life that relied on meat alone. (10) Bormond pointed out that people laid a stress on meat out of proportion to its presence in their diet, and. This remained true even of the poor who, though their consumption of meat was low and sometimes non-existent, still clung to the belief in its necessity. (11)

In this period though vegetarianism is spoken of as the natural diet and the idea of following nature's ways is central, the romantic idealisation of nature as landscape that is so characteristic of educated taste in the first romantic revolt is effectively absent. (12) These vegetarians are too recent emigrants from rural poverty for the romanticisation of nature or of cottage life that we can find among ordinary vegetarians later in the century.

Lastly during this period, certain effects of a vegetarian diet are given a special emphasis. Meat eating, it was believed, dulls the mind, whereas a vegetarian diet produces 'superior mental powers'. (13) Intellectual capacity is seen here as part - together with the moral and the spiritual - of man's higher nature, which vegetarianism, by direct physiological effect, strengthens. Against this is man's lower nature, which seeks out sensual gratification and rejoices in the lower instincts: 'flesh eating is known to gratify and expand the lower propensities of our nature, it is opposed to the development of the intellectual and moral faculties; . . . it exites in us those "lusts which war against the soul" '. (14) This emphasis on rising to a higher intellectual plane is to some extent an eduring element in vegetarianism, though it is partly disrupted in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the attack, by some, on cerebration and its replacement in the category of approval by the intuitive and bodily.

1. 43. See Axon, and obituary Vegetarian Messenger, Oct 1859, p120.
2. 44. See Axon; DNB, and T. Bergin, ed., Salford: A City and its People, Sa].ford 1974.
3. 45. See Axon.
4. 46. For example, VM, June 1851, p45, talks of Rotherham and of the 'good many practical earnest working men, carry on the social advocacy of the system in this town'. See also recurring accounts of successes in the northern cities. There are minor exceptions to this pattern: Padstow, for example, was a centre of activity for a while. (for example, VM, April 1851, p32),
5. 47. The London vegetarians seem to have been generally of a slightly higher social class and probably represented the continuation of the sort of groups in which Greaves and others had earlier moved.
6. 48. For this background, see Brian Harrison, Drink and the Victorians, 1971.
7. 49. The society though led by people who supported these causes also, felt that it was enough initially to work for abstinence from meat and alcohol. (VM, July 1850, iv) A similar line was taken on veganism (VM, April 1850, correspondence).
8. 50. Until the coming of the temperance movement alcohol was a staple part of the national diet and the primary thirst-quencher in a period before the development of beverages and soft drinks. (See Harrison) Like the teetotallers, who suffered during illness from doctors who insisted on a regimen that included alcohol, the vegetarians found it difficult to escape the ubiquitous prescription of beef tea.
9. 51. Each month the Messenger printed a list of members who had sustained a vegetarian diet for twenty, thirty and forty years. The age of elderly members is often alluded to as well as their freedom from illnesses. The early death of Simpson at forty-seven occasioned special explanation least it reflect badly on the diet. Cobden's attributed remark that the two MPs who were best able to endure the long and dreary speeches of the House, were Brotherton and Colonel Thompson, both vegetarians and tee-total, was quoted with approval. (VM, March 1850, notes).

10. 52. The Lapps in particular were castigated as showing: 'what life on fat and oil, and in polar winters, reduces men to', for 'The Laplanders comprehend nothing of the grand moral sense of religion . . . On the whole [they] are a gross and wretched people, vegetating in a sort of moral and. Physical stupor, and well fitted to inhabit this frozen corner of the world, whence all light retired with the sun' (quoted from Mme Leoni d'Aunet in VM, Feb 1859 p15.) There are other rather fanciful anthropological ideas that pick up the imagery of light; for example, it was asserted in connection with the belief that: 'nearly all the social and domestic virtues are indissolubly connected' that vegetarians, like the animals, are early risers, whereas carnivorous tribes go out at night and sleep away the days. (VM, April 1852, p30).
11. 53. VM, June 1853, p16. For a discussion of how much meat an urban worker could expect to eat, see Betty MacNamee, 'Trends in Meat Consumption', T.C. Barker et al, eds, Our Changing Fare, 1966; the issue also takes us into the standard of living debate, for a discussion of this in the context of food, see John Burnett, Plenty and Want, 2nd. ed., 1979, p28-9, 48ff.
12. 54. This underlies their health ideas: 'The crime, misery and premature death caused by diseases to which our less luxurious forefathers were utter strangers must convince us that all is not right – that there is a great mistake somewhere. We cannot attribute the suffering which so lamentably abounds in the world to a beneficent Creator; this would be little short of blasphemy. It must be because we have departed from the created harmony of our nature'. VM, Jan 1850, p27, Clubb. Vegetarianism was however described as inducing an interest in gardening (VM, May 1850, supp p14) and Simpson at Foxhill Bank, as part no doubt of the rational reform of leisure, set up an allotment scheme whereby people could grow their own food. 'The Foxhill Temperance Garden Allotments' were laid out ornamenteally with borders and evergreens and with on its hill a mast from which flew a flag inscribed 'The Flag of the Free' (pamphlet pages bound in the issues of the VM, March 1851 onwards).
13. 55. VM, Dec 1849, p15, Clubb.
14. 56. VM, Jan 1850, p33, Clubb

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

An Urban Phenomenon

Vegetarianism was essentially an urban phenomenon. Attempts were made to proselytise rural areas, but with little success. One saddened correspondent reporting from Bury St. Edmunds admitted that despite the distribution of tracts and a visit from the president, the vegetarian principle had made little headway:

this locality is less suited to the progress of vegetarianism than many others. A system based on reason is most likely to be adopted by those who apply reason to the ordinary practice of life. Intelligence, however, being less characteristic of Suffolk than many other counties of England; this will necessarily account for the greater difficulty to be encountered in setting aside the influence of pernicious example and the habits of mistaken sensual life. (1)

Rural life was much more governed by traditional patterns than was the new more voluntaristic life of the great towns. (2) Vegetarianism rests upon choice and has little relevance to the circumstances of an almost subsistence peasantry, as yet not part of the cash economy. With the changed nature of association went the emphasis placed by the mid-Victorians on the free exercise of choice, both as a value in itself and for the moral training its discipline and proper exercise brought, and for many, vegetarianism represented just such an exercise of rational choice and will.

A second aspect of their appeal to urban rather than rural values was in their promotion of a new slim physique. (3) Vegetarianism does not of itself produce slimness, though it has persistent, perhaps symbolic, associations with it. Behind their promotion of this image lies the attempt to substitute a rival ideal of manhood to that which was inextricably tied up with the images of beer and beef (the concern at this time was almost exclusively masculine). The old ideal of John Bull, the beef-eating, beer-quaffing, fine-figure-of-a-man had been slow to give way. Both the teetotallers and the co-operativists felt the absence of such weighty figures on their platform: 'We never had a large speaker among our advocates, which was a great disadvantage', wrote George Holyoake, 'it would have suggested a well-fed system. Obesity has weight in more senses than one. A fat look is imposing'. (4) 'The prestige that goes with weight belongs to a society that still uses abundance of food as an indicator of wealth and

substance. With growing prosperity, such gross indicators give way to more refined measures. The promotion of slimness among such groups was one aspect also of a more general spread of genteel patterns within urban society, here previously only relevant to those whose social position had raised them above physical work and the simple prestige of superfluous food. Sheer brute strength had a part to play in a rural society that was largely unmechanised; industrial society by contrast was now calling for alertness rather than strength. The sharpness and quickness of industrial workers, 'their acuteness and intelligence of countenance', (5) in contrast to what seemed the heavy slowness of rural people, was frequently commented on by observers of Manchester life in the 1840's.

Vegetarianism's appeal to the urban worker rested also on its concern with practical health. The appalling conditions in cities like Manchester and Salford in the 1840's and '50s have been described both then and by subsequent historians – the overcrowding, the lack of sanitation, the poverty, the polluted air. Clubb looking back to his days as Simpson's secretary recalled the house at Foxhill Bank: 'The bleachery was very close to the driveway leading up to the residence and there was usually a large escape of sulphuric acid which was often sufficient to make breathing exceedingly difficult to persons passing up the driveway. I had frequently seen Mrs. James Simpson stop and pant for breath on her way past...I well remember that soot from the neighbouring chimneys so blackened the fruit in the garden that it was impossible to gather it without blackening the fingers. (6) The vegetarians believed that they could offer ways to cope with these unhealthy conditions. Wyth testified to how a vegetarian diet had enabled him to survive in the bad atmosphere of a cotton mill. (7) Vegetarianism offered a cheap means to a healthy diet, and its concern with pure food was particularly relevant in the new circumstances in which food was beginning to be subject to industrial production and commercial distribution and was entering what Burnett has described as the golden age of food adulteration. (8) (The co-operative movement also shared this concern with pure food) Vegetarian preoccupation with the diseased and corrupt nature of meat also had a sound hygienic basis at this time. (9)

The link in this period with urbanism has, however, a more particular aspect. Historians and sociologists have written much in recent years concerning the process of change in attitudes and character structure that is known as the coming of the work discipline. One of the central problems posed in the early years of the industrial revolution was the training and adaption of the work force to the new patterns dictated by the revolution in production, and most especially by the coming of the factory system. Employment according to the abstract discipline of clock

time and not of task, had to replace the older irregular patterns of seasonal work, mixed occupations, St Monday. (10) Similarly within the factories: 'what was needed was regularity and steady intensity, in place of irregular spurts of work'. (11) The factory needed to break down the individual impulses of the worker and substitute the impersonal ones of the machine. (12) Men had to be taught to defer their pleasures and discipline their desires; a man who lives for the moment will not bear: 'the patient and toilsome exertions which are required to form a good mechanic'. (13)

We know that the vegetarians drew heavily for their membership from operatives in the cities and towns of the north, many of which had pioneered the factory system, and great emphasis was placed in vegetarian propaganda on its relevance to working people in particular - a relevance that went beyond just the advantages of cheap food. Personal testimonials in the Messenger link vegetarianism with the problem of work. They refer to the 'nervous irritability' and 'restlessness occasioned by flesh eating' (14) and the direct effect of these feelings on the capacity to work; a vegetarian regime is presented as the means to overcome these difficulties: 'one of the first effects of abstinence from flesh had been stated by some of these men ['those who worked in laborious occupations in the factories'] to be that they could get through their work with greater ease'. (15) We find Ure talking of the same symptoms when describing the unregenerate workforce: 'It is found nearly impossible to convert persons past the age of puberty, whether drawn from rural or handicraft occupations into useful factory hands. After struggling for a while to conquer their listless or restive habits, they either renounce the employment spontaneously, or are dismissed by the overlookers on account of inattention', (16) and he notes with disapproval how high wages among the cotton spinners have enabled them 'to pamper themselves into nervous ailments by a diet too rich and exciting for their indoor occupation'. (17)

Vegetarianism had relevance in this context in two ways: one was in the symbolism of control enshrined in its practices, and the other, more directly physiological, was in its claimed effects on the passions. As we have seen the new factory discipline called for the very reverse of these (Ure's mention of puberty is significant here) and vegetarianism's traditional association with the subduing of them thus came to have a particular relevance here, Meat is described as making men aggressive, prey to passion, choleric and feverish. It stimulates the body, but in an unnatural and debilitating way: 'the unnatural excitement of stimulants telling fearfully on the system'. (18) 'Food feeds the passions' and meat makes children fretful and peevish. (19) It

exhausts and disturbs. There is a nervous sexual imagery underlying much of their description. The restlessness and the enervation, the passion and the aggression are here seen as one. 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.

1. 57. Vegetarian Messenger, May 1853, p4.
2. 58. See W.L. Burn, The Age of Eguipoise, 1964; A. Briggs, Victorian Cities, 1963.
3. 59. VM, Jan 1852, p6, for praise of the slim youthful vigour of the Greek ideal in contrast to the heavy paunches of the meat-eaters.
4. 60. G.J. Holyoake, The History of Co-operation, 1875, p246.
5. 61. Mrs. Gaskell, Mary Barton: A Tale of Manchester Life, 1848.
6. 62. VM, March 1893, p.85
7. 63. VM, May 1850, p791 Related by Simpson.
8. 64. John Burnett, Plenty and Want, 1966, 1979, p99. For concern over adulteration, especially of bread with alum and ground bones, see VM, Sept 1859, p107, editorial.
9. 65. See P.B. Smith, The People's Health, 1979, p203-7, and Richard Perren, The Meat Trade in Britain, 1840-1914, 1978, for the diseased state of meat especially at the cheap end of the market.
10. 66. E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', Past & Present, no 38, Dec 1967.
11. 67. S. Pollard, The Genesis of Modern Management: A Study of Industrial Revolution in Great Britain, 1965, p181.
12. 68. See in particular. Andrew Ure, The Philosophy of Manufactures, 1835.
13. 69. Quoted by Pollard, *ibid* p196, from the 1830's but unattributed.
14. 70. VM, June 1850, p95.
15. 71. VM, June 1850, p95.
16. 72. Andrew Ure, The Philosophy of Manufactures, 1835, quoted in Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, p396.
17. 73. Quoted in Thompson, p396.
18. 74. VM, Sept 1849, p13, Benn Pitman.
19. 75. VM. Jan 1850, p34, Clubb.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

An Ideology Inducive to Capitalism?

At this point it is appropriate to ask whether we have in vegetarianism an ideology conducive to capitalism. Ure after all was a leading propagandist of the mill owners and his 'moral machinery' has been quoted by Thompson and others as evidence for the conscious mobilisation of an ideology as a means to mould the character of the work force. Thompson's argument concerned Methodism, however the themes he traces in this context – the emphasis of self-discipline, the control of the passions, the revulsion from carnal man - are also the themes of vegetarianism; and we can ask therefore if his argument can be applied to the vegetarians. Simpson himself was a manufacturer, as were Harvey and Brotherton and the careers of Brotherton and Isaac Pitman, (1) particularly as recounted in the Messenger exemplify the bourgeois virtues. Was vegetarianism therefore an ideological tool of capital? There are two aspects to an answer here. The first concerns the level of individual motivation and association. Though a certain caution is needed here – since vegetarianism like a number of such movements attracted across a social range, a factor that gave a mixed aspect to its motivations - I will suggest that the background of the majority in the working class and their - as we shall see – connections with radicalism, gave a different significance to their concerns: though these still related to the circumstances of industrial production, their point of departure was different.

In their political background, the vegetarians were not conformist. Their interest in orderliness never made for quiescence or deference; rather their position was consistently reforming or radical. Cowherd's popularity as a preacher was often attributed to the radical flavour of his sermons, and the Bible Christians recruited adherents through their political stance, attracting, amidst the variety of religious affiliations offered in Lancashire at this time, the support of independent working men. In the aftermath of Peterloo, when the more cautious Sunday schools expelled pupils who arrived wearing green ribbons - the emblem of the radical party - the Bible Christians specifically opened their doors to them, and we find Brotherton giving financial help to the families of the sufferers of the Massacre. Across the Pennines in Yorkshire the same spirit flourished among the Swedenborgian followers of Cowherd. In an account of Jonathan Wright, a shoemaker and leader of the vegetarian Swedenborgians in Keighley, we hear of him: 'marching through the streets bearing aloft a black banner unfurled, on the face of

which was painted the cross bones and the skull, emblematic of the soon-to-be death of King George and all his oppressive laws . . .' (2) The government became alarmed by Wright's activities and issued a warrant. Wright was warned in the night by a friend and managed to stow away with his family on a barge and thus escape to Liverpool and thence to America where he joined his brother-in-law William Metcalfe in Philadelphia. During the 1840's we find the vegetarians involved in both the major radical movements of the time: the Anti Corn Law League and the Chartist. Brotherton and Simpson were both prominent members of the League, Brotherton representing it in Parliament. The League represented the interests of the radical manufacturing class, aiming at cheap food for industrial workers (cheap bread had of course an added appeal for vegetarians) and using the cause as part of the wider attack on the landed interest.

The Reverend James Scholefield offers a more dramatic example of Bible-Christian association with radicalism. (3) Scholefield had built the Round Chapel in Every Street, Ancoats, as a Bible-Christian church. In 1842 he planned to erect a monument in the graveyard to the memory of the recently deceased 'Orator' Hunt, hero of the Peterloo Massacre. Lancashire was then in the grips of the Chartist agitation; this was the time of the Plug Plot. The unstable political atmosphere persuaded Scholefield to cancel the celebratory procession through the streets, but he invited Fergus O'Connor to stay at his house and to confer at the chapel with the other Chartist leaders. Through this he was named, though later acquitted, in the indictment against the Chartist leaders heard before the Lancashire assizes in 1843.

If we turn to the Messenger itself, though it does not directly advocate any political stance, it is clear where its sympathies lie 'While the vices that disgrace humanity proceed from the higher classes, all the reformatory means which have morality and nobility of purpose for their object, have sprung up and streamed from the working or humble classes'. (4) Arising from the same basic loyalties, we find, the magazine concerned that the many reform movements which it supports so prodigally should become a means to obscure rather than alleviate social problems. It takes the example of the nascent public-health and housing reforms, praising their efforts, but warning against schemes of improvement that are just a means of shifting the problem to another area, out of the sight of the middle classes. (5)

As we have seen the Bible Christian approach contained a strongly intellectualist strain and the church itself was deeply involved in the movement for working-class education. It is clear that as important as their chapels were the Sunday schools, institutes, evening classes and

discussion groups that gathered around them, for example in Salford, Cowherd established a Grammar School and Institute of Science (mostly staffed by young men training to become pastors in the church); and at Hulme, the Reverend James Gaskill developed the work of the school establishing the Hulme Philosophical Society (later Mechanics' Institute) and in his enthusiasm to satisfy the desire for education of the working people ran a special class at 6am on Sundays for labourers.⁽⁶⁾ In a similar way, we find Brotherton involved in the establishment of the local mechanics' institute, and at the national level campaigning in parliament for the extension of education.

When we look at the Messenger, we find that the link with education and self improvement is repeated. In the list of venues for the travelling lectures delivered by representatives of the society, we find the mechanics' institutes, temperance halls, lyceums and discussion groups are the most frequent choice.⁽⁷⁾ Letters and references in the Messenger attest to the popularity of vegetarianism as a topic for discussion in Mutual Improvement Societies; and one report recounts how the debate continued over several nights.⁽⁸⁾ The vegetarians clearly found in these groups some of their most receptive audiences. It should be noted that vegetarianism had an appeal within a 'variety of educational institutions. The mechanics' institutes were largely founded through the efforts of the propertied and established elements in society, and though they catered for genuine working-class needs and interests, always retained an aspect of benevolent philanthropy and control,⁽⁹⁾ and that quality of preaching to the poor was not wholly absent in vegetarianism. The mutual improvement societies and groups, however, were more in the way of spontaneous working-class groups under their own direction and often formed in opposition to the mechanics' institute: interest in vegetarian arguments was not just fostered from above by men like Simpson, but arose indigenously out of the interests and experience of working men.

Many of the leading vegetarians came from this background, and their lives, especially as recounted in the Messenger, exemplify the possibilities of education and persistent endeavour as a means of betterment. A number of individuals rose directly through the church.⁽¹⁰⁾

The career of Roland Detrosier⁽¹¹⁾ illustrates the background within which the Bible Christians flourished. Born illegitimate and brought up in poverty, Detrosier struggled all his life to educate himself and to spread the gospel of self-education and independence among the working classes. It was through the Bible Christian Sunday school that he began his search and it was as a youthful lecturer in their institutes at Salford and Hulme that he realised his gifts as

a propagandist. The institutes were run as co-operative enterprises, often drawing on their own talent (Detrosier was only sixteen when he started to teach), and as such they became centres for the doctrine of total working-class independence through self-education that men like Detrosier had begun to promote. Brotherton and Scholefield recognised Detrosier's talent, and established him as a Bible Christian minister at Brinksaway, near Stockport. At this point their paths diverged, as Detrosier's thinking developed away from Swedenborgianism towards Deism and the religion of science. (12) From the pulpit of his 'Beefsteak Chapel', as it was nicknamed) he preached a rival vegetarian religion of Universal Benevolence, in which man was perfectable through rational self-education. When a group of radicals decided to set up a new mechanics' institute in Manchester, where they would be free to discuss religion and politics, Detrosier was chosen as the president. In 1831 he published his famous address, On the Necessity of an Extension of Moral and Political Instruction Among the Working Class. In this he argued that no political progress would be possible for the working class without moral progress first; it was precisely working-class ignorance, fecklessness and drunkenness, he argued, that formed the bulwarks of privilege and injustice, for they enabled the ruling class to justify their denial of political power, at the same time as they undermined working-class action and resolve.

This concern to upgrade the nature of working-class life, to foster an independent working man, was very much in the fore-front of the vegetarians' concerns. The self-help virtues of thrift and abstinence were associated in their writings with the drive to give working men independence and security. (13) Working-class life was notoriously insecure, lived with very little margin at the mercy of market forces¹ and the virtues of diligence, thrift and carefulness were not the exclusive property of the ideologists of the capitalist class. Laqueur has concluded from his study of the Sunday school movement that: 'what appears to have been an imposition from above, was in fact a way in which those who spent their lives in disorder, uncertainty, dirt and disease brought some order into this environment. Cleanliness in body, punctuality and neatness in dress and in one's home and orderliness in one's life style were very much part of the fabric of respectable working-class society and by no means inhibited those engaged in their pursuit from attacking the repressive aspects of the contemporary political and economic system; rather the reverse'. (14)

This brings us to the second aspect of the relationship of their ideology to industrial society - and this concerns timing. The social atmosphere was changing, England was moving into the

High Victorian period, and the 1850's saw a quietening of conflict and a growing accommodation with and acceptance of the new industrial society. It was a period of greater prosperity. A range of working-class groups underwent a transformation at this time - exemplified in the co-operativists, but found also in the changes and ambivalences of the self-help movement itself. There is a strongly Smilesian tone to much of the vegetarian writing and the lives of vegetarians such as Isaac Pitman and Joseph Brotherton, (15) as well as more humble examples. (16) are presented in ways that embody self-help themes. Though the ambiguity of its social aims should not be lost sight of, J.F.C. Harrison has concluded: 'In its origins self-help was intended as a means of personal and social advancement for the working classes. Its appeal was that it appeared to offer a way forward when other methods had become unacceptable or discredited. By 1848 most roads to working-class betterment seemed to be blocked'. (17) The Vegetarian Society is here part of that turning inwards after the collapse of the radicalism of the forties.

Vegetarianism had a relevance to these self-help concerns, for the self-help movement, though it pointed to practical means like education as routes to advancement, primarily emphasised the will. Again and again the examples preach that it is not circumstances, or even ability, that provide the means, but moral character. The literature aims to rouse the will with optimistic examples and stiffen resolve for the exercise of its virtues. What vegetarianism offered were concrete aids to this effect, for it claimed to free men from the passions that disrupted the orderly, diligent pursuit of advancement, and that threatened to carry them off to drunkenness and 'low sensuality'. Simpson relates how one working man found that upon adopting the diet, he was no longer sunk into a stupor on returning from the factory but was moved to pursue intellectual labours: 'how I can really enjoy my books and the company of my family in a natural way', he reported. (18)

Vegetarianism also worked at a more symbolic level, embuing life with a daily sense of balance, order and control; it represented conscious direction in life. Care for the small details of life was a characteristic self-help doctrine; and vegetarianism put an end to thoughtlessness and the undisciplined taking of food on impulse.

Though vegetarianism at this time can be spoken of as a broadly working-class response, it was confined to certain sections of that class and conforms to the familiar division between rough and respectable. Here social boundaries were important those of the working class who aspired to respectability needed strong social insulation around them, for the material conditions of life

– the insecurity of employment, the housing, the poverty - all supported the rival working-class culture, of the pub and the streets and. made it hard to sustain what were essentially genteel patterns of living. In circumstances such as these, where it required an effort of will to maintain the impetus to improve oneself, moderate images were of little appeal. (19) What was needed was self mission, and a sustaining moral image strong enough to justify sacrifices; and it is this that given an 'extremism' to many working-class social movements: tee-totalism, with its ideology of saved and ruined provided one such image; (20) vegetarianism with its vivid sense of the corrupt nature of meat, a parallel one. These divisions were reinforced by social patterns of isolation. Bormond, a temperance advocate, argued that it was best for those labouring to improve the human character to be free 'from carnivorous indulgences' and to set themselves apart from ~wine bibbers and eaters of flesh' (21) Tee-totalism attempted to set up a rival network based not around the pub but the temperance meeting with its competing excitements, warmth and community feeling. The network was envisaged as encompassing all sorts of institutions, so that one could aim to move wholly within a temperance world. The 'rival commonwealth' of the co-operatives displays the same aim. The vegetarians attempted - though less successfully - a similar network that included hotels, restaurants and meetings. These elements of association are clear in Mrs Humphrey Ward's description of the world of the Manchester vegetarians found in her The History of David Grieve, where the hero, newly arrived from the countryside in his teens, is drawn into the world of vegetarianism that centres around the vegetarian restaurant which acts a contact point for men with similar radical and secularist interests. (22)

Last and most important of these social boundaries was that around the home, for vegetarianism was part of the wider reform of leisure in this period. (23) that involved a new emphasis on the virtues of the bourgeois family and on sober enjoyment in the home; and with its hatred of cruelty and distaste for violence and its belief in purposive and uplifting pursuits, vegetarianism was part of the mechanism that cut men off from what were seen as the idle associations of the pub, the rat pit and the street corner.

1. 76. ISAAC PITMAN: Phoneticist. Under the influence of the writings of Clowes, joined Swedenborgian Church in Bath. Keen supporter of the Vegetarian Society from its inception. Teetotal; taught in local mechanic's institute; supported Anti Corn Law League, franchise reform, Peace Society. Visitors to his office remarked on the strict discipline, the silence and the 'prim order that pervades the place'. (Baker,

p156) His brothers Henry (see p181) and Benn, who later emigrated to America and was influential in the early Arts and Crafts movement there, were also keen vegetarians. There is a recurring link between vegetarianism and short-hand. Clubb had taught phonographic writing at the Concordium and Simpson presided over the first Phonetic Soiree at Exeter Hall. Shorthand perhaps appealed through its rationality and its usefulness in quicker and more efficient learning. (See Alfred Baker, Life of Sir Isaac Pitman, 1908, 1930. Baker was embarrassed by Pitman's vegetarianism and scarcely mentions it, though Pitman was active in the movement).

2. 77. From an account by his son, quoted by C.H. Presland in 'Joseph Wright of "Kighley", An Historical Sketch', New Church Herald, Sept 30, Oct 14, 1950. Jonathan was Joseph Wright's son. Joseph had been the local Swedenborgian pastor, and in 1809 had supported Cowherd at his schismatic conference. Under Jonathan, the Keighley Swedenborgians remained, 'loyal to the Cowherdite tradition'.
3. 78. For Scholefield, 1790-1855, see Axon. Scholefield practised as a doctor and his cholera remedy ran him into trouble. He is credited with the belief that the Bible should properly be named the Rights of Man.
4. 79. Vegetarian Messenger, Feb 1852, p14.
5. 80. VM, Feb 1859, p15.
6. 81. See Axon for accounts of their many educational projects.
7. 82. See VM, March 1851, p21 for a typical such list.
8. 83. VM, Jan 1850, Supplement p4.
9. 84. See Mabel Tylecoat, The Mechanics Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire, before 1851, Manchester, 1957; and J.P.C. Harrison, Learning and Living, 1961, for the background to the different institutions and groups.
10. 85. For example, the Reverend JAMES CLARK : 1830-1905, born of labouring family, struggled to obtain an education, became something of a prodigy, reading the papers to his elders. After moving from Bolton, he joined the Essay and Discussion Class at the Bible Christian schoolroom in Salford, and through this moved on to teaching, eventually becoming a pastor for the church. His work for the Vegetarian Society expanded his horizons further, taking him around Britain and eventually to the 1893 Chicago World Fair. (See Axon) (Not to be confused with an earlier Reverend James Clarke who emigrated to Philadelphia with Metcalfe).
11. 86. For Detrosier, see Gwyn Williams, 'Roland Detrosier: A Working-Class Infidel, 1800-34', Borthwick Papers No 28, York, 1965.
12. 87. He was expelled from the chapel by Brotherton for allowing Carlile the Deist to speak there.
13. 88. See for example VM, Sept 1849, p11.
14. 89. T.W. Laqueur, Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working-Class Culture 1780-1850, 1976, p170
15. 90. Brotherton, 'the factory boy', was himself one of Smiles' examples 'He rose from the humblest station . . . to an eminent position of usefulness, by the simple exercise of homely honesty, industry, punctuality and self denial'. (Self Help 1859, p16, 311). The 'factory boy' was misleading since the factory he worked in was his father's and he was soon made a partner. (Few of the figures of such literature turn out, on examination, to have risen from the very bottom). Accounts of his early rising, diligence, 'industrious

habits and methodical arrangements' are to be found, for example, in Dietetic Reformer, Jan 1885, p1. His celebrated remark that his 'riches consisted not so much in the largeness of his means as in the fewness of his wants' was inscribed on his statue in Salford.

16. 91. See, for example, account of model working man, frugal, hard working, neat, vegetarian, in VM, May 1853, p29.
17. 92. J.P.C. Harrison, 'The Victorian Gospel of Success', Victorian Studies, Dec 1957.
18. 93. VM, May 1850, p96.
19. 94. The memoir of John Wright printed in VM, Aug 1850, p107, illustrates these difficulties. He had spent a 'wildish' youth apprenticed to a dyer. He came under the influence of Cowherd in 1800. This gave him his desire for 'mental and moral elevation'; though he struggled to live up to this, he experienced a number of falls from his aspirations back into sensual darkness. He had a series of ventures as a dyer; they prospered but then declined, twice he had to surrender himself to the castle, but he kept alive his hopes. He finally became a noted temperance advocate in Bolton.
20. 95. Total abstinence was the working-class response. The moderation of middle-class temperance had little appeal in contrast to this fiercer repudiation of all drink. See Harrison, Drink and the Victorians.
21. 96. VM, Sept 1849, p13.
22. 97. Mrs. Humphrey Ward, The History of David Grieve, sixth ed., 1892, Book II Youth (set in this period).
23. 98. See B. Harrison, 'Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England, Past and Present, Dec 1967.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE VEGETARIAN SOCIETY

Reform Interests and Decline

Lastly we can turn to their reform interests. The [Vegetarian] Messenger reiterates a long and catholic list of causes that the editors confidently assume will be supported by all vegetarians (1) - people who 'always had a strong desire to see the world reformed'. (2) Many of their reform interests have obvious connections with vegetarianism - for example, their opposition to war, to capital punishment, or to blood sports - but many of them also bear an added political impulse that derives from the attack launched on the seats of privilege and established power by those who may be called the outsiders in the constitution – dissenters, the newly powerful manufacturing and industrial classes, the articulate working class. It also represented the attack by the ascendant provinces on the traditional centre. This relationship of centre and periphery is something that is repeated in different forms throughout the history of modern vegetarianism. The attack went forward on many fronts, of which the humanitarian reforms were only one, and it was socially more complex than the term 'outsider' would reveal; however it is a useful word to apply here because it points to the added bite that this social and political background gave to their moral preoccupations. The peace movement, for example, carried the added attack on the aristocratic domain of the army, and on profligate and expensive wars that disturbed trade. Their hostility to blood sports and in particular fox hunting, was an attack on the pleasures of the aristocracy and of the rural elite. (3)

The vegetarians also allied themselves with a variety of treatments such as hydropathy, homeopathy and 'natural' remedies whose self-help attitude challenged the authority of the medical profession, which, while not yet unified as it was to be later in the century, was headed by the oligarchic and London based Royal College of Physicians. (4)

Though these causes they took up were varied, the vegetarians felt them in essence to be united: 'forming as they do one mighty movement of the world towards a state in which all that is good and true is in the ascendancy'. (5) They presented vegetarianism as the root reform that went to the heart of the evils of society. (6) Vegetarianism is a very diffuse form of reform, and its comprehensiveness derives not so much from these rather partisan enthusiasms for its effects, as from its capacity to encapsulate the idea of Reform itself.

The unexpected death of Simpson in September 1859 precipitated a financial crisis that almost brought the activity of the society to a halt (7) There had, however, been earlier indications suggesting that the impetus behind the society was already on the wane - the early and mid 1850s appear to be the peak - victim of the changing mood in the country and of the decline in the Humanitarian Crusade. (8)(8)

When vegetarianism did re-emerge in any strength, it was to be with a rather different geographical and social focus.

1. 99. For example: educational reform, temperance, peace, early closing, health of towns, sanitary reform, anti-slavery, abolition of capital punishment, financial reform, civil, religious and commercial freedom. VM, Jan 1850, p3
2. 100. Vegetarian Messenger, May 1852, p51, testimony of a 'working man'.
3. 101. For fox hunting, see for example, VM, May 1852, p38; and for its social background see Raymond Carr, English Foxhunting: A History, 1976. The humanitarian movement for animals that emerged in the early nineteenth century and that found its institutional expression in the SPCA had a more conservative and established basis (RSPCA in 1840) than vegetarianism (though Lewis Gompertz, see DNB, one of its founding figures was a vegetarian), a fact reflected in its bias against the cruel sports of working men. The Vegetarian Messenger, July 1859, p79, editorial, criticised its inconsistencies over killing for meat. For a history of RSPCA A. W. Moss, Valiant Crusade, 1961.
4. 102. See J.L. Beralnt, Profession and Monopoly, 1975, and Sir George Clarke, History of the Royal College of Physicians. Vol II, 1966. The College during the first half of the nineteenth century faced an attack on its monopoly privileges from laissez-faire ideas.
5. 103. VM, Jan 1850, p36.
6. 104. For example in a typical statement from Harvey, VM, Sept 1850, p125, in which he asserted that vegetarianism was 'deeper and wider than these [Peace, Temperance, Educational, Sanitary, Financial and Parliamentary Reform] comprehending them all'. Vegetarianism sought to remove the very cause of war; to remove intemperance by taking away the great cause of thirst for intoxicating liquors; promote education by removing the great barrier of sensual indulgence; sanitary reform by removing pigsties and slaughter houses; financial reform by the proper basis of economic food production; parliamentary reform by raising the moral and social condition of man.
7. 105. See account in VM, Dec 1859, p147. This last issue of the magazine revealed that though Simpson had left the society £5,000 in his will the estate was unable to pay the sum. (p32)
8. 106. The Dietetic Reformer which succeeded the Vegetarian Messenger, reported in 1862 the public to be increasingly averse to the cause, due, it felt, to the new mood of militarism. DR, Oct 1862, p98, AGM.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

Decline and Revival, 1860s-1880s

During the 1860s and '70s vegetarianism went through a period of decline, evidenced in the dwindling membership figures and in the almost total disappearance of the vegetarian restaurant. (1) Vegetarianism was out of tune with the high tide of mid-Victorian England. But in the early 1880s new stirrings began to be felt. Many of the mid-Victorian certainties began to be questioned as the challenge to British economic supremacy began to be felt. A series of movements critical of the established social and cultural structures began to gather, and many of the issues of the 1840s re-emerged, although in slightly different form. This Late Victorian Revolt was experienced across a wide spectrum of ideas and movements of which vegetarianism and its connections formed a part.

The new quickening of interest in vegetarianism began to be felt from the late 1870s. (2) In the eighties, a number of local branches were established or revived; (3) the distribution of these groups and of the fast expanding vegetarian restaurants - in 1878, there was one; in 1889, fifty two, thirty four of which were in London - shows a shift away from the previously predominating northern industrial towns, towards London, which now emerged as the new centre. The influence of the Bible Christian Church declined steadily in this period. (4) During the sixties, articles expounding Swedenborgian interpretation were increasingly infrequent, and when biblical arguments were employed - decreasingly from the 1870's - they were non-sectarian in character.

The arrival of Francis Newman in 1868 marked a new departure for the society and foreshadowed a growing acceptance in more metropolitan circles. Newman became president [*of the Vegetarian Society*] in 1873, (5) retiring in 1883. Despite certain eccentricities, he was a respected figure in literary and academic circles, and the vegetarians clearly felt that his presence gave weight to their cause and helped to divest it of some of its provincial flavour. Professor J.E.B. Mayor, his successor as President, and Professor of Latin at Cambridge, brought further academic respectability. (6)

With this shift to London goes a certain shift in social basis. Increasingly vegetarianism is associated with the middle class, especially with the fast expanding lower-middle class. The late nineteenth century saw the emergence of new intermediary classes, sections of which provided the basis for a series of social progressivist movements. (7) Membership of the

Vegetarian Society in the mid 1870's already shows an increased preponderance of white-collar, especially clerical and retail, occupations, and this trend appears to continue. (8) Working-class vegetarians do still occasionally feature in the journals but in decreasing numbers.

The accounts of vegetarian restaurants confirm this social background. Most of them were situated in the City or in other commercial areas. (9) The Pall Mall Gazette described the majority of customers as being dressmakers and shopkeepers assistants, with about twenty-five per cent women. Axon believed that the majority came for cheapness and a change and were not necessarily vegetarians, though he describes them as including: 'some of the more thoughtful members of the artisan class, and large numbers of those - both men and women - who are engaged in warehouses and offices'. (10) These restaurants were part of a wider expansion in the period of cheap and respectable lunch places for white-collar workers, particularly women. (11) Many of these vegetarian restaurants acted as meeting places and club houses for those of similar views. (12)

Certain issues within the Vegetarian Society at this time display conflicts arising from its changing social base. The first was the issue of membership. Newman in particular felt that requiring a pledge of total abstinence was a barrier to recruitment, and he suggested associate membership for those not able to give full commitment. (13) This was introduced in 1874 after much dispute, and the issue rumbled on throughout the eighties and nineties. (14) Many, especially those of the northern old guard, felt that it watered down their stand, and they stated strongly that the Vegetarian Society was 'not simply a diet reform society'. (15) A pledge was in line with ideas from tee-totalism, and was not an alien concept at the time, however it did exclude those from the burgeoning diet-reform movement and it did reinforce the closed sectarian feeling. Both these factors were significant in the conflict between the London-based groups and the Manchester society. Newman summed up the more inclusive London view when he said that: 'the object of the society was not to found a sect but to influence a nation'. (16) Similar tensions were displayed in the attempt to find a new name for the diet. (17)

The second major issue concerned the society itself. In the late 1870's a number of food-reform groups had emerged in London, the principle one of which was the London Food Reform Society. (18) All the vegetarian and food-reform groups at this time included a heavy overlap of members, particularly at the top, and the rivalries between the societies were internal and personal. Relations between London and Manchester became increasingly strained during the

1880's. Manchester felt London should be represented, as before, by a local branch or auxiliary; whereas the London people wanted a strong and independent centre in the metropolis. Their members tended to be younger - in their teens according to Forward. London was also more catholic in its concerns, and its journal, *The Food Reform Magazine*, carried articles on a wider range of topics. In 1888 these conflicts - intensified by personal animosities - precipitated a total split, and the London Vegetarian Society was founded. (19)

In this period, vegetarianism flourished in a number of different settings; their social background and concerns differ in focus, though as we shall see there are also strong interconnections. The eighties were in particular a period that favoured the total world-view, in contrast to the more fragmented and compartmentalised approaches that succeeded them. Vegetarianism tends to flourish in such periods of cultural holism.

1. By 1870 membership had sunk to 125. During the 1850s there had been vegetarian ordinaries in cities like Manchester, but by 1862, the Dietetic Reformer could find none, a state of affairs that continued until 1878.
2. There was a steady growth in membership of the Vegetarian Society in the late seventies, peaking in the early 1880s at 2070. During the late eighties there is a slight decline, though this reflects the emergence of the new London Vegetarian Society, for which no membership figures survive. None of these figures approximate to the actual number of vegetarians.
3. The Vegetarian Review, hereafter VR, 1897, p465 has a brief account of this growth.
4. Though figures like Peter Foxcroft, W.E.A. Axon and the Reverend James Clark were still influential in the society.
5. F.W. NEWMAN: 1805-1897, brother of Cardinal Newman, evangelical, later mystical theist. Professor of Latin, University College, London. Supporter of a variety of causes, including anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, reformed spelling, land reform, neo-Malthusianism; see obituary, VR, 1897, p497; William Robbins, The Newman Brothers: An Essay in Comparative Intellectual Biography, 1966; Basil Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies, 1956,
6. J.E.B. Mayor, 1825-1910, see DNB and DR May 1880, p92, for his testimony.
7. See G. Crossick, 'The Emergence of the Lower-Middle Class in Britain', in his The Lower-Middle Class in Britain, 1870-1914, 1977.
8. See DR, 1875 for occupations in the membership lists, though this information ceases shortly after.
9. See C.W. Forward, Fifty Years of Food Reform, Manchester 1898, p103-7, including a map.
10. DR, June 1890, p169, for the Gazette description and Axon's comments.
11. See Robert Thorne, 'Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-Century City', A.D. King, ed, Buildings and Society, 1981.

12. As Lt-Col Newnham-Davis' account of a visit to a vegetarian restaurant in St. Martin's Lane makes clear. He stresses the modesty and cleanliness, and mentions the ladies chess club. He adopts a humourous, though not hostile, tone. Dinners and Diners: Where and How to Dine in London, 1899.
13. Newman tried to extend the scheme to allow for grades of membership - for example for those who still ate fish or chicken. (He himself by the time of his death had reverted to eating fish). He also opposed vigorously any ideas that salt or milk were injurious: 'the number of dogmatic prohibitions against everything that make food palatable will soon ruin our Society if not firmly resisted'. (quoted in Forward, p76)
14. The issue was raised repeatedly at AGMs and feelings were strong. See for example DR, July 1883 and DR, Oct 1895. Associate membership proved very successful, and to the end of the century associates were enrolled in about equal numbers to full members.
15. DR, June 1881, p116, opposition lead by Foxcroft and Clark.
16. Quoted by Forward, p76.
17. See p28
18. Later the National Food Reform Society, a change that angered Manchester. Its officers included C.W. Forward, Frank Podmore, Howard Williams, T.R. Allinson, J.E.B. Mayor and P. Doremus, with articles by Kingsford, Joynes and Salt.
19. See C.W. Forward for a slightly veiled account of the break-up and for hints of personal acrimony. Forward later edited The Vegetarian Review, the magazine of the L.V.S. for Arnold Hills.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

Arnold Hills and the London Vegetarian Society

I shall look first at those groups centred around the London Vegetarian Society, and particularly around its chairman Arnold Hills. Hills was a wealthy manufacturer and owner of the Thames Iron Works, one of the leading shipbuilders of the 1890's, and his background was thus far from typical of vegetarianism. (1) He was active in a number of philanthropic schemes among his workforce and more generally in Canning Town. (2) A conservative and a strong opponent of the unions, he was involved in a long conflict, leading to a strike, over unionisation, though he subsequently instituted a profit-sharing scheme. Though the nineties were for the company a period of great prosperity, decline set in through the general movement of shipbuilding away from the Thames, and the works were closed in 1911. Hills was a great benefactor of the vegetarian cause, playing a similar role to that of Simpson, and this, together with his impulsive and enthusiastic character, enabled him to dominate the London Vegetarian Society.

Hills was particularly interested in the virtues of raw food, and his Vital Food in which he argued that uncooked food has certain living qualities conducive to health and spiritual well-being, is one of the early examples of what was to become a major theme in vegetarian tradition. (3) The Salford vegetarians by contrast had placed little emphasis on rawness, though it was strongly favoured at the Concordium.

Hills had been an athlete, and he and the London group were particularly concerned to break down the link in the public mind between meat-eating and muscular strength. Athletes at this time were fed an almost exclusively meat diet, and vegetarianism was believed to be a lowering regime, suitable at best only for the sedentary. (4) They encouraged vegetarian cycling groups and publicised the athletic and sporting successes of vegetarians. (5) Such achievements and records become an established feature of vegetarian journals from this period onwards, and Mansell, a foreman at the Thames Iron Works, added his testimony in his *Vegetarianism and Manual Labour*, to the capacity of vegetarian workers at Hill's works to undertake the more physically demanding work. (6)

The association with temperance continues, though in tune with changes in the temperance movement itself, with a more middle-class and established flavour. It was common at this time

for middle-class progressives to be tee-total. Vegetarian restaurants did not provide alcohol, and vegetarian food was sometimes served in the new Temperance Coffee Houses. The old belief in an organic link between meat and the desire for alcohol, which was held in orthodox medical circles also, (7) was taken up by Brarnwell Booth and his wife who became vegetarians and encouraged the use of the diet in the treatment of inebriates. (8) It was still being used in Salvation Army institutions in the 1920's. (9)

The widespread poverty of the great cities that had been revealed in a series of accounts from the Bitter Cry of Outcast England, to the reports of Charles Booth and culminating in William Booth's Through Darkest England, provoked a response among the vegetarians, as among others of the philanthropically minded. The causes of poverty became a central question and one that provoked new answers, some of which attempted to go beyond simple ideas of improvidence. The issue concerned the vegetarians in particular because they believed that they knew the practical means whereby the poor might be fed, and in a series of dinners, conferences etc., they put forward the economic advantages of the diet. (10) Books like How to Live on a Shilling a Week by 'one who has tried it', and The Best Diet for a Working Man reinforced this message. (11) The vegetarians were also involved in the provision of free dinners at some of the London Board schools. (12) In this concern there is a slight shift in tone between the first and second periods of vegetarianism; the testimonials by working men to its financial advantages and aid to independence become fewer, and the economic argument is presented more often than before in terms of advice to the poor, something deplored by Henry Salt. (13)

One group in particular in this London context took up a central image in vegetarianism, that of the return to Eden. These were the Danielites, (14) a group founded by Lt.T.W. Richardson (15) in 1876, and having an overlap of membership with the London Vegetarian Society. The Garden of Eden was their model, (16) and in the Preamble to their Rules, the role of eating in Man's Fall is made clear. (17) It was essentially a social group, and their magazine (18) is light in tone, with references to dances, character-dress performances, discussions, garden parties and theatricals. Their meetings involved various ceremonials. With their interest in dressing up, in pageantry and in pretty garden imagery, they resemble the 'simple' and 'artistic' circles of Bedford Park, and of the 'Queen Anne' movement. (19)

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1. 20. ARNOLD HILLS: 1857-1927. Educated at Harrow and Oxford, a J.P. and member - though most unorthodox - of the Church of England. Forward includes accounts of Hill's activities, and also pictures of the lavish interior of his house, used for gatherings of the society. He funded a publishing house, The Ideal Publishing Union, which printed vegetarian and related books, and a hospital. From 1906 he was increasingly crippled - eventually totally - by arthritis - See DNB and obituaries in The Times, 8th March, 1927, Vegetarian News, April 1927, p89 and Vegetarian Messenger, April 1927, p66.
 2. 21. Including the founding of West Ham Football Club. See Donald McDougall, Fifty Years a Borough: The Story of West Ham, 1936; also MS notes in Stratford Borough Library.
 3. 22. See his Vital Food, 1892, Reaction (A Speculation), 1894, Vegetarian Essays, 1897. For Hills, this was part of a wider philosophy involving a concept of the universe as essence and energy; vital food enabled the accumulation of this within the body.
 4. 23. Forward expressed concern that their 'teachings were propagated mostly by men of intellectual mould, many of whom, from their temperaments and occupations in life, not presenting the robust and plethoric condition which is looked upon by so many people as a sure sign of good sound health.' Fifty Years, p152.
 5. 24. The Akreophagist Cycling Club was founded in 1881, succeeded by the Vegetarian Cycling Club, some of whose members held world records. See Forward, p154-61 for details and photographs. See also Henry Light's Athletics, Endurance and Stamina, Manchester, nd. Light was for many years the captain of the cycling club. (For his role in such publicity, see his obituary, VM, Aug 1934, p262) The Best Food for Athletes, published by the Northern Heights Vegetarian Society, 1895, contains Dr Allinson's recommendations for a training regime. Allinson, like Eustace Miles, believed that vegetarianism was a positive advantage in endurance sports; and George Allen, the long distance walker, and later member of Whiteway Community, put forward a similar view in his From Land's End to John O'Groats, 1905. Henry Pitman - Isaac's brother - gave another example of endurance and longevity, when at the age of eighty three he arrived at the vegetarian Summer School in Aldeburgh, having cycled over 180 miles from Pershore. (VM, Oct 1935, p333).
 6. 25. Manchester, 1907.
 7. 26. See The Lancet, Oct 1884, p701.
 8. 27. See his The Advantages of Vegetarian Diet, reprinted by the London Vegetarian Society, nd; he includes the range of arguments. Despite their advocacy, the diet has not been widely influential in the Army. See also H.B.A., The Drink Problem: Thoughts Towards a Solution, 1903.
 9. 28. VN, May 1927, p130.
 10. 29. Under the title 'Bitter Cry Answered', the Food Reform Magazine, of Jan/Mar 1884, p85, gives an account of a dinner held for forty cabmen and their wives, the experiment was repeated several times. Two conferences were held in Manchester by the Vegetarian Society to demonstrate how an adequate school dinner could be provided for 1/4d. Cheap Dinners for School Children, ed. W.E.A. Axon, Manchester 1887.
 11. 30. 1884; RE. O'Callaghan, 1889.

12. 31. Vegetarian Review, Sept 1895. Hills and Miss May Yates were behind the scheme.
13. 32. Who saw vegetarianism as relevant to all and not just the poor, and who objected to such a patronising approach. Today, Nov. 1886, pl72.
14. 33. The prophet Daniel was believed to have been a vegetarian.
15. 34. T.W. RICHARDSON: later Lt.Col. a life-long vegetarian and teetotaller. President of London Diet Reform Society. The group survived, at least in the form of the Danielite Star, which he subsidised, until his death in 1930. See Danielite Star, brief history bound at the back of Vol I; and also Forward p77.
16. 35. The society was organised into Gardens and Groves with officers with titles like Senior Gardener.
17. 36. In the beginning God created man to live forever, for no sentence of death had been passed upon him. The food given to him by his Allwise Creator to enable him to keep his body in perpetual life, undiminished activity and supreme happiness, was living fruit and seed, for the art of destroying the life of the fruit by fire (cookery) was doubtless then unknown. His death was the result of his own action - still he lived 930 years. His descendants, with few exceptions, instead of lengthening their days, or possibly regaining immortality, continued to increase in evil doing and consequently, in shortening their days. The contrast between the delicious living food given by God, and the dead carcasses fallen depraved man delights in devouring, is enough to account for man's days being only a paltry "three score and ten". Note the living uncooked food, and the belief that man's true life span has been drastically curtailed, and even that he has lost immortality. Book of Rules or Constitution of the Order of Danielites, 1898.
18. 37. The Danielite Star: Heaven's Light Our Guide, published from 1887 to 1930.
19. 38. Vegetarianism turns up as a topic for discussion groups there See M. Jones Bolsteri, The Early Community at Bedford Park, 1977. For 'Queen Anne' see M. Girouard Sweetness and Light, Oxford,1977.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES. SOCIALISM

The second area of association was with the revival in socialism that took place from the 1880's. (1) Certain groups in particular in this revival had connections with vegetarianism, and the first of these was the Fellowship of the New Life. Founded in 1883 by a group of young men in London, it resembled a number of such small discussion groups and intellectual cliques of the period, with a membership drawn mainly from the lower-middle class - journalists, higher grade clerks etc. They were mostly of lapsed religious background, often rather cast adrift in the expanding London of the 1880's, and looking for some purpose or transcendental philosophy that could unite their experience and make sense of the world. (2) Almost immediately it became apparent that there were two impulses in the Fellowship, the more directly political, and the inner and personal. A break-away group, organised by Pease, Podmore and Bland, formed themselves into the Fabians, and the two societies went their different ways: 'one to sit among the dandelions and the other to organise the docks'. (3) The separation was amicable and there remained a certain overlap of membership; individual Fabians remained in this early period open to the influence of Fellowship ideas concerning the importance of spiritual values in socialism and the virtues of the simple life. Direct influence, however, waned as the Fabians gained a more distinctive character and political purpose around the Webbs' theory of permeation and state collectivism. In 1883 an attempt was made to realise one recurrent interest in the founding of the short-lived community at Doughty Street. (4) Many in these broadly Fabian circles were vegetarian, and vegetarianism as a topic turns up in articles and debates in this milieu. Henry Salt, (5) together with his wife Kate and brother-in-law, Jim Joynes, were vegetarian; as were also William Jupp, Herbert Burrows (possibly slightly later), Percy Redfern, Katherine St John Conway, Edward Carpenter and many of his circle. (6) Frank Podmore was vice president of the Food Reform Society in the early eighties. (7) Beatrice Webb followed a vegetarian diet, though she was never a publicist, (8) unlike Shaw who has remained vegetarianism's most famous advocate. (9)

By the mid 1890's the London based Fellowship had lost its impetus, and the centre of the movement moved to Croydon, where it became absorbed into the world of the Brotherhood Church and the Tolstoyan anarchists. This move reinforced the lower-middle-class background. Croydon had been a centre for free religious ideas, particularly those linked with socialism, and Jupp had lead a group there as well as being active in the Fellowship. Nellie

Shaw, a dressmaker, has left a vivid account of this world of socialists, (10) gathered around the Brotherhood church, founded there in 1894 by Kenworthy. (11) Carlyle, Emerson and Ruskin were leading influences and particular emphasis was placed on the Sermon on the Mount and on Jesus as 'a living social reformer': (12) 'The Kingdom of God fulfils itself in the fraternal life of humanity'. (13) They kept open platform for: 'atheists, spiritualists, individualists, communists, anarchists, ordinary politicians, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists and anti-vaccinationists'. (14) They founded a co-operative store which sold vegetarian food, and aimed to conduct trade without private profit and in a simple and honest way.

A major influence on these circles was Tolstoy. Kenworthy had visited him in 1896; and gathered in Croydon were a number of Russian exiles and Tolstoyans. These included, Aylmer Maude, Tolstoy's translator, and Tcherkoff, at whose Free Age Press, Tolstoy's works were published. Redfern describes how Tcherkoff and his printers regularly sat down to a vegetarian meal together. (15) Seed Time also carried a number of articles on Tolstoy, mainly by Rix, and Axon wrote on him and his vegetarianism for Dietetic Reformer. (16) The principal themes they took from Tolstoy were: - that the state was evil and founded on force; that pacifism was the true way; that the land belonged to all and working it in direct contact with nature, in brotherhood, for bread labour and not money, was the ideal; that sexual chastity was the highest form of life. Tolstoy was himself an advocate of vegetarianism, which for him was bound up with inducing a higher, more spiritual nature in man and with the reduction of carnality. (17) The issue of celibacy - known in these circles as the S.Q., or sex question - was a source of much debate and some conflict. (18) The community established at Purleigh by Kenworthy tended to support Tolstoy on this. (19)

In 1898 a group lead by Nellie Shaw and Arnold Eiloart (20) founded a second community at Whiteway in the Cotswolds, aiming to realise the ideals of labour on the land, freedom from property (they burnt the title deeds) freedom from a coercive state (they refused to use money or pay rates) and free association between the sexes, with women as equals and no longer chattels of their husbands. (21) Most were vegetarians. (22)

They made a point of having no creeds or formulations: 'We had a simple childlike belief in the inherent goodness of human nature, and imagined that, given good conditions, equal and loving treatment, people would respond and give us of their best. But it worked out rather differently'. (23) The voluntarism that was at the basis of their anarchism resulted in a lack of

co-ordination. The work of the community fell increasingly on a few, who were taken advantage of by hangers on; the women, in particular, found themselves landed with all sorts of extra 'women's work', so that by 1901 full communal living had been abandoned. From then on the community was one of separate households, gathered for association and leisure. Later attempts to revive the communal eating failed. Nellie Shaw believed that this independent life proved in the end to be 'more calculated to develop character and initiative . . . indeed [to be] far more honest,' (24) and in the failure of the fully communal experiment, and in the contrasting success of the more individualistic basis, she saw the weakness of their original anarchism. (25)

Economically the colony was never fully supported by the land, but it relied also on gifts, outside work like dressmaking or the proceeds of Protheroe's successful bakery which sold its stoneground produce both to vegetarian stores and conventional outlets.

This brings us to the third area of association, which is with the revival in provincial socialism in the 1890's. Here the background is more distinctly working class. (26) The principal carriers here were the Clarion movement and the Labour Church. In the Labour Church, founded by Trevor in 1891, religious feeling and spiritual advance were combined with socialist aims for the material betterment of society, and in this religion of socialism, Trevor, like many of the period, reinterpreted evolution, in his case as a movement of consciousness towards God, and he found in the labour movement, the carrier of that consciousness. (27) This northern socialism often retained its non-conformist background, and the Labour Church brought elements of emotion, fellowship and commitment to socialism's economic message. There was considerable overlap with the Independent Labour Party founded in 1893. Blatchford in his vastly successful Clarion and in the touring vans and societies that had sprung from it, put forward a populist version of socialism, advocating in more everyday and jocular terms many of the ideas of Morris. Blatchford himself seems to have had some commitment to or sympathy with vegetarianism. (28)

Certain features characterise this tradition in socialism and have relevance to its vegetarian connections. It was a period when socialism was many stranded and diverse, when a range of ideas and parallel interests were associated with it and, held by groups who later, with the concentration on more closely defined political objectives, particularly through the rise of the

parliamentary Labour Party, became narrower and more distinct in focus. This, as we have noted, was a feature of the eighties and early nineties more generally.

It was a form of socialism that stressed the role of consciousness and the inner development of the individual; thus the Fellowship declared one of its objects to be: 'the cultivation of a perfect character in each and all', (29) and it gave a central value to the claims of individual personality. The Mackenzies emphasise how for the early Fabians, personal values were at the core of social change. Yeo argues that this emphasis is a distinctive characteristic of this period in socialism, in contrast to other periods when such emphasis on change in the individual is more often associated with a religious view and indirectly with the defence of the status quo. 'Inner development' or 'the religion of socialism' were seen as in harmony with wider social change, and there was no felt conflict between the development of the individual and of society. (30) The real evil lay in exploitation and ruthless competition. Their version of man explicitly rejected that of Social Darwinism, or of laissez-faire liberalism, with their emphasis on the war of man against man and the essential antagonism at the heart of society, and they recast evolution so as to stress instead moral, spiritual and social advance, and human co-operation.

The emphasis on the individual was also expressed in the great value that they placed on voluntarism. For the anarchists, the basis of society must lie in the free consent of individuals. As yet, state collectivism had not achieved the dominance within socialist thought that it was to after the First World War, and socialism still embraced a variety of movements like guild socialism, syndicalism and anarchism that emphasised the role of the individual and the exercise of power at that level. A figure like Dugald Semple carried on this tradition. (31)

With the emphasis on consciousness and its transformation, the politics of personal life assumed a new importance, and this socialism embraced broader issues like the position of women, the role of sexuality and the quality and nature of work and of industrial production. (32)

It was a socialism that stressed brotherhood rather than class war, which was seen more as a wrong to be healed than a flame to be fanned. Sometimes self-conscious attempts were made to form relationships across the class barriers, as for example by Carpenter at Millthorpe.

It was also a time when socialism stood for joy and hope. Redfern describes how imprisoned as an assistant in a drapers shop he met a socialist teacher and reader of the Clarion: 'of all the people who came into the shop, he alone stood for the joy of life'. (33) The sense of exhilaration and of freedom was a fundamental part of socialism's appeal, and relates also as we shall see, to the themes of the simple life, which overlap extensively with this socialist milieu.

These particular socialist groupings also offered comradely association and emotional warmth. (34) Nellie Shaw wrote of how she and others found in the Fellowship something that appealed to their idealism and that drew on deeper beliefs than just abstract economic analysis. Redfern speaks of how among the northern socialists of the Huddersfield ILP, he found the economic doctrines of London 'clothed with warmth'; the socialism of the north was 'stronger and kindlier'. (35)

Not all socialists looked with favour on vegetarianism. Morris for one, found it incomprehensible. (36) What vegetarianism tends not to be connected with - and this remains a recurring feature – is Marxist interpretations. Marxism in Britain centred in the 1880's and '90s around the Social Democratic Federation, from which Morris' Socialist League had broken away in 1884. (37) Jim Joynes is unusual in being both a vegetarian and a member of SDP; however he was, like his brother-in-law Henry Salt, as much a simple-lifer as a socialist, (38) and in this period - he died in 1893 - divisions were not so clear as to prevent his belonging to the Fellowship of the New Life also. Hyndman, the leader of the SDP, disliked vegetarianism very much, and told Shaw roundly on a visit to the Salts in their cottage that:

I do not want the movement to be a depository of odd cranks, humanitarians, vegetarians, anti-vivisectionists, arty-crafties and all the rest of them. We are scientific socialists and have no room for sentimentalists . . . By your intervention in the Socialist movement, Shaw, you have put us back twenty years at least. (39)

When Hyndman saw the meal that Kate Salt had prepared, 'its utter simplicity', (40) he asked for a drink, and when none was forthcoming in this tee-total household, he made his excuses and left.

