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JOHN STUART MILL AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

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This article fills a gap in the literature by examining the only leading classical economist whose influence on Spain has yet to be studied. In particular, it analyzes the influence John Stuart Mill had on nineteenth-century Spain by showing the impact of his multifaceted work both in scientific philosophy and utilitarian philosophy, and in political and economic theory, as well as in the world of feminism.

I. INTRODUCTION

To understand the theory of such a fundamental thinker as John Stuart Mill, it is essential to discuss the process of the international exchange of ideas, and the reception of his ideas in different countries. In the specific case of Spain, the influences of Adam Smith, Thomas Robert Malthus, and David Ricardo have been widely researched, while that of the fourth classic author, John Stuart Mill, has yet to be studied. The impact of Mill's works remains to be examined on a global scale, though he has wide appeal. Analyzing which of Mill's works have been habitually quoted or translated, as well as the circulation, date, and quality of those translations—or if they were accompanied by interpretive studies—can tell us a great deal about the intellectual standing of Spain in the second half of the nineteenth century.[1]

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[1]Actually, J.S. Mill visited Spain in 1860 with plans to study botany, and made few but interesting reflections on Spain and its people (Trincado and Ramos 2011). Nevertheless, it still remains to be studied whether that journey had political or academic influence in Spain. In other Latin countries, however, this study has already been done, as is the case in Italy with Urbinati (1991).

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However, the broad range of issues dealt with by John Stuart Mill makes it necessary to look at the scenario as if from a watchtower, and peruse the most important philosophical topics that he investigated. Spaniards sometimes learned about them; others were unaware of them or simply ignored them. However, when they did learn of Mill's influence, they interpreted his theories through their own lens, history, or hopes.

To tackle this issue, we shall first research the influence on Spain of Mill's philosophy of science and utilitarianism; next, we shall look into such important social and political issues as political economy, liberty-constitutionalism, and the subjection of women. Finally, we shall draw some conclusions and discover that the impact of Mill's work in Spain was quite limited in the fields of philosophy of science and utilitarianism, and to an even smaller degree within the realm of political economy. However, his writings on both government and feminism were, indeed, more successfully disseminated. This is not unexpected if we take into account that even by the twentieth century, Mill's influence in Spain still remained non-extensive, though mention may be made of Pedro Schwartz's work.[2] The work of Dalmacio Negro (1976), with his many translations of Mill's books,[3] and Carlos Mellizo's translations[4] along with those by Carlos Rodríguez Braun,[5] also stand out. In the twentieth century, the influence of Mill's philosophy in Spain was also the result of the work of the Sociedad Iberoamericana de Estados Utilitaristas, in which its honorary presidents, Pedro Schwartz and Esperanza Guisán,[6] its executive president, José Luis Tasset, and its vice-president, Manuel Escamilla Castillo, must be given a special mention.[7]

II. MILL'S WORK IN SPAIN

Philosophy of Science: Positivism

Given that Manuel María Gutiérrez (1831) does not cite John Stuart Mill in the prologue to his translation of *Elements of Political Economy,* written by John Stuart Mill's father, James, it is clear that in 1831 John Stuart Mill was still unknown in Spain.[8] John Stuart began his work as a publicist in 1822, when his first essays for the

[2]He is the only Spaniard to have written a book about Mill in English, the product of a thesis supervised by Lionel Robbins and Cranston, *Aspects of the Theory of Economic and Social Policy in the Works of John Stuart Mill* (University of London, 1964), translated in Schwartz (1968).

[3]In 1994 *Del Gobierno Representativo;* in 1972 *Auguste Comte y el Positivismo*; in 1975 *Tres Ensayos sobre la Religion*; in 1979 *Capítulos sobre el socialismo y otros escritos;* in 1991 *Sobre la Libertad. Comentarios a Tocqueville.*

[4]In 1986 *Autobiografia;* in 1986 *La Utilidad de la Religion;* in 1993 *Bentham;* in 1996 *Diario;* in 2001 *Consideraciones Sobre el Gobierno Representativo.*

[5]He translated *Essays* (Mill 1997) into Spanish for the first time and has recently translated *Sobre la Libertad* (Mill 2008).

[6]Also a translator of Mill's work, *El Utilitarismo: un sistema de la lógica,* in 1984.

[7]See http://hum40.cdf.udc.es/sieu.