Tom Mann exemplified the Marxist criticism. Mann had in his earlier life been a vegetarian, but as he came into the orbit of the SDF, he increasingly saw problems in more structural, economic terms: 'that which weakened my ardour in this direction was recognition that

however widely food reform might be diffused, it would never prove a cure of the economic ills I deplored. The fact was, I had not yet realised that the social evils I was cognisant of were economic in origin'. (41) Thrift and economy in working-class homes, Mann believed, only played into the hands of the employing and exploiting class, furthering the depression in wages and the process of immiseration. Salt was aware of this criticism and in an article on 'Socialists and Vegetarians' tried to argue that the two causes were really one, deriving from the same humanitarian feeling, and should advance together. (42)

The criticisms that the Marxists made derived from Marx's own of the utopian tradition, that it is woolly and idealistic with no real grasp of the means for the achievement of socialism; while those involved in pragmatic political activity around the unions or later the Labour Party, criticised the approach as insufficiently engaged with practical political objectives; and both, though perhaps especially the Marxists, find in this socialism and its associations with things like vegetarianism, a softness they deplore. This view has continued in the traditional assessment of this phase as an awkward transitional period from 'religious' perceptions to a more developed socialist approach, and writers from the Coles to E.P. Thompson have disliked its tone of 'cosmic mooning'. Recent interpretations, however, themselves the product of changes in socialist thought in the 1960's, have stressed instead the radical nature of the approach, with its expectations of a thorough-going transformation of all aspects of society. As these wider concerns were increasingly pushed to the side, in the late 1890's vegetarian socialists like Salt, Carpenter, and later Semple, tended to move out of the orbit of official socialism. The expectations that the New Society was around the corner or even that it was a practicable hope, began to fade, though some of these ideals remained to influence British socialism, particularly at its grass roots.

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1. 39. For the socialist background, see S. Pierson, Marxism and the Origins of British Socialism: The Struggle for a New Consciousness, 1973; S. Yeo 'A New Life: The Religion of Socialism in Britain, 1883-1896', History Workshop, Aut 1977; S. Rowbottom and J. Weekes, Socialism and the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis, 1977.
 2. 40. For the Fellowship and the Fabians, see Norman and Jean Mackenzie, The First Fabians, 1977. Also their journal Seed Time (first issue Sowing) published from 1889 to 1898; W.J. Jupp, Wayfarings, 1918; H.S. Salt, Seventy Years Among Savages, 1921.
 3. 41. Shaw, quoted in Armytage, Heavens Below, 1961, p332.
 4. 42. Members included Edith Lees, Havelock Ellis and Ramsey Macdonald.

5. 43. HENRY SALT: b.1851, of prosperous background. Became a master at Eton, and married Kate Joynes. In 1884, after being converted to vegetarianism and socialism, he, together with Jim Joynes, left Eton; and he and Kate went to live in a labourers' cottage at Tilford, Surrey. During the 1880s and early nineties, the Salts were close friends of Shaw and of Carpenter – they frequently visited Millthorpe and at one time lived there – and were involved in the socialist movement through the Fabans and the Fellowship. In 1891 he founded the Humanitarian League. See his two autobiographies, Seventy Years Among Savages, 1921 and Company I Have Kept, 1930; S. Winsten, Salt and His Circle, 1951; G. Hendrick, Henry Salt: Humanitarian, Reformer and Man of Letters 1977; also Mackenzies for the Inter-relationships.
6. 44. For Jupp see p205; for Redfern, see his Journey to Understanding, 1946 (he worked at one time for the Vegetarian Society); for Katherine St John Conway, see Laurence Thompson, The Enthusiasts: A Biography of John and Katherine Bruce Glasier, 1971 (information on her vegetarianism from Fenner Brockway); for Carpenter see p153.
7. 45. See Mackenzies and DNB.
8. 46. See p168
9. 47. Shaw became a vegetarian in 1881; initially as a means to cure headaches and under the influence of Shelley (St John Ervine, p97), though the humanitarian aspect later came to the fore (VM, March 1930, p63). Shaw espoused a range of 'vegetarian' causes from anti-vaccination, anti-vivisection, attacks upon the medical profession, dress reform, shorthand and spelling reform. His pride in independence of mind and his rationalist delight in the paradoxes of argument and his model of the mind soaring above the material and mundane form a personality type that occurs elsewhere in vegetarianism. See Mackenzies; St John Ervine, Bernard Shaw: His Life, Work and Friends, 1956; M. Holroyd, ed., The Genius of Shaw, 1979.
10. 48. Nellie Shaw, Whiteway, 1935 and A Czech Philosopher on the Cotswolds, being an account of the life and work of Francis Sedlak 1940. Malcolm Muggeridge's father Fred was on the edges of these circles and Muggeridge's Chronicles of Wasted Time: The Green Stick 1972, describes Croydon and Whiteway in the early years of the century.
11. 49. KenworthY describes their beliefs in Seed Time, April 1895, p14.
12. 50. Shaw, Whiteway, p22.
13. 51. Jupp, The Religion of Nature, 1906, p187.
14. 52. Shaw, Whiteway, p19.
15. 53. P. Redfern, Journey to Understanding, p95.
16. 54. Dietetic Reformer, March 1896, p75; Seed Time, Jan 1893, p1.
17. 55. According to Salt in Seventy Years, Tolstoy wrote The First Step as an introduction to a translation of Howard Williams' Ethics of Diet. It was serialised in Vegetarian Review, June 1896, p248 etc.
18. 56. Both Nellie Shaw's lover Sedlak and Redfern (and possibly Semple) were at one time followers of Tolstoy's ideal of chastity, though they subsequently modified their views.
19. 57. For an account of the Purleigh community, see N. Shaw and Redfern. Redfern had visited Purleigh with a view to joining. See also Pierson, p222,ff, for other socialist communitarian experiments of the period.

20. 58. See obituary VM Dec 1932, p383.
21. 59. These were not - certainly as Nellie Shaw describes them - associations of free love in any promiscuous way, though one man who believed in what she calls 'varietism' spent a disruptive summer at the colony. The unions were expected to be life-long and based on mutual love and sexual faithfulness. Whiteway, p127-8.
22. 60. Whiteway, P58.
23. 61. Whiteway, p60.
24. 62. Whiteway, p99.
25. 63. After the changes, the colony began to attract fewer rootless single men, and more steady couples. Whiteway is remarkable among communes for its longevity, surviving to this day.
26. 64. A vegetarian example from this working-class background is Gamaliel Senior of Huddersfield, born 1852, miner and trade-union activist, associate of Ben Turner and Ben Riley. VM, July 1937, p228.
27. 65. See D.F. Summers, 'The Labour Church and Allied Movements of the Late Nineteenth Century', PhD thesis, Edinburgh, 1958; and Pierson, p226-45.
28. 66. Innumerable socialists refer in autobiographies to the formative influence of the Clarion among the vegetarians, see Semple, Redfern and Joseph Tritton (involved in the ILP, later a Quaker, see Our Approach to Vegetarianism, Friends Vegetarian Society, nd, p4). For the Clarion and Blatchford, see Pierson, p149-60 and Laurence Thompson's popular biography, Robert Blatchford, 1951.
29. 67. See Jupp, Wayfarings, for an account of Fellowship ideals.
30. 68. Carpenter, for example, wrote of how: 'the future form of society . . . shall embody to the fullest extent the two opposite poles of Communism and Individualism', My Days and Dreams, p128.
31. 69. DUGALD SEMPLE: an engineering draftsman and son of a tailor in Glasgow. In 1904 he became a vegan and was forced to leave home because of his vegetarian and rationalist views. He was influenced by Blatchford, formed a local branch of ILP. In 1907 he set himself up on Linwood Moss in an old bus called the Wheelhouse. See his attacks in his auto-biography, Joy in Living, Glasgow 1957, on state socialism; his self-help medical ideas continue this voluntaristic theme (see Home Cures for Common Ailments, Glasgow 1956). In later life, like many other rationalists and secularists, he moved towards a blend of semi-religious ideas derived from Theosophy and Tolstoyanism. A pacifist in the war, in 1916 he became secretary of LVS. He moved to London and married, but later returned to Scotland where he attempted unsuccessfully to establish a simple life colony.
32. 70. For these aspects, see especially Rowbottom and Weekes.
33. 71. Redfern, Journey to Understanding, p20.
34. 72. As Yeo puts it, in their socialism they did not make the radical separation of pre-and post-revolutionary moralities, and the agencies of socialism were themselves seen as prefigurations of the society to come.
35. 73. Redfern p35. John Bruce Glacier, Katherine St John Conway's husband, attacked the Marxist SDP from a similar stance of moral and emotional commitment: 'There was hardly a ray of idealism in it. Capitalism was shown to be wasteful and wicked, but Socialism was not made to appear more practicable or desirable', quoted in The Enthusiasts, Laurence Thompson, 1971, p37.

36. 74. He believed it would only result in vegetarian delicacies for the rich; Winsten, p67 and 94, Salt, Seventy Years, p80. Jane Morris - never a socialist - was more openly hostile. Shaw recounts a visit to Kelmscott House - known for its good food, - and a meal there. 'Mrs Morris did not conceal her contempt for my folly. At last pudding time came; and as the pudding was a particularly nice one, my abstinence vanished and I showed signs of a healthy appetite. Mrs Morris pressed a second helping on me, which I consumed to her entire satisfaction. Then she said, "That will do you good, there is suet in it". And that is the only remark, as far as I can remember that was ever addressed to me by this beautiful and stately woman, whom the Brotherhood and Rossetti had succeeded in consecrating'. Quoted in St. John Ervine, p169.
37. 75. For the role of Marxism in English Socialism, see S. Pierson.
38. 76. Carpenter speaks of the poetic soul that he shared with his sister, beneath the logic and determination. My Days and Dreams p.237
39. 77. Quoted by S. Winsten in Salt and his Circle, 1951, p64.
40. 78. Ibid
41. 79. Tom Mann Memoirs, 1923, p54-5.
42. 80. Today, Nov 1886, p172-4, largely reprinted in Hendrick, Henry Salt. Salt argued that the advance of socialism would prevent such a depression; that vegetarianism was never to be regarded as a diet for the poor alone; that socialists who dismissed concern for animals as a fad and a crochet failed to see that such humanitarianism underpinned their ideas also.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES. THE SIMPLE LIFE

The simple life is a concept with a long and complex history, looking back as it does to classical times, and to the continuing influence through the centuries of the stoic and pastoral ideals. (1) The country had long been seen as the home of simple virtue and true values in contrast to the false glitter of the city and of society; and the stoic tradition has similarly long roots to the belief that true independence and freedom are to be achieved through reducing one's material wants. The stoic theme is certainly present in the earlier periods of nineteenth-century vegetarianism; and J.E.B. Mayor represents in the later the continuation of this older tradition of simplification. (2) The simple life is essentially a sophisticated concept that only emerges out of conditions of considerable elaboration and a self-conscious experience of society; and like the natural life, it depends upon the construction of a countervailing image whose perversion or loss explains the current unsatisfactory state. In the late nineteenth century, the idea of the simple life achieved a new potency, and it became particularly closely connected with the idealisation of nature.

'Simplify, simplify, simplify' had been Thoreau's cry, and the image of his simple and independent life at Walden Pond was to evoke a deep response in the period. Life seemed to be increasingly complicated and encumbered, in pursuit of ends that seemed artificial and out of touch with nature. The very oppression of material possessions and demands stifled the life of the spirit: 'The endless distraction of material cares, the endless temptation of material pleasures, inevitably has the effect of paralysing the great free life of the affections and of the soul'. (3) At the heart of this is a sense of civilisation or society as a burden, oppressing the natural man, denying the valuable parts of life, and imposing false needs. (4) Rix in an address delivered on a country excursion of the Fellowship castigated the 'rivalry of accumulation' and possessions that possess us. (5) Carpenter also had dreamed of a future time when man will be in a proper relationship to material possessions and will 'use them, instead of them using him'. (6) The cities seemed to close in with their dustiness and enervation:

every Maytirne the hawthorne whitens for us, and the blackbird whistles, and the king cups fill the meadows with their golden glory [the echoes of Morris are very strong], and we poor prisoners drag our weary eyesight up and down the length of smoky bricks or desolate stucco and lose it all because we or someone else cannot do without silk dresses, diamond rings, and hot house fruits. (7)

The simple life could free people from this social servitude; and the literature is shot through with the language of release, of freedom, of throwing off. In Carpenter this is quite literally a throwing off of clothes and a throwing open of windows. Man should 'emerge from houses and all his other hiding places' (8) and follow instead 'the life of the open air, familiarity with wind and waves, clean and pure food, companionship with the animals'. (9) Jupp reiterates this theme of claustrophobia:

Our pitiful methods of housing ourselves – shutting out the air and often the sunshine – making fences all about us so that the sweet sounds and sights of the earth, the wind from the hills and the sea, the radiance of the sky, and the lustre of the stars, may not reach us at all, or only through an atmosphere of smoke, or through squares of more or less dingy glass, flanked by dusty curtains. (10)

This sense of freedom found direct expression in their clothes and attitudes to the body, (11) and also in their buildings. There is an architecture of the simple life - usually of wooden construction, raised off the ground, with open-work doors and windows that allow a through draught, and with wide verandas sometimes used for open-air sleeping. Light, air and a sense of living in the open were the aims. (12) A gypsy imagery recurs, Semple lectured from a caravan; Rix speaks of how our childhood dreams of wandering the land in a gypsy van became impossible in adulthood because of the 'millstone of comfort'. (13) 'The wind on the heath' from Borrow's Lavengro, and Emerson's 'hitch your wagon to a star' were favourite quotations.

The simple life was also seen to be a fairer and more decent one in that it avoided the exploitation of others, whether servants or more distant drudges. For socialists like the Salts this was an important aspect. Seed Time denounces the sweated labour and punishing shop hours that lay behind the provision of luxury goods. At a time when all middle-class and most lower-middle-class homes had servants, to perform domestic labour and do for oneself was a revolutionary act. Family friends were horrified when they heard of Kate Salt, the daughter of an Eton house master, living in a labourer's cottage and working with her hands to clean and cook. Under the influence of Ruskinian ideas, reinforced by Morris, manual labour came no longer to be regarded as degrading; and for middle-class intellectuals, doing for yourself represented real engagement with life and active participation, rather than endless thinking and talking.

Part of the appeal of the simple life was aesthetic. It was a reaction against the High Victorian interior, and what Edith Lees in Seed Time calls 'the curse of villadom' and the 'knick-knack house' whose only purpose seemed to be the necessity of the constant attention of servants. (14) The nineteenth century had seen an explosion in production, especially in cheap versions of luxury trade objects, epitomised in Birmingham ware, and the spread of such objects into the houses of the middle and lower-middle classes. From Morris onwards grows the aesthetic distaste for what was seen as the fussiness of such machine ornament, and a new aesthetic was proposed, one that found positive beauty in the simple and the utilitarian. With this went a hatred of the machine, both as the cause of the destruction of the simple traditional society that they believed had endured before greed and rapacity had produced the industrial age, and for its substitution of a hard mechanical surface and effulgence of ornament for the subtle surface and inherent 'rightness' of goods made by hand. This aesthetic ideal, exemplified most clearly in the Arts and Crafts movement, had an important moral dimension that relates directly to the simple life - though it also has another, slightly more independent, existence as a style in itself. Art and Crafts artefacts were frequently very expensive - Morris exemplifies this – calling into question claims to economic simplicity and subsistence.

This brings us to two questions concerning the simple life. The first is who was able to live it; and the second is the issue of asceticism. Those who actively lived the dream of the simple life rarely did so on the basis of self-sufficiency. Jupp was able to realise his dream of a wooden hut in the Surrey Hills through giving addresses and preaching. Carpenter came from a moneyed background, and could afford to travel to Italy and Ceylon. Salt in his Company I Have Kept frankly acknowledges the 'company that has kept me'. (15) Middle-class literary occupations - then as today - offered a convenient means of earning a living while living a rural existence. It was Shaw who, typically, pointed out that he had to marry money in order to live the simple life.

This should not lead us, however, to dismiss the popular impact of the appeal of the simple life. The vegetarians drew strikingly from the lower middle class, - clerks, shop assistants, teachers - a class placed in an ambivalent position, between the established middle class, for whom they worked and whose manners and values they tried to follow, and the working class, from which many had only recently risen. The maintenance of proper middle-class standards and the fear of working-class contamination was a constant concern, and in this, style of life played an important part. Emphasis was placed on keeping up appearances and on the demands of

respectability and of the neighbours. It was against these strains that the lower-middle-class simple-lifers, socialists and progressivists revolted. (16) Rather than accept the aspiration of integration into bourgeois capitalism, they rejected all of it, or as much as the need to earn a living allowed. For these groups it was a question of outings, reading, perhaps some arrangement of domestic life according to arts-and-crafts principles, or diet according to vegetarian ones. The simple life here offered a rival moral aesthetic that spoke to their condition. It helped sustain the deviant culture that supported socialism; it marked you apart and gave a dignity and significance to a narrow income and plainness of life.

This brings us to the second question, which is the vein of secular puritanism that runs through the simple life. On the issue of asceticism itself, the simple life is ambiguous. One conception is of ridding the self of the false clutter and ugliness of modern life so as to release oneself for real enjoyment, real beauty and the satisfaction of real needs. Semple believed that the elimination of non-essentials would leave life free for leisure, music, self-cultivation. (17) Similarly the simplified aesthetic of the arts and crafts movement aimed at a deeper and more lasting beauty that would embrace and illumine the experience of daily life. The impact of the beauty of the world and the delight in it are central, for example, to Redfern's and Jupp's response to the problem of meaning. Closely related, but subtly different, however, is the approach that seeks austerity in the simple life. Jupp describes Thoreau as one who 'reduced life to its lowest terms in things pertaining to the body, that he might raise it to its highest possibilities, in things of the mind and heart'. (18) The approach is perhaps more apparent in the voices of critics than overtly. Thus Rix repudiates the doctrine of a 'gaunt, unhallowed life', which incidentally, he attributes to Thoreau and Carpenter. (19) Salt was clearly aware of the unattractive aspect of this austerity and denied that the simple life or the vegetarianism that went with it involved any: 'niggardly parsimony or churlish asceticism. On the contrary, it is quite compatible with the most open minded liberality, and frankest cheerfulness'. (20) The strain however was clearly there, and also relates, as we shall see, to asceticism in other fields.

The idealisation of nature was a central element in the simple life. The topic of the changing perceptions of nature is a difficult one; like all studies of popular mentalities, its subject matter is elusive, indicated only episodically and too often slanted towards certain literary and self-conscious groups.

Changes are also very slow and spread over extensive periods of time, so that the perceptions indicated here can be found, though perhaps less markedly, in earlier periods, as well as certainly, in subsequent ones. However, there are certain indications, both within the vegetarian milieu and more widely, that point to a shift in emphasis in the late nineteenth century towards a deeper and more popular appreciation of nature. Allen, in his The Naturalist in Britain; A Social History, detects the beginnings of this in the 1880's, pointing among other things to the development of a number of protection societies. (21) Behind these developments was the realisation that the natural world was increasingly being lost to the expansion of urban life and commercial and industrial developments, and the sense that something important was being lost thereby. The shift towards protection was paralleled within nature study in the shift from collecting dead specimens to the protection of living ones. (Many of the animal and bird preservation bodies drew strength from the crusades against women's fashions and especially against the use of feathers, and even whole birds, as trimmings. It was out of the Fur, Fin and Feather Folk of Croydon that the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds developed. The slaughter of animals and birds so as to appropriate their beauty to decorate luxurious fashions was predictably repellent to vegetarians and they took up the cause vigourously. (22) Finally the late nineteenth century saw the establishment of nature study as a subject in primary schools, and its popularisation by Lord Northcliffe in the new popular press. Similarly in the pages of the Clarion in the nineties, and through its associated Clarion Field Clubs with their lectures and rambles, the knowledge of nature and the encouragement of direct experience of it reached large numbers of working people.

The greater leisure and the growth in public transport had made much wider access to the country possible, and the development of the bicycle brought a relatively cheap and independent form of transport within the reach of millions. Cycling in this period is particularly associated with freedom and with the exploration of the countryside.

The experience of urban life itself generated a different attitude to nature, (23) for the contrasting clarity with which nature now stood out endowed it with a special significance. It became the mirror image of all the hatred of city and industrial life. Both the simple life and back to nature movements are shot through with the sense of the shabbiness and meanness of urban life, and in this there is a particular loathing of the commercial spirit. (24) Many sought release from the claustrophobia, both physical and emotional, of urban life in the countryside. Redfern describes the misery of his life as a draper's assistant imprisoned in the shop for up to

ten hours a day; rejecting orthodox religion, he spent his Sundays walking on the hills where: 'the larks rose from the gorse-bright heath'. (25) Through reading the Clarion he came into contact with the ideas of Morris and Richard Jeffries' The Story of My Heart made a great impact. Nature as a salve for the distortions and ugliness of industrial society was strongly felt among the vegetarian socialists, whose socialism always contained an anti-industrial bias: in this, of course, they draw on the older tradition of the moral, aesthetic and social criticism of industrialisation.

In the Clarion the love of nature is explicitly linked with social criticism, and the destruction of nature with wider capitalist exploitation. (26) Access to the country and to the mountains becomes part of a wider democratic appeal for access to things of real worth as against the right of property and of an exploiting class who lived off the truncated lives of the majority.

Contact with nature often involved a return to the land. The influence of Henry George and of land reform generally was widely felt in the period. (27) The idea of land reform was not exclusively socialist, and indeed many socialists saw it as retrogressive, leading to an entrenchment of private property; however, the return of the land to the people and the encouragement of small holdings and of self sufficiency did have a wide appeal in the context of the simple life. Schemes for the founding of vegetarian land colonies appear from the late 1870s onwards. (28)

The impact of Surrey on Londoner~ was particularly strong in this period. Now the most abused of counties, it was in the 1880s still rural and relatively impoverished, and on its neglected heathlands still quite wild. With the trains, there was easy access from London and for people like Jupp seeking contact with nature, (29) or for those on the Fellowship or Vegetarian Society rambles, the Surrey Hills offered relief from urban life. A cycling group reported in the Dietetic Reformer:

Three members and a Vegetist friend ran down to Reigate for their Whitsun holiday . . . Like children of nature they rose with the lark, breakfasted and dined under the canopy of heaven in spite of the weather. Both their feeding and tree climbing would have gladdened the eyes of Darwin. The diet of one was strict fruitarian, the others approaching. Returned on Monday delighted with Reigate and the neighbourhood, and wishing for a repetition with additional company of lady cyclists, of obtaining which the [Akreophagist Cycling Club] has some cause of hope (30)

It was very much the world of Mr. Polly.

The return to nature could also be achieved by means of the country cottage. From the eighties and the nineties the idea particularly took root among intellectuals and a number in these radical circles took cottages as retreats. (31) In their idea of the cottage, they were influenced by the wider late-nineteenth century romanticisation of rural life. At its most romantic, with overhanging thatch, heavy with roses and with the lushness of surrounding greenery, it is found in countless late-nineteenth-century water colours, here the realities of life in a cottage, the damp, the stench, the poverty, were overlooked in favour of the cottage as glimpsed on a warm afternoon from the seat of a bicycle. Though they sought unspoilt nature and rural life, their arrival to take cottages or to seek out these qualities marks the beginnings of their decline into self-conscious preservation.

In this cult of nature a particular value was placed on the wilderness and on the sense of the last wild places. The wildness and freedom of the mountain landscape had particular power for this generation - and for subsequent ones - and walking and climbing grew in popular appeal. (32) Salt had little time for the athletic traditions of the rock climbers and some of the alpenists; what he found in mountain scenery was 'that intellectual sympathy with untamed and primitive Nature which our civilisation threatens to destroy. A mountain is something more than just a thing to climb'. (33) Contact with the mountains enriches human feelings and: 'if the mountains can teach us to feel more deeply, they can also help us more effectively to think'. (34) A day in the mountains and:

our chains fall from us - the small cramping chains of lifelong habit - and we go free . . . there is also an intellectual and spiritual element in the mountain passion, which can lift us out of ourselves, and show us, from a higher plain of feeling, as no, mere book knowledge can do, the true proportions and relations of things. One cannot walk in such regions consciously without enlargement of thought (35)

This understanding of nature had a strongly poetic element. With the rise of an increasingly scientific and professional approach to the study of nature, a separation occurred out of which developed an approach in which observation is infused with a deeper poetic understanding of the natural world. Salt, adopting a term used of Thoreau, called these writers the 'poet naturalists' of which the chief were Thoreau, Jeffries and Hudson, all popular writers of the period. (36) Salt saw the poet-naturalist as one who saw nature 'through the medium of human

aspiration', (37) and the upsurge of concern with nature as a source of meaning in the eighties and particularly nineties represents the return of the themes of the first Romantic period, though this time in ways that reached much wider sections of society. The Lakeland poets, whose works have always been a reference point for such perceptions, enjoyed a resurgence of popularity; and in 1886 the Shelley Society was founded by, among others, F.J. Furnival (38) and with Shaw, Salt and Axon among its leading members. (39) It is symptomatic of the concerns of the period and their interrelationships that this new interest in Shelley should go with a repudiation of the 'ineffectual angel' image and an assertion instead of the central importance of his radicalism, feminism, egalitarianism - and, with them, his vegetarianism.

1. 81. For the classical treatment of primitivism see Documentary History of Primitivism, Vol I Antiquity, ed. A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, Baltimore, 1935.
2. 82. Mayor was himself a conservative; his belief in the need to break down the barriers of 'caste distinctions' that were reinforced by luxurious living had no socialist impulse behind it but drew on older stoic and conservative ideals. (see DR, Jan 1881, p2, address by Mayor) This approach to simplification was shared by a small group of Anglican clergy, whose social context was slightly different from that predominating in vegetarianism. The Reverend Charles Collyns spoke of how: 'Clergymen and country gentlemen and employers of labour would in vain preach thrift and temperance, if their hearers knew of the venison that had come down by express train, or the turbot that had cost a guinea. The war of the classes would never cease so long as the rich wasted their wealth in riotous living'. (DR, May 1880, p96) The Reverend W.J. Monk, vicar of Doddington in Kent, and President of the VS, also spoke of 'the connection between plain living and pure living'.
3. 83. Carpenter, Days and Dreams, p166.
4. 84. Collyns wrote of the foolishness of present artificial levels of need and of the 'growing fastness and extravagance of our mode of living'. DR, June 1884, p170.
5. 85. Seed Time, Oct 1889, 'The Return to Nature', p4.
6. 86. Carpenter, Civilization, its Cause and Cure, p43.
7. 87. Seed Time, Oct 1889, 'The Return to Nature', p4.
8. 88. Carpenter, Civilisation, its Cause and Cure, p35.
9. 89. Ibid, p36.
10. 90. Jupp, Religion of Nature, p31.
11. 91. See p160
12. 92. See A.D. King, 'A Time for Space and a Space for Time: the Social Production of the Vacation House', A.D. King, ed, Buildings and Society, 1981. The early bungalow was also associated with a freer and more relaxed way of life, though with less of the high-mindedness of the simple-life house. There

was a strong influence, particularly from the nineties onwards from the nature culture movement in Germany, and nature-cure centres, often situated in the mountains and on the edge of pine forests (the scent of pine was believed to be healthful) featured such houses, see A. Just, Return to Nature, 1912., for pictures of these.

13. 93. Seed Time, Oct 1889, p4.
14. 94. Seed Time, Jan 1891, p6.
15. 95. p207.
16. 96. See Hugh McCleod, 'White Collar Values and the Role of Religion', in G. Crossick, ed. The Lower Middle Class In Britain, 1870-1914, 1977.
17. 97. Semple wrote of some of the social effects of the simple life and its diet: 'women would have far more leisure to devote to intellectual self-cultivation. Man, too, would gradually be drawn from the factory and the city into the ideal life of the country where we would work under the glorious sunshine in the health-giving orchards of nature'. Fruitarianism, Paisley, 1913
18. 98. Jupp, The Religion of Nature, p89. Nellie Shaw speaks of a 'strange strain of asceticism in Francis', A Czech, p84.
19. 99. Seed Time, Oct 1889, p4
20. 100. Today, Nov 1886, p174.
21. 101. D.E. Allen, 1976, p196-9. These included the Selbourne Society, Royal Society for Protection of Birds, Humanitarian League, Society for Preservation of Ancient Buildings, National Trust, National Footpath Society and others. The late nineteenth century saw the first nature reserves with the buying of areas of the Broads. Earlier in the mid sixties, open land like Epping Forest, and Hampstead Heath had been saved by the Commons, Open Spaces and Footpath Preservation Society. Allen, p199.
22. 102. See recurrent mentions in the vegetarian journals. Salt coined the term 'murderous millinery' in his Animal Rights, 1892
23. 103. Allen refers to one habit that indicates such a change in consciousness in the popular development in the early nineties of putting bread out for birds in towns: 'For some years it remained a sophisticated practice largely confined to townsmen. When Hudson went down to Cornwall in 1908 and proceeded to engage in this, by now standard, metropolitan routine, the locals were quite astonished: "the passer-by would stop and examine the scraps or crusts, then stare at me, and finally depart with a puzzled expression".' p232-13.
24. 104. Jupp speaks of the 'slavery of mind' that oppressed him when he was sent to the city to learn 'business habits'. Wayfarings, p13.
25. 105. Journey to Understanding, p22. See Winsten, p68, for the way working people used Shelley, Whitman and Jeffries as forms of escape literature.
26. 106. Salt too took up the theme: see his attack on mining and commercial interests in his On Cambrian and Cumbrian Hills, 1907, p107.
27. 107. Joynes had originally to leave Eton because of his friendship with and advocacy of George's ideas, and he continued to publicise them in the vegetarian journals. See for example, 'The Land for the People', Food Reform Magazine, July 1882, p86.

28. 108. The idea did bear fruit in Whiteway. Seed Time also describes another largely vegetarian colony at Methwold.
29. 109. See Jupp's account in Wayfarings of his semi-visionary experiences in the Surrey Hills.
30. 110. DR, July 1881, p50.
31. 111. For example, the Salts at Tilford, the Webbs at Dorking and a number of Fabians and Tolstoyans at Limpsfield.
32. 112. For the earlier history of the appreciation of mountains and the shift in consciousness with regard to them see: M.H. Nicolson, Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: the Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite, New York, 1959. Nicolson unfortunately does not go beyond the romantic period to the era of the wider popularisation of these feelings.
33. 113. Nor had he any time for the vulgar trippers who would destroy this sense of wildness by such things as the Snowdon railway, see On Cumbrian and Cambrian Hills, 1908, p16 and p18.
34. 114. Ibid, p120.
35. 115. Ibid, p121.
36. 116. Salt revered Thoreau in particular, see his Henry David Thoreau, 1890. He also admired Jeffries, writing Richard Jeffries: A Study, in 1894, and was a friend of Hudson. As well as Hudson's famous works like Long Ago and Far Away and Green Mansions, he wrote The Crystal Age, 1887, a romance which portrays another world where people live in simplicity and close to nature, and with a vegetarian diet, (p46), though Hudson does not himself appear to have been a vegetarian.
37. 117. Company I have Kept, p98, 101. See also his Richard Jeffries, p49, for his poetic conception of nature.
38. 118. P.J. FURNIVALL: 1825-1910, well known in literary circles editor of early texts, advocate of spelling reform, originator of the Oxford Dictionary and founder of a series of literary societies. In early years a Christian Socialist, working with F.D. Maurice in working men's education, though later actively hostile to Christianity, and promoting Sunday as a day of secular pleasure. He had been a vegetarian for some twenty years, though was at this time lapsed. From his vantage point in a tea shop near the British Museum, he held court over a progressivist-cum-literary circle. See DNB and K.M. Elisabeth Murrey, Caught in the Web of Words. James Murrey and the Oxford English Dictionary, 1971
39. 119. For the Shelley Society see Salt, Seventy Years..., p90-100. Though Salt dates the society from 1886, their reprint of Shelley's Vindication of Natural Diet is dated 1884; it has an introduction by Salt and Axon.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES. SOCIAL HEALTH AND THE BODY

For many of this generation, gathering in Ruskin Societies, Whitmanite circles and socialist reading groups, Edward Carpenter was a prophet-like figure. He is of added importance here because he stands at the point where so many strands in the vegetarian ideology meet, (1) and his writings, with their use of the bodily as an image of the social and the universal, demonstrates the ways in which these were woven together.

Edward Carpenter (2)

In Civilisation, its Cause and Cure, Carpenter starts from the question of illness, and asks how we can be in a state of civilisation and yet so ill. For Carpenter, the issue is much wider than just sickness, for behind it lies the larger question of the origin of our woes. The answer he gives is the distorting effects of civilisation, for Carpenter's scheme is essentially a return of the Romanticist conception of man and society. Throughout the book Carpenter develops the state of the body as a social metaphor, drawing on the microcosm/macrocossm image. Thus disease is a problem that applies both to our physical and social states;

For as in the body disease arises from the loss of the physical unity which constitutes Health, and so takes the form of warfare or discord between the various parts, or of the abnormal development of individual organs, or the consumption of the system by predatory germs and growths; so in our modern life we find the unity gone which constitutes true society, and in its place warfare of the classes and individuals, abnormal development of some to the detriment of others, and the consumption of the organism by masses of social parasites. (3)

He then remarks - and this becomes a familiar point in the holistic medical tradition - how the words health, whole and holy have the same derivation, and how the true ideal of health is a positive one. (4)

What is the cause of this loss of unity, Carpenter asks; and his answer is self-knowledge, or self-consciousness. Man in his origins had the unconscious instinctual nature that we observe in animals; and he lived then in simple harmony with himself and nature: 'his impulses both physical and social were clear and more unhesitating; and his unconsciousness of inner discord and sin a great contrast to our modern condition of everlasting strife and perplexity'. (5)

However, a more perfect state awaits man than the simple animal one, for man must fall and experience disunity to realise himself fully. All History and Civilisation represent this 'parenthesis in human progress'. (6) Such evolutionary schemes are common in this period; though in the context of vegetarianism the simple Edenic model, whereby men fell from his best, most natural state, and must aim at its recovery, is more common.

Civilisation is a process of separation and division - physical, social and spiritual. Property divides man from nature, setting us apart from 'the great elemental world of the winds and the waves'. (7) We hide away from nature in dark artificial boxes, muffled in furs and clothes. Man is divided from his fellows; the organic social relationship is lost, and his neighbour becomes his enemy. Government and coercion are needed to provide by artificial means what had been lost by the disintegration of organic community. Finally man is divided from himself; he pursues the gratification of his separate desires rather than the unity of his whole being. The movement towards reintegration must come through the return to nature and the community of human life. (8)

At the core of Carpenter's ideas is the image of 'the cosmical man, the instinctive elemental man accepting and crowning nature'; (9) and it is condensed within this image that the different strands of ideas, with their different areas of reference - the body, diet, architecture, social relation, nature and the cosmos - find their cohesion. Thus the actual experience of throwing off clothes takes on also cosmic implications:

the instinct of all who desire to deliver the divine image within them is, in something more than the literal sense, towards unclothing. And the process of exfoliation is itself nothing but a continual unclothing of nature, by which the perfect human Form which is at the root of it, comes nearer and nearer its manifestations. (10)

'Divine image within', 'unclothing of nature' and 'perfect human form' are central images here, and ones recurrent in vegetarianism, though Carpenter's homosexuality no doubt gave a particular charge to this vision of the body as a transfigured image of reality. (11)

The answer to the problems of sin and pain are also found in this image. Sin for Carpenter is morbidity, and only arises at the intermediary stage when there is conflict and division within. (12) Society has distorted man's nature and his body, suppressing the totality: 'During the civilisation period the body being systematically wrapped in clothes, the head alone

represents man - the little finniken, intellectual, self-conscious man in contradiction to the cosmical man represented by the entirety of bodily organs'. (13) The recovery of bodily unity is part of the recovery of cosmic unity: Where the cosmic self is, there is no more self consciousness. The body and what is ordinarily called the self are felt to be only parts of the true self, and the ordinary distinctions of inner and outer, egoism and altruism etc lose a good deal of their value'. (14) Taking up the metaphor of cleanliness, he states:

The unity of our nature being restored, the instinct of bodily cleanliness, both within and without . . . will again characterise mankind . . . And thus the whole human being, mind and body, becomes clean and radiant from its inmost centre to its farthest circumference - "transfigured" – the distinction between the world spiritual and material disappears. (15)

These mystical yearnings of Carpenter remain at root this-worldly in preoccupation. He was at pains to emphasise that identification with the cosmos did not involve 'a denial or depreciation of human life and interests', (16) and this was important for his socialism, where Carpenter's aim was less the transcendence than the transfiguration of the world.

Part of this new vision of man involved the restoration of intuitive knowledge. Most simply this meant the revolt by educated men like Carpenter and Salt against the 'ornamental cleverness' of their backgrounds, and a reassertion of the value of direct feeling and experience. (17) But it also often meant the assertion of the superiority of spiritual and intuitive perceptions over the intellectual and cerebral, and the theme is found widely in the writings of Maitland and others. It was part of a wider revolt among the intellectuals of the nineties against the control of conscious rationality in favour of Berasanian neo-romanticist conceptions of being; and it reverberates also in the symbolist and occultic concerns of the avant guard and in the discoveries of psycho-analysis. In this it prepares the way for what in the twentieth century becomes a major theme among intellectuals, that of the over-rational nature of modern society and the need to recover feeling and intuition as centres of personality.

In these ideas a vegetarian diet played a part. (18) Carpenter hated the cruelty and fracturing of brotherhood involved in killing, though he also believed that meat 'has a tendency to inflame the subsidiary centres and so diminish central control' (19) This inflaming - as traditionally - involved the inflaming of sexual desire, though - less commonly – he related this to his belief in the need for balance in the body rather than the feverish pursuit of partial gratification.

Carpenter's approach to food also contained the more unusual theory of active and passive eating. Active eating tends towards the selection of food, control and abstemiousness - towards the judicious building up of the body; whereas the passive approach just takes in food, lets it do as it will, and involves a tendency towards stimulants. Where the body is not built up through 'authentic action' of the ego, but by another external force or stimulant residing in the food, then the body ceases to be an expression of the self and becomes rather its concealment. This is the fate of the majority of people. Eating is here perceived as a conflict for domination between the eater and the food, and healthy eating involves a form of 'conquest'. In this, animal food

containing, as it does highly wrought organic forces, may liberate within our system powers which we may find difficult or even impossible to dominate - lethargic monsters, foul harpies, and sad-visaged lemurs - which may insist on having their way, building up an animal body, not truly human. (20)

Carpenter goes on to develop the idea of cooking as the way meat-eating culture has of reducing this danger of domination. (21) In his approach Carpenter both repeats certain established vegetarian ideas concerning the animal effects of meat, and gives a biological reality to the sense of control and commitment involved in making these moral decisions about life and one's orientation to it – engagement with life or authentic action of the ego here building up a different sort of body.

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1. *I20.* Socialism, simple life, naturism, dress reform, attacks upon medicine, anti-vivisectionism, critique of scientific materialism, belief in intuition, feminism, sexual politics, New England Transcendentalism, Indian thought, progressive education.
 2. *I21.* EDWARD CARPENTER: 1844-1929. Born into prosperous middle-class family of broad church background. Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Religious difficulties, allied with the discovery of his homosexuality, led him to abandon the Church and Cambridge and take up university extension lecturing in the north, which brought him into contact with working-class socialism. In 1883 he took a small holding at Millthorpe, where living close to nature and in an openly homosexual relationship, he gathered around him a mixture of middle-class intellectuals interested in the simple life and socialism, and working-class socialists from the city. See his autobiography, My Days and Dreams, 1916; S. Rowbottom and J. Weekes, Socialism and the New Life, 1977; and C. Tsuzuki, Edward Carpenter, 1844-1929, 1980.
 3. *I22.* CCC, p2.

4. *I23.* 'a condition of the body in which it is an entirety, a unity - a central force maintaining that condition; and disease being the break up - or break down - of that entirety into multiplicity'. Our modern idea of disease is a 'purely negative one'. CCC, p11.
5. *I24.* CCC, p23.
6. *I25.* CCC, p25
7. *I26.* CCC, p27
8. *I27.* Man must find his home again in nature. 'Today it is unfortunately perfectly true that Man is the only animal who, instead of adorning and beautifying, makes Nature hideous by his presence. The fox and the squirrel may make their homes in the wood and add to its beauty by so doing; but when Alderman Smith plants his villa there, the gods pack up their trunks and depart; they can bear it no longer'. CCC, p38
9. *I28.* CCC, p42.
10. *I29.* CCC, p36.
11. *I30.* Carpenter's language derives much here from Whitman and his homo-erotic poetry.
12. *I31.* 'But when the central power is restored in man and all things are reduced to his service, it is impossible for him to see badness in anything. The bodily is no longer antagonistic to the spiritual love, but is absorbed into it . . . Vices under existing conditions are vices simply because of the inordinate and disturbing influence they exercise, but will cease again to be vices when the man regains his proper command'. CCC, p43
13. *I32.* CCC, p44.
14. *I33.* CCC, p44.
15. *I34.* CCC, p38.
16. *I35.* CCC, p38.
17. *I36.* Winsten quotes them as describing University life as 'a fraud and a weariness, the everlasting discussion of theories that never come near actual life, the ornamental cleverness, the book learning, the queer cynicism and boredom underlying'. p56. Both criticised the public schools in particular for their devaluation of feeling.
18. *I37.* Carpenter had begun to move towards a vegetarian diet in 1879 and by 1884 had abandoned all meat and alcohol, though he kept no iron rule on the issue and would eat meat to avoid fuss, My Days and Dreams, p101. For his theories about vegetarian food, see Seed Time, April 1892, p12.
19. *I38.* Civilisation, p38,
20. *I39.* Seed Time, April 1892, p12.
21. *I40.* 'cooked food is certainly safer - a certain grade of vitality being destroyed by cooking'. Ibid.

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Dress Reform and Naturism

Two movements in particular gave expression to the social implications of the state of the body - these were dress reform (1) and naturism.

Dress provides a fertile field for consideration by the vegetarians, for fashion epitomises the unnatural and artificial; it is one of the most obvious cases of the socially imposed. Furthermore it alters and even distorts the body, presenting it in accord with the dominant mode of the time. (This applies to all dress and not just to the more obvious case of women's fashions) It is also part of social hierarchy, indicating social status and acting as a counter in the game of social snobbery. At the core of dress reform's concerns was a desire to throw off these restrictions and falsenesses of dress. Ultimately there is no escape from fashion, and reformed dress acted as much as a badge of certain attitudes and as an expression of belonging to certain advanced circles, as it did any 'rational' solution. Like all aesthetic functionality, it never truly escaped style.

In the fight for women's rights, the right to move freely and unrestrainedly was important; thus feminist dress reformers attacked the corset not only for being damaging to health, but also for being restricting and for distorting a woman's natural shape. (2) Similarly the elaborate, trailing skirts which prevented active walking and demanded a carriage existence, and which it was argued were unhygienic, sweeping up the dirt of the streets, were also seen as part of an imprisonment of women, both actual and psychological. (3)

Carpenter pointed to the unhealthy and debilitating effects of modern dress, or rather overdress, in which people hide away from nature, muffled in clothes, frightened of the elements, and with this 'denial of nature comes every form of disease; first delicateness, daintiness, luxury; then imbalance, enervation, huge sensibility to pain'. (4) Clothes should be rougher and simpler he argued, and encourage a hardier body. Carpenter also wanted to abandon the elaborate fussiness of modern dress that required the constant attention of servants to press and launder, and the constant care of the wearer not to tear, disarrange or dirty. Above all, many exponents of the simple life believed that you should have clothes that you could do work in. The most radical attempt to find dress suitable for an active way of life took place at Whiteway; there the

women cut their skirts short, and went bare legged and bare armed, while the men stripped to the waist and wore knickerbockers or shorts, This was outlandish dress for the period and caused much scandal in the neighbourhood.

Sandals had first been popularised in England by Carpenter; (5) and from his workbench at Willthorpe, the making of sandals spread to Letchworth and Whiteway, until they became the emblem of a certain sort of socialist simple lifer. Comfortable feet and the freedom to move your toes, in contrast to what Carpenter called 'leather coffins', were all part of the rejection of the cramping restrictions of society.

Dress reform also represented a hostility to the iron triviality of fashion and to its suggestion of woman's essential infirmity of purpose. Fashion, whose essence is to be ever shifting and whose demands, despite the fact that they are regarded as trivial, are yet impossible to ignore, exemplified just the sort of artificially created needs that the vegetarians sought to repudiate. One element in dress reform was an attempt to find some unchangingly beautiful or rational form of dress that would free the wearer from these concerns. Aesthetic dress with its flowing lines and soft colours had some of this aspect to it. (6) The desire for an unchanging dress led some of the more extreme reformers to adopt classical garb. (7) This tendency towards the radical redesigning of clothes was strongest among the Germans and reached British circles largely through their contact with the Nakturkultur movement. (8)

The most famous of the dress reformers was Dr Jaeger. 'Health is fragrance, disease is stench', was his basic theme. (9) According to Jaeger the body gives off essences, the noxious ones of which are found also in all evil smelling things. The aim of his system was to encourage the body to give off these essences as vigorously as possible, and at the same time to prevent them gathering in the surrounding air and thus leading to self poisoning. Jaeger believed that substances divided into those in which evil odours were preserved - these were all vegetable substances like cotton, linen and wool - and those in which only the fragrant and beneficial ones congregated – these were undyed animal fibres, feathers, hair. Thus Jaeger insisted that health rested upon the exclusive use of woollen and animal fibres in clothing and furnishing. The action of rough wool on the skin further stimulated blood supply and thus promoted the exhalation of the noxious vapours, which could then pass through the woollen layers. The cotton or linen dresser trapped these vapours around his body and bathed in self poisoning. Furniture should also be of wool or metal, least the vapours gather in the upholstery or the

unpainted wood. Sleeping with the windows open was strongly recommended, and light colours were preferred, dark ones trapping the poison. (10) The full Jaeger suit was a close fitting garment of undyed stockinette.

Jaeger's system was remarkably successful; and wool next to the skin became a watchword in advanced circles, and eventually permeated widely throughout society, revolutionising underwear. Shaw for one took it up, appearing in his one-piece yellowish wool suit like: 'a forked radish in a worsted bifurcated stocking'; (11) and it had a vogue in Fabian circles, some of whom became enthusiastic 'wool wearers'.

Jaeger's advocacy of animal products ran counter to vegetarian ideas, and caused conflict with certain leaders of the movement. (12) Despite this however, it is clear that many vegetarians became enthusiasts for his system. The main area of agreement according to Jaeger was the issue of noxious emanations. Like many vegetarians, Jaeger believed that the excrement of carnivores was more offensive than that of vegetarians, and since disease was stench, a vegetarian diet was an important way of reducing the noxious vapours generally. (13) The two movements were linked in their idea of bodily purity, in the belief in the virtues of fresh air and in appeals to nature. Health here was a question of cleansing, either by avoiding corrupting foods, by sweating off (Jaeger endorsed various form of water cure) or by exuding the poison through permeable fabrics.

The second movement that shared these concerns was naturism. During the late nineties the first influences from the German naturist movement began to be felt; a Naked Truth Society existed in England in 1892 and Carpenter was influential in advocating the benefits of wind and sun on the body. As yet the emphasis was on the emotional or hygienic benefits and on Romanticist ideas of direct contact with nature - social nudism tended to come later. The associations were strongly German, and Romance in his articles on German vegetarianism stresses its strong links with naturism, which he sees as less true of English vegetarianism. (14) The strongest links are through nature cure and books like Adolf Just's Return to Nature were influential with their pictures of sun and earth baths and of sleeping in the open air. Though references otherwise in the literature are slightly guarded, it is clear that sun and air baths were gaining popularity. Harold Begbie in his satire on the vegetarians, The Curious and Diverting Adventures of Sir John Sparrow, Bart, has his hero visit a gushing lady vegetarian, also a dress reformer and theosophist, who was an enthusiast for light and air baths. (15) As yet, however, 'sunbaths' – the word was still a singular one at

the time - were highly eccentric and it was not until the inter-war years that the idea caught on widely.

In many of these ideas the vegetarians were clearly the heirs of Romanticism; though it is important to note here that the link is always with the, as it were, 'light' side of Romanticism - that concerned with transfiguration, joy and the beauties of nature, and dominated by the imagery of the sun – and with little or none of the darker preoccupations with death and excess. These different strands are illustrated here in the dramatic contrast between vegetarianism and the aestheticism of the nineties, (16) that other heir, in the period, of romanticism: thus the aesthetes sought out artifice and artificiality both in surroundings and society, in contrast to the vegetarian ideal of naturalness and simplicity; loved the costly and highly wrought, the glitter of jewels and brocade in contrast to homely materials and rough surfaces; sought out closed rooms, darkness and artificial light rather than sunshine and open air; favoured pale complexions, black clothes and illness rather than the fresh tanned healthfulness and light coloured clothing favoured by the vegetarians. In a similar way, though some of their spiritual ideas do overlap with the emerging occult, vegetarianism stops short of any of its darker, semi-satanist aspects. (17)

1. 141. For dress reform generally, see Stella Mary Newton, Health, Art and Reason, 1974.
2. 142. For vegetarian feminist comment, see Mary Gove Nichols, The Clothes Question Considered . . . 1878. See VM, Jan, 1896, p11, for arguments against corsets and tight boots.
3. 143. Nellie Shaw, a keen dress reformer, wrote: 'We hope that never again will women allow themselves to be seduced from paths of simplicity or go back to the slavery of long, tight, unhygienic clothing', Whiteway, p114,
4. 144. CCC, p27
5. 145. He was sent a pair by Harold Cox, of the Tilford experiment, from Kashmir.
6. 146. Aesthetic dress, though worn by some vegetarian ladies, for example Mrs Leigh Hunt Wallace, was often made from expensive and beautiful fabrics and lace, and had a more purely 'artistic' aspect to it.
7. 147. N. Shaw, p111, for such at Whiteway. The Greek ideal had a wider currency in vegetarian circles, standing, for a society that celebrated bodily health and beauty, and that rejected sin and guilt.
8. 148. Visits from reformers like Heinrich Scham were described, though the reporter in this case did wonder that anyone could have walked down Piccadilly so dressed. DR, Feb 1895, p7.
9. 149. Gustav Jaeger, Dr Jaeger's Health Cure, 1887, p8. The book gives a general account of his ideas.
10. 150. This preference for light coloured clothing occurs elsewhere; German reformed dress was nearly always white or cream. Sometimes it is connected with ideas of purity; for example Dr Kellogg at Battle

Creek wore white suits and shoes to symbolise purity and cleanliness, which he linked also with his practice of total celibacy in his marriage. G. Carson, The Cornflake Crusade, 1959.

11. 151. Frank Harris, quoted in S.M. Newton, p114.
12. 152. The Danielite Star, Jan 1901, refers to a rival 'azoonic' clothing made from non-animal substances. Salt, though he found much fanciful in the system, recommended people to try the suits and to ignore the qualified nature of Jaeger's recommendation of vegetarianism, Food Reform Magazine, 1885, April/June, p103.
13. 153. Jaeger did not believe that meat need be wholly eschewed, though vegetarianism was recommended for sedentary workers.
14. 154. Romanes also believed that the German movement was in contrast to the British, essentially pagan in tone. VR, Jan 1897, p 67 . German vegetarianism has always had a strong health and nature-cure bias, and has been much less animal-minded than the English movement. American vegetarianism comes somewhere between the two.
15. 155. 1902. Begbie had been a vegetarian and had edited a journal for Hills, but he reverted to meat-eating and wrote this novel which recounts the journey of an innocent abroad among the vegetarians. See Salt, Company I Have Kept, p141.
16. 156. The classic statement of this is Huysmans' A Rebours, 1891.
17. 157. See M. Eliade, Occultism, Witchcraft and Cultural Fashions: Essays in Comparative Religions, 1976 for an account of the occult in the west since the late nineteenth century.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

SEXUALITY

There runs through vegetarianism a vein of sexual eccentricity. It takes two forms, one centred around the advocacy of freedom and liberation, often with deviant or semi-sacramentalist associations, and sometimes involving highly eccentric theories of sex; (1) the other, much the predominant, around ideas of purity and sexual abstinence.

The theme of sexual purity turns up in a number of spheres, whether overtly in the common association of meat eating with sexual stimulation, or less openly in repudiations of 'low materialism...', and the idolisation of the body'. (2) 'Materialism throughout the context of vegetarianism is used equivocally; it can mean the gross pursuit of worthless possessions; it can mean the denial of the higher spiritual realm; but it can also mean the rejection of the physical, with its central meaning the denial of sexuality and pleasure in sex. The issue relates in some degree to the question of pleasure in food, where the vegetarian tradition is similarly divided. One can find passages that extol the pleasures of vegetarian food, what Clubb had earlier called 'gustatory delights', (3) or recipes aimed to make the diet enjoyable, but one also finds, perhaps predominating, the tradition that rejects this, that reduces food to the barest minimum, that recommends plainness and blandness, and that castigates any elements of luxury in eating. Certain of the vegetarians - Shaw and Beatrice Webb among them - seem almost to dislike food; for Beatrice Webb this was part of a rigorous curbing of the pleasure-loving or passionate side of her nature in favour of a life of dedication and hard work, 'Man will only evolve upwards,' she wrote, 'by the subordination of his physical desires and appetites to the intellectual and spiritual side of his nature. (4) Lady Gwendoline Herbert was to have direct experience of the strength of this tradition of asceticism in the disturbance and agitation in the hall that ensued when she, addressing the May Meeting of 1896, asserted that vegetarianism involved no self denial. (5)

The vegetarians of this time were associated with a number of social purity movements, aiming to refine and de-sensualise human nature. Lady Paget expressed the predominating tone:

Since I have adopted the diet, I have experienced a delightful sense of repose and freedom, a kind of superior elevation above things material...it has a decided effect on moral character,

rendering people docile arid more spirituelle and if spread among the masses would make them less coarse and brutal. It refines the lower instincts...and reduces sensuality. (6)

The older static model of man in terms of higher and lower natures, and of rising above the latter, continues, though for some in this period, influenced by evolutionary ideas and in particularly spiritual versions of these, this model is given a dynamic aspect and the movement translated into a temporal sphere, involving a cosmic and individual advance to a higher less fleshly plane.

The old belief in meat's stimulating effects was widely held. 'Keep your body in temperance and soberness', advised the Reverend C.H, Collyns, 'and you will find it far easier to keep it in chastity'. (7) In a similar vein a vegetarian diet was often recommended to boys in the fight against self abuse. Canon Lyttleton, (8) a head master of Eton, wrote of its benefits, and Eustace Miles, a vegetarian sportsman and public schoolmaster, wrote a number of books for boys which advocated a low, non-flesh diet for the problem. (9)

Among the Tolstoyans, there was a more open idealisation of total chastity, and the theme is echoed in some of the 'spiritual' circles. Spiritual advance and sexual purity were closely linked and associated with images of rising and of the purification of the body through cleansing foods and washing techniques. Just in the context of nature cure presents total chastity as the goal: 'If entire abstinence is to be the goal outside the married state, I do not see why this beautiful goal should not be striven for by married people and finally attained'. (10)

Not all subscribed to this view, and in an account left by Gandhi, we have hints of conflict over the issue. (11) Gandhi had arrived as a law student in alien England in the 1880's, and made contact with the London Vegetarian Society, and he recounts a conflict between Hills, whom he describes as a puritan, and Dr T.R. Allinson, described as an advocate of birth control, especially among the working classes. (12) Hills in his own writings makes it clear that sex is for procreation only: 'It has been given for its own special purpose, and for no other. It may not be abused for pleasure; it may not be indulged for passion'; (13) and he was able to force Allinson out of the Society over the issue, an action Gandhi deplored though he shared Hills' attitude to sex.

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1. 158. See for example, under the later period, the writings of H'anish, though he is not alone in such ideas. This polarity is also sometimes found in the context of deviant religious groups.
 2. 159. A. Just, The Jungborn Dietary: A New Vegetarian Cookery-book nd, p12.
 3. 160. VM, Dec 1849, p24.
 4. 161. Quoted in Beatrice Webb, K. Muggeridge and R. Adam, 1967, p167. Beatrice Webb's vegetarianism was part of a general pre-occupation with diet and exercise. She pursued a regime of extreme frugality; even Shaw spoke of the 'ravenously plain meals' served at the Webb's cottage near Dorking. Mrs. Kitty Muggeridge - for whose help on this point I am indebted - sees the key as lying in her 'passionate distaste for self indulgence'.
 5. 162. DR, June 1896, p171.
 6. 163. Quoted in Forward, p114, reprinted from The Nineteenth Century
 7. 164. DR, May 1880, p96.
 8. 165. Lyttleton had been converted by Eustace Miles in the early years of the century. See VM, July 1919, p79.
 9. 166. See his A Boy's Control and Self Expression, Cambridge, 1904; and Better Food for Boys, 3rd. ed, 1922. Miles recommended exercise, cold baths and avoiding flesh food, savoury sauces and pepper. EUSTACE MILES: born about 1870, public school and Cambridge. Noted tennis and rackets player - winner of Wimbledon. Became a vegetarian in his late twenties, found it lifted depression of spirits and made him more alert mentally, (see his Muscle, Brain and Diet: A Plea for Simpler Food, 1900). He was a master at Rugby, and later owner of a well known vegetarian restaurant that bore his name. He was a controversial figure in vegetarian circles, see VM, Feb, 1934, p34.
 10. 167. Adolf Just, The Return to Nature, trs 1912, p226
 11. 168. M.K. GANDHI, The Story of My Experiments with Truth, Ahemedabad, 1927. Gandhi had been persuaded briefly as a schoolboy to eat meat by a friend who told him that it gave strength and that this lay at the root of British domination of India. On leaving for England, he vowed to his mother that he would keep to their vegetarian diet; at first he was desperate for food that he could eat, but he came by chance upon a vegetarian restaurant in the city, in which he found a copy of Salt's A Plea for Vegetarianism. Reading this turned him into a vegetarian 'by choice' as well as background. Gandhi believed strongly in the connections between meat and sexual desire, and advocated vegetarianism as an aid to a purer life. His own health ideas were reinforced and influenced by his contacts with the vegetarian and nature-cure circles of the eighties, and later in particular with Just; and he synthesised their ideas with the Indian tradition in his own Guide to Health. See also for his visits, James D. Hunt, Gandhi in London, New Delhi, 1978.
 12. 169. Allinson in his A Book for Married Women, 1894, states that to confine sex to procreation would be to 'limit considerably one of our pleasures'. He also believed that 'Big feeders, drinkers of intoxicants, smokers etc. are more sexually inclined than simple livers and abstainers but the simple liver retains the capacity longer', p14.
 13. 170. A.P. Hills, Vegetarian Essay, 1897, p119.

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FEMINISM

Vegetarian food, as we have noted, represents female food in the grammar of conventional eating, and certain of vegetarianism's concerns might lead one to suppose that it would attract more women than men. Enrolment figures for the Vegetarian Society during the 1880's, however, show a clear majority of men (the ratio is roughly 4:1), and many vegetarians bemoaned the reluctance of women to adopt the diet, seeing this as a serious obstacle to their advance. (1) These figures may just reflect the greater tendency of men to join societies and be active publicly; and these vegetarian perceptions of imbalance may in part reflect the effects of female control over food; and the issue of sex ratios throughout the periods studied remains unresolved.

In certain contexts, however, it is clear that vegetarianism did attract women differentially. There are a small number of titled women associated with the diet, (2) whereas there appear to be no titled men - they being too emphatically 'of the centre'.

Vegetarianism also attracted a number of feminists and suffragettes. The revival of the feminist cause in the eighties and the advent of the New Woman took place in the same broadly liberal and progressivist circles in which vegetarianism was found, and it drew also on the concern with the politics, of private life. Slightly later, among the suffragettes, there was a strong vegetarian connection. 'She [Miss Wallace Dunlop] and Miss Haig (like so many of them)', recorded Mrs Blathway in her diary, 'never eat meat and not much animal food at all'. (3) Among that many was Lady Constance Lytton, who endured imprisonment and forced feeding for the suffrage cause. She had become a vegetarian initially for health reasons, though she became converted to the humanitarian aspect. (4) Mrs Leonora Cohen, a suffragette with the Pankhursts and also a militant – she smashed a jewel case in the Tower of London and went on hunger strike - had been a vegetarian since the age of five. (5) Eva Gore Booth was the leader of the North of England Society for Woman's Suffrage. She had come to Salford from County Sligo in the late nineties and remained there until 1913, working with Esther Roper among the women textile workers in the union and suffrage causes. She was a vegetarian from about 1906 onwards. (6) Mrs Charlotte Despard, again from an upper-class background, had become a socialist and women's trade-union worker, and then, increasingly from 1900, was involved in the suffrage cause. She led the Woman's Freedom League which had broken away

from the Pankhurst dominated WSPU. She had come to vegetarianism initially through a love of Shelley, though contact with Gandhi in 1909 reinforced her commitment. (7)

Part of the association lay through the influence of theosophy which had explicitly vegetarian links. A number of feminists and suffragettes were attracted to the spiritual freedom of theosophy or of the related occultic tradition. (8) Many feminists were not just concerned with freeing women from male domination and expanding their roles, but also with the revaluation of the feminine qualities within civilisation. (This was something that Carpenter and Maitland also urged). Theosophy had been concerned to reverse society's traditional valuation and to place the 'feminine' qualities of intuition and spiritual knowledge above the 'masculine' ones of intellect and rational knowledge. It was, furthermore, free from the patriarchal symbolism of Christianity and receptive to feminist theories concerning the matriarchal foundation of society and the role of the Great Goddess.

Many feminists believed in the inherent superiority of women, and, taking up the traditional Victorian concept of their greater spirituality, argued that they were further evolved than men from the material plane. A vegetarian diet was the natural concomitant of such ideas. But feminism and vegetarianism were also related through the common theme of sexual purity. Feminism in the late nineteenth century had a puritanical note that derived from more than tactical caution; many feminists regarded sex as something to be transcended, rather than to be indulged in, and from the Contagious Diseases Agitation onwards, feminism is associated with social purity movements that attempt to force men to abandon the values of the double standard through the imposition of chastity upon them too: 'Votes for Women and Chastity for Men'. Writers like the vegetarian and theosophist Mrs Swiney were virulent in attacking male lust, and: for many, sex itself represented the focus of the humiliating subjugation of women and this seems to have been part of the experience of both Annie Besant and Anna Kingsford. In an obscure way, it is present also in some of the intense identification with. The suffering animal found in the anti-vivisection literature.

1. 171. See, for example, VM, July 1894, p246.

2. 172. Including Lady Paget, Lady Florence Dixie, daughter of the Marquess of Queensbury, Lady Gwendoline Herbert, Lady Constance Lytton, Lady Emily Lutyens, Lady Clare Annesley and the Duchess of Hamilton.

3. 173. Quoted in A Nest of Suffragettes, B.M. Wilimot Dobbie, Bath, 1979, p41 and p46.

4. 174. For Lady Constance Lytton see her Prisons and Prisoners: Some Personal Experiences, 1914 and her Letters, edited by B. Balfour 1925.
5. 175. LEONORA COHEN: 1872-1977. Apprenticed as a milliner, active in equal pay cause among Leeds tailoresses. After the First War and marriage, a JP in Leeds; OBE for work among prisoners. See Liverpool Daily Post, June 14, 1973, interview; MS of interview in Vegetarian Society files; and Alive, Nov 1978, obituary.
6. 176. EVA GORE BOOTH: 1870-1926. Daughter of Sir Henry Gore Booth, brought up in the atmosphere of the Celtic twilight. In 1897 to Salford, where she led the reading class at Ancoats Brotherhood with readings from Shelley and Emerson. In 1914 a peace worker in Women's Peace Crusade. Involved with her sister, Countess Markievicz, in the Irish national cause. See introduction to her Poems, 1929, by Esther Roper, and article in VM, Sept 1932, p256.
7. 177. For Mrs Despard, see A. Linklater, An Unhusbanded Life, 1980
8. 178. See Mrs Despard, Theosophy and the Women's Movement, 1913; Mrs Swiney saw a similar link; Leonora Cohen was a theosophist and later keen supporter of the Liberal Catholic Church; see also Eva Gore Booth's free and mystical version of Christianity in her The Psychological and Poetic Approach to the Study of Christ in the Fourth Gospel, 1923. See also Diana Burfield, 'Theosophy and the Women's Movement', BSA Sociology of Religion Conference, Birmingham, 1980.

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MEDICINE

The second half of the nineteenth century saw certain changes in the state of medicine that were to have enduring consequences for vegetarianism and for the alternative medical tradition to which it is allied. The period from the 1850s saw the growing independence and power of the medical profession; (1) this occurred both institutionally, with the consolidating effects of the 1858 Medical Reform Act that united the profession; socially, with the full assumption of the status of the professional man and the throwing off of the aspects of the superior tradesman; technically, with the rise of the science-based medicine of the hospitals, now for the first time, centres of medical knowledge and training, and with the arrival of anti-sepsis, to join anaesthesia, in permitting the development of effective surgery; and ideologically, with the successful struggle by doctors to free themselves and the practice of medicine from older moral and religious concepts and constraints.

As part of this, they stressed the scientific nature of their knowledge and the radical separation of the medical treatment of the body from mental and moral aspects pertaining to subjectivity, and in this the discovery of germ theory was central, since it endowed medicine with an effective model whereby illness could be regarded as a neutral occurrence in the body to be eradicated by the simple administration of drugs.

Two movements in particular articulated popular hostility to these developments, these were anti-vivisection and anti-vaccination.

Though vaccination as a means of controlling smallpox had been discovered in the late eighteenth century, it was not until 1853 that attempts were made to make it compulsory, and in 1867 enforcement of the law was made more stringent. From then on agitation against the Vaccination Acts began to build up, rising to a peak in the 1880's. In 1889 a Royal Commission was appointed, reporting in 1896 and broadly endorsing the effectiveness of the practice. The 1898 Vaccination Act reiterated the earlier policy, though in recognition of objections it included a conscience clause. By the end of 1893, some 230,000 children had been exempted. (2)

From the beginning, the vegetarians had opposed the policy, and a number, Francis Newman and Henry Pitman among them - Pitman had founded a penny periodical The Anti-Vaccinator, and been sent to prison for refusing to allow his daughter to be vaccinated (3) - were prominent in the agitation. Opposition to vaccination became almost ubiquitous among vegetarians. (4)

Part of the opposition was libertarian, with the objection to compulsory medical treatment and arrogation to itself by the state of decisions concerning the individual's own or his family's body and health, and the harsher enforcement against the poor also gave the movement a radical bite; but opposition also came from the nature of the treatment. Many - not at the time unreasonably - disputed its effectiveness. Anti-vaccination, like vegetarianism, had links with the older tradition of the public health movement which argued that disease arose not from the bacteria of germ theory, but from dirty and insanitary conditions. Under anti-vaccination pressure certain centres like Leicester, and Gloucester under the vegetarian Hadwen, shifted from a vaccinatory to a sanitary defence policy. (5)

Many of the sanitarians had evangelical religious backgrounds and they attacked the 'atheistical materialism' of the new medicine that undermined personal responsibility and the link between suffering and sin. (6) Simple cleanliness and personal moral purity instead, were seen as the true way. Some of the psychological charge in the Victorian concern with cleanliness and its wider moral meanings is evident in opposition to vaccination, which was regarded as unclean, a form of poisoning that violated the purity of the subject's body. There was particular concern over possible cross-infection with syphilis. With the abandonment in the late nineteenth century of the arm-to-arm method and the substitution of glycerinated lymph from infected calves, a further objection was added in the revulsion from an animal-derived disease, and from the distress caused to the incubating animals. There was also a clear anxiety over the possible animalisation of humans through the injection of animal fluids.

Anti-vaccination, is closely linked with anti-vivisection, and both also share certain features with the earlier Contagious Diseases Agitation, with which vegetarians are also strongly connected. (7) This too was a libertarian movement, objecting to the harassment and compulsory medical treatment of women, and a purity movement, objecting to the recognition and implied acceptance of prostitution, and to the medical theory that sexual indulgence for men was necessary for health. (8) All three contained a hostility to the claimed supremacy of professionalism in moral issues of health and well being.

Growing public interest in the eighties in ideas of healthy living was amply illustrated in the popularity of the 1884 International Health Exhibition held on the South Kensington site. It included exhibitions and publications relating to, among other things, housing, clean air, clothing and diet - these last two being the most popular. (9) The exhibition represented the confluence of the still powerful sanitary tradition with some of the newer concerns with personal health: and Edwin Chadwick, the hero of sanitary reform, arrived at the opening wearing a Jaeger suit. (10) A vegetarian restaurant was provided where some 161,000 meals were served, and Allinson offered free medical advice. (11)

Vegetarianism at this time is linked with various alternative therapies: homeopathy, hydropathy, (12) hypnotherapy (13) and spiritual healing appear in references and advertisements. In 1895, Hills endowed the Oriolet Hospital, with Josiah Oldfield as warden, as a vegetarian centre for such treatment. (14) (I will discuss later the tradition of nature cure and will only note here briefly the presence of some of its characteristic themes). (15)

Many of these vegetarian practitioners attacked the new medicine, and Dr T.R. Allinson was struck off the medical register for advising the public to avoid all doctors and their drugs, a view shared by Shaw. (16) Allinson became famous for his advocacy of brown bread, which in this period assumed a new importance in the natural health tradition. The earlier vegetarians had included wholemeal bread among their causes, and its advocacy had older association with 'spiritual' writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although white and bakery-bought bread had reached the majority of the population by the early decades of the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1880's that the major revolution took place with the discovery of roller milling which made possible the production of white flour of full extraction. (17) In the 1880's Miss May Yates, together with Samuel Morley MP, founded the Brown Bread League, and it attracted many who were not vegetarians. (18) Allinson was active in the cause, setting up a flour mill and licensing bakers. (19) White bread was attacked for lacking food value, particularly minerals, but the main argument for brown bread was that it would eliminate the scourge of constipation (20) from which so many Victorians seemed to suffer, and for which the burgeoning patent medicine industry had developed a great range of laxative products. The late nineteenth century also saw in vegetarianism, and more generally, a new emphasis on fresh fruit. (21)

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1. 179. For the background to the development of the profession see R.D. French, Anti-Vivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society, Princeton, 1975.
 2. 180. For an account by a leading protagonist, see William White, The Story of a Great Delusion, 1885. See also R.M. MacLeod, 'Law, Medicine and Public Opinion: The Resistance to Compulsory Health Legislation, 1870-1907', Public Law, 1967; Lloyd G. Stevenson, 'Science Down the Drain: On the Hostility of Certain Sanitarians to Animal Experimentation, Bacteriology and Immunology', Bull. Of Hist. Of Medicine, 1955
 3. 181. HENRY PITMAN: 1829-1909. Brother of Isaac, lecturer in phonetics, reporter of the Ramsgate Conference, temperance worker, co-operativist, publisher of The Co-operator, See Dictionary of Labour Biography.
 4. 182. See VM, May 1853, p11; P.W. Newman, The Political Side of the Vaccination System, 1895, Mrs C. Leigh Hunt Wallace, Vaccination Brought Home to the People, 1876.
 5. 183. For Hadwen see p236.
 6. 184. For aspects of this connection see Mrs Leigh Hunt Wallace, 'Disease and Sin are synonymous', Vaccination, p4.
 7. 185. Francis Newman was prominent here, and the DR carried a series of articles on the topic. See for example DR, July 1870, p67, and Newman, The Coming Revolution, 1882.
 8. 186. See F.W. Newman 'Remedies for the Great Social Evil; p274, Miscellanies, III, for this aspect; also DR, July 1870, p67. It encourages the idea 'that promiscuous sexual intercourse can safely and respectably be indulged in'.
 9. 187. See extensive literature produced as part of the exhibition; also Stella Mary Newton, Health, Art and Reason, p89.
 10. 188. The Lancet, May 1884, p863.
 11. 189. Forward, p97-101; DR, June 1884, p158; The Lancet, May 1884, p996.
 12. 190. Explicit references to hydropathy tend to decline after the 1870's. This conforms to Robin Price's view in his 'Hydrotherapy in Britain, 1840-70', Medical History, 1981. General references to water-cure techniques continue, however, and become integrated into nature cure generally.
 13. 191. See Miss Chandos Leigh Hunt, A Treatise on All Known Uses of Organic Magnetism Phenomenal and Curative, 1876.
MRS CHANDOS LEIGH HUNT WALLACE noted vegetarian writer, editor of The Herald of Health, ardent anti-vaccinator and anti-vivisectionist, mother of seven, cyclist and supporter of reformed dress. See her Dietetic Advice to the Young and Old, 1884, for her health and food theories. She rejected a wide range of foods, especially fermented or rotten foods, and believed food should be taken in its 'whole' form. See VN, April 1927, p127, for obituary. Her Husband JOSEPH WALLACE, practised according to nature-cure principles, see Forward, p134.
 14. 192. Treating especially cancer, see Forward, p170, and VM April 1897: it did use some drugs, unlike Allinson's Hygenic Hospital which allowed none. JOSIAH OLDFIELD: had shared digs with Gandhi when they were both students at the bar;

subsequently trained as doctor at St. Bartholomews (1897) and became a well known vegetarian and nature-cure therapist. See Medical Register, also reminiscence of Cyril Oliver. Obituary, VM, Spring 1953.

15. 193. Certain central themes in nature cure are well illustrated in the period. First, disease is attributed to the retention of waste or foreign matter in the body: 'the cause of disease in the human body is, roughly speaking, the retention of waste matter', Mrs Leigh Hunt Wallace, VR, 1895, p14. Methods of cure often involved purification, washing and purgation; fasting was also recommended. Elimination was much stressed: see works of Eustace Miles, or Oldfield in The Voice of Nature, 1897, writing of 'clogged and sluggish lives cleaned and purified to a new life', p12. See also T. Owen, VM, Nov 1894, p412, for a range of self-help treatments. Second, illness results from neglect of the laws of nature: 'Every known disease is a departure from God's laws and is the result of a direct rebellion', Mrs Leigh Hunt Wallace, VR, Jan 1895, p11. Oldfield's Voice of Nature is written round this theme.
16. 194. See Shaw's Preface to the Doctor's Dilemma, 1910. THOMAS RICHARD ALLINSON: 1858-1918, worked as chemist's assistant, trained as doctor at Edinburgh. Influenced by Dr Smedley and hydropathy, and by Sylvester Graham. Developed methods of treatment based on nature cure and especially diet. Practised in London, though also lectured around the country and contributed medical advice to newspapers and magazines including the Dietetic Reformer in the 1880's. Allinson challenged the decision of the General Medical Council in the Courts; though the Court of Appeal upheld its correctness. See Law Reports Queen's Bench Division, 1894; brief account of Allinson by Howell Roberts, 1973, published by Allinson's, and including a memoir by his son.
17. 195. See J. Burnett, Plenty and Want, p16-17, p139-40; also Burnett in T.C. Barker et al, Our Changing Fare, 1966.
18. 196. Forward, p82, and May Yates, Experiments on the Digestibility and Nutritive Value of Bread, nd. The League was later absorbed into the London Vegetarian Society.
19. 197. See his The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread, 1889.
20. 198. This argument was also applied by people like Mrs Leigh Hunt Wallace to food in general, and taking the food in its 'whole' form was the principle behind her system. An issue of contention in these diet-reform circles was the raising agent; many, including Wallace and Allinson disapproved of effervescent baking powders, and some, like Just, recommended no raising agent
21. 199. For the general upsurge in demand for fruit from the 1870's onwards, see Angeliki Torode, 'Trends in Fruit Consumption', T.C. Barker, et al, Our Changing Fare, 1966, though she can offer no adequate explanation. Among the vegetarians, Oldfield in particular refers to the cleansing properties of fruit in his The Voice of Nature, 1897, p12. The lush beauty of fruit, and romantic imagery of old fruit gardens - shades of the Queen Anne movement - appear in the literature, together with schemes for improving commercial fruit growing, see A.F. Hills, 'Fruit Culture', Vegetarian Essays, 1897. There are also repudiations of the older tradition, dating from the seventeenth century at least, associating fruit and summer fever (and thus cholera). Danielite Star, May 1887. As yet vegetarian cookery books contain

almost no reference to salads, and the raw food diet relied heavily on fruit. (C.W. Forward, Practical Vegetarian Recipes, 1891; Eustace Miles, A Plea for Simpler Food, 1900).

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ANIMAL WELFARE

Anti-Vivisection

The use of live animals for experimentation was not new in the nineteenth century: however, it was not until the 1870's, when medicine in Britain, partly under the influence of continental, especially French, example, began to change from a conservative emphasis on clinical experience and anatomy towards a more scientific approach, based increasingly on animal experimentation that the issue of vivisection and the agitation against it rose to public significance. The most important event in the period was the passing of the 1876 Cruelty to Animals Act, which still broadly regulates experimentation today. (1)

Anti-vivisection is an obvious candidate for vegetarian support, and a number of leading vegetarians - Newman, Kingsford, Maitland, Shaw, Salt, Carpenter, and slightly later, Lind-Af-Hagerby (2) - were involved in it. Though they share with the wider movement certain concerns beyond the simple issue of animal suffering, the vegetarians are in important senses rather different.

Anti-vivisection espoused a single issue to be implemented by legislation and this gave a focus to the cause and involved it deeply in the world of parliamentary tactics. The vegetarians, by contrast, aimed at far wider but less clear cut reforms. Frances Power Cobbe, one of the leading anti-vivisectionists, was hostile to vegetarianism, and particularly to Anna Kingsford, fearing a diffusion of purpose and alienation of the public should the causes become too closely associated.

The most significant difference, however, lay in what French has interpreted as the traditional and conservative social background of anti-vivisection, drawing on the old Tory values of a literary and religious elite, hostile to the claims of new medical and scientific groups to lead public opinion. This strain is not totally absent from the vegetarians, though their connections with liberal reform, with unorthodox versions of religion (the anti-vivisectionists had strong support from the Anglican clergy) and with middle- and working- class socialism makes the point of departure of their shared criticisms rather different. French endorses this distinction and regards the vegetarian supporters as an essentially different group. (3)

Revulsion from animal suffering was central to the vegetarian opposition to vivisection: this rested on the common sense knowledge that animals suffer as we do, and the intuitive sense of our brotherhood with them: 'I saw deep in the eyes of the animals the human soul look up at me'. (4) Anna Kingsford embarked upon her medical training with the hope of doing something for the animals. She admitted: 'I do not love men and women. I dislike them too much to care to do them any good.

It is not for them that I am taking up medicine and science; not to cure their ailments; but for the animals and for knowledge generally.' (5) By and large the vegetarians did not take this exaggerated attitude towards animals, but tended to see human and animal causes as united. Salt, for one, who held very strongly to the unity of humanitarianism, was horrified at Kingsford's reported attempts at the 'psychic murder' of a leading vivisectionist. (6) The vegetarians were also marked out in their attitudes towards animals by their inclusion of all sentient creatures without distinction. Among the anti-vivisectionists more generally the emotional charge comes very clearly from the identification of the vivisected animals with beloved pets; (7) though some vegetarians do respond to animals on the model of pets, their concerns were much wider. Salt scorned the sentimentalists who, responding to appeals for old cab horses, wept into their seal-skin coats and returned to their meat dinners. (8)

But the opposition was also concerned with the moral autonomy claimed by the vivisectors. The vegetarians attacked both the older ideas of man's dominion over nature as precluding the moral rights of animals, (9) and the newer appeals to the moral autonomy of scientific knowledge. (10) Anna Kingsford related how, when a medical student in France, her teacher argued that the real benefit of vivisection was as 'a protest on behalf of the independence of science as against interference by clerics and moralists.' (11) The vegetarians denied that the pursuit of knowledge should be beyond moral strictures, whether religious in origin or humane.

Many of the vegetarian writers portray, with great passion, what they see as the moral hideousness of the vivisector, portraying him at worst as a perverted sadist, and at best as one lacking the true feelings and perceptions of humanity. (12) This latter sense is particularly strong in Maitland who sees modern science as destroying the humanity of man through the denial of deeper intuitive senses. (13)

Though the relationship of man and the animal kingdom is central to the issue, both sides display ambivalence on the point. I will look here only at the vegetarians. They attack materialist science for presenting man as a species of animal (and thus asserting the validity of extrapolation from animal experiments) while yet erecting an absolute barrier between man and the animals when it comes to the issue of suffering. The vegetarians stress here man's brotherhood with the creatures, drawing on evolutionary ideas for scientific support. But present also in their criticism of science is a strain that rejects the low, dark, animal picture of man, which they identify with the gross materialism of science, that would sacrifice moral and spiritual issues for the convenience of the body. French finds in anti-vivisection writings 'a particular horror of the corporeal and the bodily in which medical science "animalistically" grovelled'; (14) and this finds other echoes within vegetarianism in the fear of the animalisation of man, through the incorporation of animal flesh.

1. 200. For anti-vivisection, see R.D. French, Anti-vivisection and Medical Science in Victorian Society, Princeton, 1975.
2. 201. For Emelie Augusta Louise Lind-af-Hagerby and for the effect of her and L.K. Schartau's The Shambles of Science: Extracts from the Diary of Two Students of Physiology, 1903, and for the Second Royal Commission, convened in 1906, which broadly endorsed the conclusions of the First, see E. Westacott, A Century of Vivisection and Anti-Vivisection, Rochford, 1949. Lind-af-Hagerby, like a number of the women anti-vivisectionists, was also a feminist, see her, Women's Right to Work, 1920.
3. 202. French, p230.
4. 203. Carpenter, Towards Democracy, quoted at head of Salt's Animal Rights, 1892
5. 204. Edward Maitland, Life of Anna Kingsford, Vol I, p48.
6. 205. VR, Feb 1896, p73: 'the emancipation of animals can only be brought about through, and together with the emancipation of men'.
7. 206. French, p374. The Act singles out dogs, cats and horses; a distinction Maitland deplored.
8. 207. Salt, Humanitarianism: Its General Principle and Progress, 1893, p21; see also his Animal Rights, 1892, for discussion of issues concerning attitudes to different animals.
9. 208. Salt attacked this position vigorously in his review of Monseigneur Vaughan's defence of vivisection (see VR, 1897, p468) and in his later debate with Chesterton (Seventy Years, p127). In both cases Salt rejected the argument that the difference between man and the animals was one of kind and not degree. Though Salt sees indifference as typifying the attitude of organised religion, especially Roman Catholicism, towards animal suffering, the actual position was slightly more complex. Cardinal Manning's open support of anti-vivisection tended to mean that the Catholic refusal to recognise animal rights – and particularly animal souls - in practice did not mean that cruelty as such was regarded as

allowable. It remains the case, however, that, for this or other reasons, very few vegetarians are Roman Catholics, and Catholic countries have a poor reputation in England for their treatment of animals.

10. 209. Shaw's Preface to The Doctor's Dilemma, 1910, for example, where he attacks the right to know when based upon cruel and immoral means, p44-55.
11. 210. Edward Maitland, Anna Kingsford, 1896, p340.
12. 211. See Salt's Animal Rights, and his play 'A Lover of Animals' 1895 reprinted in Hendrick appendix. See also a series of articles by Shaw in Shaw on Vivisection, ed. G.H.Bowker, 1949.
13. 212. Maitland, Vegetarian Reformer, 1895, p46. Vivisection represents what he calls the New Beast of materialist science. This attack on science and the growing dominance of its modes of thought is paralleled in Carpenter.
14. 213. French, p385; see also Maitland, im, 1895, p46.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

ANIMAL WELFARE

The Humanitarian League

The second centre of activity in animal welfare was the Humanitarian League, founded in 1891 by Salt to form a united front to advance 'Humanitarianism' and aimed at the 'practice of humane principles - of compassion, love, gentleness, and universal benevolence'. (1) The unity of the humanitarian cause was particularly important to Salt, who saw vegetarianism and socialism as all part of this larger issue. The league aimed to fight cruelty towards both man and beast - in the form of cruel punishments, particularly flogging in schools and prisons; (2) blood sports, particularly those of the social elite, fighting a lively campaign against the Eton College Beagles and the Royal Buckhounds, as well as the more common forms of blood sports; (3) vivisection; the feeding of live animals as food in the London zoo; (4) the fur and feather trade; and private slaughterhouses. The Humanitarian League was intended to be a fighting body, and one which would rid the animal welfare cause of the taint of sentimentality. Activists like Salt had little time for moderate bodies like RSPCA. (5) Salt himself was at the centre of the League's activities, though Shaw, Carpenter, Howard Williams and Bell were also involved, as were Aylmer Maude, Ouida, W.H. Hudson, Pasemore Edwards, (6) Trine, Watts and Sidney Olivier. Not all members shared Salt's vegetarianism. The League flourished between 1891 and 1910, though it continued into the period of the war, publishing a series of books and journals, (7) among which was Salt's spoof magazine The Brutalitarian: A Journal for the Sane and Strong, which, to his great amusement, was taken seriously by the sporting papers who approved of its cry for a 'united front against sickly humanitarian sentimentality' (8)

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1. 214. H.S. Salt Humanitarianism: Its General Principle and Progress, 1893, p3. It includes the manifesto of the League, p28.
 2. 215. H.S. Salt The Flogging Craze: A Statement of the Case Against Corporal Punishment, 1916.
 3. 216. See Salt's Seventy Years for accounts of these campaigns p152-160. See also the collection of essays Killing for Sport, 1914, ed. H.S. Salt, which included contributions from Carpenter, Maurice Adams and Ernest Bell. Also Hendrick, p56-84.

4. 217. Salt, *Seventy Years*, p164. The issue was hotly debated in the zoological meetings and raised questions of design in the universe and the cruelty of nature.
5. 218. *Seventy Years*, 161-2, for Salt's views on RSPCA and its leader Colam. The RSPCA partly because of its social base – it was always happier attacking the brutality of the streets rather than that of educated, professional groups like the doctors, or of the social elite - and partly because of its concern not to move too far ahead of public opinion, refused to come out against vivisection or hunting.
6. 219. Passmore Edwards is credited by Forward as being a vegetarian at one time, though his biography by E. Harcourt Burrage, 1902, *J. Pasamore Edwards: Philanthropist*, does not mention this.
7. 220. *Humanity*, later *Humanitarian*, 1895-1919 and *Humane Review* 1900-10. Also a series of books.
8. 221, 1904. *Seventy Years*, p174.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

1 - Shared Themes

There are a series of interconnected religious movements with which vegetarianism is at this time associated and which give it its religious flavour. They are: liberal Christianity, the influence of American transcendentalism, the arrival of Indian religious ideas, the religion of nature and the religion of socialism. (1) All of these are outside orthodox religion, and all are primarily currents of ideas rather than institutional groups. Those vegetarians that were connected with orthodox religion tended to continue the non-conformist link; Anglican following the usual pattern with vegetarianism and institutions of the centre - were rare. (2) These religious currents are strongly interrelated, both in that people move from the influence of one to another, are indeed involved with several at the same time, and in that there are certain underlying themes shared by all of them. Before looking at the movements themselves, I shall touch on some of the shared themes.

The most important common link in the background of many in this milieu was the inheritance from evangelicalism; and an evangelical childhood is a common feature in the biographies of vegetarians. Evangelicalism, though by the mid-century well on the wane, still remained a formative influence, producing an intense reaction against its doctrines and its heavy psychological demands to believe, at the same time as creating a cast of mind still receptive to the broad form of religious ideals and emotions. (3) Vegetarianism, particularly in some of its health and moral concerns, can be seen as a secular transformation of this impulse.

In particular, many attacked what was seen as the evangelical denigration of the self, bound up in the presentation of man as a child of sin, corrupt and utterly below God; and a powerful motive behind the rejection of orthodoxy was the moral repugnance felt for the wrathful God of the Old Testament and the Protestant tradition. Fearful childhoods with stories of everlasting punishment were rejected, together with the tortured conscience and tortured Christ of the Atonement. Maitland experienced this very strongly, revolting against his background among 'the strictest of evangelical sects', with its doctrines of essential depravity and vicarious atonement, which he believed kept men in slavery and darkness: 'However weak and unwise I might be, I was not evil'. (4) Carpenter believed that the sense of sin was essentially morbid and should never be cultivated as it was in Christianity. (5) The adoption of free Christianity,

or Indian spirituality, or the religion of Socialism, was experienced as a release into a world of lightness and freedom. Trevor and Jupp both reiterate this theme: anxiety and the jealous God were to be replaced by comforting feelings of God's love and the simple hopes of natural religion:

the quiet mind, the unworldly heart, the freedom from worry and escape from self-centred thoughts and the faith that the power that giveth life to all things musts needs care for that life, and will not curse because we sometimes err and stumble - these natural things we are learning to believe in. (6)

It was part of the wider late-nineteenth-century cult of simplicity in religion; liberal Christianity especially had rejected the anxieties and difficulties of the previous decades and emphasised a spirit of acceptance, and of taking what one could from Christianity. It was what the vegetarian the Reverend Walter Walsh, quoting Tennyson, later referred to as the 'larger hope' phase in theology. (7)

In this milieu, conventional religion was often rejected as lacking, and great emphasis was placed on - for example - the greater spirituality of the East in contrast to the dreary concerns and involvement of Christianity with the world and its affairs. Nethercot describes how Annie Besant rejected Protestantism for being 'too meagre, too earthly, "too calculating in its accommodations to social conventionalities"'. (8) Indian religion, or New England Transcendentalism, or - as we have seen in the case of many feminists - theosophy, were not bound up in traditional positions, not compromised by the past, and they were thus free from the complex of political, social and moral connotations that surrounded the churches and that were so often the focus of attack of these progressivist groups.

The heavy emphasis that the nineteenth century put upon belief, which thus became the focus for the Victorian religious crisis, meant that Christianity was increasingly seen in terms of an impossible dogma, demanding subscription by virtue of revelation and authority. There are frequent references to narrow ecclesiasticism and oppressive dogma, and great emphasis is placed on the rights of understanding, not subscription. (9)

The concept of religious truth was individualistic and interior, and yet often drew on the idea of religion as objective and law-like. Beatrice Webb, for example, felt that Buddhist ideas of moral causation and the impersonality of the law of karma were more compatible with

increasingly prevalent ideas derived from science. (10) The theosophical use of evolution, translated into the sphere of spirit and working through reincarnation, displays the same concern with the laws of the universe as something to be apprehended rather than believed and the religion of nature has this same quality of accepting and understanding rather than straining at belief. This presentation of religion as an objective account of being in the universe went hand-in-hand with its removal from areas of socially sustained knowledge.

As part of the escape from dogma and Christian literalism, religion was either ethicalised - partly, in the case of the liberal Christians and the Brotherhood and Labour Church socialists, with their interpretation of Christ as the archetypical Good Man; or wholly, in the case of the ethicalists with their secular developments towards a religion of duty - or it was given an interior gnostic reading, as in the developments of the theosophists or of esotericists like Kingsford and Maitland. (11) Much of the appeal of Indian religion related to this second aspect, both through its intrinsic richness for such symbolic interpretation and through its exotic and unfamiliar character which made such interpretation both necessary and appealing in ways that did not apply to the familiar Christianity. There is a heavy emphasis on the syncretic, on taking the best from all traditions, with a strong feeling pervading the vegetarian journals that all religions, in some deeper sense, say the same thing, and that some universal religion lies behind them. Thus Jupp could write:

The pity of the Buddha, the meekness and gentleness of Christ, the grace of St Francis, the cosmic comradeship of Whitman, and that humane seriousness which is today appealing for justice and mercy to all creatures - this surely is a revelation of the inner heart of things - the word of the eternal. (12)

Kingsford and Maitland believed that there was a unity in all pure versions of the great religions: 'esoteric religion is identical throughout all time and conditions, being eternal in its truth and immanent in the Human Spirit'. (13)

Lastly there is the sense that religion is about inner being. God and truth were to be sought inside, uncovered within the self, and with this goes the corollary of the supreme spiritual potentiality of man. Related to this is the growing repugnance for the doctrine of sin, and a rejection of the idea that religion is external to the individual, whether gathered in the form of the church or of dogmas, or objectified in a transcendent God or personal Saviour. As we have seen, these themes were not new but were also elements in an older tradition: however, their

siginificance and scope - urged forward by the development of a modern consciousness formed around individualism - grow in the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth spread to underpin other, not necessarily religious, perceptions.

1. 222. This has been touched upon above.
2. 223. Forward, p112, notes that the Anglican clergy were, by and large, unfavourably disposed to the cause; Mayor and Monk being very much exceptions.
3. 224. For the evangelical inheritance on this generation see N. Annan, Leslie Stephen, 1951, and M. Richter, The Politics of Conscience: T.H. Green and his Age, 1964. See also the introduction to the Webb letters by Norman Mackenzie, Cambridge, 1978.
4. 225. Edward Maitland, Anna Kingsford, Vol I P36.
5. 226. It is 'evidence of loss of unity and therefore of ill health in the very centre of human life', CCC, p2. The ancient Greeks, he believed, were free from this morbid delusion and lived nobler lives by reason of this. The rejection of the sense of sin was an important feature behind the more general late-nineteenth-century cult of classical paganism.
6. 227. W. Jupp, Wayfarings, p29.
7. 228. VN, July 1928, p211; for Walsh see p266
8. 229. Quoted by A.H. Nethercot in The First Five Lives of Annie Besant, 1961, p59. Annie Besant's journey from liberal theism, to atheism, to socialism, to theosophy demonstrates how interconnected these superficially different ideas were. Similar feelings also lay behind the fascination that the Roman Catholic church exerted on intellectual and artistic people of the time, though the imposition of cognitive and moral authority was there positively embraced rather than rejected, so that by and large the response is found in different circles to those of vegetarianism, though Anna Kingsford at one stage became a Catholic - retaining an ambiguous link with the Church - as did Mrs Nichols and Mrs Despard.
9. 230, We must 'remove religion from its basis of authority and tradition and establish it on understanding', Maitland, Anna Kingsford, Vol 1, p55. Trevor expressed a similar view.
10. 231. B. Webb, My Apprenticeship, p109, Penguin ed, 1938; see also the chapter 'In Search of the Creed' more generally.
11. 232. Carpenter credits Kingsford and Maitland with being the first since Swedenborg to appreciate this inner symbolic meaning and he regarded their presentation of the life of Christ as emblematic of the dramas of the soul as pioneering in the 1880s, D&D p242, Anna Kingsford drew what she regarded as a clear distinction between her 'esoteric' interpretations of symbols, and what she called with disfavour the 'superstitious' catholic way. AK, Vol II, p143.
12. 233. Jupp, The Religion of Nature, p169.
13. 234. Maitland, Anna Kingsford, Vol II, p143.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES.

THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND

2 - *Main Movements*

We can turn now to the main movements with which vegetarianism had affinities.

The background in liberal theism is perhaps best illustrated in the person of Francis Newman whose Phases of Faith was one of the classic accounts of the earlier phase of the Victorian crisis of faith. Newman eventually arrived at a mystical version of religion, rooted in the experience of God in the individual soul, and allied to a belief in the absolute primacy of moral duty. (1) Many in ethicalist and liberal Christian circles reached a similar position. (2) Of great influence in this milieu was American transcendentalism.

American transcendentalism had of course, already been influential in vegetarian circles in the period of the Concordium; however in the later nineteenth century it achieved a new degree of influence, and through the 1880s accounts of and quotations from Emerson and Thoreau became increasingly common both in the vegetarian magazines and more widely. (3) New England Transcendentalism had itself developed out of, and in reaction against, puritanism, and it stressed optimism, the divinity of human nature, the romantic glorification of consciousness, and the pointlessness of creeds and dogmas; it also retained a strong ethical bias. (4) Its similarity in character to English liberal religion meant that Emersonianism became at this time a sort of theology for these advanced religious circles. Its influence also reached many indirectly through the writings of Carpenter.

The language of transcendentalism is vague and amorphous, with its emphasis on Oneness, Wholeness and the mystic unity of the soul and the universe; and its very cloudiness made it more a language of feeling - its works were read almost as devotional texts - than a system of ideas. (5) What it did stand for, however, was a reassertion of the possibility of vision in the world, and of the central reality of the individual.

The third major area of association was with the arrival of Indian religion. Though the Indian religious texts had by the early nineteenth century already begun to reach the west – the New England Transcendentalists, for example, were among those influenced by them - it is from the 1880s that the popular impact of Indian religion establishes itself, and the vegetarian magazines

reflect these developments: Max Müller's work is reviewed with respect, and Arnold's Light of Asia quoted; and it is clear from Gandhi's autobiography that the vegetarians were much interested in the Indian spiritual tradition. (6) An important milestone here was the World Parliament of Religions at the 1893 Chicago World Fair, to which the Vegetarian Society sent a delegation. (7) *[editor's note]* The enthusiasm for eastern religion was a widely based phenomenon, though its best known institutional expression was in the Theosophical Society founded in 1875. (8) Madame Blavatski was not herself a vegetarian, though many of her followers were, and Annie Besant was a prominent speaker in the cause. (9) Theosophy had a wide general influence among the vegetarians; and through Edward Carpenter, Indian thought also reached socialist circles. (10)

The interest in eastern religion was very generalised; no great distinction was made between the Hindu and Buddhist traditions, nor in the case of Kingsford and Maitland, between these and the gnostic and occult traditions of the West. Carpenter similarly wove together ideas taken from Indian material with those of the transcendentalists; he was not unusual in this, for what people sought and found in Indian thought was very similar to the critical values expressed in the transcendental tradition; and Coomaraswamy pointed out that: 'the "New Theology" is little else than Hinduism'. (11) For most people it was not so much a direct commitment to Indian beliefs, so much as to the powerful image of Indian Spirituality; and to an important extent their conception of Indian religion took its form from what were felt to be the deficiencies and errors of western culture. India came to represent the great polar image of the West. It was a development that was not confined to the religious sphere, the Arts and Crafts movement, particularly through the influence of Coomaraswamy, (12) who in the mid 1900s belonged to Ashbee's Cotswold circle, saw in India the kind of pre-industrial, craft society where art was fully integrated into life, where community was strong and labour unalienated, that they dreamed of re-establishing.

The process of discovery and selection whereby Indian religion came into popular consciousness is a complex one, made more so by the transformations that native Hinduism itself underwent in response to the particular focus of interest of the West and to its political position. (13) However, certain features of the West's apprehension do stand out. First, the interior, intuitive aspects of the East were stressed. (14) Coomaraswamy declared that the 'Message of the East' was precisely: 'Look within : Thou art Buddha'; (15) and the most profound influence of Indian thought has always centred on the conception of the identity of

Brahman and Atman - a conception that underpins the ideas referred to earlier in the context of inner being. Secondly, caste is denigrated and perceived as a corruption of true Hinduism, and an ethic of universal brotherhood is substituted. Thirdly, in vegetarian circles, there is an emphasis put upon the exemplary figure of the Buddha and particularly on his concern for the animals (there are echoes here also of the late nineteenth century Protestant cult of St Francis), and a central place is given to the Bhagavad Gita whose similarities to the Sermon on the Mount - always a central text in these religious circles - is not missed.

The close connection of this eastern inspired religious strain with vegetarianism is less a result of direct cultural contact than of congruence, for in the process of cultural selection referred to, a phenomenon like vegetarianism – though not one like caste, nor other of the forms of ritual impurity - passes through the cultural filter because it relates to an already established western language. Two figures in particular illustrate this mixture of eastern and western spiritual ideas and their relation to vegetarianism they are Anna Kingsford and Edward Maitland.

Anna Kingsford was born in 1846, the daughter of a prosperous city merchant. After what Maitland described as an isolated and sickly childhood - she died young, at the age of thirty four - she married her cousin, the Reverend Algernon Kingsford, though by amicable agreement they lived largely separate lives. Both she and Maitland were converted to vegetarianism by her brother, John Bonus. Against considerable opposition she trained in Paris as one of the first women doctors, and wrote for her thesis on the physiology of vegetarian diet; this was published in revised form in 1881 as The Perfect Way in Diet. She was vice-president of the Vegetarian Society. Her deepest feelings were always for animals, and she crusaded against vivisection - something that exposed her to vilification, as her opposition was seen as part of a womanly unfitness for the medical profession. With Edward Maitland, her close partner and biographer, she explored spiritualism, mysticism and the occult. They were involved in the Theosophical Society, but broke away in 1884 to form the Hermetic Society, dedicated to promoting the gnostic, cabalistic and Pythagorean traditions. Their ideas were developed in such close relationship that I shall treat them as one, the principle differences being ones of personality. Maitland was older than Kingsford - he was fifty when they met in 1874. After leaving Cambridge, he abandoned his plan to take orders and set out instead to acquire 'true knowledge'; this led him to the influence of Emerson, Carlyle, and later Swedenborg, Boehme and Plotinus. (16)

Central to their ideas was the belief that everything was a manifestation of Being; there was no dualism in matter and spirit; there was only universal consciousness in different modes. (17) From this flowed the 'key revelation' of the substantial identity of God and Man, (18) and thus that 'self culture is God culture'. (19) 'God is the birthright of every man', (20) and Christ was here seen as representing the ultimate potentiality of man for complete being. (21) This state of complete being encompassed the supernatural. (22) Kingsford and Maitland hated in particular the image of Christ as the tortured and crucified, and like many in the esoteric tradition, rejected the tradition of the 'man of sorrows' and presented Christ instead as a shining youth 'lovely and blooming, surrounded by vines, doves, lambs and fishes'. (23) This they believed was the true and original image; and the crime of traditional religion had been that it had distorted this and presented a 'low conception of God'. (24)

This presentation of Christ is significant in the context of their vegetarianism because it draws on a recurring image within vegetarianism - one that will be discussed later in their symbolism of the purified body - and one through which the theology of immanence is linked with the cult of health and well being; and their belief that self-culture is god-culture lies at the heart of the spiritual/physiological link that underpins their vegetarianism. Both Kingsford and Maitland stress the spiritual benefits of the diet - its 'sensitising effect' for the reception of messages from beyond, (25) and they believed that the adoption helped them in their dreams, visions and spirit writing. (Vegetarianism was often found in spiritualist and psychical circles.) (26) Maitland testified how: 'the wall which seemed always to be shut in his mental vision, when he tried to look inwards, seemed removed. (27) Maitland believed that meat eating, inculcated by 'priestcraft' was the cause of our failing to achieve our true natures:

in order to harden the hearts and dull the perceptions of men, it sedulously inculcated the practice of animal slaughter and flesh eating as a sacred duty. And so it came that men were induced to believe that they were constitutionally incapable of knowledge and understanding...This is what the intellect of our gross living, gross thinking, because flesh fed age has done by divorcing itself from its supplement, compliment and indispensable mate, the intuition, with the result of limiting us to the capacities of matter. (28)

This brings us to the final category, that of the religion of nature. The religion of nature and the ideal of the simple life were in this period largely co-extensive; however, I shall touch here on the strain that found in nature a source of religious significance. Nature as religion was often

explicitly non-Christian, and frequently set in opposition to conventional morality. Richard Jeffries' The Story of My Heart, is the classic in the field. Among the vegetarians the clearest exponent was William Jupp, though Semple, Redfern and Carpenter provide further examples.

William Jupp, (29) having lost his father at an early age, was brought up, separated from his mother, in a Calvinist atmosphere which he describes as terrible, blighted and oppressive. At the age of thirteen he moved to town to learn a trade, which he hated. In these years, under the influence of the first of many pantheistic experiences of a Presence in the world that was loving and kindly, he broke free from the old religious creed. From then on, he reported, religion was no longer a 'painful mystery of dread'. He trained as a Congregational minister but found the corrosive impact of the Higher Criticism lead to the collapse of his evangelical beliefs; though a more fundamental influence was the impact of Emerson and Thoreau and the renewed vision he gained, while a minister in Croydon and walking in the Surrey Hills, of Nature as instinct with Religion. Before this reality he felt there was no need of theology or creeds. During the 1880s he was a leading figure in the Fellowship of the New Life. He left the ministry, and founding the Ethical and Religious Fellowship in Croydon, made his living from Sunday addresses to the fellowship and to the many ethical societies that were then springing up. He eventually ended his days in Letchworth Garden City.

Across the pathway of the vegetarians and especially of the religion of nature lay the problem of evolution. The Darwinian revolution had presented nature as an aimless universe, indifferent to morality, throwing up and allowing to die the random variations of the species. The Victorian age was one that took great delight in the beauties of nature and part of the agony of the loss of faith in this period under the impact of evolutionary ideas arose from the sense that the vision and meaning in creation had been replaced by the cold mechanistic worldview of science. The very prodigality of Nature in its pointlessness and its indifferent cruelty were ideas quite alien to the vegetarian spirit, but evolution was an immensely powerful idea and one that could not simply be put aside, particularly since many vegetarians were drawn from sections of society that followed popular scientific developments and associated the advance of science with the attack on established privilege. During the late sixties and seventies, the decades in which the theory took hold, there is relatively little mention of it in vegetarian writing; for it was not until the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of this, that the resolution was achieved. What happened was that evolution was turned on its head and given a radical reinterpretation; and Jupp in his *Religion of Nature and Human Experience* gives us a classic example of

this. (30) After praising Wordsworth as the first great prophet of the religion of nature, he turns to Darwin and his *Origin of Species* and *The Descent of Man* and makes the startling comment that:

'Of these volumes it may justly be said that they establish, on its intellectual side the truth of the poet's insight - that in them the vision of the lover, gazing in joy and admiration on the countenance of the world, and feeling himself one with its inner spirit, is confirmed by the marshalled facts and sustained argument of the investigator. (31)

'What Wordsworth felt concerning the relations of Man to Nature, Darwin proved to have a reasonable basis in fact'. (32) The fears that had initially been felt concerning evolution, Jupp declared, were groundless; rather 'to many of us it has proved one of the strong intellectual supports of a reasonable and reverent religious faith'. (33) Religious aspiration was still possible, for in the movement from the lower to the higher forms lay the promise of movement to yet higher forms. Thus the second aspect of evolution that had threatened traditional religion – the destruction of the absolute barrier between man and the beasts, with its implications for the soul – proved positively beneficial to the vegetarians. At last there was scientific proof for their holistic feelings - for Whitman's cry, quoted by Jupp, that 'a vast similitude interlocks all. (34) it is a significant aspect of his religion of nature that Jupp credits Wordsworth, the great prophet of this, with - against all the evidence - 'vigorous physical health'. (35) The visionary religion of nature could not be denied its bodily expression, nor be disentangled from natural health.

Jupp explicitly rejects the view that nature can have nothing to do with ethics, and that human ideals are in direct conflict with evolutionary forces. Newman had been unusual among the vegetarians (and he perhaps points to the contrast between the 1870s and the later period) in his belief that moral imperatives - in this case the duty not to cause suffering to animals - were of a different order to natural phenomena, and that the humanitarian argument, which he saw as central, could make no appeal to ideas of the Natural, (36) Jupp in contrast argues that it was wrong to cut up the organic unity of Nature; man too was a child of Nature and she would not betray him - her beauty was the pledge of his moral ideals. (37)

The vegetarians thus retained the language and references of evolution but gave it a totally different meaning. The process was given a romantic Hegelian significance, and Nature, far

from being indifferent, becomes the central embodiment of meaning. There is a grand planned system in the universe and a moral core at the heart of nature.

The religion of nature was to be a real religion rooted in a this-worldly reality:

No longer harassing ourselves with vain theories of an external, supermundane deity, limited and It personal, distant and hard to please, we discovered the divine within the natural and the human – the all-creative, all-inspiring Presence, whose One and Everlasting Life flows and pulsates through the manifold forms of that real universe which is our home. (38)

It was a religion of Sunday walks and not of attendance at church:

When conscious of moral ailments, many still cringe and call themselves "miserable sinners" shrinking into the confessional to tell their real or imaginary crimes to the priest, others have found that to walk alone in some quiet place under the skies of heaven and then return to honest labour is a far nobler and surer way of access to the peace of reconciliation and recovery in virtue and purity of heart. (39)

This holistic religion of nature was very much concerned with the goodness of man and of the universe. Pain and suffering are caused by artificial ways, unnatural traditions 'sin is another word for ugliness' (40) Natural ethics were also natural aesthetics and the true ethical impulse became to make life beautiful. (41) It was through the beauty of nature that we become aware of the ultimate unity that lies behind all things and of which we are part. (42) it was a theodicy that rested upon the experience of the beauty of the world and this vision at times even contained within it the transcendence and denial of death. (43)

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1. 235. Newman believed that religion must be freed from all elements of authority and obligation to believe; the error of the churches lay in objectifying the sense of God in miracle and myth, and intellectualising it in dogma and creed. See his The Phases of Faith, 1850; and Robbins, and Willey.
 2. 236. For the ethicalists see Susan Budd, Varieties of Unbelief: Atheists and Agnostics in English Society, 1850-1960, 1977; for the religion of duty, see M. Richter, The Politics of Conscience. See also autobiography of Moncure Conway, Memories and Experiences, 1904; and account of J.M.K. Todd of the South Place Ethical Society in VM, Aug 1923, p125, obituary.
 3. 237. Salt dates the general arrival of its influence to the 1880s. Seventy Years, p73.

4. 238. See V.L. Parrington, The Romantic Revolution in America, 1927, chapter The Transcendental Mind.
5. 239. Fenner Brockway commented that in his youth people read Carpenter like a 'meditation'.
6. 240. For an account of Indian vegetarianism see, for example, VM, Feb 1895, p53. For earlier contacts and reactions – very much on the model of liberal Christianity - see account of the visit to the Vegetarian Society of Chunder Sen of the Brahmo Sumaj. They praise him for developing a 'creed of morality' informed by 'the still small voice of conscience' rather than the 'grotesque puerilities of Hinduism'. DR, Oct 1870, p99-102.
7. 241. See Forward; Annie Besant and Herbert Burrows were also present. [see *Editor's note below*]
8. 242. Theosophy officially embraced all traditions, though it tended to emphasise Hinduism and - slightly less - Buddhism.
9. 243. See VM, July 1894, p239, for her account of vegetarianism from the theosophical viewpoint; she also addressed the Golden Jubilee meeting of the Vegetarian Society in 1897, VII, 1897, p509. For Annie Besant see A.H. Nethercot, The First Five Lives of Annie Besant, 1961.
10. 244. Carpenter had read the Bhagavad Gita in 1881 and had been much impressed; he later visited Ceylon in search of further enlightenment, see My Days and Dreams, p143, and From Adam's Peak to Elephants : Sketches in Ceylon and India, 1892.
11. 245. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, The Message of the East, Madras, 1910, p5.
12. 246. See his The Arts & Crafts of India & Ceylon, 1913; and Roger Lipsey, Coomaraswamy : His Life and Works, Princeton, 1977.
13. 247. See Ursula King, 'Indian Spirituality, Western Materialism: An Image and its Function in the Reinterpretation of Modern Hinduism', Social Action, 28, 1, New Delhi, 1978.
14. 248. See Carpenter, My Days and Dreams, p144; this relates to his general concern with intuition.
15. 249. The Message of the East, P12.
16. 250. The principle source for Anna Kingsford is Maitland's two volume biography of 1896; see also 'Clothed with the Sun: Being the Book of Illumination of Anna Kingsford', 1889; and their Addresses and Essays on Vegetarianism, 1912.
17. 251. 'original Being, of which all things are modes', Anna Kingsford, Vol I, p104.
18. 252. AK, Vol I, p112.
19. 253. AK, Vol I, p40.
20. 254. Vegetarian Review, Feb 1895, p46, Maitland.
21. 255. Maitland wrote of how the figure of Christ became intelligible to him as 'representing the full unfoldment of consciousness in its individuated state to the realisation of god consciousness, while yet in the body'. AK, Vol I, p105.
22. 256. Which 'appertains not to the superhuman but to the highest human' , Clothed with the Sun, introduction pxxx
23. 257. AK, Vol II, pl34.
24. 258. VR, Feb 1895, p44, Maitland.
25. 259. AK, Vol I, p142. Though they also subscribed to the other arguments and indeed saw them as related aspects.

26. 260. VM, August, 1892, p221, notes that 'many readers of the Medium are vegetarians'. There was also a strong link between Swedenborgianism and spiritualism, especially in America. The association of vegetarianism and spiritualism persists today.
27. 261. DR, July 1883, p174, Maitland.
28. 262. VR, Feb 1895, p46.
29. 263. See his autobiography, Wayfarings, 1918.
30. 264. Jupp, 1906.
31. 265. Jupp, p69.
32. 266. Jupp, p69.
33. 267. Jupp, p79.
34. 268. Jupp, Religion of Nature, p84
35. 269. Jupp, Religion of Nature, p55. Dorothy Wordsworth's Journals, which reveal the couple as constantly suffering from ailments and minor illnesses, had been published for almost ten years.
36. 270. See Basil Willey, More Nineteenth Century Studies, p34.
37. 271. Jupp, Religion of Nature, p137.
38. 272. Religion of Nature, p25.
39. 273. Religion of Nature, p29.
40. 274. Religion of Nature, p30.
41. 275. Religion of Nature, p139.
42. 276. Thus all the things that are Known to be wrong – killing for sport, lies, drunkenness, meanness - are ugly. We must make our lives beautiful, and vegetarianism is part of this. Religion of Nature, p147. The ugliness of meat in contrast to the beauty of fruit is a recurring vegetarian point.
43. 277. Religion of Nature, p120.b

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

DIET IN THE WAR

No special provision was made for vegetarians serving in the forces, and it was thus a question of luck as to whether the diet was adequate. Gandhi's friend Josiah Oldfield, now transformed into a lieutenant-colonel in the 3rd East Anglian Field Ambulance Corps, reported at the beginning of the War no special difficulty, but he pointed out that hardships must be expected, and it is clear that as the war progressed many vegetarians at the front did suffer considerably and only survived through food parcels sent from home. (1)

On the home front, things were easier, at least until the final years of the war, when shortages began to appear, though how much they were a result of panic and bad distribution, rather than actual shortages, is not clear. (2) By 1917 the government, first under Lord Devonport at the new Food Ministry, and then, more competently under Lord Rhondda, began to encourage food economy. Pleas for meatless days led by bishops and leading citizens found natural favour among the vegetarians; (3) and government used among others the vegetarians Mrs Leonora Cohen (4) and Dugald Semple (5) to spread propaganda for food innovations [?] barley rissoles and nut foods. Again to the approval of the vegetarians, the home loaf became during the war progressively higher in bran. (6) In 1918 meat rationing was finally introduced, at the level of 3/4lb per person per week. Promises of extra cheese for vegetarians did not materialise, though they were eventually allowed extra fat and butter. (7) August 1918 saw a shortage of fruit, and vegetarian anxieties were raised by the government's policy of giving priority to jam making. (8) Bread and jam at this time were still staples of most working-class diets. (9)

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1. VM, March 1915, p73; VM, April 1915, p85; VN, July 1921, p98, Bertrand Allinson (son of T.R.) on what was available to him in the forces; VM, Jan 1917, p3, for refusal to give special rations; and VM, Feb 1917, p35, for the need for supplements.
 2. See Arthur Marwick, The Deluge: British Society and the First World War, 1965, p191-200 for the shortages and rationing.
 3. VM, Jan 1916, p131, also June, p131.
 4. VM, Jan 1916, p24; VN, March, 1917, p54.
 5. Semple, Joy in Living, p47-9. Semple was a C.O., freed by the tribunal to do this work.
 6. Marwick, p196. Allinson commented on the irony as he saw it of the troops being 'treated' to white bread, VN, July 1921, p99.

7. VM, Jan to July 1918, for running comments.
8. VM, Aug 1918, p145.
9. For the role of jam in working-class diets see A. Torode, 'Trends in Fruit Consumption', T.C. Barker et al, Our Changing Fare, 1966.

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VEGETARIANISM BETWEEN THE WARS

During the interwar period, the established pattern of the vegetarian societies continued, though by the time of the death of Hills in 1927 there are signs that the rivalry between the two societies had largely ceased.

With regard to the pattern of rise and fall, the picture is less clear than in previous periods; though there are signs that the immediate post-war years and the early 1920s were lean ones for the vegetarian societies: the post-war climate was not favourable to their aspirations. (1) From the late twenties, however, there are indications of a quickening of interest in the vegetarian magazines, (2) though the evidence for an upswing comes also from the rise in the late twenties and early thirties of a series of cultural movements favourable to vegetarianism. To some degree these represent once again the re-running of familiar themes from Romanticism, though in this period its influence is much more modified than was the case in the 1880s and '90s (or indeed in the 1970s). This period of the late twenties and thirties is of course dominated economically by the Depression; the relationship of this to the context of vegetarianism is not clear. Northern vegetarianism does not appear to have been seriously eroded by the economic crisis, indeed certain groups such as the Mazdaznans may indeed have flourished in this context. For those of the middle class, particularly in the expanding parts of the south, the thirties, especially the later thirties, were a period of rising real incomes and expanding circumstances: (3) again the relationship to vegetarianism remains unclear.

With regard to the social background: of vegetarianism, the tendency towards an almost exclusively middle- and lower-middle-class base continues. Testimonials and references to working men are now almost completely absent. Fenner Brockway, recalling his journey through England in the early 1930s gathering material for Hungry England and staying with working-class people, can remember no fellow vegetarians among them. (4) Leo Price, a vegetarian miner in South Wales who went to fight in the Spanish Civil War, reports that he knew of no other vegetarians in the mines. (5) In the same vein, the recommendation of the diet for working people in particular largely ceases.

With regard to the attitudes of dominant society in the interwar years, though many vegetarians reported that they now met with an 'easier response' (6) and Ernest Bell asserted that they were

no longer regarded as cranks, (7) ignorance remained the predominant response and the diet continued to be disparaged: cartoons of the period suggest a scarcely veiled hostility behind the humour, and Aldous Huxley's account of a vegetarian couple in his short story 'The Claxtons', though perceptive, is essentially malicious in tone. (8) Many shared Orwell's celebrated exasperation with such groups and the continuing fame of that passage is itself significant. (9) Shaw was vegetarianism's most famous figure in the period and his position as both the Grand Old Man and Enfant Terrible of English letters brought wide publicity to the cause. In the literary world the vegetarians engaged in running battles with G.K. Chesterton – for they were, not surprisingly, among his pet aversions (10) – and with Dean Inge, a much quoted pundit of the period. Inge had argued in his Outspoken Essays of 1922 that: 'Sir Leslie Stephen's remark that no one is so much interested in the demand for pork as the pig, is surely quite valid,' and this aroused a storm of objection from the vegetarians that lasted well into the 1930s. (11)

The work to establish the healthfulness of the diet continued and much publicity was given in vegetarian magazines to the work of G.W. Sibley [*editor's note*] at Wycliffe College, a boy's public school where the performance in sport and health of the boys from a vegetarian house was compared favourably with those conventionally fed. (12) Similarly the publishing of cycling and other records continued, and the society had some success in getting the BBC to drop its insistence on the necessity of meat for children. (13)

Certain changes occurred at the level of food. In line with general trends in retailing, manufactured vegetarian foods became increasingly available. Companies like Mapleton's and Pitman's had been founded before the First World War, though it was the interwar period that saw the steady expansion of the market and of the health food companies. These companies were often more than just commercial enterprises and had been founded by people committed to the vegetarian cause – Hugh Mapleton had been a friend of Carpenter – and Wallaces' Pure Food, Pitman's and Allinson's were all products of a wider concern. Often the food factories themselves followed idealistic standards with a stress on hygiene and staff welfare. (14)

Among the restaurants, Shearns of Tottenham Court Road, deserves a mention, since it was the most famous vegetarian restaurant of the period and was often used for celebrations. (15) Lady Emily Lutyens ordered her nut rissoles from there, which arrived with a neat piece of macaroni stuck in the end to form a bone. Not all vegetarian food had this mimicking aspect, and from this period onwards, vegetarian cooking begins to develop a more distinctive style. A major

aspect in this, evident from the middle years of the First World War, was the growing popularity of raw food, often termed in the twenties and thirties 'sun-fired' food. (16) The discovery of the role of vitamins aided this development, (17) though as we have seen the idea was itself older and drew on other perceptions than just the scientific-nutritional. The German Bircher-Benner was particularly influential here, as was the American Bengamin Gayelord Hauser. Hauser's system was essentially that of nature cure, stressing elimination, raw food, fasting and the creation of a 'radiant blood stream'. (18) 'Radiant, life giving foods build vital and healthy bodies. Do not expect to keep young and healthy', he advised, 'if you build with coarse, poor, dead materials', (19) and the Beverley Hills tone of his advice and his own good looks (20) endowed the books with a wide appeal in the period, beyond just traditional vegetarian circles.