[8]However, the many references to Mill from mid-century onwards in Spanish newspapers show that Mill was then known by the general public as an authority or reference of salon discussions. The list of Mill's references is long: *La España* (12-18-1852), *La Esperanza* (6-26-1863), *La Discusión* (3-16-1864, 4-13-1865), *La Correspondencia de España* (3-31-1865), *La Época* (3-31-1865, 7-22-1865, 9-05-1869, 5-04-1873, 5-30-1880), *La Iberia* (5-17-1868, 4-14-1868, 4-22-1869, 4-28-1869), *La Discusión* (4-17-1869), *El Imparcial* (12-7- 1878, 12-06-1889), *La Unión* (5-30-1879), *El Globo* (10-28-1875, 12-22-1882), *El Día* (6-12-1892), *Siglo Futuro* (9-15-1893), *El Correo Militar* (5-17-1893; 12-16.1896), etc.

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review *Traveller* were published. Later he collaborated with *The Westminster Review*, *The Edinburgh Review,* and *The Examiner*, until 1840. But it was not until 1843 that John Stuart Mill published his first important work, *System of Logic*, which was received by critics with coldness and skepticism, even in England. Mill concurs with Comte on his position in anti-metaphysics but disagrees with several of his main points. Mill also tries to put into practice a natural sciences approach for the discovery and improvement of societal laws.

In Spain, the most eminent positivist philosophers were Haeckel, Comte (whose works were translated and studied frequently from 1875 on), and Spencer (whose work was probably the most widely known.)[9] John Stuart Mill, however, was not among these prominent thinkers. His lack of recognition in philosophical matters could have been due to the critical observations on religion contained in his *The Utility of Religion* (1833). In this sense, author Diaz Benjumea, critical himself of religion, says about Mill, ''In matters of religion, because here everybody is a theologian, he is accused of atheism, and it is incredible that in this country of freedom of conscience and opinion, this is the only flank from which everybody attacks him'' (Diaz Benjumea 1865, p. 146). The fact that Mill refers to Spain as a backward country in *System of Logic* (and in *Principles* in 1848) might not have helped to make his work popular,[10] although there is no record that his comments were noticed by Spanish intellectuals. This leads us to think that for some decades, Mill was known indirectly, not through direct reading of his work. In any case, Mill's work was eventually circulated by the same sources that distributed the works of his peers, Spencer and Comte.[11]

The first translation of *System of Logic,* under the title *Sistema de lógica demostrativa e inductiva*, was by Catalonian philosopher Peré Codina i Vilá in

[9]Spencer was one of the most talked-about thinkers in Spain during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, not only in specialized publications, but also in social circles such as the Ateneo de Madrid, given that he succeeded in balancing the scientific slant with the recognition of the existence of the *''incognoscible,''* thus opening doors to an ethical interpretation. There were many translations of Spencer's works (with successive reprints). Spencer was the one who made it possible to transform a philosophy with religious roots, like Krausim, into the materialist approaches associated with positivism.

[10]''The evils of Spain flow as much from the absence of nationality among the Spaniards themselves, as from the presence of it in their relations with their foreigners'' (Mill 1843, p. 604). Mill (1965b, p. 745) also quotes Spain—along with Russia, Poland, or Hungary—as an example of a country where ''the increase of capital is extremely slow,'' and in a previous chapter he compares ''the less civilized and industrious parts of Europe, such as Russia, Turkey, Spain, and Ireland'' with Asia, where ''people will neither save, nor work to obtain the means of saving, unless under the inducement of enormously high profits ... [and] *either productions remain* scanty, or drudgery great, because there is n*either* capital forthcoming nor forethought sufficient for the adoption of the contrivances by which natural agents are made to do the work of human labour'' (1965a, pp. 186–187). He also refers to Spain as the only European country that maintained slavery (1965a, p. 250), and to ''the attempt ... to tax all purchases and sales, which, however absurd, was for centuries the law of Spain'' (1965b, p. 858).

[11]According to Núñez Ruiz (1974, p. 185), the publishing houses that most frequently published Spenceŕs works were the Biblioteca Científico-Literaria de Sales y Ferré, La España Moderna, La Casa Sempere (after Prometeo), and the Biblioteca Perojo, and the translators included Siro García del Mazo, Unamuno (who would translate Spencer eight different times) and Adolfo G. Posada (who also praises Mill for his *Principles of Sociology)* (Posada 1929, pp. 386–387). Thus, these are essentially the same sources that translated and circulated the works of John Stuart Mill.