The 1930s saw a steady expansion in the number of people taking holidays, between 1931 and 1939 those entitled to paid holidays grew from one and a half million to eleven million, and twenty million people were visiting the seaside by the late thirties. (21) This general trend was reflected in the vegetarian magazines, which from the early thirties feature advertisements for vegetarian guest houses, (22) though many vegetarians found a happy solution to the problem of holidays through the vegetarian summer schools which flourished in the interwar period. Ernest Bell was a popular figure at these events, taking the role of 'headmaster' and organiser. (23) A wide range of activities was available including walking, folk dancing, concerts, slides, lectures, and fancy dress balls, though by the mid-thirties the organised programme had given way to a freer approach, whereby the schools were essentially holiday centres. The schools sometimes lasted six to eight weeks, and the annual photographs reveal about a hundred people attending at one time, with about sixty per cent women.

1. 10. For example, in 1920 Maurice Webb, on the point of leaving the editorship of the VN, gives a depressing picture of the state of the LVS: 'I would venture to say that the Society in London and other societies in the country at the present time are quite unworthy of the movement they represent. There is about them and their work an air of meanness and littleness, an obvious lack of imagination and courage that reflects very badly on the vegetarian cause Two years ago, the LVS had a staff of one, a dingy office, some miserable pamphlets, and its activities began and ended with the holding of a few poorly attended meetings and an annual bazaar', VN, Sept 1920, p103. A.C. Newcombe, five years later, was still comparing the present days unfavourably with those at the turn of the century, VN, Jan 1926, p20

2. 11. The figures for vegetarian-type restaurants between the wars confirm this : in 1921, ten in London and thirty-six in the provinces, 1928, twenty-two in London and forty-four in the provinces, 1937, twenty-one in London and thirty-nine in the provinces. The Food Reformer's Year Book and Health Seekers Guide, for these years.
3. 12. For the economic background, see John Stevenson and Chris Cook, The Slump: Politics During the Depression, 1977.
4. 13. Interview.
5. 14. Correspondence.
6. 15. VM, Feb 1934, p38.
7. 16. ERNEST BELL: 1851-1933. St Pauls, Cambridge. Son of the founder of the publishing house he himself headed. Vegetarian from 1874. Active in numerous animal welfare societies including Humanitarian League, RSPB, Anti-Bearing-Rein Society, Animal Friend's Society. Interested in folk dancing, sport and Higher Thought. VM, Jan 1915, p23; Jan 1925, p5; and obit. in VM, Oct 1933, p301.
8. 17. Brief Candles, 1930.
9. 18. 'One sometimes gets the impression that the mere words "Socialism" and "Communism" draw towards them with magnetic force every fruit juice drinker, nudist, sandal wearer, sex-maniac, Quaker, "Nature Cure" quack, pacifist and feminist in England'. The Road to Wigan Pier, 1937, Penguin ed., p152.
10. 19. Chesterton saw vegetarians as pagans and materialists who 'believe in taking the body seriously'. See VN, April 1921, p39; VM, May 1924, p77, and subsequent issues for Salt's comments. See also Chesterton's earlier attacks on Religion of Nature and on Salt in his Orthodoxy, 1909, p138, 198.
11. 20. Salt argued in reply that non-existence could not properly be compared with existence. He also wrote a poem on the subject:

THE CRY OF THE MIGHT-HAVE-BEEN

We are the Pigs Unborn, the Pigs Forsaken;
 O'erlooked by heedless folk who eat no bacon.
 In blank pre-natal Nothingness we pine,
 Robbed of that proud prerogative of swine,
 The born pigs birthright - to be penned in muck,
 In garbage grub, be fatted, and be stuck.
 Mere ghosts of porkers, pork we'll never be:
 This, Vegetarian, this we owe to thee!
 O deaf to crys of Pigs that Might Have Been,
 Art thou not cruel? ask the learned Dean.
 - VM June 1926, p118

See also Reverend Francis Wood, A Reply to Dean Inge's Defence of Flesh Eating, 1934.

12. 21. VN, April 1926, p86, and recurringly thereafter. VN, Jan 1935, p450, gives an account of the school, which appears to have been more in the public school tradition than a progressive school though the OTC had been abandoned 'on the grounds that it was opposed to what the world's new outlook ought to be'. *[editor's note]*
13. 22. VN, Feb 1935, p38, and March, p71, 81.
14. 23. For the food factories see accounts in VM, April 1915, p96 Aug 1932, p223; and May 1933, p143. Pitman's Healthy Food Company (called after Pitman though not founded by him) was at Vitaland in Warwickshire, where the aim was a 'factory in the countryside'. Photographs show model production areas, lawns and flowerbeds. The visit to Mapleton's Nutfood Company (Mapleton had pioneered the development of vegetarian fats) also stressed pure manufacturing conditions and good staff facilities.
15. 24. For the interwar restaurants, see illustrated articles in New Vegetarian, May 1977, p8-13. They included the Vitamin Cafe founded by Edgar Saxon in 1930 and the Vega, founded in 1933 by Walter and Jenny Fleiss, refugees from Germany and followers of Bircher-Benner.
16. 25. As we have noted, salads were not widely eaten in the previous periods; see also Stephen Winsten, Salt and his Circle, p116, for comments on the diet followed by nineteenth-century vegetarians - mostly overcooked vegetables minus the meat - and VM, March 1917, p54-5, and subsequently for the virtues of conservative cooking by Mrs Leonora Cohen, the suffragette.
17. 26. See F. Bicknell and E. Prescott, The Vitamins in Medicine, 1946, for the dates of discovery.
18. 27. Food, Science and Health, New York, 1930, p25.
19. 28. Harmonised Food Selection, New York 1930, p18. See also his Eat and Grow Beautiful, 1939.
20. 29. Interview with Nina Hosali.
21. 30. John Stevenson and Chris Cook, The Slurp, p25.
22. 31. The first summer school had been in 1901. See annual reports and pictures in VM, and article in Oct 1935, p333
23. 32. See his Summer School Papers: Animal Vegetable and General, 1928.

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SUNLIGHT & NATURE

In terms of the general cultural movements of the period, these favoured the health aspects of vegetarianism more than the moral and humanitarian. The interwar years were not notable ones for the animal welfare cause; (1) and in so far as vegetarianism gained ground in public consciousness, it was through the growing concern with health and exercise. Not all vegetarians were happy with these developments and in the early 1930s voices were raised in the magazines insisting that the humanitarian aspect must not be lost sight of in the rising tide of food reform.(2)

The thirties in Britain saw a general cult of fresh air and physical exercise; (3) the emphasis was on fitness, health and vigour, with the focus not so much on organised games as on individual physical exercise, albeit in a collective and often social setting. It was a phenomenon that occurred across Europe, and the German influence of the romantic cult of the Wandervögel was felt in Britain in developments like the Youth Hostel movement, founded in 1930. (4)

The German influence on progressivist movements in Britain generally from the 1890s through the first three decades of the twentieth century was profound, surviving even the anti-German feeling of the First World War. We find it in the arts and crafts movement, in dress reform, naturism, health ideas, in progressive education, in the popularisation of Freud, in philosophical developments, in music, and it was clearly reflected in vegetarianism. These connections were only ended and subsequently played down by the rise of Hitler. (5)

These concerns with health and exercise went also with a drive to get out into the countryside, so that rambling, cycling and hiking became widely popular. Though walking was still particularly associated with intellectuals, the enthusiasm gained a wider social base, and particularly through socialist groups reached into the working class. (6) The emphasis was on the energetic and free experience of life in nature, rather than the older more passive contemplation of its beauties. The vegetarians had earlier been the pioneers of such experiences, with their enthusiasm for sunlight and air baths, cycling and huts in the pinewoods; now in the thirties, such enthusiasms were no longer regarded as eccentric but were widely shared. Dugald Semple could recommend caravanning, and a holiday life in the open.

Without the oddity that such would have suggested before the war. (7) Perhaps the most characteristic aspect of these changes was the rise of naturism and of the sunlight movement.

The first real signs of an indigenous naturist movement in Britain occurred in the 1920s with the founding of groups like the English Gymnosophist Society in 1922. By the late 1920s the first naturist park had been set up, and in the early 1930s the legal position established. (8) The early thirties saw at last some popular expansion with the emergence of local groups, and with the parallel, and in many senses more significant, development of popular sunbathing. N.P. Barford founded the Sunbathing Society in 1928 to encourage family and group sunbathing in brief clothing. (9) Barford himself favoured full naturism, but felt that semi-nudism was the way to influence the wider public. Though naturism has always remained a minority interest, the cult of sunbathing, once so eccentric, has, of course, become established aspect of modern life and the basis of a major leisure industry. It is in the thirties that this change occurred.

The cosmetic aspects of a suntan were not originally much to the fore; during the 1920s tanning was regarded as only a side effect and not spoken of with special favour. By the 1930s, however, the naturist magazines were praising the look of bronzed skin. The fashion spread beyond these circles, to the cosmopolitan and wealthy. By the 1930s the Riviera season had reversed from being winter to summer. The seaside, from being a place for bathing and for sea air became somewhere for taking off your clothes and lying in the sun; the resorts began to publish their sunshine figures; and by the mid 1930s the major cosmetic houses were producing suntan creams. A suntan became associated with youth, health and vigour, qualities that the thirties found particularly attractive sexually. One factor encouraging this change in perception was the growth, over a long period, of indoor factory and office work. Paleness of skin in the past had given status, but now it reversed its meaning, and a suntan became an emblem of leisurely hours or the wealth to travel south. It is significant that the favouring of a suntan emerges first not just among those, like many vegetarians, with an ideology of nature and the open air, but among the rich, and among certain intellectuals, often at odds with industrial society, and sometimes with a romanticised ideal of the manual worker. The conspicuous expense and leisure involved in the acquisition of a suntan was of central importance in its wide popularisation in the 1950s and sixties.

A series of important medical discoveries before and after the First World War laid the basis for the sunshine movement. Dr Rollier on the continent and Sir Henry Gauvain in Britain had discovered the uses of sunlight in the treatment of TB in the early years of the century.

Rollier's Heliotherapy was not published in Britain until 1923 when its publication was encouraged by Dr C.W. Saleeby, who founded the Sunlight League in 1924. In 1919 it had been demonstrated that rickets in children could be cured by exposure to the sun. (10) By the late 1920s, the therapeutic qualities of sunlight were widely recognised, and its use was extended in sunshine schools and open-air clinics to the more general treatment of sickly, TB-prone and crippled children, many of them drawn from the slums. (11) Progressive schools like Bedales early encouraged sunbathing; (12) St Christopher School, Letchworth, installed vita glass; and pictures of Pinehurst School show the children running about naked. (13) These benefits were urged more widely than just in the progressive private sector; Lt Col G.S. Hutchinson reported the benefits of his experiments with artificial sunlight on colliery boys in Mansfield. (14) The Merrils in their account of continental nudism reported how sunbaths stimulated the depressed and combated insomnia and lassitude. (15) Sunlight - in a very characteristic word of the period - was a 'tonic', and as such was part of the increased concern with positive health that marks the twenties and especially the thirties.

But the pursuit of sunlight in the interwar period had expressive qualities that went beyond just the therapeutic. Sunlight stood for the new society of light. Houses in the garden cities were oriented towards the sun. Architecture in the interwar years pursued light to an almost obsessive degree. It came to be the emblem of a cluster of reforms in the 1920s aimed at making Britain a better, healthier, cleaner place to live. Health and Efficiency in the period well represents this strain of social progressivism, and it advocated, as well as sunlight and exercise, vegetarian and diet-reform food, nature cure and body building, in addition to clean air, slum clearance, new housing, practical psychology – frequently of the self-manipulation kind like Couéism and Pelmanism - and it vigorously attacked the vaccinators, the BMA and the traditionalist and Roman-Catholic opponents of birth control. (16)

Sunlight also had connotations of youth's rebellion. It was a movement for the young. Alec Craig, a well-known naturist, describes how it was through reading Nietzsche as a young man that he came to see that modesty was a virtue imposed by the old and ugly on the young and beautiful. (17) The widely held idea of the interwar period that it was the old men who had caused the Great War and sent the flower of youth to their deaths, is echoed in this context also in the attacks on the humbugs who opposed nudism: 'the relics of the Naughty Nineties, the puritanical prudes, the war mongers who sit in high places and delude the people'. (18)

Just as the antiseptic qualities of sunlight had been observed through its action on mouldy, damp objects, so the sunlight for this post-Victorian generation could be made to shine on the dank, rotten and hidden aspects of the Victorian world. (The thirties saw the full flood of anti-Victorianism) This could mean the slum houses and sick children, but it also, very frequently, meant sexuality. There is a strong theme of erotic freedom in the interwar celebration of sunlight. In Lawrence's short story 'Sun', a woman from the north travels to Sicily, where day after day, bathing naked, she becomes totally absorbed in the sun which she experiences as a ravishing lover. For Lawrence, the sun was the elemental force at the centre of a pagan celebration of life and sexuality, in contrast to what he called the white core of fear in the clothed bodies of men.

Lawrence was, of course, tubercular, but this vision of the sun was a widespread preoccupation in literary and intellectual circles of the time. (19) There is in this a sense of the sun as uncategorised energy, as some prior life-force beyond and before notions of good and. evil - Craig's reference to Nietzsche was significant - and lying in the baking sun became an experience of return to some primal state of total experience.

In its sense of amorality and erotic freedom, the attitude to nature of the thirties contrasts with the late-nineteenth-century pantheism with its softer, more mystical image of the natural world. Nature however does not altogether lose its paradigmatic quality, for it now comes to stand for the 'drive of the life force', for 'frank and open freedoms' as against stuffy and superficial social conventions. Nature, even in its new amorality, still carried messages for society.

In England, however, this tendency was curtailed. Pantheism of the Wordsworthian type continued to exert its power and the erotic freedom of the sun was qualified. This is clear in attitudes to sexuality in naturist literature. One of the recurrent themes in this material is that social nudity is of inestimable benefit in removing the evils of a 'vicarage' atmosphere in upbringing and shame about the body and sex. Dr Haydn Brown saw organised social nudism as: 'an expression of freedom to see, to know, and to expose for the purpose of dispelling fear and ignorance'. (20) The Merrills noted that in 'destroying, the secrecy and mystery of sex, it does away with unhealthy desires and perversions, and makes easier the task of giving the young a rational attitude towards sexual matters'. (21) It was frequently argued that clothes intensified erotic feeling and that the naked and natural body aroused no such 'lascivious emotions'. (22) At times the approach moves into the frankly anti-septic; nudism: 'cleans out your whole ideas about sex, and does not leave a single cobweb anywhere'. (23) There is an

impulse in naturism to defuse the power of sexuality, to make it normal and rational. In part this supra-sexual attitude was necessary to meet accusations of indecency and immorality, but it represents also a preoccupation in this milieu. Craig noted the prevalence of Puritanism in English sunbathing: 'Teetotallers, vegetarians, non-smokers and abstainers of all sorts seem to find the sunbathing camp a happy hunting ground'. (24)

Going naked in the world is part of an older tradition than naturism and one that shares the same broad cultural context as vegetarianism. The Adamites and early Quakers both cast off their clothes, and Garrison places nakedness well within the tradition of popular millenarianism. (25) Clothes epitomise social rules and relations, and to go naked is to assert innocence and divine humanity, it is to divest oneself of the Old Order and Old Adam, breaking the bondage of the law and the political realm, and asserting instead the boundlessness of grace. (26) Nakedness restores you to a direct contact with the earth, and places mankind as it was at the dawn of civilisation, asserting the essential.

We have already noted the vegetarian connection with the imagery of light, and particularly with the transfiguring version of Romanticism. Both nakedness and sunshine pick up also aspects of an older spiritual tradition. Solar imagery has run through vegetarian spiritual connections from at least the late eighteenth century, ultimately looking back to the gnosticism that emerges from the tradition of Hermes Trismegistus. Clowes was writing in 1814 of the Spiritual Sun, (27) and it turns up in the context of Kingsford and Maitland in their book, Clothed with the Sun. (28) Carpenter's image of the cosmic self is heavy with solar imagery, and he recounts how:

Consciousness is continually radiant from the self, filling the body and overflowing upon external Nature. Thus the Sun in the physical world is the allegory of the true self. The worshipper must adore the Sun, he must saturate himself with sunlight, and take the physical sun into him. (29)

Both the Order of the Cross, as we shall see, and Mazdaznan pick up this solar theme; and Ha'nish, the founder of Mazdaznan, explicitly links the spiritual significance of the sun with the physical benefits of sunbathing. (30) Lastly, there are links at the level of food in their language of sun-fired food.

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1. 33. In the field of anti-vivisection, for example, though some private attempts were made to change the law between 1910, the date of the Second Commission on Vivisection, and 1930, they met with no success. The anti-vivisectionists had hoped that the advent of the 1929 Labour Government would help them, since four of its members - Macdonald, Henderson, Snowden and Clynes – had been privately pledged to anti-vivisection, but public policy remained untouched. After 1930 no serious attempts were made to change the law, and in 1933 the Vegetarian Messenger reported that in the present parliament (ie, after the 1931 Labour collapse), it had proved impossible to keep in being the animal welfare group. (See Judith Hampson, Animal Experimentation PhD thesis, Leicester, 1978, for the Second Royal Commission; John Vyvyan's popular The Dark Face of Science, 1971, p127 for 1929 hopes; VM, March 1933, p74).
 2. 34, For example, see a series of letters in VM, in 1933 attacking what was felt to be a growing imbalance in the movement.
 3. 35. See the popular development of Healthy Life Societies, for example the Huddersfield and District Healthy Life Society, founded in 1926; it was affiliated to the VS and ran four shops locally selling diet-reform food. It had a flourishing rambling section and attracted many young people. Its social base can perhaps be inferred from their making a point of mentioning that among its eighty-eight members, were no doctors, clergy or other distinguished citizens of the town. Account in VM, May 1932, p149.
 4. 36. See Stevenson and Cook, The Slump, p26 for such movements as the Women's League of Health and Beauty which by the end of the decade had some 166,000 members.
 5. 37. See VM, Sept 1934, for a comment on Hitler's vegetarianism and a hope that he would come to see its wider message concerning the oppression of the weak; see also regrets over his actions in Health and Efficiency, Feb 1934, p39; 1934 is early for disapproving comments in the British press. During the Second World War, however, many in the Society denied that Hitler was a vegetarian, and his example has remained a slight embarrassment.
 6. 38. See Greenwood's account in Love on the Dole, 1933; also David Sharp, Walking in the Countryside, Newton Abbot, 1978; Ronald W. Clark & Edward Pyatt, Mountaineering in Britain: A History from the Earliest Times to Today, 1957, p213, for growing appreciation of mountain scenery in the thirties, also for the mass trespasses of the period.
 7. 39. See Semple writing on this in VM, Feb 1929, p72.
 8. 40. For these early developments see 'The Story of Nudism', Ancton Tuquor (psd. Rex Wellbye) in Verity, the Journal of the Sunbathing Association, June 1949-March 1950.
 9. 41. See the The Sun Bathing Review, 1933-1935. It carried a wide range of articles in favour of sunlight and exercise in the fresh air. The societies always had difficulty in attracting women: for every ten men applying they had one woman.
 10. 42. Saleby gives an account of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century pioneers of sunlight in Sun Bathing Review, Spring 1934, p4. Saleby was also a eugenicist and later member of the New Health Society. See his Sunlight and Health, 1923, and reprinted five times by 1929. Gauvain's lecture on

sunlight and his work at Hayling Island given before the BMA is reprinted in Sun Bathing Review, Spring 1933, p5.

11. 43. For vegetarian accounts of the beneficial action of sunbathing, see, for example, VM, July 1923, p115 and VN, June 1928, p186. See also account of visit to sunlight clinic in Health and Efficiency, Oct 1927, p497.
12. 44. See Badley on sunbathing in Sun Bathing Review, Summer 1933, p12.
13. 45. Sun Bathing Review, Summer 1933, p11. See also p
14. 46. Both medical experts and psychoanalysts are agreeing that frequent sun-bathing confers immense advantages upon those participating in it, both in health and psychologically. Jan, 1928, p14, Aug 1928, p418.
15. 47. Frances and Mason Merrill, Among the Nudists, 1931, p201.
16. 48. Health and Efficiency had started in 1902 as a physical culture magazine under the title Vim: an illustrated monthly devoted to promoting Health and Vigour in Body and Mind, but by the twenties it had broadened its interests to include a range of social and health issue. For their social reforms see their open letter to Ramsey Macdonald, Feb 1931, p182. It was not until the early thirties that it becomes more narrowly a naturist magazine and female nudes come to predominate. Vegetarian writers like Eustace Miles, B. Allinson, Milton Powell, Edgar Saxon feature regularly.
17. 49. Sun Bathing Review, Aug 1935, p86.
18. 50. Health and Efficiency, Feb 1934, p39.
19. 51. See John Weigtman, 'The Solar Revolution: Reflections on a Theme in French Literature', Encounter, Dec 1970, for this and for the pioneering development of the summer Riviera in the twenties by intellectuals and bohemians like Huxley, Isadora Duncan, Scott Fitzgerald and Lawrence. The twentieth century has seen a major impulse among northern intellectuals and literary people towards the southern sun, though the image of life there as one of bohemian openness and freedom from social convention is in many senses in contrast to the realities of the indigenous social world of southern Europe.
20. 52. Sun Bathing Review, Aut 1934, p77 and 78.
21. 53. Among the Nudists, p9.
22. 54. Health and Efficiency, Aug 1932, p6, report of visit to Sanos Sunray Club.
23. 55. Health and Efficiency, Feb 1934, p39.
24. 56. Sun Bathing Review, Aug 1935, p88.
25. 57. J.P.C. Harrison, The Second Coming, p18.
26. 58. David Martin, 'The Delicate Streak', The Listener, 25.4.75
27. 59. The Spiritual Sun, its Existence and Operation proved incontestably, both from Scripture and from Reason...., by a Clergyman of the Church of England, [W. Clowes], Manchester, 1814.
28. 60. Clothed with the Sun: Being the Book of Illuminations of Anna Kingsford, edited Edward Maitland, 18.
29. 61. Civilisation, its Cause and Cure, p44
30. 62. Dr O.Z. Ha'nish., Inner Studies, 1902 (no place of publication, probably USA), p71-5.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

MEDICINE AND NATURE CURE

The interwar years saw the continuation of the institutional trends of the late-nineteenth century, and the medical profession, aided by the great expansion of research and in particular by the advances of bacteriology, was increasingly confident in the basis of its knowledge. In response to this growing entrenchment, alternative medicine began to take on a more distinctive aspect. The antagonism between the orthodox medical profession and the alternative practitioners continued, and even grew. Health and Efficiency through the 1920s was continually attacking the BMA for being obscurantist in its refusal to look at therapies outside orthodoxy, and heresy-hunting in its hostility to those involved in them. The vegetarian magazines tended to be more circumspect, though they too referred to notorious cases such as that of Axham, the anaesthetist who had been struck off for working with Herbert Barker, the famous 'bonesetter'. (Barker was made a knight in 1922 much to the chagrin of many in the medical hierarchy). (1) Bertrand Allinson continued the earlier criticisms of surgery in particular, attacking the profession's penchant for unnecessary operations that, despite their dramatic quality, yielded, he believed, little benefit to the patient. (2)

Against this growing professionalisation in health care, the natural therapists of the period attempted to keep alive the sense of health as primarily the responsibility of the individual; thus although professional bodies did develop paralleling those found in orthodox medicine, the self-help theme remained strong.

A number of therapies established themselves at this time. Osteopathy, and to a lesser degree chiropractice, made considerable headway. (3) The water cure continued, though in much reduced scope, and often as a home treatment. Radiesthesia arrived from France in the late twenties; it was originally a diagnostic technique - the dowsing pendulum being used to trace diseased organs - though it came also to be used as a guide in prescriptions, usually homeopathic. Abrams 'black box' was another version of this. (4) Dr Bach and his flower remedies also had a vogue in the period, (5) as did the Alexander technique.

One particular treatment, however, occupied a special and central place this was nature cure. Naturopathy is a particular approach in itself, but it is also the uniting principle behind most alternative therapies: all to some degree draw on its basic concepts. In the development of

nature cure in the period, the founding of the Nature Cure Clinic in 1928 has a special place. As we have seen, there had been nature-cure practitioners in the nineteenth-century - most notably in the vegetarian context, Dr T.R. Allinson and the Wallaces - and even some small hospitals, and there had been significant influences from the German tradition; but as yet there was no institution to provide a focus. The intention behind the clinic, whose moving spirit was Nina Hosali, was to provide a centre for nature-cure treatments, particularly for those of limited means. The clinic was also marked by its commitment to vegetarianism and to animal causes like anti-vivisection: Miss Hosali was herself a notable campaigner for animal welfare. (6) Treatment was provided by nature-cure doctors - the best known of whom were Dr Bertrand Allinson, Major Austin and Dr Valentine Knaggs - with ancillary help from osteopaths, masseuses etc. There were difficulties in the early years between these groups - the unregistered practitioners being reluctant to accept the clinic's policy of supervision by the medically qualified; and the General Medical Council put pressure on the doctors not to work with unqualified practitioners.

The interwar period also saw the founding of Stanley Leif's Champneys which followed the original naturopathic regime of Father Kneippe. Such institutions were at that time committed to nature cure, and had not yet become the health farms and slimming clinics they are largely today. To some extent these institutions in the twenties inherited the tradition of the hydros, after these had largely become hotels.

The fundamental principle behind nature cure is the ancient one of the vis medicatrix naturae – the healing power of nature. Nature cure's central concern is to co-operate with this underlying tendency and to help the body to make itself well. A second important concept is that the natural state of the body is one of abundant health; illness is an unnatural state; it results from unnatural living, from a bad way of life, from the neglect of nature's laws. Cure ultimately aims to change the patient's life so as to eradicate the underlying cause or distortion that has made him or her ill. Naturopathy properly is concerned not with treatment but with living a life that pre-empts the need for medical attention. Lastly, nature cure treats the person as a whole: a whole encompassing emotional, spiritual and social aspects as well as the more narrowly bodily. None of these concepts are ultimately alien to the traditions of orthodox medicine, though nature-cure practitioners argue that, especially during the twentieth century, their central importance has been obliterated by the rise of a range of distracting and interventionist techniques.

Subsequent to these central concepts are certain recurring subsidiary ones. The manifestations of illness tend – following the homeopathic and not the allopathic model - to be regarded, not as symptoms but as natural processes, as evidence of the body's attempt to cure itself; and the aim therefore is to stimulate and co-operate with this reaction, often termed the 'healing crisis'. Orthodox medicine by contrast regards these symptoms as diseased and aims at their eradication, and thus, according to nature cure, both suppresses the body's natural healing powers and masks the underlying cause.

A second recurring theme is that illness results from the accumulation of toxins or waste material in the body. Many forms of treatment aim at the encouragement of their elimination, whether through compresses to draw the toxins to the surface, through drinking distilled or spa water to flush out the system, or through the encouragement of sweating; and a vegetarian, frequently raw, diet is often recommended, since this was believed to both avoid the toxins found in meat (and later in processed food) and to encourage elimination generally. Pasting is also used as a means of releasing toxins or waste otherwise 'locked' in the tissues or left in the gut.

A third recurring theme is the use of the state of the blood stream as an emblem of the state of the body - and indeed of the person - generally; thus Milton Powell spoke of cancer having its roots in 'every drop of blood of the cancer sufferer'. (7)

Bad diet, especially meat, lead to a toxic or 'heavy' blood stream, and certain foods were favoured for their capacity to 'cleanse' the blood; thus James Hough, Secretary of the Vegetarian Society, in a lecture to the Practical Psychology Club of Manchester, said: 'green vegetables and fruits are real blood and nerve builders and most valuable blood purifiers' whereas flesh contains 'fatigue poisons'. (8) Sometimes this perception could shade into religious ideas. (9)

Nature cure also stresses exercise, fresh air and relaxation in contact with nature.

Two issues of the earlier period continued to exercise those in these circles: anti-vaccination and germ theory. Though the agitation of the nineteenth-century had declined, vaccination was still to some degree an issue. In 1924 there was a celebrated case concerning Dr Hadwen of Gloucester. (10) Hadwen was a vegetarian anti-vivisectionist and old opponent of vaccination, and under his influence as councillor and magistrate, Gloucester had been a no-vaccination

city. In 1923 there was a smallpox outbreak, and in 1924 an attempt was made to have Hadwen removed from the medical register through a charge of professional neglect, though Hadwen was found not guilty. (11) Other vegetarians like Forward and Arthur Brayshaw of the Friend's Vegetarian Society kept the issue alive. (12) The Vaccination Acts were eventually repealed by the Labour Government in 1948. (13) In general, it may be said that though the anti-vaccinators were 'wrong' in their denial of the scientific effectiveness of vaccination, they were 'right' in their continual emphasis on the importance of public health, housing conditions and diet, social historians now tend to see these, rather than any medical advances, as the true cause of the decline in infectious diseases.

Germ theory continued to be viewed with disfavour in nature-cure circles. Some still rejected the theory wholesale, while others, accepting the presence of germs, argued they were but scavengers in the body and not the true cause of illness. There had earlier been acceptable medical reasons for doubt, though by now, especially for those medically qualified these were weak, and the continued opposition of nature cure to the theory in the period gave it a rather old fashioned and at times obscurantist tone. (14)

The dislike of germ theory within nature cure and vegetarian circles rested, in addition to its old association with vivisection, on the continuation of the earlier criticisms concerning the neutral character of the explanation. Nature cure is fundamentally concerned with the idea of illness as caused by erroneous way of life; this understanding can have a range of references from bad diet, bad physical conditions or poor environment, but it can also at times shade over into vaguer areas of moral responsibility and of life wrongly lived in less directly material ways. powerful within nature cure is the search for weaning in illness, and the criticisms that the mid-Victorians had earlier expressed in the context of sin and God's will were now increasingly conceived in terms of psychology and its moral paradigm for man. (15) Though this model was of course, very different, it still represents to an important degree a transformation of the essential belief in illness as meaningful and as arising from some form of personal failure

The second movement that picked up this sense of illness as arising from the circumstances of life was the environmental health tradition - heir of the nineteenth century sanitarian movement referred to in the previous chapter: the approach is well illustrated in interwar period in the Peckharn Health Centre. (16) Established in a working-class area, it aimed at preventative

medicine offering regular family check-ups in the context of a club whose liberal facilities were intended to develop the members' interests and psychological capacities. Though based on orthodox medicine, the centre encouraged the use of organically grown food, rejecting pasteurised milk and processed foods as 'devitalised'. (17)

As with so much of this progressivist milieu between the wars, there is a scrubbed clean, 'healthy minded', slightly eugenicist tone to its approach - one already noted in the context of naturism, and carried through in the expressive aspects of its architecture. The centre was housed in a consciously modern building, which with its open, high visibility plan, its walls of glass so that it merges with the open air, and its ample sunbathing facilities epitomised many of the values of the inter-war modern movement in architecture. (18) Charles Holden, one of the pioneers of the introduction of the modern movement into Britain, was himself a vegetarian; (19) and Itten at the Bauhaus was a follower of the mystical health cult of Mazdaznan and spread its influence among the students. (20) Katherine Gilbert's analysis of the use of metaphors of cleanliness and hygiene in the language of the modern movement further underlines these interconnections within progressivism between the wars. (21) During the twenties the issue of cancer begins to appear in the vegetarian and nature-cure journals, until by the late twenties and thirties, issue after issue contained articles on the subject. (22) In part this paralleled a growing concern generally over rising cancer figures. But cancer is also a special illness, marked by its mysteriousness, intractability and by the dread it arouses. Cancer patients are notoriously shunned, and quite unfocused aspects of guilt attach to their condition.

Cancer is significantly the one illness to be consistently named and singled out in the vegetarian medical context, and it illustrates some of the ways in which vegetarianism viewed things differently from orthodoxy. Central was the belief that factors of life style held the key. T.R. Allinson and other late-nineteenth-century vegetarians had believed that meat, alcohol and tobacco were implicated, and his son Bertrand Allinson noted that cancer was rare among vegetarians and simple lifers, and saw it as a disease whose seeds were laid early in life. He recommended a raw food diet, if not always as a cure, at least as an ameliorative, and he believed that diet reform, particularly the use of brown bread, was central in prevention.

The second theme in the nature-cure approach was that of the role of emotional and mental aspects, particularly wrong habits of thought and feeling. (23) Cancer was in this period regarded as a purely physical disease, and the vegetarians in pointing to emotional factors were

very much out of tune with the predominating view. It was not until the 1960s that orthodox medicine was to look seriously at these factors. When it came to do so, and when the idea of the 'cancer personality' and of the psychological genesis of the illness gained a certain popular following, there were shared ideas with these earlier nature-cure perceptions in the link with unhappiness or of psychological disharmony, but there were also important differences, in particular the new emphasis on thwarted anger and the failure to express negative feelings. In some sense, the personality recommended by someone like Mrs Goddard with its emphasis on rising above bad thoughts, represents just the kind now thought to produce problems. (24) Both models clearly bear a heavy imprint of the social, and in both cancer is perceived as the result of having failed to realise the prescribed form of personality.

Finally, vegetarianism in this period found an ally in Sir William Arbuthnot Lane and his New Health Society. (25) Lane had made his name in the late nineteenth century for the brilliance of his surgical technique. Like some others of that period, he believed that the colon and its contents were a source of disease, and he developed techniques for the surgical removal of large parts of the intestine as a preventative measure. He thus originally represented just that kind of heroic surgery that nature cure attacked. However, in the years before the First World War, under the influence of Metchnikoff, the populariser of yoghurt, Lane changed his mind radically. Intestinal stasis and alimentary toxæmia, he argued, were indeed linked with all sorts of illness, most notably cancer, but the answer lay in diet, and in 1926 he founded the New Health Society whereby he hoped to educate the public into a better diet, especially one using more brown bread, vegetables and fruit. Lane's society was not well received by orthodox medical opinion; and his views were largely dismissed. (26) At its height however, it had a popular drawing power; three thousand turned up in Oldham to hear an address. (27)

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1. 63. For Barker see E.H. Schoitz & J. Cyriax, Manipulation, Past and Present, 1975; VM, April, 1937, p104, for support for osteopaths against President of Royal College of Surgeons, see VN, Nov 1933, p291.
 2. 64. VM, Feb 1933, p65, BERTRAND ALLINSON: d.1975, son of Dr T.R. Allinson; MD, University College Medical School; served in RAMC; one of the principal doctors of the Nature Cure Clinic; prominent in vegetarian circles; President of LVS; Vice President of NAVS.
 3. 65. Osteopathy had been developed by Andrew Taylor Still (1828-1917) in America; he believed illnesses were caused by spinal problems and that manipulation to restore the integrity of the spine would release the healing forces of the body and cure. Despite attacks from the American Medical Association,

osteopathy spread, especially in the Western States where there were few trained doctors. Chiropractice, was developed by D.D. Palmer (1845-1913) an Iowa grocer; it used a slightly different manipulative technique, though the same focus on the spine. As osteopathy moved up the social scale and became more institutionalised and respectable, chiropractice took its place. Chiropractice retains wider 'alternative' aspects in its approach, though it too has become increasingly institutionalised. See E.H. Schiotz & J. Cyriax, p39-47.

4. 66. Dowsing in Britain was traditionally restricted to water; it was the Abbé Mermet in France who claimed in the early years of the century that a pendulum passed over someone could detect disease. Aubrey Westlake in his The Pattern of Health, 1961, gives a good account of the early years of radiesthesia, or radionics, in England, p16-20. For the black box, see Brian H Inglis, Natural Medicine, 1979, p78.
5. 67. Edward Bach (1880-1936) was a bacteriologist who gave up his career to go to Wales and search for natural healing substances. He made tincture of the whole plant, and his focus was on emotional states and on the production of tranquillity of mind. See Westlake, p9.
6. 68. NINA HOSALI: b1898, daughter of a Scottish mother and Indian father (he was a bar student, but died soon after her birth), BSc and MSc at London University published a paper on mathematics in Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1923; travelled in North Africa, and in 1923 founded there with her mother the Society for the Protection of Animals in North Africa. Came to vegetarianism initially through the animal issue but became interested in health, in 1928 found herself running the Nature Cure Clinic, continuing to do so until 1963. Awarded MBE for animal work. Involved in Margaret Morris dance movement. See Kate Who was called the Toubiba: the SPANA Story, 1978. I am also indebted to Miss Hosali for information concerning the Nature Cure Clinic and movement.
7. 69. VM, Feb 1925, p30
8. 70. VM, June 1926, p134.
9. 71. Dr Valentine Knaggs, writing in Blood and Superman, 1915, p37, quotes Rudolf Steiner and his belief that the blood stream is a species of second being, that is the mediator between animal and man; it is the mirror reflecting the cosmic life and instinctive life.
10. 72. WALTER HADWEN: 1854-1932. MD Barts, vegetarian from 1878, tee-total, Plymouth Brethren, burial reformer, president of BUAV. See VM, Feb 1933, p52,
11. 73. VM. Feb 1933, p52; Health & Efficiency, Jan 1925, p7.
12. 74. See C.W. Forward, The Golden Calf, 1932, and Brayshaw, Quakers and Smallpox, Letchworth, 1943: 'smallpox is a filth disease, and has been banished by isolation, public sanitation and personal hygiene', p6. Health & Efficiency May 1927, p217.
13. 75. By the 1950s and '60s the issue was largely dead, though a few still crusaded against the treatment, see Lionel Dole, The Blood Poisoners, Croydon 1965. A few vegetarians still object, though by and large it is not an issue. The recent debate over whooping cough vaccination did not stimulate any wider revival of the question.
14. 76. See VM, March 1927, p62; VN, June 1931, p177 Bertrand Allinson; Health and Efficiency, May 1927, p217, June 1927, p274; VM Feb 1924, p30, Dr Milton Powell; Dr Valentine Knaggs, The Microbe as Friend and Foe, 1923.

15. 77. See Peter Berger, 'Towards a Sociological understanding of Psychoanalysis', Social Research, 1965, for the shifts in modern consciousness that underlie the growing popularity of psychological explanation in the twentieth century. For the growing use of psychological explanation of illness, see writers like the vegetarian Dr Milton Powell in the vegetarian magazines and in Health and Efficiency, also later, his Outline of Naturopathic Psychotherapy, 1967. The older model in terms of nature also continues, see for example, VM, Feb 1933, p65, Dr Bertrand Allinson.
16. 78. See Innes Pearse and Lucy Crocker, The Peckham Experiment: A Study of the Living Structure of Society, 1943, and Innes H. Pearse, The Quality of Life: The Peckham Approach to Human Ethology, 1979; Health & Efficiency, Jan 1929, p27.
17. 79. The Peckham Experiment, p147-S.
18. 80. Architectural Review, May 1935.
19. 81. Information from Alan Johnson.
20. 82. George Adams, 'Memories of a Bauhaus Student', Architecture Review, Sept 1968, p192.
21. 83. 'Clean and Organic: A Study in Architectural Semantics', Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 1951.
22. 84. VM, Jan 1924, p10; VM, Feb 1925, p29, Milton Powell; also Valentine Knaggs, How to Prevent Cancer, 1932.
23. 85. Mrs Jean Goddard, for example, spoke of how illness arose from spiritual disharmony, from emotions like blame, resentment, anger and jealousy. The aim was life in harmony with the divine law of love, casting out hate and unforgivingness, selfish and unworthy thoughts. The tone is that of mind cure. VM, June 1929, p118. See also Hauser, Harmonised Food Selection, p34. MRS JEAN MACRAE GODDARD: d.1980 in her late nineties. A friend and associate of Hugh Mapleton. Wife of HAROLD GODDARD, of the Plate Powder family and managing director of Imperial Typewriters. They gave much financial help to the VS and to the Order of the Cross. Obit, Alive, July 1980, p25.
24. 86. Or again from Health & Efficiency, Feb 1926, p57, editorial on wholeness 'The disease germ of unresisted wrong will circulate in the spiritual blood stream carrying its taint everywhere'.
25. 87. For Lane see DNB, and W.E. Tanner Sir William Arbuthnot Lane: His Life and Work, 2nd ed 1946. Also running references of approval for his work in the vegetarian magazines from 1926.
26. 88. See Tanner, p127; and VM, July 1927, p136, for report showing that 80% of doctors repudiated Lane's views concerning brown bread.
27. 89. Tanner, p128.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

FOOD & HEALTH DEBATE

A series of debates emerged in the thirties concerning the relationship of food and health, and in these the vegetarians took a lively interest. (1) Part of the background to this was the emergence in the previous decades of scientific nutrition; it was now increasingly possible to quantify diet and to identify previously unknown essential elements like the vitamins; this, and the understanding of some of the worst forms of deficiency diseases, laid the basis for a series of studies during the thirties exposing the relationship between poor diet and ill health, the most famous of which was that of Boyd Orr. (2) Taking not the minimum requirements for life, but the optimum diet – he estimated, giving, full weight to the relationship between income and family size, that a diet completely adequate was reached by only half the population. Boyd Orr felt deeply that too many still believed, or chose to believe, that if people were not starving, they were alright; and he and others published a range of statistical material showing the relationship between poor diet and physical underdevelopment and predisposition to a range of illnesses. The work of Rowntree, McGonigle and others, though differing in detail, broadly supported his conclusions. (3) The BMA work, for example, placed about one third of the population in the category of the chronically undernourished; and startling evidence from the Depression areas, such as that of Lady Williams in the Rhondda where the distribution of food to expectant mothers reduced the material mortality rate by seventy-five percent, confirmed the pattern of poverty, poor diet and ill health.

During the early and mid thirties the issue became highly politicised. James Klugmann recalled how revolutionary an approach it was to see diet and health in class terms, and how these correlations galvanised many young radicals like himself into an understanding of the essentially class nature of English society. (4) Food became a central issue in the larger Condition of England debate, as a series of writers on the left attempted to expose the human misery of the Depression, arguing for the existence in England of primary levels of want. Fenner Brockway, for example, in his Hungry England of 1932, gathered life histories and statistics that argued for widespread malnutrition, overcrowding and inadequate levels of benefits. Brockway was primarily concerned with the affects of unemployment and the Depression, though ironically what emerges from his work and that of others is the survival into the thirties of older patterns of want. Even the critical Boyd Orr admitted that there had been improvements in the post-war years, and there is evidence for rising standards of diet, at

least over the country as a whole, during those years. These largely resulted from relatively cheaper food and rising real incomes. (5)

The vegetarians were brought into these debates by their strong belief in the importance of diet, and above all of better diet, their belief in health coming from positive environmental factors and not medicaments, and lastly their general leftish sympathies. One significant change here, however, is that vegetarianism is no longer directly advocated as a solution to, or salve for, poverty. The individualistic approach to poverty - the how-to-live-on xd-a-day approach - whether advocated by individuals or in the form of advice to the poor, has gone; and poverty is understood, by more at least, to be rooted in fundamental economic and social factors.

1. 90. See issues of the VM and VN of the mid thirties and later for reports of the work of Boyd Orr, McGonigle and others, especially VM, Feb 1936, p207, July 1936, p181, VN, May 1936, p117, July, p181. Nature-cure doctors like Bertrand Allinson (VN, Nov 1924, p263) had earlier criticised the national diet, especially that of the working class. Peter Freeman argued for widespread industrial fatigue and sickness as a result of poor diet (VN, Sept 1925, p220). Rennie Smith believed a third of the population was under-nourished and under-par (VN, May 1929, p169).
2. 91. Food, Health and Income: A Report of Adequacy of Diet in Relation to Income, 1936. See also his autobiography, As I Recall, 1966, especially p111-20.
3. 92. See Burnett, Plenty and Want, for a survey of the evidence gathered.
4. 93. Jon Clark, ed., Culture and Crisis in Britain in the Thirties, 1979, p29.
5. 94. By 1938 average real wages were a third higher compared with 1913 and, for those in work in the 1930s, there was a 15% rise. The distinction between those in long term unemployment and those in work was a vital one in determining income and diet. A large part of the increased disposable income was spent on food; and food consumption rose by about a third in the 1930s. More money also resulted in more being spent on fresh foods and what were called the 'protective' foods, i.e. milk, eggs, fruit, vegetables. The average consumption of fruit rose by 88% between 1913 and 1934; of eggs by 46%. For this background, and figures, see Burnett, Plenty and Want, chapter on the interwar years; and John Stevenson and Chris Cook, The Slump, especially the chapter 'The Hungry Thirties'. Despite claims made for the influence of nutritional advice increasingly offered in the newspapers and on BBC during the 1930s, the principal factor in better food choice appears to have been money.

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POLITICAL LINKS

The interwar years saw the continuation of vegetarianism's links with socialism and the left generally. With the rise of the parliamentary Labour Party, achieving power in 1924 and 1929, there comes to be a scattering of vegetarians in the House of Commons. Fenner Brockway, the radical, pacifist and leading figure of the ILP had been a vegetarian since just before the First World War. (1) The ILP was, in the twenties, no longer the grass-roots expression of the Labour Party that it was before the war, since direct membership was now possible, and it became instead a radical group within Labour, containing an alliance - sometimes uneasy - between radical intellectuals and the working-class-based Clydeside group, and aiming at a full socialist reconstruction of society rather than the reformism that dominated the Labour Party. The ILP in the twenties did retain some of the earlier sense of socialism as something that transformed all aspects of life, and Fenner Brockway wrote of their summer schools, where there were always vegetarian tables: 'At the schools we enjoyed a comradeship which we rarely know now. Socialism was to us a personal relationship as well as an ideal for the future'. (2) Rennie Smith (3) - not a member of the ILP, though he shared Brockway's pacifist concerns - and Peter Freeman (4) – from a different background, a theosophist and enlightened business man, though a socialist - were also vegetarians in the House. Ellen Wilkinson - 'Red Ellen', the MP for Jarrow - though not completely vegetarian, was largely so.(5)

Stafford Cripps was a vegetarian, certainly for health reasons, though possibly also for the humanitarian. Broadly speaking there is a tendency for the political-left vegetarians to incline towards the humanitarian rather than the health aspect. (6)

The link appears also in the socialist novelist Walter Greenwood whose best seller, Love on the Dole, exposed the human conditions of life in Salford, where Greenwood was a Labour councillor. (7)

In 1926, with the General Strike, we find the Vegetarian Society sending vegetarian food parcels to the distressed mining areas, though how they were received is not recorded. (8) Such activities, though of limited impact, do indicate broadly where sympathies lay.

Not all favoured the connection, and the Vegetarian Messenger records the continuation of the older criticism, now made by 'socialists and communists', that vegetarianism would only depress wages. (9)

There are also in the period some muted connections with Social Credit. Based on the theories of the Canadian Douglas, Social Credit was in the thirties a slightly ambiguous political movement including aspects of both left and right. Its diagnosis of the economic crisis was one of plentiful production but no purchasing power, and it sought to solve this by issuing a national dividend. There is a strong theme of individual responsibility in it, which was developed in relation to its health policy with its emphasis on preventative measures and individual self help. (10)

1. 95. FENNER BROCKWAY: b.1888, of missionary family, moved into the orbit of socialism and free religion before the First World War, influenced by Keir Hardie and the writing of Carpenter. Leading figure in the No Conscription Fellowship, imprisoned during the war. Elected to parliament in 1929, helped to take the ILP out of the Labour Party. Involved in Indian independence and international socialism. Worked for animal rights after the war and for the end of racialism. Lost his seat in 1964 and, with misgivings, joined the House of Lords. Brockway rests his vegetarianism firmly on animal rights and not health, though a deep mystical sense of the oneness of life and the beauties of nature has been at the root of his philosophy of life. See his Towards Tomorrow, 1977 (p25 and 42 for nature); and interview.
2. 96. Towards Tomorrow, p76.
3. 97. See p248
4. 98. PETER FREEMAN: 1888-1956. Director of J.R. Freeman Cigars; Lawn Tennis Champion of Wales three times; Labour MP Brecon and Radnor, 1929-31, and Newport, 1945-56. Founder and general secretary of the Theosophical Society in Wales; friend of India and Ethiopia; passionately anti-vivisection and vaccination. See VN, Feb 1931, p50; his Druids and Theosophy, Glasgow, 1924; VM, Sept 1925, p220 on fatigue in industry; and his The World Food Crisis Solved by a Vegetarian, Letchworth 1956, brief biography. [see also his article on the Vegetarian Guest House Association 1949]
5. 99. ELLEN WILKINSON: 1891-1947. Daughter of cotton operative and insurance salesman. Scholarship to Manchester University. Involved in suffrage organisations. 1924-31 Labour NIP for Middlesborough gave energetic support to the miners in the General Strike. 1935 Labour MP for Jarrow, led the Jarrow march, and wrote The Town that was Murdered. Worked for India and Nazi refugees. Minister for Education in 1945. See interview, VN, Jan 1929, p13; Fenner Brockway says she was an almost total vegetarian; and DNB.

6. *100.* STAFFORD CRIPPS: 1889-1952. Nephew of Beatrice Webb; barrister and Anglican. Moved towards Labour Party in 1920s, increasingly radical in the 1930s. Led Socialist League, founded Tribune. Involved in Indian independence. 1942-5, Minister of Aircraft Production. President of the Board of Trade and later Chancellor of the Exchequer in Atlee government. Cripps suffered from recurring illness which was alleviated by nature cure and a vegetarian diet; though Brockway believes that he was also a vegetarian for humane reasons. See D1TB, and biography by Chris Cooke, 1951.
7. *101.* Greenwood- was a vegetarian solely on humanitarian grounds. VM, April 1934, p126 June 1935, p193; July 1935, p222. He was converted by his sister. See also his autobiography, There was a Time, 1967. Salford continued to have vegetarian links: Canon Peter Green was a vegetarian, VM, March 1927, p57, as was the wife of Robert Roberts, author of The Classic Slum, Manchester, 1971.
8. *102.* VM, Aug 1926, p176. The society also sent parcels to distressed areas during the Depression, VM, Jan 1935, p458, Nov 1935, p382.
9. *103.* VM, April 1931, p102.
10. *104.* See Aubrey Westlope's outline of Social Credit health proposals in his Health Abounding, 1944, 2nd ed.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

THE PEACE MOVEMENT

Before looking at the interwar peace movement with which vegetarianism is closely associated, we must look back briefly to the tradition of the peace crusade and in particular to the wartime experience of conscription.

In 1914 the peace movement was about a century old, dating back to the post-Napoleonic era when the first attempts were made to stimulate public opinion in favour of peace. (1) The free-trade campaign of the 1830s brought a new element, with men like Cobden and Bright arguing that the removal of trade barriers would so tie countries together as to make war an aristocratic anachronism; and many of the vegetarians of that period, Simpson, Brotherton, Isaac Pitman among them, were supporters of the peace societies, which tended to be identified with the non-conformist pressure groups, and which rose and fell with their fortunes. Among the Quakers, (2) the peace witness had a long history. Although it had been one of their most characteristic affiliations and although they were prominent in many of the nineteenth-century peace societies, the absence of a serious war involving Britain and the dominance of the evangelical influence among Quakers had however weakened its hold. However, the revival of the Quaker tradition of the Inner Light and the impact of the Boer War stimulated a new concern among Quakers with their pacifist roots. These years of the growing war climate also saw the growth of secular pacifism, particularly associated with the views of Norman Angell.

Despite these developments, when the war came it met a peace movement that proved unable to marshal effective opposition. (3) The liberal anti-war movement had been geared to public debate and influence and not direct action, and so long as there was no conscription, there was no head-on issue to take up with the state. Among the socialists, though Hardie and Lansbury stayed out against the war, it became clear that no mass movement against the fighting would be marshalled. For some socialists, looking to the international brotherhood of workers, this was a tragedy. Rennie Smith, later to be an MP, peace worker and vegetarian, conveys the disillusionment of that time. Smith had gone to Berlin in 1914 to work for the International Federation of Trade Unions. He believed, then that 'the war-mongers were the principal enemies of socialism, that workers would not fight their fellow workers, and that the international labour movement would stand strong against militaristic nationalism; but he

found that the whole thing fell 'like a pack of cards'. Overnight all Germany was for the war, and the International Federation became an organ of the German war machine. (4)

Though the old peace movement was rendered largely impotent by the declaration of war, new groups soon emerged, most notably the ILP and left-dominated Union for Democratic Control and the No Conscription Fellowship. The NCF founded in 1914 by Fenner Brockway and others, for those who would refuse enlistment, sprang into life as the possibility of conscription approached. The bases for their pacifism were very varied and often idiosyncratic; some like the Quaker Edward Grubb, saw the issue as moral and religious, while others like Fenner Brockway and the ILP associates were much more political and revolutionary in their analysis of the causes and nature of the war. The imposition of conscription in 1916 was a turning point, since it united a range of pacifist rejectors of the war as unjust or caused by imperialist capitalism, and liberals opposed to state coercion. The government had taken the step slightly reluctantly, and historians differ over the motive; Robbins stresses the usual explanation of falling levels of voluntary recruitment for the front, though Taylor believes that it was more a response to jingoistic pressures. (5)

The government was willing to accept some elements of conscience objection to fighting, and local tribunals were set up to determine claims. The approach adopted however varied greatly from board to board, and some were plainly very hostile. Broadly speaking, the tribunals tended to be more favourable towards those who produced a religious objection to fighting - most prominently the Quakers - and some institutional affiliation. COs on purely secular grounds often had great difficulty. However one vegetarian CO reported that a letter from the Vegetarian Society testifying to his having, been a life vegetarian meant that the tribunal accepted his claim. (6)

Many of the COs, particularly those who failed the tribunal, were treated very harshly. One Quaker vegetarian (7) looked back at one of the most notorious events of the war when he and some thirty-two others who had failed the tribunal were passed over to the military, who smuggled them over to France, where coming under the jurisdiction of the army, they could be court marshalled and sentenced to death. While being passed from gaol to gaol and paraded before the troops prior to execution, the No Conscription Fellowship managed, through their parliamentary friends, to secure a statement from Asquith that there would be no execution, and imposing instead a sentence of life imprisonment.

Schemes of alternative work were established. Just as the reasons for objection varied greatly, so did the responses to work: some were willing to serve, provided they were not asked to kill; others would do life-saving work in medical divisions; others agreed to approved work at home, but some argued that all such work furthered the cause of the war, and they refused to be party to this, even indirectly. Of about 16,000 COs, 3,300 accepted work in the non-combatant corp; 3,000 in various forms of ambulance work; 4,000 in alternative work under the Pelham committee; about 6,000 were in prison at some time, and of these about 1,500 remained absolutists. Towards these the government was very harsh; some seventy men, according to Marwick, died from their prison treatment. (8) Among those imprisoned were a number of vegetarians; all of these found great difficulty in obtaining a vegetarian diet. Without meat and without the gravy or suet with which it was often mixed up, prison fare, never very adequate, became seriously deficient. Edward Puller, imprisoned for flouting DORA, collapsed in the workshops at Pentonville before becoming the first vegetarian to receive supplementary rations. (9) Fenner Brockway, one of the leaders of the No Conscription Fellowship and an absolutist, gives an account of the difficulties in Wormwood Scrubs which eventually led to a food strike. (10) Terence Lane of the Friends Vegetarian Society had similar difficulties in Plymouth. (11) Once a vegetarian diet was allowed, it was often preferred to the prison fare. One vegetarian reported how after being very ill in Wormwood Scrubs, he recovered with the fresh air and vegetarian diet provided at Dartmoor, where he says about half the 1,200 prisoners elected to go vegetarian. (12) The experience of prison and the contact with vegetarians there converted a number of COs to the diet. (13) It was not only among the absolutists that vegetarianism flourished; one CO released to do railway building work wrote that of 150 men there, 60 were vegetarians. (14)

It was out of this war-time experience that the much larger and more significant peace movement of the interwar years emerged. (15) The peace movement in the twenties and especially, the thirties flourished as never before or since, and in this widespread revulsion from war, the vegetarians played their part. Though the social roots of the phenomena still remain slightly uncertain an aspect of central significance was the revulsion from the First World War itself. Opposition to war generally became bound up with the opposition to the war that had just occurred. Certain aspects of the Great War reinforced this: the nineteenth-century expectation of a brief and mobile campaign had given way to the horrors of trench warfare, with the particular futility and sense of pointlessness that that engendered. From the late 1920s with the publication of the great anti-war novels and poems, the belief grew in the public mind

that the war had been a horrific and pointless mistake. Increasingly it was seen as coming from the folly of old men, from secret and elite diplomacy, from militaristic dreams, from the pressures of arms manufacturers, from competing imperialisms; and these new perceptions gave status to those who at the time had spoken out against the war from the pacifist and anti-war tradition. Added to this mood were the fears of the nature of the war that was to come, with its new and horrific forms of weaponry and with the involvement of the civilian population in, what was for the first time called, 'total war'.

The peace movement contained within it two contrasting tendencies: the pacifist and the internationalist. (16) Some individuals belonged strongly to one or other wing; though many occupied a mixed position combining elements of both in their general commitment to peace. Commitment to one or other also changes with the rise and fall of the League of Nations and the advance of fascism. Though certain vegetarians were prominent in the pacifist groups, no clear conclusions can be drawn as the affiliation of vegetarians as a whole.

The internationalists sought to remove from the individual states the right to use force, and transfer this to international organisations like the League in its reformed state (the exact nature of the reforms needed was a source of differences). Its principal advocates were the League of Nations Union, founded in 1918, and the New Commonwealth, founded in 1932. Though they drew on a wide range of support, their social and political links tended to be more establishment than those of the pacifists. Buzan's figures for these groups show a steady rise from the mid 1920s to a peak in 1932/3 with the hopes of the Disarmament Conference; and a decline after the failure of sanctions following the Abyssinian crisis. From then on, hopes of collective security based on arbitration faded.

The pacifists, though through the twenties and early thirties they tended to support attempts at disarmament and arbitration, put little hope in such schemes; and, as military policing action by the League became increasingly a possibility, they broke with the internationalist wing and stressed instead the strictly pacifist approach. Of the secular pacifist groups, the most significant was the No More War Movement, founded in 1921, largely from the politically motivated absolutists of the NOF. Theirs was not so much a pacifism of individual conscience as something expanded into a larger political philosophy concerning the state and the ultimate causes of war - they were strongly anti-capitalist - and as such drew largely from the left. Of the religious pacifists, the Friends maintained their peace witness in the Friend's Peace Committee. The Peace Pledge Union founded by Dick Sheppard in 1934 disclaimed many of

the older political and peace society links and grounded itself on the will and pledge of ordinary people for peace. It sought to make war impossible by denying to the government the ability to mobilise the population.

Vegetarianism with its revulsion from killing has obvious links with pacifism, (17) and in its concern with the inducement of calmer, less aggressive temperament had relevance for the popular concern in the twenties and thirties with the psychological roots of war. But the connections between food and pacifism existed also at an expressive level. Beverley Nichols in his best-selling pacifist book of 1933, Cry Havoc, drew on food as a symbol of the old order of political inertia and interest. Looking down on the delegates at the Geneva disarmament conference, he mused:

What must be their condition, after the heavy meals which I had seen them devouring in their hotels? . . . I think of old hearts weakly pumping the over-sugared blood through hardened arteries, the hearts that have also to fight against choking lungs. And suddenly, I want to stop the conference, and bundle all the delegates by force, into vans which would take them up on to the mountains, and keep them there on a diet of orange juice for a fortnight before they began to make any more speeches.

These are no wild speculation, unworthy of record. Man is what he eats and drinks and breathes. There is too much eating and drinking and too little breathing at Geneva . . . even the shortest sojourn at a disarmament conference makes one feel that the world will never know peace until it is run by vegetarians, and until its business is conducted in the open air.

Secret diplomacy has more than a merely symbolic connection with closed doors and barred windows. (18)

The peace' movement began to decline in the late 1930s as the threat from Germany rose. For many on the left, like Fenner Brockway and Reg Reynolds, (19) Spain was the turning point, and the war against fascism now replaced pacifism as the central issue for the left. Pacifism based on religious absolutes ultimately proved more enduring, even in the face of what was widely seen as a just war. Though Buzan gives evidence for the widespread inclination towards pacifism as late as 1937 and '38, this largely collapsed in the face of a war against Hitler. (The role of the rightness of the cause, should not conceal the important sense in which the reversal came from the enduring power of the state to mobilise public support.)

In the end, some 61,000 registered as COs, a considerable increase on the First World War figure of 16,000; and as such provides some evidence for, the influence of the pacifist ideals of the interwar period.

1. 105. For the nineteenth-century peace movement see A.C.F. Beales, The History of Peace, 1931.
2. 106. For the Quakers see also p283
3. 107. For the peace movement in the war see K. Robbins, The Abolition of War: The 'Peace Movement' in Britain, 1914-1919, Cardiff 1976.
4. 108. For the situation in Germany, see his, Peace Verboten, 1943, p32-41. RENNIE SMITH: b.1888, in Nelson, Lancashire. Went into a cotton mill at eleven; subsequently worked in local government. Ruskin College, and then London University. 1921-3, Joint principle of Elsinore International People's College. 1924, Labour MP Penistone. 1924-9 General Secretary of National Peace Council. 1929-31 PPS to Dalton as Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. 1925-30 secretary of National Council for prevention of War. Vegetarian from about 1919. 1932-40 translated and published pamphlets about Nazi Germany. See VM, Feb 1932, p49; and : biography in his Peace Verboten.
5. 109. K. Robbins, p70; A.J.P. Taylor, English History, 1914-1945, 1965, p55; also Marwick, p76.
6. 110. VM, June 1917, p123.
7. 111. John Brocklesby, in Some Aspects of the History of the Friends' Vegetarian Society, 1979
8. 112. See Marwick, p81-2, for the figures. Percy Redfern, though he joined Fenner Brockway's No Conscription Fellowship, disagreed with the absolutist line and helped organise alternative work. Journey to Understanding, p177.
9. 113. VN, May 1921, p70.
10. 114. Towards Tomorrow, p50.
11. 115. Some Aspects of the Friend's Vegetarian Society, p3,
12. 116. VM, Jan 1920, p6.
13. 117. Testimony of Quakers Ada and Frank Hancock in Our Approach to Vegetarianism, n.d., Friends Vegetarian Society.
14. 118. VM, June 1917, p123.
15. 119. See David Martin, Pacifism, 1965; B.G. Buzan, 'The British Peace Movement, from 1919 to 1939', thesis presented at LSE, 1973; and Martin Ceadal, Pacifism in Britain, 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith, Oxford 1980.
16. 120. I am using Buzan's terminology here; Ceadal would distinguish between pacifism and pacificism.
17. 121. Though the VS was officially apolitical, it supported strongly the 1932 hopes for the disarmament conference, VM, Feb 1932, p35. See also R. Smith on food, the League & War, VM, July 1928, p121, VN, Jan 1929, p34.
18. 122. P127.
19. 123. Reynolds was a not-very-strict vegetarian and unorthodox Quaker. See his, My Life & Crimes, 1956.

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INTERNATIONALISM AND ESPERANTO

Vegetarianism was marked by a strong internationalist tone; (1) in part this was a product of the general aspirations and mood of the period, though it relates also to vegetarianism's own commitment to universalist moral principles. (2) The link with esperanto provides one example of this.

An Esperanto Vegetarian Society (Tutmondo Esperantista Vegetara) had been founded as early as 1908 under Tolstoyan influence, and In 1909 the *[IVU]* International Vegetarian Congress had called on vegetarians to learn esperanto. (3) In the Interwar period - as indeed today - many esperantists were vegetarian.

Though esperanto had been invented in 1887 by the Polish Dr Zamenhof, Its progress was slow and obscure until the early years of this century, when It made rapid advances in France. A series of international congresses were held and Its popularity grew; It was in the immediate post-war years that it had its greatest success and widest aspirations. Though it failed in its attempt to be adopted as the official language of the League, it was closely associated with the internationalist sentiment of the period, especially at the grass roots level, and Guérard, writing In 1922, believed that Esperanto was 'profiting from this new state of mind'. (4) One of the aims and appeals of esperanto was the provision of the basis for personal contacts between people of different nations in ways that would make the possibility of war repugnant and ultimately impossible; and the report of the League stressed its great potential 'from the point of view of the moral unity of the world'. (5)

In scientific, commercial, philanthropic, tourist and even more, in working class circles, there is a feeling that it is urgently necessary to escape from the linguistic complications which impede international relations and particularly direct relations between people. (6)

The vegetarian esperanto link owes something also to the earlier tradition of shorthand writing and reformed spelling. There is a sense in which all of these appeal to the desire for conscious deliberation and for reforming language according to ordered and rational principles; and they draw on a general tendency within vegetarianism towards the tidying up of social reality that we have noted in other contexts. Edward Sapir, writing in 1931, touches on this aspect when

he notes the belief that a constructed language, unlike the old organic languages, would correspond to the 'analytic and creative spirit' of modern times, and would free us from the tyranny of language by making us its masters and not Its products. This he felt would have an important psychological effect on our attitude to society. (7)

1. *I24.* During the First World War, despite the bitterness of the conflict, the vegetarian societies kept in contact with their German counterparts, and soon after the peace, plans were under way for an International Conference, VM, Aug 1923, p121. [1923 IVU Congress]
2. *I25.* See Chapter 9g.
3. *I26.* VM, April 1914, p135.
4. *I27.* A.L. Guérard, A Short History of the International Language Movement, 1922, p123.
5. *I28.* Esperanto as an International Auxiliary Language, League of Nations, Report of General Secretariat, Geneva 1922, p13.
6. *I29.* Ibid., p2. In the section devoted to esperanto in England, it is reported that the majority of classes were in evening institutes (about ninety-two groups in 1922), though it was also taught in thirteen elementary schools and five secondary. The distribution of these schools - the primary schools were in Barry, Eccles, Huddersfield, Leigh, Liverpool and a 'very poor' area of Worcester - though no doubt reflecting personal enthusiasms, does give some support to the rather unexpected statement concerning working-class association, probably better understood as broadly socialist. Not surprisingly, esperanto was taught at the school at Whiteway, and Gassy Marin, a noted member of the community, was a keen supporter. (I am indebted to Hilda Gustin for information about Mann and esperanto at Whiteway).
7. *I30.* Psyche, April 1931, p4.

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PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION

Vegetarianism has long been associated with progressive educational ideas, (1) and in this, as with other of its early connections, it drew on the romantic tradition of social criticism embodied here in the ideas associated with Rousseau.

The modern progressive school (2) originates in the late nineteenth century with the founding in 1889 of Abbotsholme by Cecil Reddie. Reddie had been influenced by Carpenter, and Abbotsholme was originally intended to reflect the principles of the Fellowship of the New Life; however as Reddie increasingly moved away from socialism, under the influence of German conservative thought, the link with the Fellowship faded. In 1893, A.C. Badley, an ex-master at Abbotsholme, founded the co-educational Bedales. Both Badley and Reddie subscribed to diet-reform ideas, (3) and from the start both schools catered for vegetarian pupils. (4)

The early years of the century brought the Quaker schools into this stream. There had been a long tradition of Quaker boarding schools, many of which had been founded in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; and the separateness of Quaker society, together with the repudiation of the classical syllabus and the teaching of science, marked these schools apart from the public schools. In the early twentieth century the differences became more pronounced with the spread among them of co-education. Stewart believes this was the principal reason that brought the Quaker schools into the world of progressive education; though a more fundamental factor must be the shift that occurs in Quakerism generally that takes it into the orbit of liberal progressive thought. (5) While Quaker schools have not been vegetarian, they have since the twenties provided liberal facilities for vegetarian pupils.

The second important influence was theosophy, which was in the early years of this century much involved in progressive social causes and had not yet adopted the social introversionism that came later. In 1915 a number of progressively minded theosophists led by Mrs Ensor and George Arundale founded the Theosophical Fraternity in Education, and in the same year the Garden City Theosophical School was founded in Letchworth, later to be called the Arundale School and finally St Christopher School. St Christopher is marked among progressive schools for being specifically vegetarian. (6) Letchworth had been a centre for vegetarianism since its

founding as the first Garden City in 1903. (7) Two other vegetarian schools of the period were Pinehurst School, Heathfield, (8) and the Garden School, High Wycombe. (9)

In 1925 amid upheavals, Mrs Ensor resigned from the Theosophical Educational Trust and Miss King from the headship of St Christopher, where she was succeeded by Lyn and Eleanor Harris (Lyn Harris had been a CO and was a vegetarian Quaker) who continued to run the school until their retirement in 1956. Mrs Ensor and Miss King moved on to Surrey where they founded Frensham Heights, though they left after two years and with them the theosophical link ended. Mrs Ensor's work continued, however, in the New Educational Fellowship, founded in 1921, which acted between the wars as an international focus and forum for the progressive school movement.

Despite some important differences within the progressive school movement, especially between the conservative and radical wings, certain shared themes emerge, and I shall touch in particular here on those that are relevant to the vegetarian link.

The first of these was their anti-urbanism and stress upon the experience of nature. Many of these schools were situated in the country, with beautiful natural surroundings stressed. Gardening was traditionally favoured, and many were termed garden or open-air schools. Sunbathing or sleeping in the open were often practised. A number of these schools and other movements of the period aimed at bringing children into direct contact with nature, with particular stress put on the idea of the woodland, as a means of developing confidence and skills. The feeling is best expressed in Ernest Westlake's Order of Woodcraft Chivalry which was intended to be a more adventurous and libertarian version of the Boy Scouts, and with none of its militaristic tone. (10) Westlake believed that man had by civilisation been separated from the true source of education - nature - and that by this alone could be develop true instincts and faculties, and he aimed to teach not just 'the lore of the woodman, but also that simple life in nature which is the heritage, material, mental and spiritual of man in common with all living creatures'. (11)

In 1929 he founded the Forest School - a mixture of Freud and Red Indians, according to one master - and here the aim was to restore children to their 'lost birthright of freedom'. (12) In all these movements the paradise theme was strong, and Ernest Westlake speaks of the ultimate purpose as 'to regain paradise' (13)

Progressive education is important in vegetarianism because it provides the concrete embodiment of a recurring social metaphor in the tradition: that of the visionary image of the child as the embodiment of man's innocence. Running through it is the idea of the goodness, in potential at least, of the child; education should be a nurturing and encouragement, rather than a coercion and punishment, and self-directed discovery was stressed and the child, not the teacher, made the centre of the educational process. During the twenties the influence of Freud on the progressive school movement - and indeed on progressivism generally - was marked, and Freudian theory was used to underpin the liberation of the child from adult repression and to justify the belief that the natural impulses should have free expression. In certain of the schools this produced a move towards a libertarian and anarchic ideal. The progressivism of the period, however, largely used Freud as a dissolvent of conservative social values, taking up the attack on traditional religion and upon patriarchal authority. It was, however, an essentially selective reading of Freud, one that passed over the darker Hobbesian aspects of his thought, focusing instead on its libertarian potential, which was then grafted on to an essentially non-Freudian model of-man and his destiny - one that derived from the older romantic tradition.

Education meant here the education of the whole child and that involved both an emphasis on the emotional development of the child, and a widening of the curriculum to include artistic expression and craft work. In this they were influenced both by the older criticisms of the public school and its denial of feeling, and by the later psychoanalytic emphasis on the emotional and unconscious aspects of being.

Education was regarded as fundamental in the reform of society, and these schools aimed to foster co-operative and harmonious social relations. This was partly to be achieved by discouraging direct competition, whether academic or sporting (sport tended to be, as in the vegetarian milieu more widely, individual, non-competitive and. 'non-contact'), and partly through the creation of a freer, less repressed sort of person who would not need to live through earlier psychic repressions in ways that produced a distorted and destructive form of society. They were notably anti-militaristic, and they attacked in particular the harsh beatings of the public school tradition; and violence was seen here to beget violence and to brutalise children, and the prevention of war was seen as intimately bound up with the ending of violence in the home and. school. Child of Dartington Hall, summed up some of these aspects:

We were against war, against violence, against corporal punishment, against uniforms, against authoritarianism (and very likely against authority!). In fact largely "agin the government". We

were for peace, for love, for life, for nature (and nature cure). And of course for freedom - and maybe for community. (14)

Finally the schools enshrined an anti-structural ideal. This was found in the reduction and even at times extirpation of social hierarchy and of the division between pupils and teachers, now often called by their Christian names. Egalitarian ideals also underlay the popularity of school councils and democratic control. Maurice Punch has interpreted Dartington Hall in terms of the anti-institution which he sees as based on:

the desire to escape what is perceived as the deleterious consequences of a permanent social structure and the attempt to capture the absence of constraint in an association with an anti-institutional and anti-authoritarian ideology . . . it is an attempt to live perpetually on the margin, resisting the encroachments of formalisation. (15)

Punch believes that the pupils identify with the radical institution and with the anti-structural ideal. Here the headmaster controls not by the imposition of rules or norms but by force of personality. Authority is thus exercised but in a covert form; roles becomes personal and attacks upon authority are deflected into attacks upon persons. Stewart makes a similar point that the psychological orientation of the progressive education means that social life is seen in terms of personal relationships, and social structure is thus devalued and only weakly perceived. (16)

1. 131. From the concerns of the Bible Christians and Swedenborgians the broadly Owenite circles of the Ham Concordium with their Pestalozzian influence, to New England Transcendentalists like Bronson Alcott, one of the founders of the American progressive tradition.
2. 132. For this generally, see The Modern Schools Handbook, ed. Trevor Blewill, 1934; W.A.C. Stewart, The Educational Innovators, Vol II, Progressive Schools, 1881-1967, 1968; W. Boyd and W. Rawson, The Story of the New Education, 1965; M.D. Lawson and R.C. Peterson, Progressive Education, 1972; Robert Skidelsky, English Progressive Schools, 1969.
3. 133. Reddie subscribed to the theory of meat as inflaming: 'If boys at school are fed on highly Inflammatory food they are apt to lose control of themselves and have fits or irritability, leading very often to moral vice, whereas those fed on a cooler diet of cereals and vegetables run far less risk of those storms of superabundant vitality', quoted by Punch in Progressive Retreat: A Sociological Study of Dartington Hall School..., Cambridge 1977, p11. Reddie was also influenced by the spiritual tradition familiar In this context: Boehme, Blake, Kingsford and Maitland (see Stewart, p249 for this aspect).
4. 134. Information from the schools, see also The Food Reformer's Year Book for the interwar period.
5. 135. See p.283

6. 136. For an account of St Christopher, see H. Lyn Harris in The Modern Schools Handbook, 1934, p96. Also an account of its history and character in a booklet published by the school, by Reginald Snell, nd.
7. 137. Unwin, one of the founders of Letchworth, was a vegetarian (see, Walter L. Creese, The Search for Environment: The Garden City: Before and After, Yale, 1966, for Unwin's background and for his links with Fellowship and Brotherhood Church ideas); so too was C.B. Purdom, who became the historian of the garden cities: see his biography, Life Over Again, 1951, and his The Letchworth Achievement, 1963. For a picture of a typical garden city citizen, including vegetarianism, see Charles Lee, 'From a Letchworth Diary', Town and Country Planning, 1953, p21. There are also vegetarian associations with the Alpha Union and the Cloisters at Letchworth and with local theosophical, & Liberal Catholic and Quaker groups.
8. 138. Co-educational school founded by a friend of Eva Gore-Booth, who was one of its supporters. Encouraged sunbathing and nature cure. See advertisements in vegetarian magazines and in Mazdaznan Call of the period. See also, for this and other schools catering for vegetarian pupils, The Food Reformer's Year Book for the interwar years.
9. 139. Founded in 1917 as an open-air school following Adlerian psychological principles by Winifred Nicholls and Margaret Ormrod. Free syllabus, and competition avoided. See account in The Modern Schools Handbook, 1934.
10. 140. The order had peace movement links, emerging as it did according to Aubrey Westlake (Ernest Westlake's son) out of the post-war feeling in certain Quaker schools of the need for some alternative form of citizen service, and the belief in the need for the provision of functional equivalents of war for young men. This was also a strong element in the Grith Fyrd camps which developed out of the Order and which catered in the thirties for men out of work. See Aubrey Westlake, Woodcraft Chivalry, Weston super Mare 1917; Ernest Westlake, The Forest School, or Evolutionary Education, Salisbury 1930, and The Grith Fyrd Idea, several authors including Aubrey Westlake, Salisbury, 1933. Though Aubrey Westlake was only very briefly a vegetarian while an undergraduate, his writing, especially Health Abounding, 1944, and The Pattern of Health, 1961, illustrate some of the inter-connections of this milieu. Westlake came from Quaker background trained as a doctor, worked with Salter in Bermondsey, involved in Woodcraft Chivalry and Grith Pyrd, follower of early developments in alternative medicine and psychiatry, involved in Social Credit Party, developed his estate at Godshill according to Soil Association ideas.
11. 141. Woodcraft Chivalry, p.2
12. 142. The Forest School, p11, J.N. Glaister.
13. 143. The Forest School, p30.
14. 144. The Independent Progressive School, ed. H.A.T. Child, 1962, p76.
15. 145. M. Punch, Progressive Retreat, p163.
16. 146. W.A.C. Stewart, Educational Innovators, p351. For the relevance of this anti-structural theme, see Part III.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

THE RELIGIOUS CONNECTIONS

Introduction

One marked change is that New England Transcendentalism, whether of the quasi-religious type or not, is dead; there are no more references to Emerson, Thoreau or Carpenter, nor to their deified landscapes. The connection with various liberal versions of Christianity continues (1), though the drive that had in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries led to the formation of such groups had very much slackened. The orthodox churches had to some extent accommodated themselves to the doubts and difficulties of the crisis of faith, so that, by the interwar years, as people, in continuingly large numbers, fell away from belief, they tended to leave the orbit of religion altogether.

The association with theosophy continues. These were for the society, years of consolidation under the control of Mrs Besant. Aided by the wealth of the motor car heiress, Miss Dodge, the society flourished and reached its apogee in the expectations gathered around Krishnamurti and expressed in the Order of the Star in the East. The Indian link grew stronger and Mrs Besant and the theosophists were influential in the early stages of Congress and the fight for independence. Crisis came, however, in 1929 when Krishnamurti repudiated his role as the world teacher. Many left the Theosophical Society at this point, some to join other groups. Lady Emily Lutyens has left an account of those years; like many in the society she was a vegetarian and also vice president of the Vegetarian Society. (2) Anthroposophy, an offshoot from Theosophy, had similar vegetarian links. (3)

The general connection with India continues. This was partly through its continuing influence at the spiritual and philosophical level, though also more widely through its political impact on the left - Brockway, Reynolds and Cripps were all involved in the Issue of India - and through the influence of figures like Tagore on Leonard Elmhirst of Dartington and Gandhi and his example of the effective political use of non-violence on the Quakers and the pacifists. When Gandhi visited London in 1931 for the abortive Round Table talks he renewed his acquaintance with the vegetarians and attended a reception in his honour given by the London Vegetarian Society. (4)

The other vegetarian religious associations covered in this period are: the Order of the Cross, Mazdanan, the Quakers, and, rather apart from them, the Seventh Day Adventists.

1. 147. The Church of the New Age, Manchester, provided an example from this period. The church stressed tolerance of opinions, the search for truth, purity of life and service to humanity, and a theology of love. Vegetarianism was part of this. For accounts see VM, March 1933, p97; Nov 1933, p354. Walter Walsh's Free Religious Movement for World Religion and World Brotherhood, founded 1913, is another example.

DR WALTER WALSH: 1857-1931. University of Glasgow, DD Pittsburg, peace and temperance advocate, interested in housing reform, member of ILP, city councillor, excluded from the Church of Scotland for his 'Universalist' views. Vice president of LVS. See his 'Nature Red in Tooth and Claw' for a discussion of suffering in nature, VN, July 1928; VM, Feb 1930, p36; and his obit. VN, June 1931, p175.

2. 148. See her Candles in the Sun, 1957, and her daughter, Mary Lutyens' To Be Young, 1959 and Edwin Lutyens, 1980.

LADY EMILY LUTYENS: grand-daughter of Bulwer Lytton, sister of Lady Constance Lytton. For her vegetarianism, see Candles, p36 and To Be Young, p13. For the period see also A.H. Netherroot, The Last Four Lives of Annie Besant, 1963, and Annie Besant in VM August, 1933, p253.

3. 149. Rudolf Steiner held very similar views concerning meat-eating. He also supported homeopathic medicine and herbalism, and founded Weleda to produce these and non-animal based cosmetics.
4. 150. VN, Dec 1931, p352 VN, March 1932, p74, interviewed by Dugald Semple; and A. Hunt, Gandhi in London, New Delhi, 1978. [text of Gandhi's talk to LVS -- same text, different pictures]

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

The Order of the Cross

The order had been founded in 1904 by the Reverend J. Todd Ferrier (1855-1943), an ex-Congregational minister, and it bore some relationship to an earlier vegetarian Order of the Golden Age. Its journal, the Herald of the Cross, was published from 1905; in these early years the writings of Maitland and Kingsford were featured prominently, but as the issues progressed the journal increasingly became a vehicle for Todd Ferrier's writings. It is clear from Todd Ferrier's later account that these early years produced no real following; the Herald ceased publication in 1911 and Todd Ferrier had to rely on the hospitality of favourably inclined societies to publicise his ideas. (1) In the late twenties and early thirties however, Order of the Cross groups were established at Russell Square, Woodford Green and Streatham Common, and by 1934 the order was sufficiently flourishing to move to 10 De Vere Gardens, Kensington, which has remained its headquarters, and to publish again the Herald of the Cross. During these years the order was very much centred around Todd Ferrier himself; and it is his teaching that remains its basis. The order is still active - though the 1930s were its formative period. Numbers are hard to judge; the supplements for the thirties refer to summer schools which attracted about 300 people, and to reading and meeting groups in some twenty-four centres (fairly evenly distributed). Members of the order were actively involved in the Vegetarian Societies. (2)

The order stands out among similar groups through its distinctive commitment to vegetarianism. Todd Ferrier in his two particular statements on the issue, On Behalf of the Creatures and The Inner Meaning of the Food Reform Movement, puts forward the full range of arguments, though these are hierarchically arranged, with the spiritual as the most highly valued. (3) The 'inner meaning' of food reform is precisely that it is a religious, or rather as Todd Ferrier characteristically stresses, a spiritual movement. The scheme is strongly anti-materialist, and this is fundamental in the rejection of meat-eating, which is regarded as a taking-in of low, carnal vibrations that build up a dense, material body and that obscures spiritual vision. (Their objections to tobacco and alcohol are on the similar grounds of their being stimulants that de-sensitise).

Meat-eating produces physical impurity: 'Thus when the body is kept impure through pernicious diet and living, the mind remains impure. When the mind is in that state its vision

is clouded'. (4) Physical, moral and spiritual purity are all seen as one: 'There can be no purity whilst the flesh of creatures is partaken of and inhumanity towards the creatures practised'. (5)

In their ideas, the Order of the Cross typify a range of gnostic groups that emerge out of theosophy and the esoteric tradition generally. The cosmos is conceived as being originally pure spirit, less limited and gross than in its present material form: 'The deterioration of the world's condition was a gradual process in which every part of the structure suffered, from the elements and substances that composed it, to the minds and hearts of men and women. (6) In terms of the self, this has caused a division in which individual egotism has obscured the divine consciousness within and causing men to forget their true spiritual nature. The Fall was a fall into materiality. Though man was involved in the Fall, it was not of his choosing, but was a cosmic accident; and since man was created divine, he retains the urge and capacity to recover divine consciousness. The evolution towards a recovery of the original state of spiritual consciousness is at the heart of their concerns. God is not perceived here in personal or transcendent terms, but is regarded as both consciousness in the universe and the divine in man. The sun is the central symbol in their approach, standing for the divine shining in the cosmos and in man, for the evolution of the planet towards a state of light and pure spirit, and for dawning consciousness. They elide the use of solar and soul. (7)

There is the characteristic syncretism found in this tradition. All religions are believed to bear aspects of the truth, when properly perceived. (8) They repudiate all creeds: 'religion is a spiritual attitude rather than a belief in specific doctrines'. (9) The approach is the familiar esoteric one of inner interpretation, with a strong flavour of the reverent-unveiling-of-truth, and ancient-wisdom-concealed-from-vulgar-eyes. This hidden aspect is carried through in their dealings with outsiders and in the absence of personal information in their writings; thus though the order in the thirties clearly revolved institutionally and emotionally around Todd Ferrier, information about his background is absent. (10) This is part of the tradition, whereby the truth is presented as emerging from abstraction and universality; and though its origins are inner, they are not personal in the biographical way that is relevant in, for example, certain protestant traditions. Sometimes – as in Mazdaznan - the mysterious origins of the founder are stressed.

Despite the inclusion of various traditions (and they follow a familiar selection - ancient Egyptian, Hindu, Zoroastrian, neo-Platonic) the order is notably Christian in its base, more so indeed than theosophy, Mazdaznan or some of the more Indian-centred groups. It is however a reinterpretation of Christianity. Thus it is believed that in the process of the transmission of

the teaching of Christ into the gospel narratives, certain gross errors and distortions have crept in. Most notably, they believe that John the Baptist and Jesus were in fact one person. The names Jesus and Christ apply to that one person but as titles not personal names; and it is John the Baptist whom they refer to as the Master and whom they describe as the one who came as 'the cleanser and purifier'. The Master was not the son of God in the orthodox Christian sense, but was a special one who achieved the Christ-consciousness towards which all men should aspire. His existence was a fully physical one. His parents are believed to have been Essenes, though he himself was 'above any sect'. (The Essenes feature relatively frequently in the context of vegetarian religious connections since they are believed to have been vegetarians and involved in 'natural' medicine).

The gospels are reinterpreted through allegorisation, and the early years of the Herald of the Cross contain an extensive rewriting of scripture, whereby actions, objects and stories are made symbolic of spiritual states. Todd Ferrier believed that the original teaching of the Master had been in the form of mystical allegories of the soul, but that people had distorted it into literal, materialist and institutional terms, and in this process Paul is especially singled out.

The reinterpretation is also used to explain something that had been a traditional embarrassment in vegetarianism, that is the absence of any special concern shown by Christ for the animals. Earlier Christian vegetarians - though by no means all, some just left the point - periodically recast scriptural evidence to show that Christ could have been a vegetarian, something many felt he must have been. Todd Ferrier explains the discrepancy through the distorted nature of institutional Christianity, especially evangelicalism. (11)

The order subscribes to reincarnation (though not as animals) and to the law of karma.

Ferrier had instituted at Kensington a sanctuary with golden cross, lilies, candlesticks, incense and ruby lamps and in this ritualistic and ceremonial approach, the order resembles the Liberal Catholic Church of Leadbetter and the theosophists. Emphasis was placed on the beauty of worship and on the symbolism of colour, often described in glowing and mystical terms. The unity of inner and outer was also symbolised in the use of dance and movement.

There were no priests in the order, worship was led and interpretation given by Todd Ferrier and later by leading members. (12) There is no baptism as such and membership is not sacramentally defined. The ethic remains one of seekership. There is a stress upon the feminine

principle, though the aim is a balance of male and female qualities; at a more 'cosmic level, they pray to the father/mother.

1. *151. Herald of the Cross*, 1934, p5-8
2. *152.* The principal sources for the Order are the issues of the Herald of the Cross, 1905-09 and 1935 onwards; I am grateful to Mrs Stella Armstrong, trustee of the Order for information. A useful reaume of its beliefs is found in the booklet by Reverend Harold Kemmis, *The Order of the Cross*, nd. For the preceding Order of the Golden Age, see *VR*, April 1896, p1 59; also pamphlet material by Sidney Beard and Josiah Oldfield and published by the Order.
3. *153.* The individualistic health argument is the lowest rung, useful for bringing people to the diet; next is the economic widest in the sense (this in fact now plays little part in order's thought) ; followed by the humanitarian, resting on compassion for the creatures. The highest perception is the spiritual. Each argument is seen us evolving out of the experience of the lower one, thus only by the 'deliverance of the creatures from their most cruel bondage . . .will humanity as a whole again find the manifestation of the Divine nature which is latent in everyone'. *Inner Meaning of the Food Reform Movement*, 1926, P5.
4. *154. On Behalf of the Creatures*, 1926, p120
5. *155. Inner Meaning*, p10
6. *156.* Kemmis, p5.
7. *157.* We have already noted the relevance of this use of the sun elsewhere in vegetarianism. See Kemmis, p7-8, for an example of this extended metaphor.
8. *158.* 'In essence all religions are one; they are only the various stages on the highway from the individual and national landmarks to the universal, in which creed and race are lost in the Illimiable Oneness of life'. *On Behalf*, p103.
9. *159, On Behalf*, p8,
10. *160.* This is true also of his obituary in *VN*, Spring 1944, p31.
11. *161. On Behalf*, p88. See also *Food in the Early Church*, Rev G. Nevin Drinkwater, nd. *The Bible & Vegetarianism*, Geoffrey L. Rudd, V.S. The Gadarene swine are a traditional source of difficulty.
12. *162.* Including some ex-ministers from other traditions.

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Mazdaznan

Mazdaznan is an American-based cult founded by Dr Otoman Zar-Adusht Ha'nish [*click on photo right for a bigger version*] and established in Britain just before the First World War. As with the Order of the Cross, success was at that time very limited; however in the late 1920s, the group began to expand, until by the early thirties, it had regular meetings in over forty centres. Who the Mazdaznans were is not easy to discern from their magazines; few names are mentioned and then usually in ritual form - like Mother Ashoi, for example. (1) There are no biographies or obituaries, and once again the approach stresses the impersonal, gnostic nature of their truth. (2)

Personal interview has suggested that the membership included many from 'modest professional' class, frequently teachers. (3) The spread of their centres is remarkable, for the expansion in the early 1930s occurred in a series of northern towns – Halifax, Harrogate, Huddersfield, Ilkley, Keighley, Leeds reads part of the list - and of thirty-nine centres in 1931, thirty-five are in the north. What such an expansion means just as the Depression hits the north of England cannot be confidently discerned from the material. In terms of meeting places the movement reached its peak in 1937 with fifty-two centres. Dr Ha'nish claimed that his system was descended from ancient Zoroastrian beliefs, characterised as 'the religion that stands behind all other religions'. (4) The transmission of this knowledge is given an elaborate semi-occultic history, culminating in Ha'nish's own induction as a young man in a Zoroastrian community in Iran (some versions Tibet): there are obvious parallels with Blavatski and again with Gurdjieff. Zoroastrianism itself seems to play a slightly minor part in the ideology and validation is almost as often in terms of nature; thus no authority, it is stated, is recognised except truth found in the 'open book of nature', (5) and right living according to nature's laws is the central theme, and in this the direct physical experience of nature played a part in spiritual development. (6)

Though Mazdaznan, as we shall see, shared certain common ideas with the Order of the Cross and the esoteric tradition generally, it was much less spiritual in emphasis and there are reasons to think that in the 1930s it recruited more as a cult of health and physical exercise than as a religion. (7) Mazdaznan was essentially an individualistic system of self development, presenting itself as a practical philosophy and way of life: 'above all intensely practical. . .

Nothing is taught or considered that cannot be used today - here and now'. (8) It is clear that Ha'nish emerged out of New Thought and Mazdaznan bears its influence in its concern with practical psychology, and with forms of self-manipulation as a means to various states of well-being. Central to their techniques was the idea that the 'thought processes are reached through the physical senses', (9) and the emphasis is very much on the body: 'We are not troubled so much about your soul', Lt. Col. Gault declared in a lecture in Brighouse in 1931, 'because we know if you get a perfect body you will have a perfect mind and perfect soul'. (10) In these tendencies the thirties display signs of two developments that come to be increasingly important in the later twentieth century: the first is the increasing conceptualisation of this tradition in terms of psychology, and the second is the growing use of physical exercises as a means to spiritual and psychological states.

The cornerstones of the system were: 'Breathing, Diet, Exercise and Prayer - all scientifically applied'. (11) The exercises were in the form of yoga-like postures, known as Egyptian exercises, which were accompanied by controlled breathing - 'Breath is Life' was their motto - humming and singing. (12) By these means they aimed to stimulate the circulatory system and the glands - the glands were of particular significance to Ha'nish, and were indeed rather an interwar fashion - awakening the brain and the senses, making them alert and full of energy, and also producing a heightened state of spiritual discernment.

The second means was diet, in which the avoidance of meat was central. (13) Though Ha'nish did subscribe to the moral and humanitarian reasons, it is the health and spiritual aspects that are to the fore in Mazdaznan writings. (14) The Mazdaznans believed that meat, and also over-cooked, over-refined modern food, was bad for people and led to illness and unhappiness: 'For it is largely a truism that "Man does not die: he kills himself" and this is largely due to erroneous eating and drinking'. (15) The animalisation theme is strong; animals exist at a lower evolutionary level, . . . and thus eating them perpetuates our lower existence and prevents further spiritual advance: 'in eating flesh, they take on animalistic traits of lowering and transmigratory nature'. (16) 'Animal propensities come from animal ways; and eating the poor beasts, makes Beasts of men'. (17) Meat was also presented as an over-stimulant and bearer of death: 'Bating death means death'. (18) The Mazdaznans follow the general pattern of diet reform (19) with its particular concern over the avoidance of constipation, which Ha'nish together with others, regarded as a form of self-poisoning with the re-absorption of waste products into the blood stream. Ha'nish significantly refers to this state as one of 'auto-intoxication.' (20)

The central aim of Mazdaznan is the achievement of self regulation and autonomy. This is partly achieved by means of self discipline and control, whether in child rearing, sexual relations or bodily functioning; and there is a strong anal preoccupation, both actual and psychological, in Ha'nish's writings. (21)

In their writings Christ is a revered figure, though his life is given an occultic re-interpretation, his true message having been lost or perverted by orthodox Christianity. Once again Paul is one of the culprits: Original Sin is rejected, and the death on the cross denied. (22) They attack all 'magical' and 'superstitious' aspects in religion; thus Christ's healing powers were not miraculous but based on natural therapeutic techniques. (23) They took the view that there should be nothing in religion contrary to logic or science. Like many groups in this tradition, they were strongly against ritualistic religion - typified by Roman Catholicism - and yet strangely fond of symbolism. (24) Like Anna Kingsford before them, they regarded the two as quite different; one representing the 'mumbo-jumbo' of superstition, the other the true symbolism of deeper things.

They believe in the karmic law and in reincarnation; and they show signs of extending this into a social theodicy: 'Without these teachings to justify the inequalities among men, duty has no basis, and justice is a myth'. (25) Their political inclinations are not clear: though they have Social Credit connections and put much stress on the need for 'moral leadership'. Ha'nish certainly put forward racialist theories. (26) These are not prominent in the literature, nor are any direct conclusions evident from them concerning political or social issues in the thirties. Whether such were drawn, or whether racial theories were part of its appeal in England as opposed to America remains uncertain. Whatever is the case, the Mazdaznan's are unusual in the English vegetarian tradition in adopting such theories, though aspects of old American vegetarianism and nature cure have sometimes been linked with right-wing, petit-bourgeois political ideas.

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1. 163. Mother Ashoi who specialised in the dietary aspects, was the wife of the Canadian Lt. Col. Arthur Gault, the leader of Mazdaznan in England, and known as Guromano. They use family titles like Mother, Father (or Daddy), brother and sister.
 2. 164. Though Dr Ha'nish was himself the inspiration of the movement - it was his personality and extensive lecture tours that created support – details of his life are not stressed and hard to come by. His

followers have pieced together some aspects: he was possibly of Polish parentage, travelled widely in America and Europe and died in 1936. He claimed in lecture asides to have been the colleague and inspiring spirit behind a range of people from Nietzsche and his Thus Spake Zarathustra, Edison and his electric lamp (the Mazda), Wagner and his choice of mythological subjects... the list goes on. I am grateful for the help here of Evelyn & Rex Allen, the current leaders of Mazdaznan.

3. 165. One of the few individuals to emerge from the literature is a schoolmaster, Harry Marsh, writing as Veritas, who was apparently forced out of his headship of a Church of England school in Halifax for advocating Mazdaznan, which he protested was not a rival religion but a way of life, The British Mazdaznan Jan, 1930, p217. In an account of the 1928 campaign - Ha'nish visited England twice - the British Mazdaznan describes attenders as: 'Teachers, Schoolmasters, and School mistresses, Doctors, Parsons, Musicians, Nature Cure Healers, Churchmen and Church women of all denominations, some Politicians, Psychologists, Spiritualists, Christian Scientists, Theosophists, Anthroposophists, Pyramid Prophets, Press Representatives, and Journalists, (disguised) as well as mere businessmen and women'. Sept 1928, p1
4. 166. British Mazdaznan, hereafter BM, April 1914, p40. For brief account of origins see Mazdaznan Science of Dietetics, 1944 p11-13.
5. 167. BM, Sept 1924, p5. See also Oct 1931, p73.
6. 168. See for example an account of a Mazdaznan hike from Nottingham and the importance of experiencing the physical feel of things like grass, mud, water etc. BM, Sept 1925, p10.
7. 169. In 1934 they launched The Mazdaznan Call, produced in magazine format and aimed at a general market; here the occult religious aspects are relegated to the background.
8. 170. BM, Sept 1924, p3.
9. 171. BM, Sept, 1924, p4.
10. 172. BM, Oct 1931, p73.
11. 173. BM, April 1914, p40.
12. 174. See June 1927, p297 for the postures; and Oct 1931, p73, for an account of one of their meetings with its communal singing and exercises. One of the early leaders in England, Captain W.P. Knowles, later broke away and founded a secular and 'commercial' version of the breathing exercises in the Knowles Institute of Breathing.
13. 175. For the diet and meat issue see Ha'nish, Mazdaznan Science of Dietetics, 1944.
14. 176. Mazdaznan did not ignore the animal issue, and in 1930 suggested that members write to their MPs concerning their views on a series of issues like vivisection and blood sports; though the magazines do not normally focus on these.
15. 177. BM, Dec 1924, p123, Mother Ashoi.
16. 178. BM, Sept 1925, p25, also Ha'nish p231-4.
17. 179. BM, July 1934, p460.
18. 180. BM, April 1930, p317.
19. 181. They favour raw and lightly cooked vegetables; whole grain, brown bread, as little dairy food and sugar as possible. They also advise avoiding fermented foods; thus yeasted bread should be avoided: 'as it creates fermentation in the system, irritates the intestines, and owing to its stimulating properties,

- excites the delicate generative organs; it also induces the desire for intoxicants'. See Ha'nish, Mazdaznan Science of Dietetics, 1944, p54.
20. 182. BM, Jan 1927, p131.
 21. 183. See his Inner Studies, 1902, and Mazdaznan Dietetics generally. For his theories of sexual control and for his version of 'eugenics' see Inner Studies and recurrently in the British Mazdaznan. Ha'nish believed that sex properly involved both pleasure and procreation, but that these qualities were separate. The eugenics involved ensuring that only fit and responsibly wanted children were conceived; and to avoid the conception of children from a thoughtless 'passionate embrace', he recommended not contraception but a form of sexual control whereby intercourse never proceeded to ejaculation (there seem to have been parallels with the practices of the Oneida community). Ha'nish claimed that this could lead to a state where full orgasm was achieved without ejaculation, and he believed that orgasm came from the exchange of sexual energy, and that the loss of semen would lead to debility and a lessening of the individual - and he uses the classic nineteenth-century metaphor of the bank balance. His accounts of sexual functioning and his eccentric theories in Inner Studies resulted in him being briefly imprisoned in 1912 in Chicago for sending obscene material through the mails. The background of the prosecution is unclear. BM, July 1939, p674-6.
 22. 184. For their view of Christ see Ha'nish, The True Story of Jesus Christ entitled Yehoshua Nazir, 1917, Maz Mag, May 1934, p362-3; for role of Paul, see Oct 1930, p61; for Original Sin, see Nov 1924, p82.
 23. 185. Christ was taken down from the cross alive and restored by the higher forms of healing science known to his followers; there was no miraculous rising from the dead end no resurrection (p104, 110). Judas betrayed Christ because he wanted to force Christ into a miraculous action. His true message was 'Liberty, Freedom, Joy and Good Health for all, here and. now, upon this Earth', BM, May 1934, p363.
 24. 186. Ha'nish wore red and gold robes and had a ruby lamp to symbolise the heart of God. The Mazdaznans keep the major festivals like Easter.
 25. 187. BM, June 1927, p.302
 26. 188. Ha'nish's 'raciology' puts the white Aryan race at the highest level of evolution; it alone has all the qualities of the others, plus full consciousness, BM, Sept 1924, p11. He disapproved of miscegenation as a form of mixing of categories and believed that Jesus was not a Jew. There are some running references to Zionists and Zionist banking systems – for example the jury in Ha'nish's trial is described as being packed with stockyardmen and Zionists, BM, July 1939, p676 – though Phillip Pick, of the Jewish Vegetarian Society, has no recollection of Mazdaznan being anti-semitic.

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Quakers

Victorian Quakerism had been closed, 'tribal' in its family basis, and heavily influenced by evangelicalism. (1) In the 1890s, however, a revolution took place with the adoption of liberal theology and the recovery of the Inner Light tradition; and the way was now open for very wide interpretations of Christianity, ones free from dogmatic obligation and resting on a mixture of individual experience and commitment to transforming activity in the world. These developments went also with the rediscovery after the Boer War and the Great War, of the central role of the peace witness. This last had a profound effect on the shaping of Quakerism in the interwar years for it both acted as an important recruitment agent, (2) and took Quakerism into a wider social milieu. The Society became much more open in these years and discarded most of the old 'machinery of isolation'. William Marwick has traced the impact on the Society in these years of the newly convinced Quakers who had been attracted by the peace issue, and who had already formed their social and political views and who found in Quakerism a rational expression of them. (3) Quakerism became associated with that range of liberal, progressive and left-wing social movements that mark the interwar period and provide vegetarianism with its background. (4) It is through these links and through its disassociation from any dogmatic statements that Quakerism became in this period peculiarly acceptable in the eyes of radicals, intellectuals and humanists, many of whom were otherwise hostile to Christianity. It also attracted a higher proportion of men than the other interwar religious groups.

There had been a vegetarian Quaker link from at least the eighteenth century, reinforced in the nineteenth by the shared temperance link, and by other connections through [anti-]vivisection and social purity. (5) The association does not become significant however, until the changes of the early twentieth century. Friends' Vegetarian Society was founded in 1902 'to spread a kindlier way of living amongst the Society of Friends'. (6) As with many such small groups, the society waned and flourished with the involvement of certain active individuals: Arthur Brayshaw just before the First World War and after, Lyn and Eleanor Harris and Joan Mary Fry in the twenties, Terence and Grace Lane in the forties and after. Numbers were not large and as with other vegetarian societies did not reflect the total numbers among the Friends who were vegetarian or were favourably inclined towards it. During the late twenties Eleanor Harris, co-principal of St Christopher School, Letchworth, managed to have the sentence 'Let the Law

of Kindness know no limits; show a loving consideration to all God's creatures' added to the revised edition of Advices and Queries, the body of principles recommended for the serious consideration of all Quakers. (7)

The association between Quakerism and vegetarianism is largely through the shared commitment to ethical seriousness and the conscientious consideration of action. At the temperamental level, it is through a common emphasis on moderation and control, and the pursuit of frugality and of plainness of living. There is a tendency for Quakers to stress the humanitarian argument; and the central Quaker concern for the sanctity of life is often mentioned. (8) Health and medical aspects are not absent; Brayshaw, for example, argued strongly against vaccination and put forward nature-cure concepts of health; (9) however, more common is the belief that while vegetarianism may be a healthy way of life, it is the rejection of the suffering of animals and respect for the unity of life that impels its adoption. (10)

In religious terms they stand clearly apart from the Gnostic tradition, though their doctrinal freedom and emphasis on the Inner Light - itself of course in origin influenced by the seventeenth-century Behemist tradition - give them certain shared approaches; and among the vegetarian Quakers there are some signs of closer affinities. Thus Joan Mary Fry writing of the 'Cosmic Christ' said 'All Life comes from the Life Force and this life force needs delicate material to build up the finest inward spirit; dead matter like meat cannot do this, but whole natural food could be a sacrament.'(11) Donald Groom summed up the interconnections:

Vegetarianism arises out of an attitude of mind - an attitude which accepts a unity of life, linking man with the whole creation; an attitude which looks upon the human body as one channel of expression of the Divine nature which becomes true as it is purified; an attitude which sees all life as purposeful and under a rule of law; an attitude which recognises the interplay between the material and spiritual. (12)

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1. 189. See E. Isichei, Victorian Quakers, 1970.
 2. 190. It is clear from the membership figures published annually that the Society did recruit in relation to war convictions, both male and female, peak in 1913 and the war years, and in 1939, Membership between the wars stands at figures between 19,000-20,000.
 3. 191. William H. Marwick, Quaker Social Thought, Woodbrooke Papers No 2, 1969, p21.

4. 192. Thus they were involved in community ideas like Jordans and the Garden City Movement (see Arthur L. Hayward, Jordans: The Making of a Community, 1969); in environmental health, through the Peckham experiment; in the relief of unemployment in the allotments scheme and at Bryn Mawr (for the allotments scheme whose moving spirit was Joan Mary Fry, a vegetarian Quaker, see her Friends Lend a Hand in Alleviating Unemployment, 1947, and account in VN, Feb 1933, p50); in Indian independence; in socialism; in progressive education; in esperanto (Brayshaw, Butler and Privat were all Quaker esperantists and vegetarians).
5. 193. See Arthur Brayshaw, 'The Kindlier Way', Friends Quarterly Examiner, 1935, p210, for some of these earlier links.
6. 194. See Terence Lane, Some Aspects of the History of the Friends Vegetarian Society, 1979.
7. 195. Not at the time, however, without some opposition; wider Quaker concern over animal issues tends to emerge prominently only after the Second World War, in particular in the context of factory farming and ecology.
8. 196. For a range of such testimonies see two anthologies, Our Lesser Brethren, n.e., and Our Approach to Vegetarianism, n.d., where Quaker vegetarians explain their beliefs.
9. 197. See page 237. These alternative medical ideas are not reflected in the discussions of the Quaker Medical Society for the interwar years (see their news sheets). ARTHUR BRAYSHAW: 1871-1951, educated at Ackworth, lived in Letchworth Garden City where he worked in the office of Parker and Unwin.
10. 198. See Trevor and Mary Jepson in Our Approach to Vegetarianism for reservations about the health argument.
11. 199. Quoted in T. Lane, Some Aspects, p7
12. 200. Our Approach, p1.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE GREAT WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Seventh Day Adventism

Seventh Day Adventism had developed in the United States in the 1840s and fifties under the visionary guidance of Ellen White. *[right]* (1) It arrived in England in 1878, and grew from that period, with, according to one adventist historian, a particularly rapid expansion of membership in the depression years of the 1930s. (2)

Adventism had been concerned in health refers and. diet since the early 1850s when Mrs White in her visions had received instruction as to the evil effects of tea, coffee, tobacco and other stimulants. (3) In picking up these thence, together with nature cure and vegetarianism, Mrs White was drawing on an element already familiar in the fundamentalist protestant American milieu of the 1830s and forties. From the 1860s, health concerns became a central aspect of Adventism, as part of its wider accommodation to reformist and this-worldly orientations. Battle Creek Sanatorium was founded in the 1870s, and developed under the directorship of J.H. Kellogg *[right]* though he eventually took it away from Adventist orthodoxy and towards a more worldly and religiously eclectic view. (4) In England their first health-food factory was founded in 1899, and in 1926 became part of their health-food company Granose, which produced, *inter alia*, breakfast cereals, decaffeinated coffee and meat substitutes. (5) Vegetarianism is not mandatory for Adventists, and they vary in their commitment to it.

Adventism, in terms of British vegetarianism, is a slightly aberrant element. That vegetarianism should operate within a sectarian formation is not itself odd - sectarianism is often reinforced by dietary, clothing or temporal restrictions – however it is untypical of the social association of modern vegetarianism. Adventism also seems to exist rather apart from the rest of vegetarianism: and its connections. Furthermore, in many of its central features, Adventism runs counter to the 'vegetarian' religious tradition developed here; thus, it is emphatically fundamentalist and Christian; it emphasises personal sin, Christ's atoning sacrifice, the need for belief and grace for salvation, and it has a clearly defined doctrine, mandatory for all believers. Much of the explanation for the difference lies in the origins of Adventism; for it transmits into twentieth-century British vegetarianism and its religious connections, elements whose cultural logic derive more properly from the America of the 1830s and forties.

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1. 201. For Adventism generally see R. Theobald, The Seventh Day Adventist Movement: A Sociological Study with Particular Reference to Great Britain, thesis presented at LSE 1979; and. B. Wilson, Religious Sects, 1970.
 2. 202. In 1930 there were about 4,600 Adventists; they expanded rapidly in the 1950s and sixties, partly through West Indian immigration, and now stand at about 12,700. (figures from Seventh Day Adventist Report by G.L. Anniss).
 3. 203. Theobald, p70-I. They also follow some of the dietary taboos of the Old Testament.
 4. 204. Theobald, p75ff; and account of Battle Creek in VM, October 1937, p314.
 5. 205. Theobald, p210, 214.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

As early as 1936, the government had started to prepare plans for food supply and rationing in what was increasingly perceived as the coming war. (1) Initially these plans were modest in nature and with no larger nutritional policy in mind: the experience of the war however was to change this. In 1939 the Ministry of Food was established under W.S. Morrison, later to come under the direction of Lord Woolton. Government policy centred on increasing home production, on controlling prices and supplies and on rationing. Certain staple foods like potatoes and bread were not rationed, though the extraction rate of flour was raised, slightly variably, to eighty-five per cent; other foods like meat, fats, and sugar were rationed, with additional flexibility allowed through the points system, which enabled the government to share out sporadically available foods, or food temporarily in excess. Certain needy categories like children and expectant mothers received additional allowances. The pre-war nutritional advances meant that the elements that made up an adequate diet were now largely understood, and the government under the guidance of Professor Drummond implemented a far-reaching social and nutritional policy whose aim was an adequate diet for all. Thus the war-time rationing, together with rising incomes, became the means of achieving Boyd Orr's dream of the provision of food according to need and the banishment of the nutritional want that his, and other's, surveys of the thirties had exposed. For the first time ever, the bottom ten, twenty, thirty per cent of the nation was adequately fed. This fact is reflected clearly in the health of children and others during the war. (2)

The vegetarian societies had begun to make representations to government during 1937, and in a series of negotiations that continued between 1939 and 1942 certain concessions were gained, chiefly the additional supply of cheese and fats and a special allowance of nuts. Some 50,000 registered as vegetarians during the war, though this number is known to include some from families who took up a vegetarian ration book so as to get extra cheese. (3) Many vegetarians look back on this official recognition and see it as an important stage in the wider acceptance of the diet. They look back also with favour on the war-time diet itself, since with its brown bread and high vegetable content, and with its low levels of meat and sugar, it embodied many of their own ideals.

With its ideas of planning and of fair shares, and with its inheritance from the thirties concern with social investigation, rationing in the war takes its place among a series of measures that laid the basis for the profound social and political changes that emerge out of the war. Paul Addison (4) has argued that the experience of the war, with its planned economy and full employment, with its direction of supplies and welfare provisions, and with its ideas of pulling together and the people's war, created a new consensus within government, whose national expression came in the landslide Labour victory of 1945. It was a vote for radical social reconstruction, and 1945 saw a great upsurge of aspirations and hopes for a new society. (5) Out of this feeling came the National Health Service, Town and Country Planning, social security and family allowances; it ushered in the post-war pursuit of full employment and the adoption of Keynesian economic and budgetary control. For those on the left, socialism once again seemed within reach. By and large vegetarianism flourishes in such periods of quickening social - and especially socialist - hopes: wherever the new society is dreamed of, vegetarianism tends to find a place. But this was not the case in the post-war years. The explanation lies in austerity. Britain's post-war financial circumstances imposed considerable restraints; food rationing, continued throughout the forties and after - in some years at even more stringent levels - and meat was only de-rationed in 1954. People were starved of the delicacies and luxuries of life and were in no mood for the adoption of the further austerities of vegetarianism. Stafford Cripps, especially as Chancellor from 1948, achieved national fame as the epitome of the austerity years, and his well-known vegetarianism only reinforced the public association of it with denial - something the nation was in no mood for. (6) During the 1950s with rising incomes and with the return of food and other luxury goods, the post-war mentality persisted. People now wanted to enjoy themselves, to settle down, to pursue the conservative, solid social patterns that mark the period. Vegetarianism had no part in this.

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1. For diet during the war see How Britain was Fed in War Time: Food Control 1939-1945, n.a., HMSO 1946; and Burnett, *Plenty and Want*, Chapter 13.
 2. For health see Burnett, p330; 'Deaths fell in the UK from 50 per thousand in 1939 to 46 in 1944, and maternal mortality declined over the period from 2.55 per thousand to 1.53'.
 3. For vegetarian rationing see a file of cuttings and papers at the Vegetarian Society headquarters, Parkdale, Altringham.
 4. Paul Addison, The Road to 1945: British Politics and the Second World War, 1975.
 5. This feeling had already begun to emerge during the war; in the context of food, Boyd Orr caught the mood of hope and of post-war planning for a better society, see his, Fighting for What? 1942, and Food

and the People, Target for Tomorrow No 3, 1943; and it owed much in its emphasis on planning to the rationalist social progressivist strand of the interwar years.

6. The 1951 Festival of Britain represents the last fling of this mood of idealistic social reconstruction. Michael Frayn, catching this quality, took up the food metaphor: 'Festival Britain was the Britain of the radical middle-classes – the do-gooders; the readers of the News Chronicle, The Guardian, and The Observer the signers of petitions; the backbone of the BBC. In short, the Herbivores, or gentle ruminants, who look out from the lush pastures which are their natural station in life with eyes full of sorrow for less fortunate careers, guiltily conscious of their advantages, though not usually ceasing to eat the grass. And in making the Festival, they earned the contempt of the Carnivores - the readers of the Daily Express the Evelyn Waugh; the cast of the Directory of Directors – the members of the upper and middle classes who believed that if God had not wished them to prey on all smaller and weaker creatures without scruple, he would not have made them as they are'. Quoted in Maurice Punch, Progressive Retreat, 1977, p100.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

VEGANISM

One innovation that dates from this period is veganism. As a term it had its origins in the Vegan Society founded in Leicester in 1944. Although the word was newly coined, the diet had been known in vegetarianism since its early days. (1) The principal motive for veganism has always been the rejection of all animal exploitation, for vegans argue that milk production is inextricably bound up with the meat industry - in the UK and EEC, three quarters of beef production comes from the dairy herd – and that it is cruel in its practices, such as the almost immediate removal of calves from their mothers and denial to them of their milk. As we shall see, however, veganism does not confine itself to the humanitarian issue alone.

From the start, relations with the orthodox societies were uneasy; the vegans had broken away from the Vegetarian Society because of its refusal to publicise their view; and there are veiled references to conflict and bad feeling, especially in the early years. Relations between the vegans and lacto-vegetarians are now better, though not without their tensions and rivalries. Today most lacto-vegetarians accept the logic of the vegan position, and many speak of it as the ideal. There are, however, reservations; the chief of which has concerned the healthfulness of the diet. It was in the early fifties that the B12 problem was discovered. B12 is a vitamin that can only be synthesised by micro-organisms and the main dietary source is dairy produce. (2) B12 deficiency can result in anaemia and, most seriously, in irreversible damage to the spinal cord. A number of vegans in the early fifties became ill, and only made a recovery when they moved to a lacto-vegetarian diet. Once the problem had been understood, it was solvable through tablets and the fortification of vegan foods like plantmilk with cultured B12, or the use of fermented substances like miso (popularised by the macrobiotic diet), and through checks on the B12 levels in the body. (3) In the question of B12 and nutritional adequacy, the vegetarians were fortunate in having among their number Drs Frey Ellis, Frank Wokes and E. Lester Smith, FRS., all distinguished researchers in the field, of vitamins, and it was their work that identified the nature of the problem and ensured that the response when it came was one based on scientific understanding. (4) Despite the dominance of the scientific-nutritional approach, which as we shall see marks post-war official vegetarianism, some of the ideas expressed concerning the diet - such as the belief that man could once make B12 for himself - reflect more mythic concerns, often touching on the natural status of the diet, something of importance in the wider ideology, Veganism does see nature as a moral, whole:

In so far as the structure of man, nature and the universe is based on moral order, the vegan diet, because it is ethically sound, not only provides all man's nutritional requirements, but provides them in a form most compatible with the development of his higher nature. (5)

Differences between the vegans and the lacto-vegetarians relate not just to the health aspect. Many in the Vegetarian Society have expressed concern that the vegan position is off-putting and unattractive to the wider public; and some find it a stage further than they themselves wish to go. In particular they mean here the social aspect. Veganism does put severe restrictions on social life; most restaurants can manage an omelette and most friends some sort of dairy dish, but a fully vegan meal can baffle people's resources and provoke considerable annoyance; and the McKenzie study in the sixties confirmed this pattern of social isolation. (6) The progression from vegetarianism to veganism often occurs, though it cannot simply be regarded as the natural product of growing involvement and commitment, since many active vegetarians of long standing and fully activated by the animal cruelty aspect, have not adopted veganism. In many ways, the relation between veganism and lacto-vegetarianism parallels that of vegetarianism and dominant culture. Just as many meat-eaters acknowledge the animal-cruelty argument for vegetarianism and yet continue to eat meat, so too lacto-vegetarians acknowledge vegan arguments but do not act directly on them, seeing them as being pushed beyond the socially normal and sensible. Vegans are often regarded by lacto-vegetarians as perfectionists and at times even as slightly difficult people, with a hint of the holier-than-thou - negative perceptions that mirror some of dominant society's characterisation of vegetarians.

There is, however, a sense in which veganism can be understood as a more intense version of the vegetarian ideology; thus when McKenzie looked at samples of vegans, lacto-vegetarians and non-vegetarians, he found that vegans scored higher on all the parameters of the vegetarian ideology, and not just on the ones with implications for animal cruelty. Thus they ate more brown bread and less frozen food and they showed more support for CND and herbal medicine and greater belief in spiritualism. (7)

If we turn to the example of milk, which is the focus of vegan dispute, we can see how, though they argue their position primarily from the cruelty aspect, they draw upon the full range of vegetarian concerns. Milk is condemned as unhealthy, carrying illness and leading to enervated children. This criticism which many lacto-vegetarians reject - has been a minor theme in vegetarianism from the nineteenth century. (8) It was only in the nineteenth century that cow's milk came to be widely recommended in the feeding of babies; and the vegans have always

regretted the development and promoted strongly the practice of breast feeding. (9) The growing consumption of milk, promoted in the late thirties and after by the government in Britain as an important nutritional food, is similarly criticised. In particular, the vegans attack the wide public perception of milk as the 'perfect food', arguing that its perfection is strictly confined to calves, its intended recipients. Some of the other ways in which milk is described also echo aspects of meat: thus milk and blood are directly equated: 'Milk may be regarded as blood which has been bereft of its red colouring matter'. (10) The theme of the animalisation through the ingestion of animal products is also present: 'If man is to supersede himself and become really man, not merely half animal and half man, he will be compelled to leave the animal part completely behind him, including the leaving of dairy produce out of his diet'. (11) Similarly its effect on spiritual status and intuitive faculties echo those believed to result from meat: 'The psychic properties of animal foods reflecting the instinctual animal nature, probably tends to align themselves with the animal nature in man and cloud over the receptivity of the outward personality to the interior life of the spirit'. (12) Though this last quotation is taken from the five-part official declaration of the Society, not all would put these aspects foremost. For many – their current secretary Mrs Jannaway for example - veganism appeals, after the animal issue, most strongly on the ecological/economic grounds; (13) it is the vegan diet that holds out the promise of being able to feed the third world. This last aspect, together with the rise of animal activism whose arrival is well charted in The Vegan (14) - more so indeed than in the magazine of the Vegetarian Society - has been a major source of recruitment to veganism, particularly among young people in the 1970s.