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1853 (Mill 1853), long before the French version came out in 1866 (Mill 1866).[12] However, the study that Mill published in 1865 about the logic and epistemology of William Hamilton, entitled *An Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*, which was translated into French in 1869 (Mill 1869), was never translated into Spanish. Likewise, the book *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, which Mill wrote in 1865, was never translated into Castilian Spanish, either,[13] but was translated into French in 1868 (Mill 1868) and an edition was available in Madrid.

By 1868, *System of Logic* and its author were known in Spain. In his 1875 article, "Stuart Mill," Joaquín Martín de Olías offers proof of the influence of this positivist English thinker in Spain (Martín de Olías 1875a). The article was published on the occasion of the author's death in the *Revista de España*, which was run by Galdós (Ballantyne 1990).[14] Schiattarella compares at length the theory of Comte and Mill, with a certain critical stance with regard to Mill's theory, whose "mistake consists of replacing the real and objective method with the psychological and formal one" (Schiattarella 1877, p. 100). The author preferred Comte's objective laws and positivism, although, in an attempt to fit in with popular religious belief, he argues, against Comte and with Mill, that positivism does not deny the idea of God. In 1890, in her prologue to *The Subjection of Women,* Emilia Pardo Bazán said that the importance of the author of *System* was "one of those general pieces of cultural information that is now indisputable" (Mill 1999, p. 8). (She spoke French, English, and German, and probably read *System* in English.) Also, in the paper *El Imparcial* (8–18–1912, p. 3), Mill is quoted as "a pragmatist in his own way," and *System* is quoted in passing in *La Epoca (*9–02–1929, p. 4).[15]

On the other hand, Spanish positivism would never achieve the success that it had in other countries such as Brazil, Mexico, or Argentina. The popularity of Krausism probably slowed its arrival in Spain until 1870. From this point on, we can refer to a "Kraus positivism," which revealed itself to some thinkers under the influence of transformism or the Spencer[16] and Darwin branches of evolutionism.

[12]However, many, such as González Serrano (1884, p. 35), still quote the French version.

[13]The Spanish translation, produced in Argentina, had to wait until 1972 (Mill 1972), and would later be reissued in 1977.

[14]That same year, Martín de Olías also wrote an article for the *Revista Europea* (1874–79) entitled "Historia del movimiento obrero en la Gran Bretaña," in which he notes that Mill "was the leader of the positivist school in England, although he maintained ideas about property that differed greatly from the French school and its founder, Auguste Comte" (Martín de Olías 1875b, p. 601). Furthermore, in the Library of the Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Badajoz [sign. 53–29], there is a book by Alexander Bain, a Scot influenced by John Stuart Mill's philosophy of association, titled *Logic of Mathematics* and translated by Alfonso Ordax (Bain 1880). According to Ordax, Bain's logic had "perfected that of Stuart Mill" (Cobos and Vaquero 2000).

[15]Both papers were published in Madrid. Salmerón (1876, p. 33), Azcárate (1876a,b), and Menéndez Pelayo (1891) also quote Mill as a positivist and logician.

[16]In March of 1876, Giner de los Ríos compiled the statutes of what would come to be the Institución Libre de Enseñanza. In this period of the creation and strengthening of the Institución, Spanish Krausim experienced the theoretical and methodological contribution of a positivism interspersed in a blend of Calvanist and materialist thought. This tendency was the one seen as most influenced by John Stuart Mill (in sociology, Nicolás Salmerón, Urbano González Serrano, Adolfo Posada, and Gumersindo de Azcárate; and in anthropology, Manuel Sales y Ferré). According to Vázquez (1989), Giner's philosophical position in some areas coincided with that of Stuart Mill, though probably only in his writing about psychology.

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Utilitarianism

Possibly, however, the problem for Mill's reception in Spain has more to do with the utilitarianism question than the positivism question, debated long after, in the Restoration period. In 1838 Mill published his *Essay on Bentham,* and, in 1863, his essay *Utilitarianism*. The first was not translated into Castilian Spanish in the nineteenth century,[17] but the second—truly significant to the whole of his work—came out in Spain in 1891, in a translation with notes by Antonio Zozaya (who also translated Hegel, Kant, and Spinoza), and was later reprinted in 1916.[18] In *Utilitarianism,* Mill added the quality of the pleasure principle as a balance to Bentham's utilitarian principle as well as the reflection that happiness itself does not exist without the perception of the happiness of others. In certain ways, that reflection was due to his own psychological crisis, which led Mill to read Goethe, then Wordsworth and later Saint-Simon. He also read Harriet Taylor, whom he married in 1852, at which time Mill underwent an emotional awakening.