1. 7. See Vegan News, first issue [*1.3mb PDF*], 1944. Donald Watson, at that time a CO and one of the founders of the society, has said that the word was chosen as the first three and last two letters of vegetarian - appropriate since veganism starts with vegetarianism and carried it to its logical conclusion. For the early years see D. Watson, The Vegan, Autumn 1965, p5.
2. 8. Also in offal, some fish and beer.
3. 9. For B12 see a series of articles in Vegan News by Dr Frey Ellis; that of Winter 1966-7, p23, summarises the issue. The body cannot make B12, though some individuals are able to store B12 for some time in the body. Vegans and people on a low dairy diet in the past probably survived through drinking contaminated water or eating unwashed vegetables, both of which have traces of B12 of animal origin. See also papers by Ellis and others in Nutritio et Dieta, Vol 9, 1967 and Journal of Pathology, Vol 103, 1971. For the issue of children's diets, see J.K.T. Dickerson, Plant Foods in Human Nutrition, 1979,

- p2; + 'An Anthropocentric and Dietary Assessment of Vegan Pre-School Children Alive, Nov/Dec, 1979, p27; 'Malnutrition in Infants Receiving Cult diets', Vegan Society pamphlet, n.d.
4. 10. Both Wokes and Ellis themselves became vegans. For Wokes see obituary in The Vegan, Summer, 1974, p4.
 5. 11. The Vegan, Summer 1955, p1, editorial.
 6. 12. John McKenzie, 'Profile on Vegans', Foundations of Human Nutrition, Vol 2, 1971. The study was based on a questionnaire filled in by 117 vegans, 112 vegetarians and a constructed control group of non-vegetarians.
 7. 13. 'Social and Economic Implications of Minority Food Habits', Proceedings of the Nutritional Society, 26, 1967. On each parameter there was a consistent slope from non-vegetarian, through vegetarian to vegan. The Vegan includes articles on a range of 'vegetarian' topics from radionics, fluoridation, tree culture etc.
 8. 14. See for example Francis Newman's battle in the 1870s over proposals to exclude milk and eggs from the official vegetarian diet, and his championship of the VEM diet.
 9. 15. See vegan pamphlet material on 'cow milk', eg Is Cow Milk Good Food? published Vegan Society, n.d.; also The Vegan, Feb, 1945, p7 for account of the development of the use of cow milk for babies by Dr James Goodfellow. The breast feeding emphasis is found, though in lesser degree, among lacto-vegetarians also.
 10. 16. The Vegan, Feb 1945, p7.
 11. 17. The Vegan, Aut 1965, p7.
 12. 18. The Vegan, Summer 1958, p7. This is part of the official declaration of the Vegan Society; its five-part resolution gives a useful summary of vegan beliefs.
 13. 19. MRS KATHLEEN JANNAWAY: Secretary of the Vegan Society; with her husband, CO in the war; Quaker; worked with Ruth Harrison in the factory farming cause. I am indebted to Mrs Jannaway for her information concerning veganism, especially in the more modern period.
 14. 20. See for example The Vegan, Summer and Autumn 1975, for a sympathetic discussion of the actions of the Animal Liberation Front.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

This brings us on into the modern period, but before we can look at this, we need to trace some of the cultural changes that lie behind the quickening of interest in vegetarianism during the early 1970s. The most important factor here is the counter culture.

THE COUNTER CULTURE

Current thinking has tended to play down the significance of that late sixties effervescence, and to regard it more in the nature of a media bubble than the serious cultural challenge that it was claimed at the time to be. This judgement has force, particularly with regard to Britain, which lacked the real bite of issues like the Vietnam War and the campus upheavals. The central themes of the counter culture also have deeper roots in American culture. (Indeed in this period the major influence on British vegetarianism is once again American).

Though the counter culture may have had little chance of achieving the radical upheaval of western culture that its critique implied, lacking as it did any concrete means for the realisation of this potential as against the massive Institutional entrenchment of the prevailing system, as a movement of Ideas, its influence should not be underestimated.

Much writing on the counter culture has struggled unproductively with the definition, though Roezak, whose book, The Making of the Counter Culture, helped to crystalise the consciousness of the phenomenon, does not define the counter culture so much as chart its major preoccupations. Westhues' book exemplifies the difficulties. (1) His attempt at an analytical definition that goes beyond the particular historical configurations of the late sixties, leads to an undue emphasis, shared in much of the American literature, on sectarian separateness, and to a lumping together as counter to the dominant modes of society movements that are best appreciated as dissimilar. (2) Though the counter culture does pick up a number of long established strands of social criticism, and these Ideas are rightly seen as being at war with certain dominant modes of thought, Westhues and others give them too singular a position in regarding them as the 'shadow that follows a rational society around'. (3) The counter culture is better seen as a more specific set of ideas than this simple duality would suggest, and certainly more specific in its mixture of ideas and its social milieu. (4) The counter culture is not a word that bears great analytic weight, and I intend here

therefore to use it in the local and broadly substantive sense that it is used in ordinary language, relating to certain events and ideas of the sixties and seventies.

The ideas of the counter culture are today still widely familiar, and I shall therefore look only briefly at what was one central theme: the attack on science and technology and their effects on consciousness. (5) At the heart of the ideas of the counter culture is a protest against what was perceived as the diminishing of man's spirit - what Roszak calls the 'shrivelling away of the self' and the loss of vision that derives from the expulsion of the transcendent from the world. In this diminishing of man, technological values and scientific rationality, the basis of modern society, are the principal culprits. Science values the separation of the observer from the observed, and it is this that fractures the experience of life, and makes us look on the world – and indeed on ourselves, for the objective consciousness of science has been extended through sociology and psychology and their popularisation to man and to the experience of the self - with a coldness and abstraction that impoverishes our being and leads both to the careless destruction of the natural world and to the creation of a society unable to satisfy the deeper human needs. Modern consciousness, according to Roszak, teaches us to 'distrust what is impulsive and warmly personal; and to replace it with the once-removed and coldly other'. (6) The drive for technological mastery has produced a controlled, artificial environment, packaged and purified; an over-controlled world where people are alienated from their true feelings and deeper needs, and where the only problems that are recognised are those amenable to technological solutions and judgeable by the criteria of efficiency.

Instead of rationalistic objectivity, the counter culture valued the subjective, the emotional and the intuitive. It was concerned with the expansion of consciousness, with the exploration of feelings and of religious modes of being, and with the spontaneous, total response.

Distaste for the alienating knowledge of science sometimes resulted in a celebration of the consciously anti-rational – the occult, the magical and the mystic - and even in attempts to destroy rational consciousness itself as in some versions of western Zen. At times there is an almost conscious pursuit of credulity and a wilful suspension of disbelief in the cultivation of deviant forms of explanation. Sometimes these are used to attack the rationality of science; thus dowsing is described as a ' "Paradigm smasher" [note the social-science background] that challenges the arrogance and exclusivity of "scientism" ', and offers the possibility of 'magical technologies'. (7) More commonly the rejection of science exists at the level of rhetoric, and it

is more a question of a commitment to an additional reality beyond and different from that pursued by western science.

Part of the rejection of science was concerned with the re-assertion of the sense of wonder in nature; nature exists at levels beyond our understanding, levels that touch on the transcendent and command almost religious awe. Hand in hand with this restoration of wonder to nature goes a similar restoration of it to man, now freed from the alienating models of behaviourism or social science or technological manipulation, and endowed instead with the knowledge of the poets and mystics.

Various accounts, mainly contemporaneous, have been offered for the counter culture, none of them altogether satisfactory. Those that employ ideas of a culture in crisis fail to show that the sixties were indeed such a turning point, while others that point to changed child-rearing patterns and to a resultant conflict between young adults socialised according to a personal model and the structures of the public world, especially those of work, or to the inherent contradictions of a society formed around hedonism and self expression, (8) while they may have weight in terms of long-term changes in consciousness, fail to explain the particular events of the sixties and, above all, their demise in the late seventies.

Dates are important here. There are significant differences between the radical, progressive underground of the sixties and the softer alternative scene of the seventies. Nature and the natural are a crucial division. In the sixties the mood was libertarian, affluent, young; it was an iconoclastic, throw-away culture, well captured in Jeff Nuttal's book Bomb Culture. It was after the 1968 date that is conventionally identified as the apogee of the counter culture, that the mood changed and quietened: the later counter culture is less apocalyptic and visionary; less interested in the positive exploration of madness and excess; less concerned with antinomian freedom; and it is in the seventies that the movements that link with vegetarianism - holistic medicine, New Age consciousness, personal growth, the women's movement, food co-operatives - emerge, and that vegetarianism itself becomes a significant phenomenon. This shift is sometimes regarded as a retreat into personal and rural concerns after the failure of the revolutionary hopes of '68. While such a shift towards the local and the achievable can be discerned, to regard the period simply as post counter cultural is mistaken. The seventies saw a much wider dissemination of the central ideas of the counter culture: the effervescence was over, but the influence continued. Furthermore, counter-cultural Ideas, though they seemed in the sixties uncompromisingly total in their scope and demands, have proved themselves to be,

once their revolutionary potential was defused, fully congruent with middle-class, highly rational-bureaucratic modes of life; as Heelas and others have pointed out, wholeness can be pursued as a leisure-time interest. (9)

There are perhaps some parallels in this two-part effect with the situation in the first half of the nineteenth century when the vegetarian phase again seemed to occur after an initial upsurge of Romanticist political aspiration. Once again in its connections with the gentler, less frenzied stage, it demonstrates vegetarianism's enduring link with the 'lighter' side of that Romanticist set of ideas.

In the counter culture's development, the relative affluence of the sixties is clearly a factor. This made possible especially among students - a key group in the spread of these ideas – a relative unconcern about future jobs or the need for careers. Affluence gave a confident basis for their belief in the unimportance of material things. It also provoked from the excesses of consumer production, a new interest in frugality and the virtues of low consumption. The growing economic crisis of the late seventies, however, produced an impatience or nervousness in the face of claims for the end of the work ethic or the destruction of technological production, and the cold economic climate of the eighties further contributed to its demise.

Lastly there is an important generational aspect. The counter culture itself ages, so that by the mid and late seventies its main proponents were no longer the student young but those in their late twenties and early thirties. Some of the shifts of emphasis of the seventies - the growth movement, the concern of healthy living and the more domestic tone generally - bear the mark of this older social base.

The 1970s saw the rise of a series of movements influenced by the counter culture – alternative medicine, the women's movement, Indian spirituality etc - all with vegetarian associations. The general impact of the counter culture in the seventies also reached wider sections of society than those conventionally identified as counter cultural or alternative, and the broad diffusion of its ideas was vital in creating an interested and more receptive climate of opinion among the otherwise more orthodox. The counter culture in many senses set up the cultural logic of the seventies.

But before we can examine the rise of these associated movements, we must look at the situation of vegetarianism more narrowly.

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1. 21. K. Westhues, Society's Shadow: Studies in the Sociology of Counter-Cultures, Toronto, 1972.
 2. 22. For example through stressing 'those that would leave society to its madness and create a sectarian alternative', he includes the Amish and the Doukhobours, not to mention the monastic orders, though many of their central ideas are quite opposed to those of the counter culture. For a better account, see Prank Musgrove, Ecstasy and Holiness: the Counter Culture and the Open Society, 1974.
 3. 23. Westhues, p206.
 4. 24. Many of its central ideas and criticisms can be found also in conservative and traditionalist forms, though they are there interlinked with different ideologies and are carried by different social groups.
 5. 25. Roszak's two books, The Making of the Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition, 1968 US, 1970 UK, and Where the Wasteland Ends: Politics and Transcendence in Post Industrial Society, 1972 US, 1973 UK, offer the best account of the ideology of the counter culture though he gives more emphasis to the poetic and visionary than was apparent in its everyday manifestations.
 6. 26. Where the Wasteland Ends, p162
 7. 27. Seed, Vol S No 3, p14.
 8. 28. Mary Douglas, the Bergers and. Daniel Bell have all put forward versions of these arguments. For a useful review of various accounts and their deficiencies, see Cohn Campbell, 'Accounting for the Counter Culture', Journal of Scottish Sociology, Vol 4, 1980.
 9. 29. Paul Heelas, 'Modern Western Self Religions and Indigenous Psychologies', BSA Sociology of Religion Conference, Guildford, 1979. Heelas points to sections of the California middle-class who earn considerable sums as corporation lawyers and computer experts, while dedicating their private lives to 'non-rational' modes of being and the pursuit of wholeness and integration in life.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

VEGETARIANISM IN THE SEVENTIES (1)

The division between the London Vegetarian Society and the Vegetarian Society continued in the post-war era, though this had become largely of a geographical nature, reinforced by individual loyalties. In 1959, the two journals of the societies were amalgamated, and through the sixties movements were made towards a reunification, which was eventually achieved - to the approval of most - in 1969. (2) The Society's headquarters are now in Altringham, with a London office and information centre. Despite the continuation of a certain separateness between north and south, these reforms have aided the society's effectiveness. Membership roughly doubled in the seventies and now stands at about 8,000. This figure does not approach the number of committed vegetarians in the country, which has been estimated at about a quarter of a million, (3) for the society has always had difficulty in getting representative numbers of vegetarians to join, the nature of the commitment lacking an official focus. The society's most effective contribution has been as a source of authoritative information and comment.

The society tends to be slightly conservative in tone with a preponderance of older members, (4) and despite its youth section has not gained as fully as it might from the upsurge of interest in vegetarianism among the young in the seventies. In particular, it failed to capture the more alternative, counter-cultural aspects, which have been better represented in magazines such as Seed.

With regard to the attitudes of dominant society, there was in the seventies a significant shift in opinion, evidenced in the steady growth in coverage in the media: newspapers and women's magazines carried articles on vegetarian cookery; events organised by the Vegetarian Society were by the late seventies regularly reported in The Times; (5) and Vegetarian Society spokesmen began to appear on radio and television. In 1976, the Vegan Society produced an Open Door programme on BBC which elicited some 300 phone calls and 9,000 letters of enquiry. (6)

The rise in the popularity of vegetarianism is perhaps most clearly evidenced in the spread of vegetarian restaurants. In 1968, the Vegetarian Society Handbook listed 16 names in London,

and 18 in the rest of the country; by 1977-8, there were 52 in London and 80 in the rest of the country. (7)

This expansion was marked by a new approach in the restaurants. The arrival of Cranks in 1961 and its establishment in Marshall Street in 1967, set a new style; and its solid oak benches and tables, hand-woven hangings and craftsman-made pottery were widely influential. Cranks assumed the pre-eminent position among vegetarian restaurants that Shearns had previously occupied. Cranks' particular emphasis on raw and wholefood was, according to one of its founders, David Canter, relatively new in the 1960s; Shearns, when it closed in 1961, was still serving white sugar and pastry. (8) Cranks was highly successful, and branches were established during the 1970s in such likely sites as Heal's, Totnes, Dartington and Guildford. There is no waitress service, for ideological as well as commercial reasons; and there is a conscious commitment to good staff relations, with profit-sharing schemes. Since Cranks, many vegetarian restaurants have been established in a similar style (as well as many more directly commercial ventures in the 1970s, not committed to vegetarianism, though providing food of a similar type). Many of these vegetarian restaurants tend to be rougher in style, cheaper and often more committed to particular ancillary interests; Cranks is now felt by some to be too smooth and 'middle class' in tone. As has always been the case, vegetarian restaurants are widely used by non-vegetarians, especially for lunch. (9)

Hand in hand with this expansion of vegetarian restaurants went an expansion in vegetarian and health-food shops. The health food shops tended to be more commercial in nature (many are owned by a major retailing group) and not fully committed to vegetarianism. Their clientele tends to be older, and frequently, drawn to health foods by a desire to alleviate minor or chronic ailments. Though such shops are found in most major towns, there is a particular concentration in the coastal retirement towns, where there are now also a number of vegetarian restaurants. Many vegetarians express reservations about these shops, with their banks of pills, vitamin supplements and elixirs, which they feel are contrary to true diet-reform principles and give the impression to the public that the diet is in need of such supplementation. (10) The high profit margin on such goods is part of the explanation for their prominence, though there is an element of hypochondria in health-food circles: most of the remedies are aimed at minor, often psychosomatic ailments, or at the attainment of greater energy and joie de vivre. Not all vegetarians are as averse to pills and supplements as is claimed. These shops tend also to carry more in the way of made-up, packaged foods. Sometimes these vegetarian foods are processed

and artificial in nature; and those belonging more clearly to the organic or wholefood lobbies complain of such an approach. Seed, for example, attacked the Vegetarian Society for endorsing an artificial food produced from bacteria grown on crude oil; and Marika McCausland spoke with disapproval of vegetarian margarines and spreads as not whole, natural foods. (11)

Major change in style between old and new vegetarianism came with the arrival of the wholefood shops and co-operatives. These were consciously much rougher and more basic in appearance, with bare wooden boards, sacks of beans and nuts, bin of herbs and trugs of organically grown fruit; there was a conscious appeal to the images of the cracker-barrel store and of Mother Earth. (12) Goods are often sold more cheaply, with no pre-packing; and there are no supplements or processed foods. They are usually run and owned by groups of relatively young people, sometimes members of the Divine Light Mission, with a broadly alternative approach to life. They are much more committed than the health-food shop managers; and the shops act as centres for information concerning the local alternative scene. Some of these enterprises are not just committed to wholefoods but to the macrobiotic diet, which became influential in vegetarianism in the late 1960s. The diet is not necessarily vegetarian, though it is strongly inclined that way, and in its stricter forms (there are a number of grades in the diet) is so. It is based on the teachings of the Japanese, George Ohsawa, who developed his system of diets in the late 1940s, though it is informed by the ancient idea of a balance between foods which are divided into Yin and Yang (5:1 is a frequently used ratio) and these categories have wider cosmological significances. The stress is on cereals, particularly brown rice, as the staple food, with the addition of organically-grown foods, preferably native to the locality. (13)

Certain shifts at the level of food habits in this period have aided the acceptance of vegetarianism. The first is the general movement away from red meat. John Burnett notes the decline in meat consumption, which, were it not for the increase in the eating of broiler-produced chicken and pork, would now stand at less than the 1950 ration level.

The consumption of joints and carcass meat has, in particular, declined. Burnett believes that convenience and price are important here, though:

it may be that there are also more deep-seated reasons - that a society whose occupations are less laborious feels less need for animal protein, or even that the growing preference for 'white

meats' (poultry, pork, cheese) rather than involve complex physiological and psychological factors (14)

This shift from red to white meat echoes that found in vegetarianism.

There is also an increased tendency to take fats in the dairy forms of butter, cheese, and cream, rather than as meat fat; this tendency, which is based on taste and texture preference, and not on health arguments, reinforces the shift away from meat. (15) There is also evidence for a growing squeamishness over buying meat. An increasing number of people, prefer to buy it, neatly wrapped from the supermarket fridge, rather than watch the chopping and cutting of the butcher's shop. There has also been a decline in the display of animal's heads in butcher's windows and of carcasses hanging in view in the shops. (16)

The rise in the cost of meat, particularly in the early seventies, has also contributed to the more favourable milieu through the development of interest among the status-conscious middle class in non-meat meals. 'Vegetarian Cookery', as a style in itself, offered an acceptable aegis under which to introduce cheaper dishes. Economic stringency and the high cost of meat do not make people vegetarians, though breaking the expectation of meat at every meal does undermine habit in such a way as - perhaps - to allow the moral arguments a better hearing. (17)

Lastly there is the modern preoccupation with slimming. The last major period of vegetarian concern over slimming had been in the 1850s when the vegetarians pioneered a slimmer physique for men. In the 1920s and thirties, women became concerned with having slimmer and more youthful figures, though this development was not particularly well received in the vegetarian magazines which regarded it rather as a fad. In the post-war years however, the preoccupation grew, and spread more generally through the middle class and beyond. It is still primarily a female concern, though men are involved to some degree. Youthful attractiveness is the central motive, rather than health. There is some evidence to suggest that vegetarians, and certainly vegans, tend on average to be slightly slimmer than the majority; and Nicholas Saunders suggested that vegetarians in the counter culture have a particular revulsion from fatness which they cross relate to the greasy fatness of flesh foods. (18) Certainly, whether the association is through salads and raw food, or through flesh food, there is a link in the public mind between vegetarian food and slimming food. The related concern of youthfulness also finds resonances in the symbolism of vegetarian food.

Are the vegetarians of the 1970s and today, as writers like Angela Carter and others have suggested, (19) essentially different from their predecessors? There are, as we shall see, some important differences; however, this popular perception is essentially mistaken and in large part derives from the changed social status of vegetarianism Itself. The expansion of the sixties and seventies was mainly among the young, and this new generation of recruits formed a contrast to the older, perhaps a little dowdy) survivors of the lean post-war period. Age was important, for the fact that it was young people who were interested in vegetarianism – or spirituality, or fringe medicine - gave these movements a great lift in public esteem. (20) As vegetarianism - for various reasons - became a more familiar and tolerated social option, so it lost some at least of Its negative and humorous labelling, and was perceived to have become, less cranky. (21)

Many of these new vegetarians were not attracted to the old vegetarian network, and groups like the Theosophical Society, the Order of the Cross, and, as we have seen, to some extent the Vegetarian Society itself, failed to capture the new enthusiasm thrown up by the counter culture. It was not that the Ideas or beliefs were essentially different, but that their social atmosphere was unappealing to the young. New groups thus emerged.

In terms of social class, vegetarianism remains broadly the same - almost exclusively middle class, and drawing differentially from the 'educated' middle class and the minor professions. It benefited in particular from the expansion of the welfare and public sectors.

The most significant difference between the old and the new vegetarians concerns attitudes to sexuality. In the past, vegetarianism had been explicitly connected with the rejection of sexuality. This tradition was to some extent modified in the interwar period, (22) though the symbolism of meat and carnality remained, and was widely understood in dominant culture, turning up in muted form in expressions of hostility to vegetarians. The counter culture, by contrast, celebrated sexuality, seeing it as a natural and central part of man's being, and one often distorted and denied by the falseness of social codes. Vegetarianism is not seen here as a means to rise above such things, indeed there is almost a reversal: 'If ever there was an aphrodisiac in the world, I swear, it's buckwheat', declared Peter Sinfield, 'poet, musician, artist, gardener' in Seed: (23) and there is sometimes a suggestion that the lightness and vigour claimed for the diet improve one's sex life. Despite these changes however, there are still undercurrents in the vegetarian movement of the old sexual asceticism, and in some of the

Indian and spiritual associations of the counter culture, ideas of chastity and sex for procreation only still occur.

A second area of change was in attitudes to pleasure in food. This was an old area of conflict, and some of the traditional attitudes have lingered on. Roth in his study of natural therapies found a strong belief amongst the participants that natural diets were lacking in pleasure and that this was part of their therapeutic role. (24) But increasingly writers of vegetarian cookery books emphasise the delights of vegetarian food and of its great variety, and there is a quite new stress upon gourmet vegetarian food. This partly echoes general changes in post-war British attitudes to food, though it is also a repudiation of the old gaunt image of asceticism. Diet reform and vegetarianism in the nineteenth century had disapproved of spices and seasonings, regarding them as overheating to the blood and leading to overstimulation, and a bland, cool diet was recommended. Now, however, partly through the influence of Indian vegetarian food, vegetarian cooking makes considerable use of spices and stronger tastes (though the disapproval of salt and pepper continues to some degree). There was a sexual meaning in the nineteenth-century vegetarian avoidance of hot and spicy foods, and their gradual acceptance in the later twentieth may cross-relate to the changes in attitude to sexuality.

Drink as an issue is almost completely dead, most vegetarian restaurants with any pretensions are licensed. It remains true however that vegetarians are by and large modest drinkers. (25)

1. 30. For the modern period generally I have supplemented the published material with observation and attendance at various conferences and meetings, as well as informal interviewing both among members of the societies and more generally.
2. 31. See Alive, Nov/Dec, 1979, p17; also information from John Le Grice. During the modern period the magazine of the two, later one, societies changed its name several times: from The British Vegetarian (1959) to The Vegetarian (1971) to The New Vegetarian (1977) to Alive (1978) to The Vegetarian (1980).
3. 32. Rough estimate by Alan Long, based on a meat-trade survey of the North East. American surveys suggest that 5% of the population is health-food conscious and possibly 1-2% vegetarian.
4. 33. This is particularly apparent at the annual conferences and the AGM - though such events probably always attract older members. The society has a steady legacy income - though not approaching the levels of the anti-vivisection charities - and was able at one AGM I attended to raise a considerable sum very swiftly through pledges from the body of the hall, though the superficial appearance of members was not particularly wealthy. The annual conference dinner, in contrast to the predominant style in vegetarianism,

is formal with evening dress for the top table, speeches and the presence of the local mayor (sometimes unfortunately, the local butcher, though the society takes this in good part). Many members enjoy the event particularly since formal meals are usually a source of difficulty. That many vegetarians like to follow conventional and conservative styles of life should not be forgotten in the association with radicalism and reform; and there is quite a strong compensatory pull towards conformity.

5. 34. The Times' agricultural correspondent for example, gave space to vegetarian arguments (17.10.77); and they have had recent sympathetic coverage for their health and diet conferences; similarly, recent reportage of the march on Smithfield covered the subject in a serious manner.
6. 35. The Vegan, Spring 1976, p9.
7. 36. The list includes some restaurants where vegetarian dishes are 'available'. The 1980-1 figures show an even more dramatic rise - 136 in London and 245 in the provinces - though this resulted in large part from a more active attempt to locate restaurants: the lists are still not exhaustive.
8. 37. David Canter, who with his wife Kay, and Daphne Swanne ran Cranks, was a potter - also involved in the Craftsmen Potters Association - and he designed the interior, and commissioned Edward Bawden to produce their characteristic calligraphy and illustrations. David Canter was at Bryanstone, and came to vegetarianism initially through illness and a concern for healthier eating; though he and the other directors became fully committed to the animal cause also. I am indebted to Kay and David Canter for information concerning Cranks and vegetarianism generally; see David Canter's obituary, *Times*, Aug 7, 1981.
9. 38. The Canters estimate some 20-30% are vegetarian, with a larger proportion committed to health foods. In London the main concentrations of vegetarian restaurants are in the city and business areas and - predictably - in north London.
10. 39. See criticism for example in The Vegan, Summer 1965, p16, and the British Vegetarian, July 1968, p310.
11. 40. Seed, Vol 1 No 5, p2; for Mrs McCausland see p33b, interview.
12. 41. Often also in the names of shops: Good Earth, Harvest Health, Ceres, Granary, Earthfoods, Nature's Larder are among those listed in 1979 Handbook.
13. 42. For macrobiotics see the writings of Ohsawa, and his American disciple Michio Kushi; see also Seed magazine which is strongly influenced by macrobiotics, The East-West Centre in Old Street, is the main focus in London, though the diet has been widely diffused. The diet, at least in its stricter forms, has been subject to criticism from doctors-it was condemned by the American Medical Association-as well as by some vegetarians.
14. 43. Burnett, Plenty and Want, p342.
15. 44. See Dorothy Hollingsworth, 'Changing Patterns in Food Consumption' Nutrition Review, Vol 32, Dec 1974.
16. 45. In 1972, 82% of meat was bought in butchers shops; in 1977 it was 60%. For this decline in face-to-face contact with the butcher and of sales of carcass meat, see Evelyn Rose, 'Consumer Aspects of Beef Marketing', Journal of Consumer Studies and home Economics, 1977. Dr Tessa Unthank, an American vegetarian and a regular columnist in the New Vegetarian, recounts the experience of one American in England: 'most Americans never associate their neatly packaged red and white "stuff" with a living

creature. But in the UK, Paul saw the carcasses, the bloody sawdust, the tripe - and the meat business lost another customer'. NV, Jan 1978, p29.

17. 46. John Harris picks up the parallels with the economic decline in slavery which eventually allowed the moral arguments to prevail. 'Killing for Food', Animal Rights - A Symposium, 1979, p119. JOHN HARRIS lecturer in moral philosophy, Manchester University, 1971-5, then social worker in Salford. Vegetarian since early 1970s.
18. 47. Nicholas Saunders was a leading figure in underground publishing, producing a series of Alternative London and other Alternative books; in the late seventies he opened a wholefood warehouse in Neal's Yard, Covent Garden. Interview.
19. 48. New Society, 4 March, 1976; also J.T. Dwyer and others, 'The "New" Vegetarians' Journal of the American Dietetic Association, 64, 4, 1974.
20. 49. Seed made this point in Vol 1 No 1, p2; Since the young have taken up diet reform, it argued, society can no longer dismiss its followers are a 'load of cranks'.
21. 50. This cranky definition has always operated in the classic sense of labelling theory, and to some degree has produced a self fulfilling prophecy. See the relevance of this to boundary aspects in Part III.
22. 51. With the slightly cautious acceptance of birth control, though in the 1960s according to McKenzie's study, the vegetarians and vegans still were less in favour of contraception than the general population: Vegans, 57%; vegetarians, 65% and general population, 75%, Proceedings of Nutritional Society, 26, 1967.
23. 52. Seed, Vol 2 No 10, p26.
24. 53. Julius Roth, Health Purifiers and their Enemies, 1976, p36-7. Roger Elliot notes a dislike of food among some vegetarians, though he believes 'most vegetarians enjoy their grub', New Vegetarian, Dec 1977, p13.
25. 54. There have been rumbles of protest when the vegetarian magazine has featured cooking with wine, though this is now regarded as a rather old-fashioned view.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

NUTRITION AND THE CRITIQUE OF THE FOOD INDUSTRY

The vegetarian nutritional position remained in essence the same, though certain themes, most notably those of rawness and wholeness achieved a new importance, perhaps to the slight decline in the more virulent language concerning the poisoning nature of meat.

Changes in the national diet and in nutritional knowledge, however, created a minor breakthrough in the acceptability of vegetarian ideas. Despite the nutritional benefits of the war-time diet, its educational effect on the population was negligible, and in so far as people in the fifties and sixties were better fed, it was as a result of rising income and the more varied and nutritionally valuable diet that resulted. (1) But with these changes went others that were less satisfactory: increasingly people were taking their calories not in the form of the rougher bulkier staples, but in refined forms, in processed foods and. in fats and sugar. Orthodox nutrition had tended to see the relationship of diet and health in terms that derived from the great era of nutritional studies and that concentrated on ideas of deficiency, and there was as yet little sense that too much of certain beneficial foods could also be bad. From the 1960s onwards, however, the comparison of diet and disease in poor parts of the world and in the west showed alarming trends that increasingly implicated the rich western diet in a series of major illnesses. High levels of animal fat seemed to be linked with heart disease (2) and possibly with forms of cancer. These findings, though they to some degree supported the vegetarian distrust of meat, were really more relevant to the vegan position, since animal fats includes the fat in dairy produce, which many lacto-vegetarians consume in considerable amounts.

The most important reversal came however in the case of roughage. Orthodox medical opinion had regarded the diet-reform arguments concerning brown bread and the evils of a low fibre diet as mistaken, and perhaps under the influence of popular Freudian knowledge, the diet reformer's concern with these matters was viewed rather askance. Between the wars roughage was not quantified in diets, and was regarded as having no beneficial function; people with intestinal problems were put on a low fibre diet. However in the 1970s there was a major reversal in medical and nutritional opinion; and the roughage thesis is now taken very seriously. (3)

The acceptance of the possibility of these dietary connections has made vegetarianism almost for the first time a subject of scientific investigation; until the late fifties there were no good nutritional studies of vegetarianism, and the built-in assumption for testing was one of inadequacy. (4) Only in the 1970s have funds become available for research in the area, and a major longitudinal study of the health of vegetarians has been launched by Dr Mann at the Department of Social & Community Medicine, University of Oxford. Despite the strong strain of hostility to science that runs through vegetarianism, particularly in its counter-cultural aspects, co-operation with scientific nutrition has been the dominant approach of the Vegetarian Society since the war. (5)

Growing popular interest in the roughage thesis was focused - as before - around the issue of bread. Since the sixties, bread production has been concentrated in the hands of a few large companies who also control the supply of flour to the declining number of local bakeries; these, companies have increasingly used factory methods - bread is a price sensitive product with low profit margins - and particularly the Chorleywood processes (6) which produces the classic sliced white loaf that today dominates the market. Against these developments there has been a popular movement, especially among the middle class, back to brown and especially wholemeal bread. In 1976 the Vegetarian Society launched the Campaign for Real Bread, CAMREB, and in 1980 the campaign was successfully taken up by the Sunday Times. (7) Taking as its model the successful CAMRA, it has, as well as the health aspect, some of the same concern over loss of quality and taste in modern food, and the same attack upon dictation to the market by the big combines.

The second major area of concern was chemical pollution which from the 1950s took over some of the older vegetarian concern over adulteration and bad meat. The vegetarians, and especially the vegans, have been associated with opposition to the fluoridation of water, partly through a belief in, its harmfulness, though also through not altogether realistic ideas about natural water and its pollution; hostility to compulsory and covert medication is also an aspect. The real focus however has been the rising use of food additives which are seen to produce the essential fakeness of modern food and are designed, it is argued, to increase profitability at the expense of quality and even safety. (8) Jon Wynne Tyson attacked the food habits that have produced:

white faced, stunted over-weight and sickly children whose staple diet too often consists of little but fish fingers, fried potatoes, bottled sauces, useless mineral drinks, packets of harmful sweets and other worthless fillers. (9)

These nutritional concerns increasingly took on a political aspect, and the politics of food re-emerged on the left. Vegetarianism continues in this period to display leftish connections. Partly this is through the link with the liberal, moral left, often 'left' in a non-political sense, expressing concern over issues like world hunger, nuclear war and holding a generally 'enlightened' attitude on social issues. But it is also linked through the upsurge in the sixties, as part of the counter culture, of the New Left. The relationship between the counterculture and the New Left is a complex one. By no means all involved in the counter culture were politicised certain wings, particularly the 'spiritual', were quiescent, concentrating on 'being' and 'inner space', and largely unconcerned with changing social Structures, many believing that real change was a psychic not a social task. The left has tended to regard such attitudes and the growth movement and religions of the self that have developed from them as fantasies born of alienation, as false compensations for the absence in capitalist society of real autonomy and choice. The counter culture generally tended also to see the evils of society less as resulting from capitalism than from industrial production and scientific technocracy; even a socialist society, they argued, built on such foundations would do little to touch the real evils. The old left has tended especially during the thirties, though also afterwards - to regard science as: an undisputed area of knowledge and of public benefit, offering material security and advance, and it has also retained some of the old sense of science as undermining the lies and shibboleths of traditional society, and thus essentially part of the advance of radicalism. The New Left, however, under the influence of counter-cultural ideas has been far more critical of science, though its attack has been concentrated on it more as a social institution, in particular as controlled by military-industrial elites. The anti-industrialism found in the counter culture has, of course, long roots in the socialist tradition, and the New Left has in part revived that aspect, extending its interests to include communitarian experiments, rural self-sufficiency and small co-operatives as well as ecological concerns.

If we look instead, however, for what was the central shared concern of both the counter culture and the New Left, it was the stress placed upon consciousness. The affluence of the 1960s that underlay the counter culture produced at that time a feeling - though the reality was not so rosy - that the older goals of traditional socialist politics, of full employment, and rising incomes,

of decent housing and health care, were being largely achieved, and yet life was not as it should be. Among those on the left, this experience produced a drive towards a much more searching exploration of consciousness, and, influenced by the rediscovery of the humanistic Marx, and taking alienation as a central concept, they reopen to socialist debate the widest questions concerning the nature of work and how it is experienced, the role of consciousness and how it emerges from social structures. There was a drive to expand politics out of the small arena of accepted debate and to get included on the agenda of discussion the wider questions of how life is to be lived. (10) In this they looked back - and the impulse is reflected in academic and biographical interest - to the socialism of the 1880s, whose wider, more radical concerns were now recognised. It represented also a return of the visionary romantic strain in socialism. (11)

This impulse in the seventies worked its way through in radical underground politics; in the politics of private life through feminism and sexual politics; and in the rise of Green politics and the environmentalist lobby, which while not always socialist, owes much to the influence of the New Left: all of these were to some degree touched by the food issue. Lastly it impinged. Upon conventional politics through the movement among those of a counter-cultural generation to enter and win control of the Labour Party with a view to making it a vehicle of radical social change.

Seed magazine traces the ways in which the wholefood movement of the seventies emerged out of the political protest of the sixties, (12) and the political connections are driven home in headlines like 'The Food Moguls: those same wonderful people who brought us Vietnam'. (13)

Once again the class dimension in food had a galvanising effect, as those on the left, as well as some vegetarians generally, pointed to the malnutrition hidden behind aggregated figures and to the relationship between bad nutritional patterns - high consumption of animal fats like lard, deep fat frying, low fibre intake - and social class.(14) As the diet-reform message made converts among the increasingly health conscious middle class in the seventies, this working-Class weighting became more pronounced, and a suggested major factor in the differential class rates for disease like cancer and heart disease.

The essence of the left's critique is that since capitalist production is for profit not need, and since 'real' foods like vegetables and fruit have low profit margins, the manufacturers: 'lure us into eating convenience foods which bring in high profits for manufacturers but contain little nutritional value'. (15) 'Thus the types of food that have come to dominate our diet are those

that the industry has found suitable for mass production and distribution, with a high profit element'. (16) It is this, they claim, that underlies the expansion of processed foods, especially during the 1960s.(17) The manufacturers answer these criticisms by saying that they produce the foods that people want, and that consumer choice holds sway. Here the left draws upon a concept of the manipulation of wants in capitalist society. Big business dominates food supply so that to blame people for their bad food habits is 'blaming the victim' of a complicated conspiracy. Advertising, it is argued, distorts our sense of food products and of what we need. Processed foods have effectively separated:

appearance end taste from nutritional value. The nourishment can be removed, and colouring and flavouring, including sugar, added so that the object looks as good as or better than the real thing . . . The result is that our judgement of food - our so-called free choice - is more and more under the control of the food manufacturers. (18)

Nutritional education in schools is sometimes sponsored by food companies, - and 'a popular teaching kit for schools is produced by the British Sugar Bureau'. (19) Government itself is involved, though schizophrenically, in promoting bad nutritional patterns through the demands of the EEC to increase butter and sugar consumption. Lastly in the question of additives, the left points to the close relationship between food processing firms and government regulatory agencies that allows the food industry to exert considerable influence, through confidential consultations, on the formulation of the regulations that are designed to control it. (20)

These criticisms of the fakeness of modern food have meaning beyond the merely nutritional, for in junk food is seen to be the truth about modern society (whether that society is, as with the left, perceived primarily as capitalist, or, as more commonly within vegetarianism, just as modern industrial society for junk foods are false, denatured, reconstituted, coloured, flavoured and emulsified. They deprave our natural tastes with their lurid colours and sugared contents, and lead us away from reality to the falseness and slickness of corrupted society. They exemplify the malignant power of big capitalism peddling false foods to cater for falsified needs; real needs that are distorted and disguised by the surface satisfactions of consumer society. People in modern society are increasingly out of touch with their real selves:

Their lives are one steady departure from the beauty of their innocent origin, moving outwards, away from themselves, not seeing what, their eyes look at, not hearing what their ears pick up, not feeling what they touch and oblivious to the powerful beauty of immediacy . . . The living

dead are the victims of an intricate web of education and ritualism and technology which has muffled their senses and destroyed their individuality. (21)

Life is increasingly dominated by the machine, and Seed sees the most important issue as 'how to free the individual from the growing encroachment of corporate manipulative machinery (22). Organic wholefoods are the first step in the process: 'we believe that natural eating and natural living are the best ways to survive and thrive in this technological, world' (23)

Junk foods are alienated foods: processed TV dinners for processed mass culture. They are given to you, they are not of you; they are part of a passive response to one's life. By contrast, wholefoods demand time and effort in preparation, they restore your active involvement. They represent no longer the world coming in on you and taking you over; real foods mean pushing but the frontiers of self-direction and taking control of your life, and making your own bread becomes a step to both autonomy and authenticity. This feeling also underwrites the concern with craft work, which represents both an escape from the dominance of consumer-style production, and, most important, an extension of the self in creative labour - the recovery of work as meaningful occupation. Texture also underwrites the political message: you are required to chew your rice. Wholefoods are granular, coarse and fibrous. Junk foods by contrast are pre-digested pappy, super whippy – food for a slave culture.

1. 55. Dorothy Hollingsworth, 'Changing Patterns in Food Consumption', Nutritional Review, 32, Dec 1974.
2. 56. For an account of the heart link, see, for example, series of articles in Alive, May 1978 to Feb 1979.
3. 57. Birkett and Painter were particularly influential here; and Dorothy Hollingsworth's and others' 'Prescription for a Better British Diet', British Medical Journal, 1979, which accepted the roughage thesis, represented a major turning point in opinion.
4. 58. Information from Dr Tom Saunders of Queen Elizabeth College, London.
5. 59. There have been a number of scientists active in the society, and it has sponsored a research section to encourage and finance such work. Participation in such studies is also seen as a way of reducing animal experimentation through the use of human volunteers.
6. 60. This allows the dough to be raised without yeast, in a short period and without heated rooms.
7. 61. CAMREB was part of the Vegetarian Green Plan, see p381 for CAMREB see information sheets produced by VS; also running reports in magazine since 1976. For the criticism of factory bread see

- also New Statesman, Oct 12, 1979; and Our Daily Bread: Who Makes the Dough? published by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science.
8. 62. Whether sugar and monosodium glutamate to create taste; gums and emulsifiers to bulk out the product hormones injected into animals to encourage fattening; polyphosphates injected into poultry to make it absorb water; nitrates into pork to preserve it and make it pink. See a series of articles by Jack Lucas on growing dangers of long-term exposure to new chemical substances, New Vegetarian, Jan 1977, p14, and subsequent issues.
 9. 63. Food for a Future: The Ecological Priority of a Humane Diet, 1975. JON WYNNE TYSON: vegetarian and ecological writer, founder of Centaur Press, Quaker, CO, frequent reviewer in vegetarian magazines.
 10. 64. See letter in New Vegetarian, April 1977, p11, for the expression of this in the vegetarian context.
 11. 65. Interest in Blake, Shelley and Morris provides a good barometer of the return of these perceptions in socialist thought.
 12. 66. Seed, Vol 1 No 1, p2.
 13. 67. Seed, Vol 1 No 7, p1.
 14. 68. See for example, 'How garbage foods hit the poor', Seed Vol 1, No 4, p2.
 15. 69. Seed, Vol 1 No 5, p1.
 16. 70. Food and Profit, 1979, p6, published by the Politics of Health Group, associated with the Marxist British Society for Social Responsibility in Science. See similar views expressed in Time Out, 'Eat, Drink and Be Chary', 17 Oct, 1980, p11.
 17. 71. Seed attacked the 'plasticity and phoniness of food coming out of tins' which they attributed to the rise of big business in food. Vol 1, No 1, p2.
 18. 72. Food and Profit, p10.
 19. 73. Ibid, p11. See also 11w Statesman, 19 Sept 1960, p8
 20. 74. Ibid, p14.
 21. 75. Seed, Vol 1 No 6., p11.
 22. 76. Seed, Vol 2 No 5, p3.
 23. 77. Seed, Vol 1 No 6, p5.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

FEMINIST AND HOMOSEXUAL ASSOCIATIONS

Two movements strongly influenced by the counter culture were gay liberation and the women's moment, both of which emerged in Britain in the early seventies, and both of which had vegetarian links. Vegetarianism is a relatively common phenomenon among feminists; (1) Sisterbite, the restaurant at the Women's Resources Centre, for example, is vegetarian; certain vegetarian restaurants such as the Action Space Cafe, are committed to sexual politics with notice boards that carry information about events, courses etc, of a feminist or gay nature. In 1978 Gay Vegetarians was founded to express the felt link between the two movements. (2)

The association is an old one, dating back to the time of Carpenter and his circle; though it largely dies out after the early 1920s. The link tends to be less with homosexuality itself, than with those periods and groups who have perceived their sexual orientation as raising larger political and social issues. Thus the predominantly conservative homosexual milieu of the 1950s had no serious vegetarian dimension. The feminist link, which again was strong in the late-nineteenth century and up to the First World War, faded, as indeed did the feminist movement itself, in the interwar period and after, only to re-emerge in the late sixties. During the seventies, the two movements were loosely associated largely through a shared concept of sexual politics and a shared perception of oppression; however, the association always tended to be more in the nature of an ideological commitment by some than an organic solidarity, and the social division between male homosexuals and feminist and homosexual women was considerable. In the late seventies, the association became weaker, eroded perhaps by feminism's own fragmentation arid by the move in the male homosexual world towards a more 'macho' style.

The connections with vegetarianism are probably stronger here on the female side, and I shall concentrate on the nature of those, though they are relevant to those homosexual men who share the feminist critique of society and its sexual attitudes. Among male homosexuals there is more of a link through health foods and their relationship to the body beautiful (there is a strong 'California' tone in their cult of the healthy, ageless body, that is in contrast to the style of feminist vegetarianism).

The most fundamental connection derives from a sense of shared oppression; animals too are used and possessed by men, kept subordinate, their interests denied. Meat eating makes them into commodities for consumption as women are commodities. (3) Thus, it is argued, there should be solidarity with animals as fellow victims in a male-oriented world. (4) But this sense of the connections, and of the moral unity between the causes, exists at more than just the abstract level of ethics, and among many feminists, today as in the past, there is also a deeper psychic identification of the self with the suffering animal.

The second connection with feminism derives from the sense that there are male and female approaches to the world, and that vegetarianism, in some deeper sense, enshrines the female. The masculine approach is seen here as one of domination and aggression; it is the spirit that aims to master and subjugate the world, that relates to nature by hunting its inhabitants and exploiting its resources. By contrast, the feminine approach is seen to be co-operative and gentle, seeking harmony with nature and drawing on images of earth motherhood. This is sometimes given an anthropological interpretation whereby the arrival of hunting, and thus of meat-eating, gave male aggressivity its evolutionary advantage, and thus brought to an end the co-operative, nurturing, matriarchal society, believed by some feminists to have preceded patriarchy. Many involved in these matriarchal ideas believe that this primal society was vegetarian.

An opposition is also set up against a slightly different set of masculine attributes. Here masculine qualities, that are highly praised in modern society, are shown in their negative forms, and the rational, analytic, detached approach is presented as fragmented, superficial, cold and ultimately cruel. It is the approach that is able to cut off the self from the sentience of animals, and thus eat them, use them in experiments, cage and exploit them in modern farming. By contrast, a female approach is seen here as intuitive, gentle, emotionally open and concerned with the whole. (5)

Thirdly, connections exist at the level of the symbolism of food. The symbolism of red meat is ambiguous here. In part its meaning is sexuality itself, and this is clearly an aspect in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century connections with feminism; but at the same time, it has the more distinct meaning of male sexuality in particular (the symbolism has always been asymmetrical here) and it is this second aspect that becomes more relevant in the modern period, for one of the important differences between late-nineteenth-century and modern feminism has been in attitudes to female sexuality and its expression.

There are important differences in how this male/female symbolism is interpreted. Sometimes it underwrites a lesbian separatism and an hostility to men. Thus in contemporary lesbian writing a direct association has sometimes been made - one found also in popular slang - between meat and men: 'I gave up men and meat at the same time', recalled Gillian Love Taylor. (6) Some make a direct connection between meat-eating, and the male approach arguing that meat stimulates the male aggressivity that underlies not just violence and war within society, but also the oppression of women and ruthless competitive individualism. Laurel Holliday in her The Violent Sex: Male Psychobiology and the Evolution of Consciousness makes a directly physiological claim that: 'A male's testosterone production increases if he eats red meat regularly and decreases if he becomes a vegetarian', and she presents vegetarianism as a way to produce a better society. (7)

More commonly - certainly in feminist writing - what happens is that the meaning of meat shifts from male sexuality as such, to a particular expression of it, or rather here, what is seen as a distortion of it. Thus meat is seen to represent a false, 'macho' stereotype of masculinity. Once again the approach has roots in earlier writings, for example those of Carpenter and Salt and their criticism of the brutalised stereotype of the public school man, or during the twenties and thirties, in the pacifist exploration of the psychic bases of war.

At another level, the concern is with the interrelated question of sexual stereotyping that has confined these qualities to women and denied them in men. Some of the association with male homosexuality relates to this issue of stereotyped masculinity, though as noted earlier, concern over being able to express the female side of personality is much less marked today, and is really more relevant to heterosexual males influenced by the counter culture, whose 'feminising' character has often been remarked upon. Here there is both the high valuation put upon the 'female' characteristics of love, peace, intuition etc, and also the attempt to expand the area of what is acceptable for men to include activities like child-rearing and bread-making, and emotions like tenderness and weakness.

Finally this male/female symbolism can be taken up at a more general cultural level, and one that is largely disengaged from issues of the relationships of men and women in society or of sexuality. Here maleness and femaleness are psychic archetypes, or very generalised cultural images, and as such they appear in some of the ecological, spiritual or psychological writings found within the vegetarian milieu. Jon Wynne Tyson, 'for example, agrees with the attack on

our society for being "tied to the masculine drives of competition, materialism and Faustian conquest" and writes with approval of the current 'revaluation of the feminine'. (8)

Macrobiotics use the imagery of balancing the male and female principles; and female symbolism often recurs in the vegetarian religious connections, though the older feminist link with such spiritual movements is now largely dead, and feminists today tend to express these themes more through the mythology of matriarchy.

1. 78. See letter, New Vegetarian, Sept 1977, p7.
2. 79. The aim of Gay Vegetarians is both to give social support for homosexual vegetarians and to spread its influence in gay circles - the group has marched in gay pride demonstrations carrying a banner. They are associated with Sequel, a lesbian magazine, which carries animal rights references, and with its offshoot, Lair, a feminist animal-rights magazine. The group is strongly committed to animal rights, and many members are supporters of Animal Aid. The more established, vegetarian societies are not keen to endorse the association or to give the group publicity - the Vegan refused to carry their adverts - fearing any such association would be detrimental to the public image of vegetarianism. I am indebted to Louise Mills and Elsa Beckett for information concerning Gay Vegetarians. See also pamphlet Who are Gay Vegetarians? published by the society.
3. 80. Elsa Beckett, a feminist and lesbian, wrote explaining the connections between the movements: 'The subtle similarities between the ways women and animals are treated in our culture must make us sympathies with them - an obvious one is women selling themselves and products on the media by appearing seductive; so also we have food animals in ads selling themselves on to our plates, the coy charm of the Buxted chicken... The treating of animals as things is reflected in the treatment of humans similarly... it looks to me as if the way many pregnant women are treated, as if on a production line with disregard for their feelings, has its counterpart in the chaining of pregnant cows to the floor so that they cannot even turn round. Women cannot but feel the horror of this'.
4. 81. At a less serious level, see attack on beauty contests and parallels with animal exploitation, New Vegetarian, March 1977, p11.
5. 82. For a representative gathering of these themes, see Gillian Love Taylor's account of the links between vegetarianism and feminism. 'I am more into - now - the kind of spiritual side of it that I ever was - the kind of mystical side of seeing life as a whole; and the reason I think it links with feminism is because I think that women are more humane and able to see these connections than men are, and that particularly now, women are the sort of last repositories of any humanity that remains in humans - and you know - we've been forced into a nurturing role and into looking after people rather than things...things - you know, nations, armies, structures, multinational companies, or petrol pumps... I think that men or the great patriarchal society has fragmented and broken everything up into separate compartments in a way that women are not so likely to do - so that now we can alienate ourselves from animals and so we can

kill them and eat them - we can alienate ourselves from other people and put them to work in factories or we can alienate ourselves from our wives and mothers and make them work for us in the home or whatever' . She refers also to the effects of 'consuming violence' through meat. We're Here: Conversations with Lesbians, A. Stewart-Park and J. Cassidy, 1977, p84-5.

6. 83. We're Here, p82.
7. 84. Guerneville, California, 1978, p40
8. 85. Alive, Sept 1978, p40. Review.

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ALTERNATIVE MEDICINE

The growing interest in alternative medicine in the 1970s contributed to vegetarianism's more favourable reception: certain developments internal to medicine had contributed to this. The first of these was the massive expansion in the post-war period in the prescription of drugs. (1) Their effectiveness changed the nature of medicine and led to the eradication of many of the great killer diseases; however, disquiet grew within the medical profession, and from the 1970s within sections of the population - thalidomide was a turning point here - over the dangers of side effects, and over the easy prescription of powerful drugs for relatively trivial complaints. Iatrogenic illness became a major concern, and polemical books like Illych's Medical Nemesis published in 1975, caught this mood of doubt. There was also increasing concern over the growth in the use of surgery. Secondly, more and more illness presented to doctors was either openly psychological in origin, or attributable in large part to such factors. The training and resources of doctors meant that this demand was largely met by a massive increase in the prescription of psychotropic drugs. Many felt, however, that this failed to meet the real problem, and encouraged a medicalisation of what were essentially the pains, and crises of life. This growing perception of the role of the psychological in illness undermined the usefulness of the old model of the body as a machine, medicine, in its pragmatism, had never entirely adopted this model, though its most dramatic successes in the twentieth century did to a large extent rest upon such a view. (2) Now, however, there was a growing interest in the role of subjective factors in illness.

Thirdly, there was the changing nature of illness. Medicine was increasingly running up against the intractability of degenerative illnesses like heart disease, arthritis, back pain, for which drug treatment seemed of limited, largely palliative, use and whose causes seemed rooted not in the attack of a disease but in long-term factors such as smoking, stress, forms of eating, attitude to life. The criticisms that the alternative medical tradition had been making for almost a hundred years, now seemed increasingly relevant. Health did seem to be bound up with the whole personality and with the circumstances of the patient's life in a broader sense.

The cost of high-technology medicine rose by leaps and bounds in the 1970s. Medical treatment was eating up an ever-larger proportion of the GNP of advanced industrial societies. What could be done was becoming less relevant than what could be afforded to be done. The

old optimistic theory, put forward at the time of the setting up of the NHS, of a pool of illness that would eventually be mopped up, had been shown to be hopelessly wrong. These factors and the financial crisis in the NHS produced an interest in cheaper solutions and more self-help and preventative techniques, though ironically, these have tended to be among the first victims of government cuts.

Though the arrival of the NHS had initially seemed to auger the demise of alternative medicine, in an indirect way it ultimately contributed to its rising popularity. Despite the uneven provision and use of its services, the NHS did create rising expectations of health; and, acute medical needs being met, people were interested in techniques that offered a fuller sense of health. The strained resources of the NHS and the shifts in the centre of gravity of medicine from the GP to the hospital also produced an experience of treatment as alienating; people felt lost in the machine, passed from one anonymous medical technician to another. Treatment seemed cold and technological.

These developments also influenced the medical profession, and the 1970s saw a change in attitude - among some doctors at least - towards alternative techniques. Magazines like World Medicine began to carry articles on it; and anthropological material was discussed in a modern medical context. In 1977 the GMC lifted its ban of over a hundred years on doctors working with unregistered practitioners; it was now officially acceptable for doctors to refer their patients to alternative therapies. (3) In 1978, David Ennals, the then Secretary of State for Health and Social Security, organised a briefing from Health for the New Age (see below) and others on alternative medicine and its relevance to a reformed health service. (4)

A number of umbrella organisations sprang up in the seventies to promote the alternative medical approach. (5) The Wrekin Trust held annual conferences on health and healing, where various techniques and philosophies were described and demonstrated; these meetings were largely aimed at the interested public. (6) A group with a similar range of interests, though a different focus, is Health for the New Age, founded in 1972 by Lt. Col. Marcus McCausland and his wife Marika. The aim is to collect together research work in the field of alternative medicine and deviant science, and to act as a catalyst for research workers. (7) Other centres have also been founded, such as the Leamington Spa Health Foundation, formed in 1977, the White Cross Society, and the East/West Centre, which succeeded the now defunct Quasitor, as a centre for alternative treatment, natural childbirth and groupwork. (8) All these have

vegetarian or health food connections; and many, as we shall see, are also involved in wider spiritual ideas. The, vegetarian magazines regularly reviews books on alternative medicine and carries articles. (9)

A wide range of therapies come under the umbrella of alternative medicine: (10) two principles act to define its scope and character.

The first of these is the deviancy definition as emphasised by Wallis and Morley; (11) and they point to the tendency of alternative medicine to encompass wider world-views and to develop, for practitioner and patient, sect-like associations - though cultic, following Campbell, (12) is a better term since social bonds within alternative medicine are loose, approaches are highly individualistic and the ethic of seekership prevails; a sense of epistemological toleration, which arises from the sense of being together, outside a powerful medical orthodoxy, is also marked. (13)

The deviant identity is produced through interaction with orthodoxy; and different historical patterns of entrenchment have produced different forms of reaction and definition. (14) A diverse range of treatments are held together by this deviant definition: some could, with only minor changes in their ideology or in orthodoxy's attitude to them, be incorporated into official medicine - osteopathy is an obvious example - while others rest on such fundamentally different accounts of the world - radionics, for example, with its pendulum passed over letter or hair – that a major paradigm shift would be needed to accommodate them. (Care is needed in the prediction of such debarrment since acupuncture - once the most decried and 'impossible' of treatments - is now increasingly studied in orthodox circles). Which side of the divide a treatment finds itself upon also affects its nature: thus osteopaths in America have, since their incorporation into orthodox medicine, increasingly prescribed drugs and have abandoned most of their alternative aspects.

As evidence of the labelling process, alternative medicine can point to its treatment by orthodoxy: many in orthodoxy have rejected alternative ideas more out of prejudice as to their social and institutional origins than from: any scientific examination of the phenomena claimed (though the history of alternative medicine has not been without its charlatans, a fact that tends to be ignored in the mood of studied credence and disenchantment with orthodoxy). Finally the deviant label is not one-sided: there are aspects of positive appeal here, and alternative

medicine can be part of a more general commitment to deviant ideas of a political, social or spiritual nature. The related appeal of deviant science has a similar quality.

The deviant, counter quality can, however, be overstressed. Not all in the alternative medical tradition attack orthodox medicine or its institutional base. Captain Bruce Macmennaway, a noted healer, dislikes the term alternative medicine, arguing, as does Health for the New Age, that what is needed is a combination of the best of both. (15) Dr Ledermann also shares the belief in the need for both. (16) The training of natural therapists with institutions, degrees and professional bodies mirrors the professional structures of orthodoxy. Though there are important differences in the patient/therapist relationship, there are also similarities: the framework of the consultation, the style of the room etc are similar and draw power and legitimacy from that similarity. (17) Deviance is not pointed up here. Patients can also treat such therapies in the neutral, instrumental way that people treat orthodox medicine, looking for alleviation or cure in a very straightforward way. Though some involved as patients do refuse all orthodox treatment and are committed to the idea of, for example, nature cure as a total system, more common is the mixed or pragmatic approach that would prefer nature cure but would not shun orthodox treatment, especially for major illnesses. Many have come to alternative medicine through chronic illness and though they may become committed in a wider sense and loyal to the treatment that has helped them, the deviance of the approach itself was not part of the appeal.

The second defining principle relates to certain underlying concepts in alternative medicine that give it an internal coherence beyond just the deviant label: these concepts are shared with vegetarianism.

The most important is holism. Alternative medicine is often termed holistic medicine, and the idea that 'healing' means 'making whole' is a constantly reiterated theme. The word holistic involves a series of slightly different but inter-related meanings. Most narrowly, it means the rejection of the fragmenting specialisms of modern, and especially hospital-based, medicine. More frequently, however, it means the unity of mind and body, whereby the two are seen as interacting upon each other; thus emotional stress produces physical illness - cancer, heart disease - and psychic difficulties are mirrored in physiological states. Similarly physiological imbalances - bad diet, particulars foods - directly affect mental and emotional states; the food allergy theory is popular, as is concern over the psychological effects of food additives, not to mention the older ideas concerning the psychic effects of meat. 'Any symptom, on whatever

level, is symptomatic of the disharmony of the whole' (18) and thus treatment on one level can help another. Yoga, through the exercise and discipline of the body, can calm the mind; and massage can smooth away psychic tension. Conversely, attention to one's psychological state - whether in the form of talking while having the treatment, or more directly in various alternative forms of psychotherapy - can help one's physical state.

Alternative medicine rejects the dualism that would separate the body I own, from the mind I am; and the focus of identity is here consciously extended to include bodily identity. Thus what one does and experiences physically is given a greater significance. The White Cross Society emphasises the psychic and health ills that come from the neglect of and suppression of bodily identity:

Most of us are totally blind to our bodies... Get in touch with your body... Massage helps your body to come alive. The touch of hands revitalises those parts which are dead without your being aware of it... If you cannot touch your own body with love, you will never be able to touch others. (19)

This is a strong theme in the growth movement and in humanistic psychology generally. (20) One of the most common features of the popular psychotherapy movements is the stress on direct feeling through physical experiences like touching, screaming, moving, as opposed to the what is seen as the endless cerebration of conventional analysis; and movements of the EST and Insight variety have as an aim the forcing of the participants into an awareness of their bodily presence.

These concerns are related to a wider social criticism – once again Carpenter is a forerunner here – in the popular counter-cultural feeling that modern society has over-abstracted and cerebralised life: Roszak, for example, argues that the 'body is nature nearest home', and that we suffer not just in our health from this drawing of the self up into the head, but also in the impoverishment of our wider perceptions. Our alienation from our bodies is the start of our alienation from ourselves. (21)

Thirdly, holism frequently involves the belief that a human being is more than just body and mind, but has also a spiritual dimension and that this too is relevant to health and illness. The denial of the existence of the spiritual side of life, or refusal to express it, are seen as causing the kind of imbalance between the different aspects of being that in turn causes illness.

Sometimes the sense of different aspects of being is related to a model of levels of the person. There have been a variety of formulations of this since theosophy popularised the idea; they usually start with material existence, followed by the individual's physical self, rising through the emotions, to the intellectual, to the intuition, to the spiritual planes, and ending in a level of pure spirit that exists beyond the self. Sometimes in the more occult versions, these different levels have different 'bodies', so that emotional or spiritual existence is expressed in auras or 'subtle bodies'.

Finally, holism involves the context of the individual. This can mean his or her social circumstances, in the sense of relationships - this is a particular characteristic in humanistic psychology - or more widely, the society in which the individual lives, or it can mean the cosmic context, the place of man in Nature or within a wider cosmic unity. (22) Any disjunction between the individual and context can lead to imbalance and thus illness.

The second major theme underlying alternative medicine is the idea of nature; nearly all alternative therapies embody the natural model referred to earlier in the context of nature cure. The aim is co-operation with nature and the release of its healing capacity. Frequently this is conceived in terms of a third important feature which is energy, power, vibrations etc - themes that are found also in deviant science.

Body energy is a basic concert of all force of natural medicine and healing. It is the very stuff and flow of life... Ill health and disease occur when this flow is for some reason blocked in the body. All the natural therapies seek in their different ways to remove these blocks and restore the body to its even flow of energy - to bring it into balance and equilibrium. (23)

Sometimes eastern concepts of centres or sources of power are referred to, such as chakras or meridian points. In more psychological versions, the aim is to release damned up psychic energies previously used in the defence of the ego. Healing is also often conceived in terms of spiritual power, usually external to the healer, though sometimes, as in shamanistic ideas, derived from or enhanced by ascetic practices such as the avoidance of meat. (24)

Finally there is the major emphasis on self help. At a concrete level, many of the therapies are consciously simple and practical in character, often using easily available remedies such as herbal tisanes, forms of exercise and fasting. (25)

At a more conceptual level, alternative medicine rejects ideas of illness as something that happens to you and to which you respond with either passive fatalism, or the automatic taking of a pill. They attack particularly the abuses of modern drug medicine, where numbers of aspirins, tranquilisers and sleeping pills are prescribed with little thought by doctors of patients as to why they are needed. Above all, they reject the idea of cure as something external to you that is administered by an autonomous professional body according to an external - and ill-understood by the patient - system of ideas. The NHS is here criticised for encouraging a dependent and authoritarian attitude which undermines the patient's own sense of self and of responsibility. By contrast, real treatment involves co-operating and taking part in the process of getting well – you must do the exercises, follow the diet, talk with the therapist, think about your life. Frequently this self responsibility will involve a change in the nature of your life. (26)

This self-help also has egalitarian aspects. Revolutionary periods - those following the French and Chinese revolutions, for example - have frequently produced attempts to dismantle the medical and other professions as part of an egalitarian upsurge whereby all citizens should participate equally, and as an attack on privileged social groups. Alternative medicine today has some of these aspects, and it has been taken up in radical and New Left circles as part of an attack on the social and academic prestige of the doctors; and to this is added, criticism of multinational drug companies. There is also a connection between self-help medicine and the women's movement, though here there is the added aspect of rejecting the control of women by the predominantly male medical profession, with its authoritarian attitudes and biologically-based definitions of women. (27)

Alternative medicine teaches you that you must take responsibility for your sickness. Illness is ultimately caused by the self: 'The body wants to be well - pain and sickness are signs that we are doing something wrong'. (28) Every illness is a warning, and you cannot become well until you have recognised the nature of the warning and acted upon it. As we have noted earlier, alternative medicine is deeply embued with the search for meaning in illness - as indeed is this whole milieu with the question of meaning altogether - and it poses the question 'Why did I become ill?' in ways that ultimately reach to formulations of meaning that are beyond the medical. Here karma and nature are elided into a natural theodicy; both are seen as operating at the level of objective cause and effect, though both are here essentially moral and spiritual conceptions. You will suffer if you ignore nature's law or the operations of karma. There is a reason in all things but more than that here is a meaning in all things. Illness is meaningful.

Suffering can be part of one's spiritual journey; sickness can be designed to teach you something you must learn. (29)

1. 86. The revolution here came during and after the Second World War with the arrival of M&B and the broad spectrum antibiotics.
2. 87. Orthodox medicine is far from being the monolith that some theorists, especially critical ones, have presented it as being.
3. 88. As evidence of changing attitude of doctors, Tony Eddy of Nature Cure Clinic reported how from late 1960s the clinic found an increasing number of young doctors asking to sit in on consultations (that is the way the clinic trains practitioners).
4. 89. Participants included representatives from the Scientific and Medical Network, the Soil Association, the Healing Research Trust, British Committee of Natural Therapeutics, Association of Humanistic Psychology, the Health Education Council, the Dorothy Kerin Trust and Health for the New Age. For an account of the meeting and for a useful resumé of the alternative approach see, Health for the New Age, Winter 1977-3, p8-17, and. Spring 1978, p5.
5. 90. For information concerning alternative medicine I have drawn on observation and discussion at the Wrekin Trust Health and Healing Conference; interview with Marika McCausland; information from Festivals of Mind and Body and Spirit; interview with Tony Eddy of Nature Cure Clinic; and various printed sources.
6. 91. The Wrekin Trust was founded by Sir George Trevelyan to explore 'New Age' ideas. Vegetarian food is served at its conferences.
7. 92. For a resumé of its aims and beliefs see the cover of its journal Health for the New Age. MARCUS McCausland: came to alternative medicine through dowsing, had been an army officer and later worked for a company making atomic fuses. His wife, MARIKA, after periods of severe illness is now a healer, and a follower of Muktenanda. The McCauslands are not fully vegetarian, though they avoid all red meat, eat very little chicken and fish and follow a wholefood diet.
8. 93. The White Cross Society, founded by Dr Shyarn Singha, 'patrons R.D. Laing, the Marquess of Bath, Yehudi Nienuhin'. Uses range of techniques, workshops held in London and centre in Suffolk. At Quasitor's groups vegetarian food was served and the East/West Centre is committed to macrobiotics.
9. 94. See, for representative examples, Alive. June 1978, p40, and March 1979, p14.
10. 95. Nature cure retains a central place, and its use of diet and fasting are found in combination with a number of other therapies. Manipulation is another recurrent feature; both osteopathy and chiropractice centre on the, spine and aim at the restoration of the integrity of the body' a structure, while other therapies concentrate on the soft muscle tissue, using general massage or massage of particular areas, such as the feet. Bioenergetics also uses massage; and Rolfing offers a 'particularly violent version, aimed at breaking down the psychic tensions in the body - both draw on Reichian ideas. The Alexander technique aims to restore correct posture and thus alleviate stress and illness, as do also other versions of postural integration and kinesiology. Some therapies aim to harness the senses - aromatherapy, dance and colour

therapy, for example. Homeopathic or herbal remedies are often prescribed, sometimes after diagnosis by radionics. Alternative therapies included healing of all sorts, as well as a variety of psychotherapies such as gestalt, primal scream, body-work, encounter groups. Relaxation and meditation are often taught with the principal enemy stress and anxiety. Techniques like, yoga are commonly used, as well as biofeedback, machines to train the individual to reduce his or her levels of stress. For a useful survey see., Dr. Andrew Stanway, Alternative Therapies: A Guide to Natural Therapies, 1980. Also relevant is Malcolm Hulke ed., The Encyclopaedia of Alternative Medicine and Self Help, 1978.

11. 96. R. Wallis and P. Morley, eds, Marginal Medicine, 1976. Various terms are used by other authors - natural, alternative, fringe, marginal, holistic - though the differences are not significant.
12. 97. C. Campbell 'The Cultic Milieu', A Sociological yearbook of Religion in Britain, 1972.
13. 98. By and large therapists do not criticise or expose each other - openly at least. The attitude is very much one of finding something or someone who is right for you; and the conscious, rational weighing up of the different bases and claims is not encouraged.
14. 99. See Julius Roth, Health Purifiers and their Enemies, 1976, for comparison of the history of relations between orthodoxy and alternative medicine in the USA - largely hostile and defined apart - and in Germany - more sympathetic and intermixed.
15. 100. Health for the New Age tried in 1973 to set up a health centre in the old Charing Cross Hospital that would combine the best of both, while being also a centre of a social nature where people could come to enjoy themselves and make contacts, as well as learn to be healthy. The idea looked back to the Peckham Health Centre.
16. 101. The Natural Therapist holds a central position, for his approach to health and disease is basic, and what he practises is not fringe medicine. He must however avoid dogmatism and fanaticism. No school of medicine can claim to be all sufficient. While it is correct to trust the self-healing power of nature, it is not correct to trust this power absolutely. If a patient fails to respond to natural treatment, or if his condition is such that no response to natural treatment can be expected, then the resources of scientific modern medicine must be made available. Quoted by Dr Barbara Latto in New Vegetarian, July 1977, p25, in her favourable review of G.K. Ledermann's Good Health Through Natural Therapy also recommended by Nina Hosali. Barbara Latto is a nature-Cure therapist and wife of Dr Gordon Latto, President of the Vegetarian Society [*and of IVU in 1981*].
17. 102. Many alternative therapists employ the symbols of dominant institutions - Harry Edwards combined scientific and religious legitimacy through the use of white coats and a church-like room - or of social prestige – upper-middle-class accents and social manner, military rank.
18. 103. Health for the New Age, Winter 1977, p11.
19. 104. Prospectus of White Cross Society, p1 and p2.
20. 105. See for example Arthur Balaskas' Bodylife, 1977. Balaskas is a colleague of R.D. Laing and member of Philadelphia Association
21. 106. Making of the Counter Culture, p98. There are direct parallels with Carpenter here.

22. 107. 'One cannot separate man from nature or the cosmos; like a tree, he is an expression of God' Marika McCausland. 'We see health as a way of life, and that life will be based on principles which we recognise as Truth. If a thing be true, it will work on every level'. Health for the New Age, Winter 1977-8, p9.
23. 108. White Cross Prospectus, p3.
24. 109. Many healers, like mediums, avoid meat, stimulants or sex before a healing session. William J. MacMillan in his autobiography The Reluctant Healer, 1952, gives indirect evidence when he recounts his realisation that he could only heal out of his own weakness and emotional fragmentation, and not, as was the norm, from spiritual strength or power: at that point he abandoned his vegetarian diet, p99.
25. 110. 'Your first step to freedom might be to eschew painkillers, tranquilisers and antibiotics to get rid of a headache, depression or fever, and instead drink a hot lettuce soup, a juice of onion and lemon, or some other brew of spices and foods from your larder'. Prospectus of the White Cross Society.
26. 111. Gary Easthope argues that healing is essentially a process of adopting a new personality. 'Learning to be Healthy', paper read at BSA Sociology of Religion Conference, 1979.
27. 112. Self help medicine is an established feature of women's groups. See Our Bodies Ourselves, 1971, the Boston Women's Health Book Co-operative, English edition Angela Phillips and Jill Rakusen; while not committed to vegetarianism, they describe the diet with favour, p116 and 122.
28. 113. Health for the New Age, Winter 1977-8, p10.
29. 114. See for example 'Order: cause and effect... We are on the side of order. We believe that, hard though it is to accept, that suffering has a purpose. We see suffering not as a random evil, nor as a punishment, but as an operation of the law of cause and effect, and a means through which we may instruct ourselves as to the nature of being. Experiences happen to us because we need to grow... If physical illness is treated and understood properly, we emerge with greater knowledge how to become and remain well. It can be a difficult path, but is a path, to freedom and wellbeing'. Health for New Age, Winter 1977-8, p10.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

RELIGIOUS AND SPIRITUAL LINKS

Certain of the old connections continue, such as with the Quakers (1) and the Order of the Cross, and this latter group is still strongly represented among senior members of the Vegetarian Society. Theosophy and Mazdaznan continue, though in a very much reduced state. A Jewish Vegetarian Society was founded in 1964. (2)

There also continues the lack of connection with the orthodox denominations; though there has been, in recent years, some stirrings of interest in the Church of England and other bodies in the animal rights debate. (3) Here, however, they have been principally motivated by the extension of the church's concern with social ethics and by a general trend in moral philosophy. Orthodox Christian bodies may take up the humanitarian or third-world aspects of vegetarianism, but not the health and spiritual ones - those are confined firmly to the unorthodox tradition. The real religious link comes with the revival of interest in religious consciousness of the late sixties and early seventies. In this the focus was strongly Indian, hippy culture was both fascinated by the artefacts of India (4) and by its old power as the polar image to western materialism. The importance of the Indian look faded in the seventies, though the fascination with Indian religion and its spiritual and philosophical concepts lived on. In some cases this took a clearly sectarian form, for example in the Hare Krishna Movement or the Divine Light Mission (both of these have vegetarian connections) for others it was more a question of gathering around a spiritual teacher, for example, the Maharishi in the late sixties or Muktananda, in the seventies. These devotees represent specific crystallisations of what was a much more general cultural phenomenon, and my concern here is less with the particular groups than with the more diffuse, non-institutional interest in consciousness that drew on Indian ideas but mixed them with aspects of western mysticism, the occult and personal growth.

In the stimulation of this, drugs played a vital part, for they brought the initial experiences of expanded consciousness, of a mystical sense of the whole and of an existence beyond the material and mundane, that produced an inner revolution. Out of drugs came religion. The direct influence of drugs became less important during the seventies, and the initial experiences of expanded consciousness now tended to be pursued by more traditional spiritual paths. (There had always been debate over whether the drug experience was the same as that of the mystics). Among those of the vegetarian counter culture, some do still use soft drugs, regarding them as

natural and 'herbal', though by and large, vegetarianism tends to be connected with the later, post-drug, phase of the counter culture. (5)

This religious approach is in general well represented by the eclectic mixture of the Festival of Mind, Body and Spirit, first held at Olympia in 1977 and then in subsequent years; (6) by the publications of the Wrekin Trust, and by the writings of its founder, Sir George Trevelyan; by various Glastonbury groups, such as that of Ramala; and the phenomena and teachings of Findhorn. All can be subsumed under the term New Age.

The New Vegetarian expressed this sense of the seventies being at a turning point:

The materialist value system is dying (like the meat industry). Technology has had its time, the trans-industrial age is running off the rails, the futurists have cracked their crystal balls. With experience painfully gained, we must seek a more simplified life in harmony with nature. Alexis Carrel observed that 'food can get at the soul', and indeed this conforms with the instinctual belief held by many vegetarians that fresh vital foods lift and lighten (and not only in a physical sense), make for spiritual awareness. We are in a process of crossing what may be the second great divide of history, entering a period of turbulence and transformation. Vegetarianism will be energising that New Age. (7)

As we shall see this religious upsurge, though it was perceived as something radical and new, represented the continuation of themes familiar from previous periods. Thus it was perceived not as a religion - the word was often explicitly rejected - but as a philosophy or a 'way of life'. Trevelyan wrote of the New Age that it 'did not reflect a religious movement but a spiritual awakening'. (8) A vegetarian woman advertising in the personal column of Alive spoke of 'trying to understand deeper meanings of life, not in so called religious sense, but actually as things really are, beyond most people's materialistic blindfolds'. (9) Part of what this meant was: not Christianity. Almost none of the new spirituality flowed in the orthodox channels. The churches with their concern for social relevance and with their social tone - conservative, reticent, middle-aged - seemed to offer little in the way of mystical consciousness or spiritual adventure, and even less of the rhapsodic, Blakean vision extolled in the earlier writers of the counter culture. The rejection of the Christian option was largely made in ignorance of what the tradition could offer, and much of the appeal of Indian religion, as before, lay in its dramatic otherness. But also at variance with this mood were some more intrinsic aspects of Christianity; among these was the old issue of belief. What the new spiritual movement offered was not

dogma but a 'possible approach to life'. 'I made it quite clear that there is no question of trying to impose or enforce belief. We are rather invited to entertain new ideas, and, if we are drawn to them, to live with them'. (10)

Secondly they reject the personal and transcendent god of the Christian tradition. Penelope Neild Smith, a well-known yoga teacher and vegan, speaking at a Wrekin Trust conference, said how many dislike the word god, suggesting as it does 'the irrelevant parts of traditional religion'. Sometimes even words like 'spiritual being' or 'force' are avoided as too located; instead divinity is seen as within all reality and this means both the universe and the self.

Lastly Christianity is often attacked here from both the ecological arid animal-rights viewpoints for what is claimed to be its indifference to the status of the natural world. (11)

Though Christianity does continue to some degree as a focus of difference, it is really secular materialism that is the powerful counter-image today. It is the existence of a spiritual reality and its importance to life that is the central assertion here.

Certain new emphases in the tradition can be noted.

The characteristic stress on inner being continues, though now increasingly allied to popular psychological conceptions. Humanistic psychology influenced by Indian ideas provides one of the bridging points to their medical ideas.

The goals of spirituality have a stronger this-worldly orientation in this period. Some of this can be seen in the way the world religions are brought into relevance and constructed into a new, essentially western synthesis (though it is one that continues the tradition of the earlier syncretism). Thus Islam, with its central themes of the total transcendence and omnipotence of God, his justice, vengeance and compassion and the social world which these endorse, makes only scant appearance and then principally through its Sufi tradition. Similarly played down are the radical world-denying aspects of Buddhism with its 'stark and frigid contrast to the materialist pantheism' of the west. (12) The Tao features in so far as it is represented as modern nature mysticism. Many of the spiritual aims of Hinduism are similarly turned around for western consumption; thus yoga, or meditation or tantra become not means to the ultimate transcendence of the world and the senses, but to a fuller existence in the world. (13) There is considerable variation in the degree to which this spirituality is 'manipulationist'; and its this-

worldliness encompasses groups like EST or Insight interested in success and happiness in the here and now, as well as others more directly hostile to 'worldliness' and concerned with deeper spiritual existence, though within an immanentist framework.

Increasingly evident also is the concern with religious technique - with the doing of religion. The earlier tradition had been more cerebral, one of meetings and reading; now in the modern period, techniques like yoga (14) or ecstatic dancing (15) became increasingly influential. Not belief, but the practical means to an experiential truth is what is sought, and religion, or spirituality, is conceived primarily as a state of being.

Diet is an aspect of this concern with spiritual technique, and there is an attempt to reassert the idea of food as part of spiritual life. Seed, for example, writing in (1972) about the 'New Consciousness' notes that it draws on the ancient wisdom that 'a human being is physically the product of the food and drink which he puts into his body'. (16) Nicholas Saunders makes a similar point in his Alternative London. There is a revival of interest in fasting; (17) this is partly as a spiritual discipline - a recovery of the virtuosi techniques of the past - and partly as a means to states of expanded consciousness; though that it is at the same time seen as a health measure is characteristic of this spiritual mix. The concern over spiritual technique is part also of a new attitude to discipline generally.

The dionysian aspect of the counter culture have been overplayed, and certainly in this second phase there is a more marked interest of ideas of control and discipline. Seed speaks with approval of the recovery of 'one of the seemingly lost keynotes of modern living: self discipline'. (18) This is prominent in the writings of the McCauslands: 'It will mean perhaps a greater self-knowledge and self-discipline than is common today. But it is mistaken to believe that happiness lies in self-indulgence, or that a disciplined life is without joy'. (19) There is a note of puritanism in these spiritual and medical movements that relates back to sons of the older themes in vegetarianism, and there is an interest, to some degree, in the old ideal of the ascetic subjection of the body, so as to control the mind and spirit. Being careful about your food, taking only pure vegetarian or wholefoods, can be part of this new mindfulness in life. For the Ramala group of Glastonbury:

An evolved person, one who uses his mind, to control his bodily functions, who is aware of his body and of what is good and bad for it, and what he should or should not eat, . . will exercise

discipline in this respect in order to eat correctly...The way in which a person eats is really a matter of the soul evolution, of wisdom, (20)

a recently incarnated soul will eat 'very crudely' while a 'highly evolved Master' will eat 'very finely'.

Frequently this sense is connected with an idea of purification. Religion, being here considered something of the inner spirit only, Trevelyan writes:

'We now need no temple, for the body offers the chamber which can allow divinity to come to birth in each individual heart. Thus, every man is responsible for his own body as the temple for the new mysteries, he must prepare it by cleansing the blood through appropriate diet, correct breathing, training and meditation. The body must become an organ through which the light and fire of the spirit can work to overcome the darkness of our environment. Our polluted world can be redeemed only if man so transforms himself that the very cells of his body bear and radiate the life of the spirit'. (21)

The doctrines of reincarnation and karma exert a powerful appeal in these circles; (22) but they are given four important western twists. Trevelyan notes how western ideas of reincarnation are coloured by evolutionary ideas: 'Thus, the eastern "wheel of rebirth" is, in the West, transformed into a spiritual staircase, leading ultimately to a new Heaven and a new earth'. (23) Secondly, for some at least, the strict doctrine of karma is softened. Both Trevelyan and Marika McCausland speak of 'love' as above karma - 'love in short is the solvent of karma' (24) - in a way that derives from the Christian conception of 'love'. Thirdly the classic notion of metempsychosis as including the passage of the human soul into this animal body is rarely, if ever mentioned; and indeed many of the vegetarian spiritual groups - significantly - reject such a return to animal existence: this does not act as a direct reason for not eating meat; avoidance is related not to human souls but to ideas of spiritual unity of the universe as including animals, or to the avoidance of the spiritually regressive animal vibration. Lastly, reincarnation is here operating within the very individualistic traditions of the west. The goal of one's lives is the evolution of spirit, or possibly the evolution of the human race, rather than the total extinction of being in nirvana. Western reincarnation also envisages a greater carry-over of personality from one life to another than is accepted in the east.

Great stress is laid as before on ancient wisdom. Partly this is the perennial appeal of secret gnosis, though it carries also the sense of knowledge we have lost through the hubris of modern technological man. It appears also in this milieu in a muted 'noble savage' version, whereby 'primitive' societies are shown to have techniques and approaches to life that can be compared very favourably with those of the west; health and psychological well-being are a particular focus, sometimes with good evidence, but sometimes without - thus it is sometimes sweepingly asserted that there is no schizophrenia, or that childbirth is painless, in tribal societies.

The impetus behind the approach is strongly immanentist; all objects are potentially means to the new understanding: 'Every form is a housing for Being. Each is therefore a window into the eternal worlds' whether a flower, a crystal etc. meditation, on a single object can lead one through to an empirical recognition that we as human beings are intimately and inextricably part of the whole of nature'. The macrocosm/microcosm image once again underwrites the larger oneness: 'In this way, we proceed to discover that Planet Earth is truly alive, a sentient creature with her own breathing, blood stream, glands and consciousness. We human beings are integrally part of this organism, like blood corpuscles in a body. (25) All things become spiritually significant: 'The quality of Being permeates everything, suffuses everything. Divinity is therefore inherent everywhere'. (26)

Great emphasis is placed on all forms of patterning, The landscape with its icy lines, its prehistoric trackways and megaliths and its symbolic field patterns, becomes a source of meaning. (27) There is renewed interest in all symbolic shapes and patterns, whether gazes, tantric symbols, or maps of the spirit, arid these are felt to reach to a reality beyond verbal understanding and to take upon themselves a magical, iconic quality. (28) Nature itself is resacralised. The most noted example of this is Findhorn. (29) Here man's spiritual work was interpreted as a process of co-operation with nature so as to assist in its flowering.

'I was told [by the devas] by working in total concentration and with love for what I was doing, I would instil light into the soil. It is difficult to explain, but I was actually aware of the - radiations of light and love passing through me as I worked. This did not happen until I got a spade into my hands and started digging. Then like connecting up negative and positive poles in electricity, the energy flowed through me into the soil. This work was transforming the area and creating an intangible wall of light, like a force field, around the caravan'. (30)

Gardening becomes a means to the union of the two worlds: 'To create Heaven on earth, as we were told to do, it was necessary to be firmly grounded in both worlds'. (31) Through co-operating with the spirits of nature, Eden could be recovered, and Caddy reports a devas saying: 'Your way is true and simple, the way it was in the beginning when man and I walked hand in hand, talking to one another.' (32) For Spangler, Findhorn reasserts the ancient idea of God moving in nature. (33)

1. 115. For the Friend's Vegetarian Society, see their annual newsletter, *Modern Quakerism* shows, in modified form, interest in some of the themes discussed below - for example in Indian religion, meditation and free, Jungian versions of religion.
2. 116. Founded by Philip Pick. Pick, a life vegetarian, sees vegetarianism as the true interpretation of Judaic dietary law and the embodiment of Jewish teaching concerning God's compassion in the world. The society attracts both orthodox and non-orthodox. See *The Jewish Vegetarian*, journal of the society, and *The Tree of Life: An Anthology of Articles Appearing in The Jewish Vegetarian*, ed. Philip L. Pick, 1977. Interview.
3. 117. See Edward Carpenter, Dean of Westminster, and his Animals and Ethics group (Report published. 1980); Andrew Linzey, *Animal Rights: A Christian Assessment of Treatment of Animals*, 1976; the Bishop of Leicester is a vegetarian; Stephen Clark, (see p367) also a vegetarian, writes from an Episcopalian standpoint.
4. 118. The cheap availability of these in the sixties was an important influence, making possible for young people the elements of the hippy interior with its emphasis on free flowing style and drugs. The clothes of the period were similarly suited to such an approach and by their colourful and exotic character offered the antithesis to the principles governing conventional western dress for men in particular and recalling - unconsciously - certain of the ideas of the earlier dress reformers.
5. 119. Connected both in a temporal and biographical sense – drugs were often abandoned as part of the move to a natural or vegetarian diet.
6. 120. See programmes for brief accounts of a great range of New Age groups. See also C. Popenoe, *Inner Development*, 1979.
7. 121. *New Vegetarian*, Jan 1977, p3. See also their treatment of New Age ideas in *Alive*, May 1978, p24, and subsequent issues.
8. 122. *The Vision of the Aquarian Age*, 1971, p2.
9. 123. *Alive*, Nov/Dec 1979, p40.
10. 124. *The Vision of the Aquarian Age*, p61.
11. 125. This is contrasted with the harmonious eastern attitude; thus Schumacher used the term 'Buddhist economics' to describe the approach he was seeking. Christianity in these circles is identified with certain consequences derived from the doctrine of the dominion, of man over nature, and a rather simplistic account of the origins of the eco-crisis in the attitudes of Christianity is often repeated here, though the

historical picture is in fact much more complex; see Keith Thomas, *Trevelyan Memorial Lectures*, 1979. The criticism of the indifference of the gospels to animals had been made earlier by freethinkers like Salt (for example in VM, Sept 1933, p297), though it is only in the 1960s and 70s that such an attack on Christianity itself gained wide currency.

12. *126. R.C. Zaehner, Concordant Discord, Oxford 1970, p51.*
13. *127. For example from the 1981 prospectus of a yoga school in London: 'the purpose of Yoga is to put more "Life Force" into your life... Most of us will readily admit that we don't get enough exercise or fresh air, have trouble controlling our weight, are uptight, not as healthy as we should be, don't eat properly and have difficulty coping with life which, in a nutshell, is what Yoga is all about – how to "get on" with life, rattier than working against it, which happens riot only on a personal but on a global level as well'.*
14. *128. Yoga first became popular in the fifties, growing from the sixties onwards. See B.S. Iyengar, Light on Yoga, 1966, p37, for an account of the yogic view of vegetarianism and of its indivisibility.*
15. *129. Interest in dervishes was one of the more exotic examples, though other spiritual groups also use dance. The traditional hostility of Christianity to dance as part of worship is often remarked upon and regretted.*
16. *130. Seed, Vol 2, No 3, cover.*
17. *131. See Shirley Ross, Fasting, 1976, for an account of modern interest in fasts. F.A. Wilson in his Food Fit for Humans, writes of: 'The sense of well-being, of elation and purification which follows a period of abstinence from food shows that this is natural, biologically beneficial', p45*
18. *132. Seed, Vol 2, No 2, p12.*
19. *133. Health for the New Age, Winter 1977-8, p11.*
20. *134. The Revelation of Ramala, 1978, p100.*
21. *135. The Vision of the Aquarian Age, p27.*
22. *136. The use of karma is not confined to these spiritual or even health circles, but turns up in a range of contexts. See Jon Wynne Tyson's use of it in the ecological context.*
23. *137. A Vision of the Aquarian Age, p39.*
24. *138. Ibid, p39.*
25. *139. Trevelyan, Vision, p13.*
26. *140. Ibid, p5. Trevelyan's emphasis on serenity and joy is very similar to that of the earlier Jupp.*
27. *141. The key book here is Watkins, The Old Straight Track, first published in the 1920s, but much read in the sixties and seventies Glastonbury has been the centre for such ideas, and the landscape around it - the fields believed to be in ancient symbolic shapes, the lines relating to the Tor etc - have been much studied for their mystical significance.*
28. *142. This is an interest that has been reflected also in academic work since the 1960s.*
29. *143. In the early 1960s, Peter and Eileen Caddy together with a friends [and] Dorothy Maclean, moved to a caravan site on the Moray Firth, aiming at living a spiritual life. There, following a vegetarian diet, they established a garden vegetable plot where, with the co-operation of the spirits of nature, whom they called the devas, they grew giant flowers and vegetables. Findhorn became a place of pilgrimage, and under the influence of the American David Spangler, developed during the seventies a wider ideology*

and became a community and training centre for New Age ideas. This development coincided with the end of the miraculous vegetables. See The Findhorn Garden, Findhorn Trust, 1975.

30. 144. The Findhorn Garden, p6.
31. 145. The Findhorn Garden, p8.
32. 146. The Findhorn Garden, p34.
33. 147. The Findhorn Garden, pl29.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

ANIMAL RIGHTS

The interwar years had been poor ones for the animal welfare cause, and this state of affairs largely continued into the post-war period. The situation began to alter however in the 1960s, accelerating in the seventies until a major change had come over the animal-welfare, now increasingly called animal-rights, movement. Two issues were of particular importance in this development: these were factory farming and animal experimentation.

The publication of Ruth Harrison's Animal Machines in 1964 and its serialisation in The Observer created wide public disquiet, which stirred the government into appointing the Brambell Committee. (1) What the book did was make plain to the public, almost for the first time, the changes that were over-taking British livestock agriculture in the post-war years. Farming was increasingly going the way of big business, conducted by food companies and informed by technological values. The old picture of the farm with its animals in the open fields was increasingly out of step with these new developments in factory-style indoor units. The pioneers had been the battery hen houses and laying units developed after the war, and the sixties and seventies saw the extension of these intensive indoor methods to pigs and, to some extent, to beef. The most notorious development here was in veal production where the calves are kept tethered in closely confining crates, so as to prevent the development of hard muscle, and on a diet lacking in roughage and deficient in iron to produce anaemia, and thus the favoured white flesh. Despite the outcries, little was done. The food industry is a powerful lobby in government; Britain's economic state in the seventies and after has disinclined all administrations to do anything that would increase the cost of food; and there is little evidence that people are willing to pay more for ethically-produced food.

Much of the debate here and elsewhere centres around whether these methods are cruel. The farmers, supported by some vets, argue that no suffering animal thrives and that farmers have a direct financial interest in the happiness of their beasts. Ruth Harrison and others deny this, arguing that they are capable of deep suffering while still retaining basic health. At a common-sense level, it is probably true that most people would not hesitate to describe many factory farming practices as cruel; however where economics and profit are involved, people apply different criteria, as they do where the animals are food animals: thus, the 1954 Protection of

Birds Act makes it an offence to keep a bird in a cage too small for it to stretch its wings, but adds 'provided this subsection shall not apply to poultry . . . '

The issue of factory farming was of special importance in the development of vegetarianism since it undermined the 'compassionate meat-eater's argument that farm animals, grazing in the fields and humanely killed, had not really suffered. The widespread use of hormones and other artificial techniques to increase yields also gave new strength to the vegetarian characterisation of meat as contaminated, and in some sense unnatural.

The 1950s and sixties found the anti-vivisection movement much as it had been for the last fifty years: its propaganda caught in a dead end of reiterated arguments and highly emotional statements and not well informed scientifically. The movement had become stale. In the late sixties and early seventies, however, new currents began to stir; three in particular were important: the rise of the pursuits of scientific co-operation through the use of alternative techniques; the growth of militancy; and the growing prospect of legislative change. These were, in principle, conflicting tendencies; however, in practice they operated together to create new climate of opinion within the anti-vivisection movement.

A particular area of concern had been the explosion in the number of animal experiments. When the Cruelty to Animals Act was passed in 1876 there were only some 500 experiments per year. After an initial leap in the late nineteenth century, there was a steady increase during the 1920s and thirties. The rise of toxicology in the post-war period in particular meant that greatly increased numbers were needed to test new drugs and domestic substances. The chief focus of anti-vivisection has always been experiments such as the testing of luxury goods like cosmetics, (2) or of psychological experiments animal experiments now run at about five million animals per year. (3)

In an attempt to reduce these numbers, the anti-vivisection movement has since the 1950s, and more actively since the 1960s, turned to the possibilities of using substitutes. Certain scientific developments, for example tissue culture, have aided this, and a series of bodies like FRAME, the Lawson Tait and Humane Research Trusts and the Lord Dowding Fund were set up to encourage the development of alternative techniques. (4) There has also been a growing coverage of alternatives in anti-vivisection literature, for they have been recognised as a practical way forward, and one that commands considerable public support. (5)

In recent years a moderate lobby has developed, arguing for co-operation with scientists and for the winding down of the traditional suspicion and hostility between the two groups. While not abandoning the moral, commitment to anti-vivisection, they accept the scientific productiveness of much animal experimentation - something largely denied, or set aside in the past – and aim to encourage a reduction of levels of suffering and of numbers, and an awareness among scientists of the issues. (6) In certain areas like the LD 50 test, (7) anti-vivisectionists and toxicologists have found themselves agreed in their assessment of its ineffectiveness and united in opposition to the bureaucratic regulations that prescribe it. As a measure of this new co-operation, a toxicologist traditionally one of the hate figures of anti-vivisection -was invited to address the 1978 annual conference of the Vegetarian Society. Despite these favourable changes, however, relations with the scientific community are still mixed and marked by unease on both sides. The rise in particular of activism has alarmed the scientists and stirred their Research Defence Society into greater activity. (8)

Animal Activism began in its extreme form in 1974 with the attempts of the Band of Mercy, later the Animal Liberation Front, to set fire to laboratories. In 1975 two members were sent to prison. The Front is still active, most recently being involved in attacks upon the homes of certain prominent scientists. The criminal activities of the Animal Liberation Front have had a mixed effect, in part discrediting the movement and raising internal antagonisms, though perhaps in greater part encouraging the new mood of non-criminal militancy. Groups like Animal Activists have developed vigilante networks using local demonstrations and denunciations to embarrass organisations using vivisection. The more vigorous use of publicity, for example in the Smoking Beagles Campaign of 1975, has brought antivivisection arguments to a wider public. The Hunt Saboteurs have since the sixties pursued active disruption of hunts. The Vegetarian Society has joined this new mood of positive action - or at least sections of it have - for example organising an annual march of protest to Smithfield Show. (9)

Within the animal-welfare movement, the activists have formed an increasingly powerful lobby, in 1979 they won control of the wealthy British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, intending to direct its considerable income towards aggressive publicity; (10) and in 1980 and 1981 similar attempts were made on the RSPCA, though so far their efforts have been repulsed by the traditionalist element. The RSPCA has a long history of moderation in its aims and, certainly in the nineteenth century though also later, of class bias in the focus of its concerns.

Conflict started in the 1960s with the blood sports issue and then moved on to factory farming. There is now a bitter split between the new generation of radicals and the traditionalist, county-based supporters, known as the cat-and-dog-brigade – this latter group favours welfare activities among animals, especially pets, but is less willing to take up a radical stance against animal experiments of factory farming, whereas the militants argue that these are now the significant sources of cruelty and should be attacked by all legal means.

A striking feature of the activists is that most are vegetarian and many are vegan. (11) They are usually younger, less establishment-minded and regarded by some of the traditionalists as 'long-haired' and 'left-wing'. Though their social base is in fact wider than that, they do draw significantly from the counter cultural generation, and there are parallels between their activities in the animal-welfare charities and the entryism of traditional party politics in the late seventies. There are also cross-links with alternative medicine: many share the view that has been put forward since the late nineteenth century that if people were more responsible about their health and lived healthier lives there would be little need for the palliative drugs and medical techniques that necessitate animal experimentation. (12) There are also cross-connections between animal rights and forms of Indian and other spirituality.

With the revival of activism came increased pressure for legislative change, principally focussed around the revision of the 1876 Act. (13) Pressure had been gathering in the House of Lords around Lords Houghton and Platt, assisted by Richard Ryder and Clive Hollands, and 1976, the anniversary of the Act, was declared 'Animal Welfare Year'; The prospect of a general election produced the 1978 Campaign to Put Animals into Politics which succeeded in having animals mentioned in all three major manifestos. (14) Activity in the Lords continued to focus around the prospect of the Halsbury Bill. (15) The principal difficulty remains the reluctance of the government to sponsor any change; though there is evidence of some Home Office response to anti-vivisection pressure, in that two animal welfare officers now sit on the Advisory Committee.

Perhaps the most important parliamentary development however, was the July 1991 report of the Select Committee on Agriculture which condemned various factory farming methods and stated that humanitarian issues must play a greater role in British farming.

Part of this new spirit in the animal-welfare movement has involved the adoption of the concept of animal rights. (16) Debate concerning the moral status of animals had been stagnant for

many years. Now in the late sixties and early seventies, a group of moral philosophers, some centred on Oxford, and including S. & R. Godlovitch, J. Harris, Peter Singer and Stephen Clarke, took up the question again. Their works have popularised the term in the movement, as well as raising the issue successfully within the more academic circles of moral philosophy, itself indicative of wider changes. (17)

The basis of the new approach is that animals have rights on direct parallel with the rights of men; they are not therefore to be regarded as instrumental beings, but fully ends for themselves. The possession of rights here does not imply that they are identical to humans, but that they have legitimate interests that must be considered. In the early seventies Richard Ryder coined the word speciesism, on a direct parallel with racism and sexism, to describe the dominant attitude to animals: speciesism being a denial of rights and interests on the arbitrary prejudice of species. (18) Animal rights, it is asserted, is a radical concept because it demands respect and justice for animals, and does not just ask for benevolence; the old animal-welfare view looked more to man's duty towards the beasts and rested on emotions of kindness. As much as anything, however, animal rights is an expression of a more positive and active approach, that wishes especially to set aside the old charges of sentimentality and softness. Many exponents of animal rights say that they have no special fondness for animals; their concern is with hard moral issues - the rights of animals not the love of animals. (19)

1. 148. For an account of its major findings, see Peter Singer Animal Liberation, p138-46. The report condemned practices like the debeaking of hens and the anaemic diet of calves; it also attempted to set down minimal standards of space and treatment. Watered down versions of these principles have been incorporated by the government in guidelines, though these are only recommendations and not legally enforceable.
2. 149, Beauty Without Cruelty was founded by Lady Dowding, herself a vegetarian, to produce cosmetics that required no animal testing and that included no animal products. See account by Lady Dowding, The Vegan Summer 1962, 7.
3. 150, For these figures see Richard Ryder, Victims of Science, 1975, especially p31-4, Ryder was Chairman of the RSPCA and is a psychologist. He was converted to vegetarianism by the Animal Rights argument.
4. 151. FRAME: Fund for the Replacement of Animals in Medical Experiments, founded in 1969 by Mrs Dorothy Hegarty and Dr Charles Foister publishes ATLA Abstracts (Alternatives to Laboratory Animals) summarising developments in alternatives for scientists. The Lord Dowding Fund was launched in 1973 by NAVS; it aims to encourage replacement techniques, though it is hampered by

strictness in refusing grants to those holding vivisection licences. The Lawson Tait Trust was founded in 1961 and the Humane Research Trust in 1974. See the literature of these groups and Judith Hampson, 'Animal Experimentation 1976-1976, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives', PhD thesis, Leicester, 1978, D.H.Smyth Alternatives to Animal Experiments, 1978

5. 152. For the literature, see Hampson, p381.
6. 153. Judith Hampson's thesis represents an example of this view. A biologist, she concludes that the traditional anti-vivisection criticism of scientific methodology and results is not well founded. Now a vegetarian, converted by the animal rights argument, she works for the RSPCA. I am indebted to her for information about the animal-rights movement.
7. 154. Lethal Dose 50%: the test determines the dose needed to kill 50% of the recipients within 14 days. It has become a focus of anti-vivisection criticism since its relevance is widely questioned – it can, for example, tell very little about the effects of long-term low doses- and it causes considerable suffering, since half the animals must be reduced to death even where the substance may be of low toxicity; many die slowly as much from the massive physical close as from any chemical effect. See Ryder, p44-8, 56-7; also Hampson.
8. 155. The position of the Research Defence Society appears to be mixed. Its principal concern is the protection of the rights of scientists to use animals in research. Though at times it has been criticised for reacting negatively to anti-vivisection and wider public concern, it has expressed some concern over animal suffering. It sponsored Professor D.H. Smyth to study the potential use of alternatives; he concluded that researchers were sufficiently aware of the existence of alternatives, which, while useful, were limited in the scope of their application. See his Alternatives to Animal Experiments, 1978.
9. 156. The conduct of the second, 1979, march was a source of dissention - the older and more traditional members objecting to noisy whistles and jeers aimed at beefburger restaurants and women in fur coats. See Alive, March/April 1980, p4-5. The conservative nature of the VS means that activism has been less strong and later in appearing than in the more radical Vegan Society, which is more highly regarded by activists.
10. 157. A core of activists gathered around Animal Aid and co-ordinating Animal Welfare to provide much of the radical membership here.
11. 158. Among the activist groups: Animal Activists, founded 1973, restricts full membership to vegetarians. Animal Aid (concerned with animal experimentation, active, but non-violent, believes in alternative treatments for disease and the prevention of illness through proper living), most members are vegetarian or vegan. Animal Liberation Front (militant, violent against property, lawbreaking) all are vegetarian, and most are vegan. Hunt Saboteurs: most are vegetarian. Among the more established anti-vivisection societies many now have vegetarian directors and staff. FRAME5 chairman, Mrs Hegarty, is vegetarian; Clive Hollands of the Scottish Society for the Prevention of Vivisection is vegetarian; in the Humane Research and Lawson Tait Trusts, some of the board members are vegetarian; all the staff of International Association Against Painful Experiments on Animals are vegetarian; Compassion in World Farming is not explicitly vegetarian, though many of its members, including its founder, Peter Roberts are. A number of the staff at the RSPCA are now

vegetarian, itself indicative of the changes of the seventies. See journals and information from the various groups. I am indebted to Judith Hampson for comments on the vegetarian association.

12. 159. See for example Singer, Animal Liberation, 1976. Dr Kit Pedler, for example, spanned the worlds of animal rights and alternative medicine, and was also a vegetarian.
13. 160. See Hampson, chapter IV, for the main criticisms of the Act. Not all the animal-rights movement is willing to work towards legislation. While nearly all hold to the moral absolute that experimentation is wrong, there is a significant difference between those who look for gradualist reforms and those who keep to the absolute purity of their principle. Today the absolutist position is held by NAVS, the biggest and wealthiest of the anti-vivisection societies; BUAV is now more willing to work for what legislation can achieve.
14. 161, For an account of Animal Welfare Year and the Campaign to Put Animals into Politics, see Clive Hollands, Compassion is the Bugler, Edinburgh, 1980
15. 162 Led by CRAE: Committee for the Reform of Annual Experimentation, founded in 1977 to reform the 1876 act, its members are drawn partly from the Houghton-Platt committee.
16. 163. Brigit Brophy started the vogue for the term in her 1965 article in the Sunday Times, where she drew on a direct parallel with Paine's Rights of Man for her, as for Salt, animal rights are part of a larger political and libertarian commitment; not all share this view. For interview with Brophy on question of vegetarianism see Rynn Berry, The Vegetarians, 1979.
17. 164. See S. & R. Godlovitch and J. Harris, eds. Animals Men and Morals, 1971; R. Ryder, Victims of Science, 1975; P. Singer, Animal Liberation, 1976; T. Regan and P. Singer, Animals Rights and Human Obligations, 1976; Andrew Linzey, Animal Rights, 1976; Stephen Clark The Moral Status of Animals, 1977; D. Patterson and R. Ryder, eds. Animals Rights: A Symposium, 1979. The October 1978 issue of Philosophy was dedicated to the issue. Singer, Regan, Harris and Clarke have all held or hold academic posts in philosophy; though they reach similar conclusions, their philosophical bases are different. R.G. Frey Interest and Rights: The Case Against Animals, 1980, puts forward an opposing philosophical view on animals and vegetarianism.
18. 165. The parallel with racism has a long history. From the nineteenth century, vegetarians have argued that the treatment of animals is on a parallel with the old treatment of slaves and that it, in time, will be regarded with equal abhorrence. There is an overlap between the early animal welfare campaigners and the leaders of the anti-slavery campaign.
19. 166. Many radicals reject the keeping of pets as a distortion and a sentimentality; though the denial of fondness for animals is a little rhetorical.

CHAPTER EIGHT THE MODERN PERIOD

ECOLOGY AND NATURE:

Ecological concern, though not perhaps under that name, has been part of the vegetarian milieu at least since the 1920s. Richard St Barbe Baker with his Men of the Trees had led the way in the interwar years in reafforestation and desert reclamation through tree planting, and his activities and arguments were enthusiastically reported in the post-war vegetarian magazines, and especially the Vegan (Baker is himself a vegan) (1) it was not, however, until the 1960s that ecology itself developed, emerging as a popular movement in the seventies. Its appeal was broad, though led by groups) such as Friends of the Earth, whose British section was founded in 1970, (2) it attracted in particular young people, often with a generally 'alternative' approach to life and influenced by the values of the counter culture. As we have noted, there are links between ecology and the left, though the environmental lobby has associations also with the Liberals and with community politics, and developed in the mid-seventies its own political party, The Ecology Party.

Part of the background to the development of ecological concern was a general change in mood in the seventies towards a greater appreciation of and interest in the English countryside. It was essentially a response out of urban consciousness. The popular appeal of the countryside had grown in the post-war period - the era of the first national parks - and it was aided by the spread of car ownership. It was essentially nature experienced as leisure. Now in the 1970s, the slightly strident pursuit of urban sophistication that marked the sixties gave way to a more muted concern with nature and the countryside. A minor publishing industry developed to cater for the demand for florals, nature guides, flower paintings and accounts of rural ways. There was a shift towards natural fibres and substances such as wood which were described in almost vitalist ways in comparison to the bleak sterility of plastic and concrete. It was part of the same cultural shift that produced concern with exercise and natural health. Despite this connection, the mood was softer than that of the thirties with its athleticism and sense of the vigour of nature, and indeed had more in common with the nineties and the approach of the poet-naturalists, some of whom, like Hudson and Jeffries, enjoyed a new vogue. Then was a heavily nostalgic aspect, looking back to lost rural ways and certainties, though that was a world that for England, had been lost long ago; and the romanticisation of rural life went hand in hand with the advance of mechanisation and corporate finance in the countryside. In terms of the

counter culture the feeling was most directly expressed in the movement toward small-holdings or farms in the Welsh hills, or in attempts to bring rural life into the cities through urban farms.

Central to the idea of ecology is the concept of balance. Ecology as a discipline rests upon the perception of the way in which plants, animals, micro-organisms and man himself, interact upon each other to form a complex ecological system. But balance here involves more than just the implications of a biological specialism; strictly speaking in ecology there are as many balances as there are dispositions of forces, and when a writer like the vegetarian ecologist Jon Wynne Tyson calls for us to 'recognise our obligation to observe the first law of ecology - that our species is responsible as any other for achieving a balanced and symbiotic relationship with its total environment', (3) he is drawing upon concepts of balance that are fundamentally moral and aesthetic. What gives ecology its powerful appeal is the knowledge of the ever-expanding destruction of the natural world, whether produced unintentionally through ignorance of the complex consequences of actions or with knowledge but with wanton disregard. The clearing of the vast Amazonian rain forests, the pollution of the seas and waterways that has turned the Great Lakes into dead areas, the engulfing tide of non-degradable rubbish, whether plastic containers, or nuclear waste, and the destruction of natural habitats, whether the African bush or the English hedgerow: all of these threaten us with a 'treeless, neon-lit, profit geared environment' (4) and revulsion from that is at the heart of ecology. Added to these moral and aesthetic feelings, was the 'doomwatch' aspect; the western economies were based on ever expanding production and an assumption of limitless resources. By the seventies however, most vividly through the oil crisis, these assumptions were seriously in doubt. Schumacher's Small is Beautiful was widely influential in this context. Schumacher argued that our true capital resources in nature were being squandered, and that nature was fast reaching a point where her capacity for self recovery could no longer be relied on. What was wrong, Schumacher and others argued, was western man's fundamental relations with nature: 'modern man does not experience himself as part of nature, but as an outside force destined to dominate and conquer it, He even talks of a battle with nature, forgetting that if he won the battle, he would find himself on the losing side', (5) but in doing so they run against the conundrum of man's ambiguous status. Man is perceived here as part of nature - ecology's insights focus very much on interactions that include man - and at a moral level, the ecology movement seeks to reintegrate man in nature; and yet at the same time the power of ecology derives from the revulsion from man's works in the world: the world of man is artificial and not natural. We shall return to this in part three.

With its concern for nature and its revulsion from the artificiality of the modern environment; with its emphasis on self-reliance and simplicity; and with its desire for a harmonic relationship between man and nature, ecology strikes deep chords within the vegetarian tradition. (Though it should be noted that not all in the ecology movement favour vegetarianism). (6) Three areas in particular attracted vegetarian concern; these were wild life protection, third-world food supplies and. organic husbandry.

The ecological movement has been concerned with the protection of endangered species, most notably the whale, and with the prevention of the hunting of animals like seals and dolphins - Greenpeace has been particularly active here. The approach of ecology derives from a combination of a general feeling for animals and wild life, and. a specific conservational concern; this latter aspects marks an important difference with vegetarianism which is always more concerned with the animals themselves than with the survival of a particular species.

Vegetarianism had always pointed to the wastefulness of feeding grain or roots to animals rather than humans, though until the post-war period this was largely presented in a local economic context, however, after the Second World War, there grew a new realisation, encouraged by, among others, Boyd Orr and by the Hot Springs Conference (7) of the problems of world hunger.

In the 1960s this reached public consciousness, and concern with third-world hunger and underdevelopment became one of the hallmarks of the liberal conscience. The problem is largely political, rooted in the exploitative world economy that has left the third world increasingly falling behind, unable to afford the food that is available, and in the internal political and social structures that ensure that direct food aid or the fruits of economic development do not reach those most in need; though the actual food produced also has some relevance. The growth in meat consumption in the west, resting on factory methods, has led to a population explosion in animals and to more and more land being turned over to intensive arable, with all the destruction of life and plants that goes with such development: 'ninety per cent of Britain's 46 million acres of agricultural land is devoted directly or indirectly to livestock'. (8) In addition to this home production, 'millions of tons of feeding stuff are imported annually, nn1ich of it from under-developed countries- "Then we consume a large steak, we are eating something that may have used enough grain to keep a family in drought-stricken areas of Africa for a week'. (9) It is meat for the rich, they argue) at the expense of the poor; and economic development only threatens to spread to the new middle classes of the third

world the extravagant consumption patterns of the west. (10) Only by a shift towards a greater use of plant protein, it is argued, can we hope to feed the populations of the future. (11) It is in this context that the vegetarian, and especially the vegan, diets have assumed a new significance, and vegans find a new sympathy and interest among nutritionists, agronomists and experts in development. Many argue that this is a message for Britain also, and in 1976 the Vegetarian Society launched its Greenplan whereby Britain could be made self-sufficient in food. (12) The logic of the ecological argument tends more to the heavy reduction in the use of meat than to its total avoidance, and some writers like Dr Kenneth Mellanby in his Can Britain Feed Itself, (13) allow for meat as an acceptable luxury. However these ecological factors have been influential in recruiting individuals to vegetarianism, and have helped to create a favourable climate of opinion. Groups like Friends of the Earth, and the Ecology Party while not explicitly vegetarian, favour the diet strongly and include many vegetarians among their numbers.

Lastly there is the link with organic husbandry, represented by the Soil Association, which while not vegetarian includes a number of vegetarians among its members and supporters. The Soil Association emerged out of the interwar environmental health tradition - Dr Innes Pearse and Aubrey Westlake have been among its supporters, and the literature cites the work of McCarrison, Dr Lionel Picton and Sir Albert Howard (14) - and it is concerned with the growing 'artificiality of the biological conditions under which we live', (15) and with the need for 'vital foods', by which they mean fresh, whole foods, compost grown on healthy soil. (16) The views of the Soil Association have been strongly reflected in vegetarianism. 'The whole future of our species', declared the New Vegetarian, 'is linked to our ability to keep the soil in good condition'. (17) Organic farming argues that we must put back into the soil what we take out and that a reliance on chemical fertilisers will destroy the complex structure of living creatures that exists within it and ultimately will exhaust the soil. This sense of the soil as a living thing is partly a biological conception: 'the soil is not an inert substance but a system of delicately balanced organic processes'; (18) though it shades also into more mystical vitalist perceptions of the land. Organic farming is seen as part of the restoration of man to his true place within nature, re-engaging him in the natural cycle and restoring his co-operative role as nourisher and carer for the earth. (19) Organic gardening too has some of this sense, as Nina Hosali, the founder of the Nature Cure Clinic, recently explained:

There is something fundamentally satisfying in growing one's own vegetables, especially for those of us who are interested in the deeper side of things. It is not just a question of producing your own food, but it is something that cannot really be put into words at all. It is an external miracle. It brings you close to the heart of things especially when you do it organically . . . , if you do it so as to co-operate with Nature, you are trying to understand and keep the circle of life going, and then it is something that is really balm to your soul. (20)

1. 167. RICHARD ST BARBE BAKER: b.1889. Founded the Men of the Trees among the Kikuyu when a forestry officer in Kenya in 1922. This developed into a world-wide association. Baker argued for the vital role of trees in preserving the soil, the water table, and levels of precipitation; he has been involved in major projects of reclamation. See his, The Brotherhood of the Trees, for the African experiment, and his autobiography, Dance of the Trees: Adventures of a Forester, 1956; also a pamphlet on his work published by the Vegan Society, Man-Trees-Water, nd.
2. 168. For a survey of their views, arguments and projects, see The Environmental Handbook: Action Guide for the UK, ed. John Barr published by Friends of the Earth, 1971.
3. 169. New Vegetarian, Feb 1977, p12.
4. 170. Kenneth Alsop in his introduction to The Environmental Hand-book, p.xv
5. 171. E.F. Schumacher, Small is Beautiful, 1973, p11.
6. 172. John Seymour, for example, regards killing and death as a natural part of the life cycle and something that each must come to terms with - and this may involve the direct experience of killing. 'There does not seem to me anything particularly wrong about killing a herbivorous animal and putting its body back into the natural cycle of life . . . We must embrace the whole of creation in our husbandry, and not shrink, out of squeamishness, our duty and responsibility'. New Vegetarian, Feb 1977, p12, report of debate held by The Ecologist, on the issue of vegetarianism and ecology.
7. 173. See Boyd Orr, As I Recall, p157.
8. 174. Professor J.T. Coppock, quoted in Vegan Society pamphlet, 'Two Population Explosions', 1978.
9. 175. Dr K. Kellanby, quoted in Jon Wynne Tyson, Food for Future. The Ecological Priority of a Humane Diet, 1976, p145.
10. 176. The Vegan Society is particular has attacked the exportation of western infant feeding, practices through the promotion of dried milk rather than breast feeding. In VEGFAM founded in 1963, there is an explicitly vegetarian famine relief group: see their literature.
11. 177. See Arnold Bender, The Role of Plants in Feeding Mankind, Frey Ellis Memorial Lecture, 1980. Bender, not a vegetarian, is Professor of nutrition at Queen Elizabeth College, London University. See also Wynne Tyson for the arguments and range of statistical material, especially p20-1.
12. 178. See VS pamphlet of the same name.
13. 179. 1975.

14. 180. See The Haughley Experiment, 1938-1962, Soil Association, 1962. Haughley is an experimental farm founded by Lady Eve Balfour and Miss Alice Debenham, and it was taken over by the newly formed Soil Association in 1946.
15. 181. Haughley Experiment, p3.
16. 182. Haughley Experiment, p2.
17. 183. New Vegetarian, March 1978, p6, article on bread.
18. 184. New Vegetarian, March 1978, p6.
19. 185. 'With the decline of man on the land there is a possibility that human values will go as well'. For this see, Man's Place In Agriculture, proceedings of the Attingham Soil Association Conference, 1978. Attingham Park was an adult education centre run by Sir George Trevelyan which pioneered New Age topics in adult education.
20. 186. Lecture given by Nina Hosali, nd, copy from the Nature Cure Clinic. There are parallels here with the more overtly spiritual writers like the Caddy's.

NOTE ON CLASS BACKGROUND

It is appropriate at this point to add a brief note on the class background of vegetarianism.

The early Salford period is in this atypical of the development of modern vegetarianism, for then its social base was strongly in the working class, though always only in a particular section – that connected with educational self-help, intellectualist religion and radicalism. The link dies as that working-class culture, still alive in the late nineteenth century, though in fast decline in the twentieth, itself dies. The expansion of the lower-middle class siphoned off educationally mobile sections of the working class; and the twentieth century saw the continuing erosion of voluntary institutions in the working class and the emergence of mass entertainment and a consumer society.

The predominant association is not just with the middle class, however, but with sections of it. There are vertical divisions in the middle class that relate to ideology and that are to some degree rooted in different class experience. The 'progressive middle class', though well-known and over-represented in biography, journalism, and written accounts generally, has not been greatly analysed, though Frank Parkin in his study of CND draws attention to the coherence of this subsection. (1) Vegetarianism is also rooted in this milieu, thus its supporters are notable for being, in general only indirectly related to industrial production - they are not commonly found among production directors or sales managers, nor among those semi-professionals like estate agents concerned with selling or making money; often they have a rival ethic, based perhaps on artistic values, or an ideology of 'creativity' - designers, craftsmen, writers, psychotherapists - or on critical values - journalists, academics, media-linked people. It draws on those sections of the middle class who have always been disengaged from and half hostile to industrial society, whether from a radical or traditionalist stance. It is often associated with public sector, especially the welfare professions, and, quintessentially, with groups such as librarians and teachers. Finally in terms of class experience it is never a movement of the dominant centre.

Parkin regards as characteristic of middle-class protest that it is founded in humanitarian causes with a strong value orientation, as opposed to attacks upon the fundamentals of the economic order and of social structure, and this is certainly true of vegetarianism. In explaining the anti-establishment leftish, sympathies of this section of the middle-class, Parkin, drawing on Lenski's status disparity, argues that through the high valuation they place on education, they

have a self-ascribed cultural status that is at odds with their social status, and that this produces a degree of disengagement from the values of dominant society. (2) The educational link is certainly strong in the background of vegetarianism, and there are suggestions of links with first-generation middle class for whom education has not opened up the status levels expected. It is associated with the minor professions - it is rarely found among barristers or surgeons; with the new social-science based subject areas; with what has been disparagingly called in the context of the New Left, the polytechnocracy; and this equivocal status has been an aspect of their attack on certain socially established areas of knowledge like science and medicine.

Education is significant in a second way also. The 'educated middle-class' are accustomed to read books and to some degree to relate to ideas in ways that make them more prone to have 'theories' about the world, to take up 'fads', or to apply knowledge to traditionally governed areas like food. Vegetarianism abounds in such ideas and notions about all aspects of life. (Campbell in his analysis of the counter culture regards the high valuation of, and relation to, ideas as a crucial characteristic of its carriers) (3). Education can also act as a break with established patterns and, while not overestimating its impact, the emphasis it puts on rational rules of thought, is important for a morality that stresses the conscious application of universal principles as opposed to embedded moral rules of a situational nature. (4)

Lastly, there are reasons to suppose that these sections of the middle-class are themselves more meaning-prone. (5) As a group they have a greater tendency to relate to the world – or at least seek to - through consciously articulated forms of meaning. They may also have been more exposed to the eroding features of modernism, not directly through contact with modern technological production and its logic, but, perhaps as powerfully, through its social, educational and ideological aspects: (6) and the crisis of modernism has been perceived precisely as a crisis of meaning.

1. Middle Class Radicalism: The Social Bases of the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Manchester, 1968. Parkin notes the prevalence of vegetarianism in CND, p29.
2. Though Parkin believes that the causation also works the other way.
3. C. Campbell, 'Accounting for the Counter Culture'. Scottish Journal of Sociology, Vol 4, 1980, p48.
4. Such contextual judgements characterise dominant society's approach to animals.
5. See, for example, Melanie Cotterill's study of invisible religion where she finds little concern in the dominant middle-class with issues of meaning or personal significance. ('Invisible Religion and the

Middle Class', paper read at 1979 Implicit Religion Conference, Denton Hall). Such work suggests that concern with such problems is more characteristic of certain academic and other groups who have tended to dominate written accounts of modern man and his angst.

6. See the background to this in the Bergers' analysis.

CHAPTER NINE: THE STRUCTURE OF THE IDEOLOGY

A: NATURE AND WHOLENESS

There is tension in the history of vegetarianism between its dualist tendencies and, particularly in the modern period, its associations with holism. (1) The dualism comes out in the concern over pure and impure foods, with the spirit and the body and with the avoidance of carnally stimulating foods. There is also the older historical link with radical dualism. (2) This tradition of asceticism is present to some degree in modern vegetarianism. But at the same time, vegetarianism has been centrally concerned with physical health and well-being. Vegetarians celebrate bodily health and sometimes almost interpret salvation in terms of it. Modern vegetarianism has also been strongly connected with traditions that have stressed the One and the Whole.

This tension relates to a second issue. Vegetarianism does echo Mary Douglas' thesis that it is in ambiguity that impurity arises, for in the ambiguity of meat is contained the ambiguity of nature. (This point takes up the issue raised at the end of Chapter 3). Vegetarians do not eat meat because it makes you one both in substance and in action with animal nature, and with an abhorrent animality; but vegetarians also reject meat because we are one with nature, so that killing and eating fractures that harmony, is cannibalistic and repugnant. Vegetarian eating, as with cooking in the dominant scheme, cuts us off from the 'bestial' habits of animals and asserts that we are different; but vegetarian eating also cuts us off from the cruel distorting society, reuniting us with true nature. Vegetarianism has an ambiguous attitude to nature - as indeed does dominant culture - it both fears it and desires to be one with it. (3) This paradox is resolved by means of their concept of wholeness and by the picture of nature that they construct. This can be understood in three stages. (4)

We start with the conception of human nature as basically good. This is a fundamental aspect of the modern vegetarian religious tradition. (5) It has its roots in romanticism with its concept of a natural humanity made monstrous by civilisation. It is at the heart of the socialist tradition, with its vision of the potentiality of man and of his essential nature as good, true and co-operative. (6) It is a powerful theme in liberal social thought; and also in the counter culture, where the emphasis on the virtues of passionate impulse draws on the sense of the rightness of

unmediated feeling from the heart of the self. The pessimism concerning human nature that is part of the tradition of conservative social thought, with its response of resignation and repression, is rejected. Similarly there are few hard-line Freudians among the vegetarians. (7) In these vegetarian traditions, the gross, cruel, and, above all, aggressive aspects of being are not really part of our fundamental natures, but are engendered by a distorting society and - here - a distorting way of eating - carnivorous. These features are not natural, but are the products of artificial stimulation. It is not so much that the undesirable features of our natures are controlled or channelled as actually reduced by the effects of the diet. They are not fully part of mankind; they are the dross in the true metal,

At the second stage this picture is projected out on to nature, and nature is in effect moralised. If we look at two of the central vegetarian arguments - that based on ethical considerations and that appealing to the idea of a natural way of life - it is clear that they in fact pull two ways. (8) The ethical argument rests upon the assertion of the importance of mankind's moral sense, and humanity is directly associated with this capacity to act according to ethical principles, so that implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, we are set apart from the beasts, and no moral issues are raised by their actions. (9) Yet at the same time we find in vegetarianism very prominently the use of the appeal to the natural, which both stresses man's oneness with the animal kingdom and roots the necessity for vegetarianism in the natural order. (10) What vegetarians do, in effect, is to declare that goodness is natural.

There tends for example to be some selection among the animals, the ones that come to the fore tend to be those that are seen as symbols of gentleness and innocence. The carnivores do not make much of an appearance in vegetarian literature, (11) and where they do, there is a tendency to overlook their habits or even to assert that they too were once vegetarian. (12) Thus even they can be brought into a picture of nature that is essentially harmonious and beneficent. Not all vegetarians would subscribe to such a view of the carnivores; but what the expression represents is the embodiment in an actual theory, of feelings that are more pervasive. Indeed it is a dream that has older and wider roots than modern vegetarianism, for it is part of the image of redeemed creation found in the famous passage of Isaiah. It is not so much that many vegetarians would actually deny that certain animals are by their nature carnivorous, but that in the context of the image of nature this aspect is passed over, and what is left unsaid fades from view.

Nature is not presented here as a vast canvas of death and predation; there is no sense of the cry from every thicket. Nature in this context stands rather for largeness and wonder - the majestic harmony and order in the universe - drawing on the eternal beauty of the stars, the round of the seasons - all that is greater than man, Nature's indifference and destructiveness are passed over in favour of beneficence and guidance; nature points the way, corrects our errors and leads us back to spiritual health. 'We must hear the lesson of nature in the rhythms of oceans and seasons and of trees and animals. To go with the ebb and flow, rise and fall of all things . . . The lesson then from nature is to go with the flow, with one's natural rhythms and not to push the river'. (13) Nature is a source of redemptive power and contact with it is prized. Nature is seen as containing messages and truths of deep emotional impact. It is a framework of meaning and not an alien object for our regard or exploitation.

At the third stage, this picture of harmonised nature is projected back on to mankind and used to criticise the social. Society is identified with falseness; it is artificial, inauthentic and distorting. Humanity is regarded as having a pre-social, social self that is natural to it arid good. Nature is presented as superior to culture; for example, it is asserted (wrongly) that animals never kill their own species, nor do they kill more than they need to eat, and these natural habits are held up against mankind's notorious record of murder and destruction. War is not just wrong but unnatural; and Nature thus becomes the ultimate standard of legitimacy. The dilemma of what can properly be natural to man, in a social sense, is solved by the constructed yardstick of moralised nature. Man projects his aspirations out on to nature, and then uses it to judge and condemn society.

This brings us to the vegetarian concept of wholeness. What we have in vegetarianism is a monistic system, and like all monistic systems, it suffers from what might be called the lack of a satanic principle An ethic of naturalness must struggle inevitably with disjunctions, for where natural and good and equated, there are serious difficulties in understanding the painful and undesirable aspects of life. This is even more of a problem in a system like vegetarianism, that stresses the Whole and the One. It negotiates these by means of a prior extraction. A quotation from William James on the Religion of Healthmindedness is relevant here 'The Ideal so far from being co-extensive with the whole actual is a mere extract from the actual, marked by its deliverance from all contact with this diseased, inferior and excrementitious stuff'. (14) The key lies in the prior extraction for the rejection of meat forms a boundary around the pure within which the ethic of wholeness is unassailed. The whole can be taken because all is safely pure,

the disjunctions, defined as unreal, have been placed outside the system. It is not only against the impurity of meat that the purity of wholefoods is contrasted, for as important in the modern period has been the rejection of 'junk' foods-foods through which the concepts of impurity and unreality are again strongly linked. (15)

This structure of wholeness is found most clearly in the food, though the concept permeates the vegetarian system; it is the wholeness of potatoes mashed in their skins, of whole brown rice; it is in the surroundings of the vegetarian restaurants with their rough stoneware and coarse undyed fabrics. Vegetarians reverse the long tradition that has favoured refinement and polish in artifacts and food and substitute neutral rawness and wholeness. It linked with the assertion, especially in the counter culture, of the instinctual and the bodily as against what has been the slow historical growth of the imposition of restraint on behaviour and the internalisation of sensibility as recounted for example by Elias. (16) But their praise of natural rawness in life never leads in eating patterns to tearing at raw meat, or biting the heads off sparrows; it is never a culture of yahoos. This leads to a second and related point which concerns the way this structure of wholeness enables vegetarianism to resolve, or at least evade, the tensions of the liberal dilemma. Vegetarianism is linked with the growth of humane feeling and particularly with attempts to reduce the cruelty and violence of the world, and it is also linked with the rational, reformist spirit that since the Enlightenment has sought to apply objective, universal and humane criteria to the consideration of man, society and the world. But this general shift in consciousness, which is rooted in the structures of the modern world, has a second side to it, for it results also in the retreat from the concrete, the instinctual and the particular.

Salt makes a revealing comment in this context when he refers to the view of critics like Chesterton that the reformers of the modern world 'touch fewer and fewer things'. (17) Modern vegetarianism attacks the coldness and abstraction of modern consciousness, but in doing so it reconstructs instinctual nature in ways that evade the inherent nature of the tension.

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1. Modern in this context is the period covered by this thesis.
 2. The Manichaean tradition views flesh as totally evil, all nature as corruption, and the cessation of physical being as the proper end. If one is to eat - and Manichaeanism strictly implies starvation, and has in certain periods been pursued to that end through the endura - vegetarian food is the nearest one can get to the rejection of all flesh in the rejection of flesh food. Despite its heretical status, there has always been an

element of Manichaeanism in Christianity, indeed the tension of Christianity's relation to the world produces a structure of ideas in which Manichaeanism will be a logically recurring element.

3. Roger Elliot the astrologist and a vegetarian wrote in the New Vegetarian, March 1978, p9, on this subject. 'I say "we"', knowing full well that vegetarians have an ambiguous attitude towards animals. In many ways, we support and revere animals more than most people do. One of the principal reasons why many of us became veggy in the first place was a hatred of cruelty towards animals. 'We recognise, quicker than many people, the right of all animal species to co-exist on Earth with humanity. Yes, we are all animal lovers. 'And yet, due to our faddy eating habits, we -also keep animals at arm's distance. However disgusting it may seem to us, the act of consuming their flesh does put the meat-eater in a close relationship with animals. We, on the other hand, deliberately forbid ourselves to eat meat. Ugh, that's pork or bacon, we say to ourselves; and although this need not affect our attitudes to living pigs, I believe in the long run that it does. Our constant denial of flesh does seem to alienate vegetarians somewhat from the animal kingdom.
'It is only a guess, but I imagine that vegetarians tend to be a bit more frightened of animals than I 'ordinary' people are. We, after all, treat animals as equals, yet have few day-to-day dealings with them - apart from pets which are a special category. Farmers, hunters and other exploiters of animals, on the other hand, have a clear master-servant relationship with them; animals are their slaves, and the only fear in such a relationship stems from the animal, not the exploiter'.
4. These three stages are not a causal sequence, but an arrangement of features.
5. Starting from the Swedenborgianism of the Bible Christians with their stress not on essential depravity but on human capacity, and with the Pelagian emphasis that they share with the deists of the time, and continuing in the tradition of New England Transcendentalism. In the late-nineteenth-century religious link, the repudiation of the doctrine of sin is a central feature, and one that still reverberates today in its modern counterparts. The appeal of Indian religion has similarly drawn on its being perceived as free from the western emphasis on sin. Man's essential goodness is a fundamental aspect of quakerism; and in those gnostic versions of Christianity like the Order of the Cross there is a particular antipathy to Pauline Christianity.
6. Especially the utopian, co-operative and ethicalist traditions, and also their more recent rediscoverers and supporters. It is strong in the Tolstoyan anarchists with their emphasis on voluntary choice of individuals and the capacity of this voluntarism to act as the basis of a co-operative and just society.
7. Jon Wynne Tyson, for example, in a review in Alive, Sept 1978, p40, asserts that the writings of Anthony Storr: 'whose concentration on the "sombre fact that we are the cruellest and most ruthless species" has sadly misled many people by confusing "aggression" with "energy" and by cementing the notion that human beings are instinctively and unredeemably savage. 'The conscience-salving belief that man is naturally a hunter and killer, eager for war and the violent answer, is without scientific evidence . . .' Tyson quotes from Storr ". . . we know in our hearts that each of us harbours within himself those same savage impulses that lead to murder, to torture and to war . . . we have to face the fact that man's proclivity for cruelty is rooted in his biological peculiarities", but replies 'Bosh and double bosh!'

Fox in his Between Animal and Man, 1976, also rejects Lorenz's belief in the inborn aggressiveness of man. 'The environment - the social/political milieu - is to blame in man; it is his human nurture not human nature, that is at fault. Once we accept the basic goodness of mankind and reinforce rather than belittle that intrinsic goodness, and also focus our attention on the real causes of aggression [which Fox argues are pain and fear and the ego-defences that arise from them] then we may be able to work constructively for peace'. p98.

8. Francis Newman was unusual among the vegetarians in explicitly recognising this point; he focussed on the first, that of moral striving.
9. Thus, for example, Brigid Brophy argues that man cannot escape his moral being, for he, unlike the tiger, is free to choose. The argument that man in killing only acts as other animals on the evolutionary chain depends, she argues, upon a wish to be freed from the demands of morality, but it is not found with any corresponding demand to be freed of all the other 'unnatural' benefits of civilisation. Brophy and others who argue from a clear position within moral philosophy tend to put aside questions of naturalness. Their concentration on formal moral propositions is, however, untypical.
10. The usages of the word natural have been so many and so lacking in a clear central core of agreed meaning that discussion of it quickly becomes bogged down in paradoxes, or split into a hundred separate nuances. I have therefore not attempted to offer a survey of the issue - a large part of the intellectual history of the west could be written around this question. There are however, two central axes around which the major difficulties turn: these are 1) the conflict between a conception of the ways things are, and of how they ought to be - natural as description and prescription; and 2) the relationship of man and nature, for sometimes nature means all that exists or takes place independent of man, but sometimes it includes man, though in what aspects of his being, and in the status of those that are not so regarded, is much disputed territory.
11. The Revelation of Ramala asserts that animals were once vegetarian and that man has been the cause of the downfall: 'The fact that the Animal Kingdom is "red in tooth and claw" . . . is purely a reflection of Man's own behaviour', p129. In some of the spiritual versions, spiritual evolution will eventually lead to the animals also becoming vegetarians.
12. The issue of the diet of pets has been one that has provoked disagreement. Many find preparing meat for pets distasteful, and therefore bring up their dogs, successfully, as vegetarians. In the earlier periods the issue was less prominent, though when vegetarian dogs did appear in the literature they did so with a propagandist vigour not found today. Thus it was argued, in parallel with the emphasis within vegetarianism itself, that the change from a meat to an oatmeal diet could, actually benefit a dog: 'He [a dog previously so ferocious that no-one could go near him] became a civilised being, and he knew how to behave himself like a good and faithful dog. Now the dog is a carnivorous animal by nature, and yet his nature can be improved'. (DR, Oct 1870, p103) Today the debate is between those who regard meat as the natural food of a dog so that such conversions are but 'another example of Man's arrogance in imposing his will on the lower creatures', (New Vegetarian, Nov 1977, p7) and those who argue that the life of a pet is so unnatural already that it hardly matters. (New Vegetarian, Feb 1978, March 1978).
13. Fox, Between Animal and Man, p43
14. William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience, 1902, Fontana ed., p142.

15. See p.327,
16. N. Elias, The Civilisation Process: The History of Manners 1978
17. Seventy Years, p128, from G.K. Chesterton, Orthodoxy, 1909, p176-9.

CHAPTER NINE: THE STRUCTURE OF THE IDEOLOGY

B: LIFE, DEATH AND EDEN

Vegetarians employ the words of 'alive' and 'dead' in ways that reverse the normal usage, and, most important, reverse the opposition on which their explicit ideology rests: they do not eat living things, and yet we find them referring to meat as 'dead' and vegetarian food as 'alive'.

Their language stresses eating as an ingestion of vitality, thus vegetarian food is 'vibrant', 'alive', (1) cooking by contrast 'emasculates' this vital force - nature having already 'sunbaked' these foods for us. (2) Vegetarian food is 'alive' but in a special way; it is alive as the universe is alive, full of a sort of manna that comes from the life force of nature. It floods through the body, as does the sun through nature, bringing life and strength, so that by eating this food one is filled with the same life as the trees, the plants, the waving grain - and all the harmonic images of nature come into play.

Meat by contrast is dead matter. Vegetarians often speak of eating meat as eating corpses. It is regarded as rotten: 'from the moment that life leaves the body, putrefaction commences to set in. A dead body may be looked upon in the light of a quantity of waste and putrefying matter' , (3) and at times it is directly equated with excrement: 'raw meat is hygenically speaking equivalent to faeces'. (4) Meat-eating builds up dead matter in you, the poison fills the system. (5) The ingestion of dead animals becomes an ingestion of death itself; meat-eating presents the unresolved contradiction of that which was alive, yet now being dead, and as such it presages one's own death and decomposition. Vegetarianism by contrast, as we shall see, stands for the rejection of bodily death.

The purity of vegetarian food in the modern western context has a positive meaning that derives from this language of vitality. By contrast, in Hindu culture with its use of vegetarianism, purity is an empty, negative state, achieved by an absence of impurity. The opposition is one of no impurity : impurity

in which the organic in life is the primary source of pollution. Cantlie, writing on Hindu asceticism, links this negativity with its conception of the aim of a holy life as being an emptying, related also to their opposition of existence to non-existence, in which the evils of life are opposed to the blessings of non-life. (6)

In the west in the modern period, the context is different. Purity is not just an absence of impurity, nor just a state of giving up (as it is arguably in the monastic version where I can find no sense of non-meat food as being better or higher food), but it has its own positive charge. In the vegetarian ideology there are qualities believed to result from meat-eating that can be avoided by abstaining; but there are also separate and different qualities that come from eating vegetarian food.

Eden is the charter myth of vegetarianism. Behind vegetarianism, even the most explicitly secular versions, lies the image of re-establishing Eden, on this earth, now. Sometimes the mythic story is a different one, but the basic structure remains the same: thus in the myth of Prometheus - at least as interpreted by Shelley (7) and other vegetarians - the arrival of fire and cooking, and thus meat-eating, marks the point of origin of complex society; or in the 'noble savage' version, recurrently influential since the rise of Romanticism though it looks back to the long tradition of social primitivism and the Golden Age, whereby we have lost that simple, happy society that flowed unconstrainedly from natural human relations; or in more 'scientific' evolutionary versions, where the 'fall' comes from the development towards hunting and meat-eating. (8) Above all Eden in this context of modern vegetarianism is equated with Nature and the Natural State.

Eden and indeed the more ancient of these mythic constructions have a long tradition of being characterised as vegetarian, both within vegetarianism and independently. (9) Again Hindu vegetarianism contains no such dreams of a consecrated human existence, an earthly kingdom or a purified, yet fully life. (10) Eden is such an important image in vegetarianism because it represents the world as it once was - its natural state – and how it might be, were this recovered. It is this world – but transfigured. Eden represents the state of harmony from which all the central disjunctions of life are absent, and it is precisely the disjunctions that vegetarianism dreams of eradicating. (11) It is a state of non-time, into which death had not yet entered, and as such it stands in opposition to the meat-eating realm, dominated by the symbols of procreation and passion, death and decay that are written into meat. This is how meat can be both too alive, too stimulating to animal nature, and yet also be symbolic of death and decay. The two sorts of 'life' in food are different. Hills makes this explicit: 'There is a power of vital accumulation which is the very opposite of systematic stimulation' (12)

Thus we have vegetarian food placed in opposition to animal food:

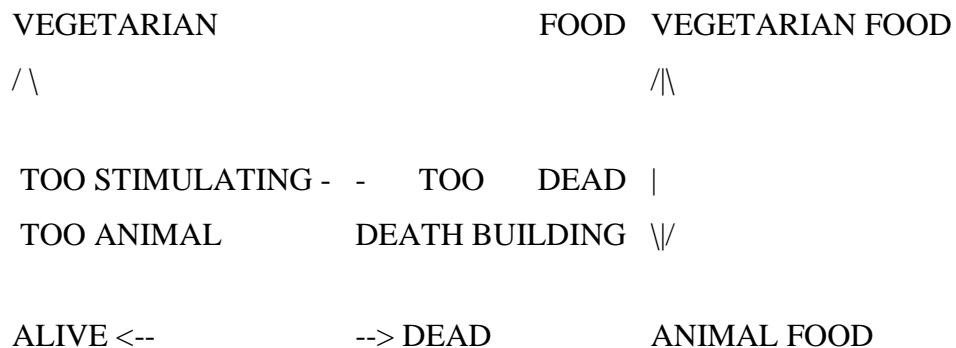
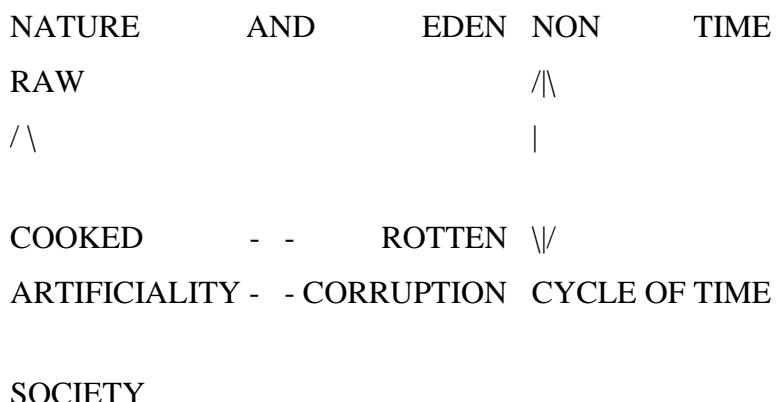
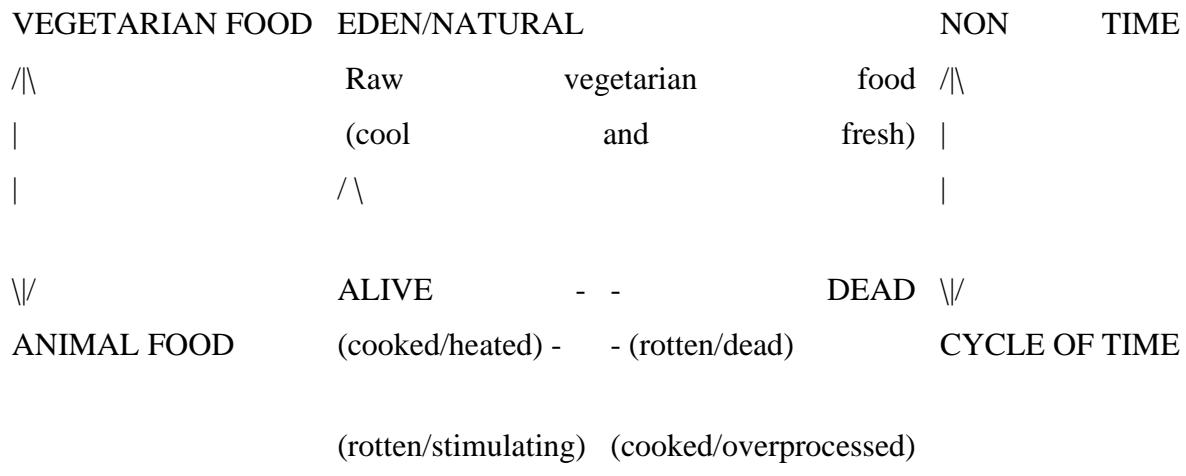


FIGURE I

In parallel with this, we have raw food, which is associated with vegetarian food and reiterates some of its qualities, in opposition to cooked food, associated with treat and reiterating some of its qualities. Hills declared that 'There can be no truce between Life and Death, no compromise between complex cooking and natural simplicity'. (13)



Thus when the two are combined (Figure III), we have fresh raw vegetarian food opposed to the cooked and rotten animal food; and Eden opposed to the secular time-cycle of life and death.



REALM OF SECULAR CULTURE/ARTIFICIAL AND CORRUPT

FIGURE III

Meat belonging to this realm is both too stimulatingly alive and too putrefyingly dead; (14) and this makes sense of the dual aspect referred to earlier in the context of the hierarchy of foods (p57) whereby vegetarianism can be seen as both as an eating down the hierarchy, away from the ambivalent power, and as a radical reversal of that hierarchy.

This Edenic rejection of decay and death is sometimes expressed in vegetarianism in ideas of the unnecessary and unnatural nature of ageing, which is seen as a result of the accumulated toxins of a corrupt diet; thus it is often asserted that people die long before they need to, and indeed that Man largely kills himself, (15) and there are muted hints in the writings of groups like the Danielites of a natural immortality. (16) There is a clear image of youthfulness in vegetarianism that draws on this Edenic rejection of death. We can see this in their iconoclastic attitude towards social rules and in their alliance with radical movements of change; vegetarianism like Romanticism itself, is a movement of the sons not the fathers. This theme of youthfulness has grown in the twentieth century, underlining much of vegetarianism's popularity of recent years, particularly on the West Coast of America where the cult of the youthful body and the denial of age and death are strong.

Vegetarianism offers a this-worldly form of salvation in terms of the body. What is spoken of as the life in vegetarian food can represent the eternal spirit, but their idea of spirit is of this

'world' it is a spiritual body that is being stressed, not a disembodied spirit. Vegetarianism is a purity movement, but one that operates through their idea of the pure body.

1. 18. This force is believed by some to be directly visible through Kirlian photography which can, it is claimed, thus distinguish between organic and inorganic objects, and between fresh, cooked and decayed food. See particularly the ideas of the Health for the New Age group.
2. 19. The imagery of vital food and of 'eating nearer the sun' has been an element in the vegetarian ideology from at least the late nineteenth century - see Hills and his 'vital food, pregnant with the potency of life, suffused with the storage of sunshine' (Vital Food, p2) - and it was epitomised in the thirties by the works of Gayelord Hauser; it is particularly prominent today in New Age writing, especially that of Sir George Trevelyan, though it has a wider influence also in the emphasis on ingesting vitality that is characteristic of the health food shops. It has become particularly focused in recent years around sprouting seeds and beans which are felt to carry the essence of the germinating life force, and as such to enable cells to regenerate in their youthful, not aged, form.
3. 20. VR, Jan 1895, p14, Mrs Leigh Hunt Wallace. See also 'The Food of Death', VM, Jan 1917, p6.
4. 21. Alive, Oct 1977, p7.
5. 22. 'No man is a grave', declared Jon Wynne Tyson in this context Food for a Future, p43. Meat eaters, when not in rude good health, were said to find it difficult to cope with the 'onslaughts of putrid meat' (DR, April 1874, p44) and this is still believed to be a major cause of undetected illness in the population.
6. 23. A. Cantlie, 'Aspects of Hindu Asceticism', Symbols & Sentiments: Cross Cultural Studies in Symbolism, ed I. Lewis, 1977.
7. 24. See p.67
8. 25. See for example, F.A. Wilson, Food Fit for Humans, 1975, p61; see also the matriarchy theories of some feminists.
9. 26. For some of the non-Christian connections, see A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, eds, Documentary of Primitivism: i Antiquity, Baltimore, 1935.
10. 27. R.C. Zaehner draws a distinction of a parallel nature when he distinguishes between the modern western mystical tradition which he calls, following Bucke, cosmic consciousness, and which has strong vegetarian links, and the mystical consciousness of the east, though also of the orthodox Christian mysticism, where the material world is maya - at best a transient state, and at worst a snare that keeps men from enlightenment. It is the status of Nature in the modern western tradition that is the crucial difference. Concordant Discord, 1970, p59.
11. 28. The principal such disjunctions are: ageing, death, suffering and, in some traditional versions, sexuality. The first two we shall refer to shortly. Their concept of pain and suffering and their essentially unnatural status is well represented in the tradition of nature cure and illustrated in the recurring theme of childbirth: the belief - against all the traditional evidence - that childbirth in simple societies or under natural conditions is painless has been a minor theme in vegetarianism since at least the early nineteenth century: pain has no place in man's natural state. As we have noted, the status of sexuality changes in

vegetarianism in line with more general changes, including in perceptions of Eden (previously seen as pre-sexual); what happens - broadly - is that the realm of wholeness and purity expands to take in elements of sexuality which is no longer quite so simply equated, as in earlier periods, with the gross, unreal and distorting aspects of being.

12. 29. Vital Food, p2.
13. 30. Vital Food, p2.
14. 31. I have not been able here to adopt fully Lévi-Strauss' scheme: rottenness in this context pertains to culture, indeed it is an implicit judgement on it that it does. Cooking and rotting fit ambivalently here: rotting most obviously fits with the death-carrying pole and cooking, through its heating aspect, with the alive pole. However, equally important - for the ideology is not as fixed as such schemes can sometimes suggest - is the reverse link. Thus cooked food has some of the quality of dead food, as has also, by extension, processed food: both have undergone the 'excessive' transformation of culture. Rotten food, through the fermentation link, has qualities of stimulation that link it with the over-alive pole. (There is an old association in diet reform with the rejection of all fermented food, including the use of yeast in the leavening of bread, as over stimulating. The rejection is reinforced by the connection with alcohol) Stimulation also contains the ideas of the production of an essentially unnatural state.
15. 32. See VM, June 1929, p128, for example. Old age is described here, as a 'pathological condition' and one in large part caused by the rotten nature of meat.
16. 33. See p123. The denial or lack of emphasis in the religious tradition on Christ's crucifixion and death - see Kingsford and Maitland and the Mazdaznans etc - relates to this conception, though it results also from the nature of salvation offered.

CHAPTER NINE: THE STRUCTURE OF THE IDEOLOGY

C: THE PURE BODY

We can now turn to how the concept of wholeness and the structure of extraction on which it rests is relevant to some of their other concerns.

The idea of the pure body stands at the heart of the vegetarian ideology, embodying their conception of a profound state of transfigured well-being. The image is sometimes given a directly physiological expression. Thus it is traditionally asserted that the corpses of vegetarians do not rot as do those of meat eaters (a conception that parallels older ideas of the incorruptability of sainthood and the odour of sanctity). (1) Similarly, a vegetarian diet is believed to purify the system so that: 'the foul breath, the humiliating body odours, supporting a vast artificial industry, give way to natural sweetness. It is remarkable how fragrant the skin becomes on such a diet'. (2) It is sometimes said that the excrement of vegetarians is not as offensive as that of human carnivores and dogs. This symbolism is sometimes related to the circumstances of the closely bounded group; thus in the early days of Findhorn, the Caddys were told by the devas that they could use their excrement with the kitchen waste for manure for the garden since their bodies did not have impurities in them, but once the community expanded, and strangers began to come, they abandoned this. (3)

The idea of purity is often focused around ideas of blood. We have already noted how blood traditionally stands for the special living essence and how nature cure in particular picks up older ideas of the state of the blood as embodying the wider state of the person. (4) Thus a vegetarian diet is said to be 'cleansing' to the blood and the blood of vegetarians is believed to be specially pure, particularly by contrast to the 'toxin laden', or even 'corrupt' blood of meat eaters. Because of this symbolism around blood there is a special concern over threats to its purity whether by blood transfusions, or the injection of vaccines, or by the ingestion of animal blood through meat eating.

Lastly among these physiological expressions, the vegetarian conception of illness is one in which bodily purity is central; thus illness is understood as the presence of pollutants in the body, whether meat or additives, or as the retention of waste matter, and treatment is often purgative, focusing on cleansing, washing and fasting.

In their image of the purified body, the structure of wholeness referred to earlier is given a physiological expression: the state of wholeness is also a state of purity, achieved through the extraction from it of the disjunctive aspects, defined as unreal and outside the integrity of the whole. (5)

These bodily preoccupations, certainly in their more extreme versions, can have an obsessive aspect, and there are elements of this in the natural health tradition. (6) I am aware how the concern over bodily purity and integrity can be interpreted psychologically; but returning to my original remarks, (p23) I am concerned here less with psychological interpretation than with the ways in which these basic images – perhaps containing a psychological charge, perhaps not - are used to connect with and build up the wider ideology.

The image of the pure body relates also to a feature of modern vegetarianism which is its rejection of the traditional of Cartesian dualism and its stress on the unity of mind and body. Related to this is the development whereby the body becomes the central social and metaphysical metaphor: 'He who understands the truth of the body, can then come to understand the truth of the universe', (7) and it is this sense that underlies the cosmical body imagery prevalent from the days of Swedenborg and particularly evident in the writing of Carpenter.

The power of vegetarianism lies in its experiential quality. It carries the unity of mind and body in its nature for the wholeness exists not just in formulations concerning food or spiritual or psychological health, but in the union of inner and outer that occurs in eating according to its principles, and it can thus become the means of enshrining the principles in the very self and in daily life. The Vegetarian Messenger of 1850 wrote of:

vegetarianism's tendency to keep alive the conscientious principle. If a man abstains from certain types of food 'for conscience sake', it reminds kin' every day of the connection between his outer conduct and his inward feeling – his sense of justice, of mercy, of truth. It leads him to perceive that every action of his life, whether of eating or drinking, thinking or speaking is continually exercising a certain degree of influence over his mind. (8)

Where life is regarded as a whole, all actions can become meaningful and thus capable of completing that whole. F.A. Wilson writing in a zen context, noted the 'sense of profound, exquisite meaningfulness' that comes from:

sensing the inherent sanctity, dignity and cosmic connection of all that is worthy of human doing, which raises the simple act to a high order, physically and spiritually enhancing, and providing a level of satisfaction and joy beyond verbal description. (9)

Eating is made an area of self awareness and a repudiation in particular of the racketyness of modern life. Slow, meditative chewing can be part of this. (10)

Lastly this conception of a purified body sometimes carries the sense of a different sort of body, one formed of light and and lightness. (11)

There is a long tradition in the history of vegetarianism in the use of such language of light and lightness. We have already noted this in the context of sunlight and sun imagery, and in the association with light colours. At the level of food, vegetarian food is often described - at times in contradiction to its nature - as 'light', and the editor of the New Vegetarian in 1977 wrote of 'the instinctual belief held by many vegetarians that fresh vital foods lift and lighten (and not only in the physical sense). (12) Some of this feeling may underwrite the popular association of vegetarianism with slimming. Yoga employs a similar language of lightness and clarity in the body; and at the spiritual level vegetarianism is connected both with ideas of rising above the carnal and of refining the spiritual-Cum-physical substance of the body.

What vegetarianism presents therefore is a risen, Blakean picture of the body, an immortally youthful temple of the spirit. It substitutes for the heavy, carnal, neat-fed body, epitomising the realm of death and decay, a spiritual, vegetable-fed body that rises above and sloughs off the unreality of corruption.

1. 34. See for example, VM, Hove 1850, p154, though it is a recurringly expressed theme.

2. 35. F.A. Wilson, Food Fit for Humans, 1975, p96. note the association of artificial with corruption and the assertion of natural sweetness. See also, for example, comments by Dr Archibald Hunter, VR, July 1895, p231.
 3. 36. The Findhorn Garden, p15.
 4. 37. See p233 for the tradition of nature cure. Alderman Harvey testified in DR, Oct 1862, p103, to the toxic state of his blood stream when a meat eater; Carpenter and Forward both attested to the ease with which wounds healed through the purity of their blood streams; Sir George Trevelyan wrote of how 'it is essential... that there is a cleansing of the blood of the many impurities which are put in by denatured food'. (Foreword to Wrekin Trust pamphlet, Food for Happiness and Health, Margaret Brady, n.d.).
 5. 38. Some of the current popular psychology movements can also be related to this, with their ideas of 'hang ups' as something to be got rid of as unreal and not part of true personality, resulting from distorting parental and social demands; though wholeness here also means integration.
 6. 39. Evidence for a Freudian account of vegetarianism is stronger here than in the more obvious area of sadistic feelings. There are some individuals who seem superficially to conform to the anal personality, and its themes are strong in the natural health tradition. Interestingly however, the cultural ramifications of vegetarianism - at least in Britain - tend not to confirm the hypothesis, for it is linked with the repudiation of rules and authority, and the belief in unstructured freedom. (Mazdaznan is, however, a significant exception here).
- For a psychological interpretation of the natural health movement in terms of fears of disintegration and threats to bodily intactness, see J. Marmor, V.W. Barnard and P. Ottenburg, 'Psychodynamics of Group Opposition to Health Programs', American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1960, though the wider social and ideological associations in America are significantly different.
7. 40. Prospectus of the White Cross Society p4.
 8. 41. VM, Nov 1850, supp. p26.
 9. 42. Food Fit for Humans, p91; The preparation of food, especially the baking of bread, has taken on these aspects, see for example, 'The Sacrament of the Kitchen Sink', in Food for Happiness and Health, Wrekin Trust.
 10. 43. Eating slowly has been an element in vegetarianism since the days of Swedenborg. The Herald of Health recalled how: 'Swedenborg relates that when eating alone one day he was startled by the Lord appearing in one corner of the room, saying, "eat slowly".' (Quoted in the DR, Feb 1884, p63) Hills also recommended slow steady chewing to a 'generation that bolts its victuals like of boa constrictor'. (Vital Food, p3). The connection between dyspepsia and the tensions and pace of modern life feature from the late nineteenth century and are connected with what American diet reform called the 'gobble gulp and go' habits of modern eating (see Gerald Carson, The Cornflake Crusade, 1959, p34). The most famous advocate of this was Horace Fletcher with his 'Why Worry Clubs' and his advocacy of chewing (he was not a vegetarian though is referred to with some approval) see his obituary, VM, March 1919, p31). The slow meditative chewing required of whole and macrobiotic foods is also part of this tradition.
 11. 44. The account given by Eileen Caddy expresses this well. In the context of their vegetarian diet: 'We were told that we were purifying the atomic structure of our bodies, transforming the dense physical substance into light and lightness that would be more receptive to absorbing energies from the sun, sea

and air. . . Previously we had thought of food in terms of calories or energy needed for maintaining solid physical bodies. Now we were told what actually nourished us was a more subtle energy. Through our diet we were absorbing the light that made the vegetables and fruit grow – the light of the sun and. the light of our conscious. Our bodies were becoming light'. p42. The imagery of light and clarity was expressed also in the fresh, cold aspects of raw food: and she goes on to recall how they were told: 'Water is the medium which is to be used to energies these forces [forces now being released on the planet]. Water on the body. Water all around you. That is one reason why you are living surrounded by water on three sides".

'I did become more deeply aware of water - the feeling of rain on my face, the tingling sensation, like electricity, as I put my hands in water.

'Still, we didn't understand exactly why we were being asked to transform our bodies. When I asked for clarity on this, I received "My beloved child, when you really believe with your whole heart and at all times, that man was made in My image and likeness, you will have found the greatest secret of life. Try to understand this question of a light body and a dense body, to understand about the physical and the spirit body".

I certainly knew that God wasn't saying he had a physical body like ours. Because of my upbringing I had thought that the body was like a shell to be worn for a short time and cast off, and that the spirit alone is like God. But it seemed that this was saying something quite different. "Man was made in my image and likeness, then he abused his body so much by eating the wrong food, by drinking the wrong drinks, by thinking the wrong thoughts!

'What did food and drink have to do with the image and likeness of God? . . . Perhaps the body is to be seen not just as a temple to contain God, but every cell is light, is spirit, which reflects God'. The Findhorn Garden, p44.

12. 45. New Vegetarian, Jan 1977, p1, Mike Storm.

CHAPTER NINE: THE STRUCTURE OF THE IDEOLOGY

D: NEWNESS

Vegetarianism is quintessentially about renewal; the word New has reverberated for a century and a half through the titles of its journals and societies. (1) It has been associated with most of the major reform movements, and with most of the principle Utopias, underpinning attempts to create the New Age, from Owenism to Whiteway to the Aquarian Age.

Vegetarianism attacks the rule of tradition by attacking the most traditional of patterns – those relating to eating - replacing them by new rules determined instead by the application of critical reasoning and conscience to life. This sense of change in life, of a new start, is fundamental to the approach of nature cure. At the psychological level also it can be part of a rejection of the past, as perhaps in some of the therapy-group links noted earlier; for eating patterns are among the earliest learnt and have a particularly intimate connection with one's relationship with one's family, so that a conscious change here can be symbolic of the leaving behind of these problematic influences. Similarly it is part of the explanation of vegetarianism's association with student life, where the adoption of the diet can mark the break with home and be part of the late adolescent exploration of identity.

A vegetarian diet can be part of the daily reiteration of commitment to the values of reform and a freeing of the self from the bonds of accepted tradition. At the explicit level of food, vegetarianism rejects the roast-beef symbolism of traditional conservatism. It marks the end of Old Corruption and the coming of the New Moral Order, and this newness is written into the freshness and rawness of the food.

1. 46. This newness is the newness of the perennial dawn, not of the avant-garde, or a pursuit of fashion and change.

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E: NON-STRUCTURE

We can find this aspect of the ideology written into the style of vegetarian food itself, which has developed, especially in the twentieth century, its own particular characteristics. Thus vegetarian restaurants are not places of waiters, of menus structured into courses, of candles, of dressed-up evenings out they are informal, with trays, benches and a predominantly lunch-time atmosphere. (1) Vegetarian dishes themselves resemble the lunch and supper dishes - the unstressed, informal meals – of conventional cookery. Vegetarianism makes less distinction between the various meals which conventionally structure the day, week and year, thus foods like muesli can be eaten at all meals and even as a snack. The time clock of meals is both made more subjective and individual - free from social rules - and in itself less marked. There is also a less developed language of 'special' meals, specialness in vegetarianism can be achieved by using more expensive ingredients or greater elaboration, but an informal air tends to remain, vegetarian cookery has not the same grammatical width as has conventional cookery. Conventional cooking can also draw on what are thought to be traditional forms - Christmas is the classic here. 'What do vegetarians eat at Christmas?', is a question that comes up with a significant regularity. (2)

The directions in which vegetarianism has developed its style of cooking are particularly relevant to this theme. A conventional meat meal is highly structured and centres around a single high-status item, like roast-beef or chicken, which gives its name to the course and which is supported by grades of lower status items - the various vegetables. By contrast, vegetarian food is typically chopped up, mixed together, undifferentiated; it is destructured. This style of presentation implies an egalitarian redefinition of the lowly foods; for example, rice from being a mere fattening fill-you-up becomes, especially for the vegan, a central source of food value. Thus the style in eating can be a daily repudiation of the world of hierarchy and power epitomised in meat.

This dissolution of structures is found also in the vegetarians' religious associations: for it is at the heart of the transcendental/mystical/Indian strain that is recurrent in the milieu. It is most clearly present in the west-coast versions of zen with their blatant assault on the rational structures of the mind, though it lies also behind much of the recent pre-occupation with mysticism as the ultimate in unstructured knowing.

We can observe this ideology of non-structure also at the level of dress. The rational dress movement attacked both the conspicuous consumption of elaborate and restricting clothes, and the use of clothes as an indicator of social hierarchy and as part of the elaborate structuring of the day and week. The vegetarian naturist link celebrates freedom and openness – sun and wind on the body - away from the constraints of society. Naturism can be non-structural in a second sense of being against the structured eroticism of clothes, for ideas of modesty work both ways and what is hidden is also enhanced and - most important - defined. It presents once again the pure body, arguing that nakedness was in fact purer than the false prudery of clothes. The naturist ideology attempts to equalise and de-structure all experience and appearance, presenting the naked self that is beyond institutions and roles; nakedness is, of course, a recurring element in Turner's state of liminality, beyond the structured world of society. (3)

The emphasis on freedom that runs through vegetarian writing draws on this sense of, unconstrained and unstructured existence. In the 1880s it was expressed in terms of throwing off middle-class mores and 'the god Respectability', in the late 1960s and 70s, of 'straight society'. Total freedom, whether social, psychological or spiritual was seen as an attainable goal: there is somewhere a basic, undifferential reality beyond society and its structures, (there are links here with the pre-social social nature). Individuals are regarded as having a basic personality and character and society is something imposed on them and in no sense creative of them. What we should aim at therefore is: culturally unbiased clarity of an infant . . . This can be done by shucking off many acquired habits and roles, rituals and facades man acquires from his society. Once he can free himself from culturally imposed limitations and repressions, he can perhaps regain the purity and innocence of a child'. (4)

This pursuit of an ethic of non-structure is part also of the association with the English versions of anarchism that would found society on the free and unconstrained choice of individuals. It is a strongly egalitarian ideology; social structure is identified with divisiveness and exploitation. They belong to the socialist tradition that emphasises brotherhood (5) not class war and that puts change in consciousness high in estimation compared with change in the objective structures of society. The classic criticism of this strand in socialism is, precisely, that it is deficient in an understanding of structure. There are - significantly - few Marxist vegetarians. (6)

The ethic of non-structure comes but also in their attacks on formal categories for relationships, for example in the rules that define and distance people as spouses/ parents/ friends/

acquaintances. Vegetarian children are sometimes brought up to call their parents by their christian names. In a similar vein if we look at the communes, their conception of relationships is similarly destructured. Abrams and McCulloch in their study of modern communes (7) had difficulty in eliciting any typifications from respondents; theirs - the respondents' - was an approach that rejected any social analysis, and substituted - where any account was given - an opaque language of being and feeling that rejected any conception of structure or hierarchy that would mediate self and relatedness, stressing instead felt and lived experience. Process not structure is the emphasis, and friendship provides the model for relationships. There is often a rejection of the closed ethic of romantic love, which provides the special area for affective relationships by contrast with cooler and more detached friendships, and a substitution instead of a more open ethic that includes pair bonds and friends in an intense ideal of loving friendship. (8) Sex thus should not necessarily be confined to social structure - in marriage - but become a more general aspect of free and full relating. This freeing of love and sex from the structures of marriage and society comes out also in the older association with free-love unions, or in ideas of relationships that transcend secular marriage, as in the eighteenth-century Swedenborgian conception of 'conjugial' love. (9)

Their ideology of immediate, structureless and unnegotiated intimacy, beyond roles and social structure, comes from the picture of human nature as essentially pure and good (as referred to earlier) for in ideological systems that regard this as the case there are indeed no problems in relating fully and totally to people, and social structures are experienced as barriers. Systems however, that do not eradicate the, as it were, 'impurity' (10) attempt to cope with it by structuring the conflict and stresses that are regarded as endemic. Vegetarianism can aim at unstructured states because of the prior structuring involved in the extraction and in the related construction of a state of wholeness referred to earlier. Furthermore, the boundary around the pure acts here as an external and unofficial structure, and this brings us to the last theme, that of boundaries.

1. 47. The lunch-time aspect is reflected also in the opening hours, many vegetarian restaurants do not open in the evenings, and those that do tend to close early.
2. 48. Usually with a tone of dismay or with heavy humour about nut turkeys.

3. 49. V. Turner, The Ritual Process, 1969; and 'Metaphors of Anti-Structure in Religious Culture', Dramas, Fields and Metaphors, 1974.
4. 50. Fox, Between Animal and Man, p20. Note the recurrent image of the child.
5. 51. This is part also of their internationalist and third-world connections, and their links with anti-racialism, as in the Vegetarians Against the Nazis group, part of the opposition to the National Front.
6. 52. See p135 for their criticisms. The acceptance - in theory at least - of revolutionary violence is an obvious dividing point, but there is generally in Marxism, certainly that of the middle class, a tough-minded, slightly machismo aspect: 'We are all red-blooded meat-eaters here' was the response of one Marxist to the subject of this thesis.
7. 53. P. Abrams and A. McCulloch, Communes, Sociology and Society, 1976.
8. 54. Ibid, p139. This has clear affinities with the ideals of various Romanticist groups in the/past.
9. 55. See E. Swedenborg, Conjugial Love, 1768, trs W. Clowes. The popular adoption and development of the doctrine among the Swedenborgian congregations was the occasion of a certain amount of scandal.
10. 56. As it is conceived within the vegetarian system.

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F: BOUNDARIES

The boundary around vegetarianism is created both by its own ideology and by the attitudes and definitions of dominant society. Vegetarianism as a symbol of apartness is reinforced by the hostility of dominant society.

There is not a great deal of overtly anti-vegetarian writing, for vegetarianism is a diffused ideology, and does not provoke the same organised response as does, for example, anti-vivisection. By and large the views of dominant society are sufficiently entrenched and secure for vegetarianism to be dismissed as humorous and slightly absurd, nearly all non-vegetarian writers on the subject until at least the 1970s, and some even then, felt it to be intrinsically a topic for heavy humour. However, on occasions when the arguments hit home, the response can move into the openly hostile. Many vegetarians avoid powerfully critical language and even play down what is their strongest card. – the appeal to unnecessary animal suffering – because of the hostile reception that these can evoke; vegetarians often find themselves being attacked for 'bad taste' in mentioning such things as the details of animal suffering. As a result, many keep quiet about their beliefs, put their arguments diffidently, and sometimes try to 'pass'. They can also be caught in a double bind, being presented as either fussy and obsessive if they extend their avoidance to toothpaste and shoe leather, or inconsistent, and by implication hypocritical, if they do not. This is a level of consistency never demanded of dominant culture, whose attitudes towards animals are deeply 'illogical'.

The barely concealed hostility appears out of all proportion to the social threat offered, though one can argue that such responses are not governed by objective threats to the social fabric, but are in fact overdetermined – socially, in that they arise from the hostility and prejudice engendered by the dynamics of social groups, and psychologically in that they include elements of defence against tensions in modern consciousness and its attitude towards animals.

The second and perhaps more powerful force in boundary maintenance is commensality. Food through the earliest experiences of the child comes to embody closeness and love. (1) This association is strengthened in the experience of the family: in the west habitually eating together is almost the defining characteristic of primary social relations and of the limits of the nuclear family. (2) This basic experience can be used to underwrite alternative social groupings

and create family-like relations, as in, for example, the monastic tradition where communal eating, even in silence, can be a powerful moulder of consciousness. Similarly, the kibbutzim, particularly in the early years, often instituted communal eating; it was not just that this would free many women from the chore of cooking and thus enable them to join more fully and equally in the community, but also that it would undermine the family as an eating unit and thus as a powerful rival as a focus of loyalty. Meals also mark the absence of family-like relations, as in the shared flat where not eating together is a crucial definer of relations that are independent, in parallel, close in some ways yet fundamentally separate in others.

Meals carry a heavy burden of the social, so that with and through the food we ingest also the social situation. (3) In the west meals are perceived as inherently social events; eating alone is widely disliked and leads quickly to a dissolution of the structure of the meal and the rules concerning it; there is no social to be embodied. Significant social gatherings like weddings and funerals are marked by communal eating. Such meals give direct expression to the union of the group or the particular social relations being celebrated or marked. This capacity has its negative side also, for as it can forge a link, so it can threaten with a union that is undesired. In the western context, eating does not overtly raise questions of social pollution, as it does in some other societies, most notably India, where eating, through ideas relating to caste: the fear of pollution, can be a hazardous occupation and closely circumscribed. In the west, the unity created by eating together is primarily seen in the positive sense making one - the associations are mostly with conviviality - though the negative sense of rejection of union or closeness is present in muted form. Eating represents an eruption of the organic. Mary Douglas has argued that formal occasions are marked by the suppression of the organic and by a heightening of bodily control. (4) Organic life is confined in varying degrees to circumstances of intimacy, so that social distance becomes expressed in distance from the organic. Though in other societies and periods, it has been used as an element in hierarchy. (5) In modern western society organic closeness has come to embody the sense of the fundamental equality of men that underlies the social differences; before the needs of the body all are equal, and when people want to explode social pretension or assert the reality of equality, they remind themselves of this fact. (6) Because of this implied equality, we limit the shared experience of the organic to those with whom we wish to be on terms of closeness, (7) and who does and does not eat with us can be an important indicator of social position. Ambiguous social relations can be managed in other circumstances, but eating is peculiarly defining. (8)

Vegetarian discrimination builds upon this tradition of commensality, and though it may operate largely at an unconscious level, it represents the deployment, in perhaps more emphatic ways, of an established social language.

Earlier in this study I referred briefly to some of the long-term changes in social structure and consciousness that have favoured the development of the vegetarian ideology - the social circumstances that have nourished the cognitive categories. (9) I want to turn now to the ways in which that categorisation operates within social experience. Vegetarianism is not just associated with the emergence of an individuated world, it plays an active role in ordering that world. Its categories can operate dynamically in such a way that cognitive structure takes on some of the attributes of social structure.

We can look first at the communal groups. Here vegetarianism clearly operates as a boundary, and the owner of commensality is given a further symbolic force in the dichotomy within the food itself. Vegetarian imagery has been strong with its emphasis on the corrupt nature of meat and blood, and it has provoked revulsion from the fleshly world at the same time as putting restrictions on social contact with it. Thus the social relations of in and out are energised by a vivid ideology. Though vegetarianism has been connected with sectarianism - notably in the Cowherdite period, though also through Seventh Day Adventism - its more common communitarian association is with groups whose basis is more fragile and whose consciousness of self more weakly perceived. These groups tend to be dominated by an open ethic that is different from the classic sectarian grouping; there are shared ideas, usually implicit, but not the developed sense of the group as marked out by grace or righteousness. In particular the epistemological absolutism that Wallis argues is the defining characteristic of the sect is missing. Here the Durkheimian formulation whereby a phenomenon like vegetarianism is regarded as a symbolic replication of a social state becomes less convincing, for in this more fluid context vegetarianism becomes not the expression of a primary social reality, but the means whereby the reality of that unity is made possible. (10) This has special relevance in the circumstances of the commune movement with its ethic of anti-structure, which rejects social structure in favour of free process, and intellectualising in favour of doing. Categorisation is still present however, but in the submerged form of the common meal. (11) The power to create primary relations that are binding and compulsory in the Durkheimian sense has a special importance where, as is the case in the communes, the people involved come together on the

basis of individual choice. Vegetarianism thus becomes a way of choosing to be bound; it is both a product of free choice and an antidote to it.

This role of vegetarianism as both symbol and agent becomes clearer when we turn, to what are its predominant circumstances, those of the individual within society. What vegetarianism offers is a form of noumos, and one that with particular relevance to an ethic of individualism, for it can provide the compulsory framework necessary for any real social relations or social reality, while yet being consonant with an ideology of autonomy and choice.

Reality is here pitched between the self and the stars. Nature takes on the role of the significant other : it is vast and object-like, there is an unsurpassable grandeur in its confirmations. At the other pole, reality is enshrined within the self, either biologically in our true natures which we must learn to follow, or spiritually, in the tradition of God indwelling (with its associated rejection of the idea of original sin, impossible in this context of the ultimate purity/trueness of the individual), or psychologically in ideas of getting in touch with your real self. Here the boundaries are drawn round the boundaries of the body - particularly protected in this ideology - and purity arid reality are seen to lie within that realm.

Vegetarianism provides a particularly portable form of meaning. If we take one simple example in the association with rock music, references are frequently made to the eating of whole or vegetarian food, particularly on the road. (12) Vegetarianism or macrobiotics provides a framework in circumstances where the unusual props that sustain the pattern of every-day life are missing: the time-structuring of the day, travel to work, habitual actions and contacts of home life are absent in an existence of hotel rooms, all night drives arid constant moving on. The particular value put on freedom and the right to experience anything makes conventional sources of meaning, inappropriate; but eating regularly and properly from a stock of whole, vegetarian foods provides just the right elements of fixity and self-regulation, and ones otherwise untainted in their associations.

The circumstances of the musician on the road provide rather an extreme example of dislocation, but the process holds good elsewhere, Vegetarianism is often associated with the young and the mobile; historically it has links with those new to the cities; above all it is associated with circumstances and an ideology where social structure has been devalued and to some extent weakened. Vegetarianism can act here as a cognitive guide; the interiorised demands of post-Protestant individualism, of being conscious and responsible, of taking

control of your life, engender guilt and uncertainty. Here Seed offers: 'how to take the worry out of eating and drinking by simply eating what's natural and rejecting the unnatural'. (13)

Vegetarianism can be regarded thus as making self-conscious and governed by rules what was previously embedded in the area of the taken-for-granted, and indeed for more traditionalist groups remains so. This is significant, in view of the earlier comments concerning the relationship of these sections of society to the idea of consciously articulated meaning. This is how we have the apparent paradox of people who vaunt freedom and spout and yet take up restricted forms of eating. It is only an apparent paradox because both are related elements in the emergence of a looser more fragmented form of social association that rests upon a shift towards increased privatisation of rules and meanings.

Vegetarianism is an extraction of certain foods from the generality of food; it is an extraction of certain persons from the generality of people. It sets one apart and gives one a sense of being set apart, while yet being in society. This sense of being in society is important because those who take up alternative ideas - pacifism, growth movement, socialism – find themselves within a minority within society, but unlike the sect, it is not a minority sustained by a community. That there are social sub-groups that sustain such ideologies is obvious, but their embrace is weak. Here the association is of a different nature, for it is one that rests more upon shared ideas and attitudes than any true collectivity. It is an affiliation of individuals. Vegetarianism can offer here flexible basis for the creation of some elements of primary relations. Vegetarianism is an association of the pure within society, but it is an association resting not on the particularistic basis of traditional social bonds, but on a universalistic one. It draws on the discrimination of those who are of us and those who are not - one of the most fundamental distinctions whose implications go far beyond questions of kinship – and yet reconstructs its foundation on potentially universal principles. This is how they can attack the particularity as well as the privilege of conservative ideas, while yet retaining elements of the warm personal world of wholeness where people are known and valued for; their particular selves.

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1. 57. For this see, E. Pumpian-Mindlin, 'The Meanings of Food', Journal of the American Dietetic Association, Vol 30, 1954.
 2. 58. Seed believes that the fragmentation of our diet in snack and convenience foods has gone with the fragmentation of the family unit. Vol 2, No 3, p24.

3. 59. This can at times work in a direct, almost magical way as in the wedding cake sent by post that acts as a proxy celebration and union in the missed event.
4. 60. See her Natural Symbols, 1970.
5. 61. See Elias The Civilisation Process, for the use of bodily intimacy by the high before the low – eg the king at the levée - as a means of embodying hierarchical relationships. Today this sense is largely lost.
6. 62. "The Queen goes to the lavatory just like you and me' is a common expression of such feeling, and one aimed at counteracting excessive reverence. The Palace seems aware of this, and the publications of pictures showing the Queen eating or drinking is considered unseemly and effectively forbidden.
7. 63. Thus there are often the separate lavatories and dining rooms for factory, office and executive staff, and racialist hostility is often expressed in terms of cooking smells or eating habits.
8. 64. Nineteenth-century novel offer numerous examples of eating together as the definer of social position not just giving expression to a prior social categorisation but as positively defining ambiguous individuals into the servant or gentlemanly category.
9. 65. These are an increasingly fragmented social experience and a shift from organic to voluntaristic forms of social solidarity; the growth of individualism, and with it increased internationalisation; and, the perception at least, of autonomy and choice as the proper basis of experience and judgement.
10. 66. There is always a certain artificiality in regarding social phenomena or categories as expressions of a social reality, since they are as properly considered constitutive of it; however the distinction between the sectarian and the looser vegetarian formations is still a relevant one.
11. 67. For an example of the central role of food preparation in commune life, see Abrams and McCulloch, p62.
12. 68. Seed in particular has strong rock music connections.
13. 69. Seed, Vol 1, No 5, p5

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