In Spain, as Bentham had long been an obligatory reference for Spanish liberals interested in both penal and constitutional matters,[19] the field for a reception of Mill's essay *Utilitarianism* was quite restricted. The Universidad de Salamanca quickly became the leading recipient of his ideas, with Toribio Nuñez—a devoted correspondent of Bentham himself—at the head (Albares 1996; Robledo 2005).[20]

However, the truth is that the influence of German idealist philosopher Krause—introduced at the Universidad de Madrid by Julián Sanz del Río[21]—was much greater in Spain than that of any other philosopher during the second half of the nineteenth century. In some cases Krausism came to be considered a counter-paradigm to utilitarianism, although the general rejection of utilitarianism in Spain significantly predated Krausist ideas due to Thomist influences. In the nineteenth century, utilitarian ideas were practically dying out.

Thus, both in the prologue to his Castilian translation of Rudolf von Herring's work, *Battle for Right*, and in his *Discourse on Utilitarianism*, Adolfo G. Posada rejects —based on Krausist convictions—the moral and legal aspects of the utilitarian theory of both Mill and Bentham, and the presentation to its followers. Similar views are maintained by Francisco Giner de los Ríos and Alfredo Calderón in *Resumen de filosofia del derecho* (1898), and Leopold Alas—¨Clarin¨—in *El derecho y la*

[17]In fact, it was not translated until the end of the twentieth century (Mill 1993).
[18]See Mill (1891) and Mill (1916).
[19]According to Smith (2000), if we look at the number of translated works, no other British social scientist was better known in Spain than Bentham. As is understood, in the reception of Bentham's thought in Spain, his orientation towards the anti-revolutionary was more predominant, though with a reformist tinge, than his democratic radicalism. Varela Suanzes (1993, pp. 32–34) points out the critiques of Martínez Marina on Bentham as "a declared enemy of all innovation."
[20]Ramón de Salas was also clearly influenced by Bentham. Toribio Núñez's purpose (Nuñez 1835), in reality, consisted of completing and combining Bentham's social and moral philosophies with Kant's philosophy on nature, using the main aims of both thinkers—for Nuñez–Bentham had discovered the laws of conscience, of psychology, and of the moral world, and Kant had discovered the elements and the laws of our knowledge of the physical world (Robledo 2004). On the other hand, Bentham's influence was put to use mainly due to the French translation, *Traites de Legislation civile et penale*, by Étienne Dumont.
[21]Perez Luno (2007, pp. 133–137).

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moralidad (1878). Botella (1883, p. 20; 1891, p. 452) despises Mill, along with Bentham and Bain, as a materialist and a champion of utilitarian ethics, who defends self-interest as the only motive that leads men to good.

Political Economy

In *Essays on Some Unsettled Questions of Political Economy*, published in 1844, Mill considered the theory of reciprocal demand in international trade, and settled the problem of the integration of money in the Say Law, thus giving a definitive boost to classic monetary theory. Nevertheless, this valuable book was not translated into Spanish in the nineteenth century; neither was *Principles of Political Economy,* a fundamental work of Mill's in the field of economics, translated.[22]

In view of this situation, it is to be expected that John Stuart Mill's theories had little influence on political economy in nineteenth-century Spain, beyond the indirect references or detailed allusions of those who could access the original English text or the translations in other languages, such as the French versions of 1854, 1861, and 1873. Actually, the French translations of Mill were the most widely read versions, and the ones that influenced economists.

In fact, in nineteenth-century Spain, Mill's thought remained but a simple appendix for the reception of classical and liberal economic thought. Spanish liberal authors, such as Figuerola, were mainly influenced by Frederic Bastiast and his *Harmonies économiques*, and by the widely read *Journal des Economistes* (Lluch and Almenar 2000; Abellán 1984). But Mill's liberal influence would have to be clarified. Mill's vacillating openness to all points of view—as De Marchi (1974) or Rothbard (2000) point out—meant that he could be considered as much a liberal as a socialist and as much a romantic as a utilitarian. It is possible that Mill was consistent in his point of view (Schwartz 1966), but his ideas were used in Spain to defend very contradictory arguments in an attempt by economists to fit his ideas to the Spanish "national version" (see Trincado 2008 and Lluch 1999). (Actually, in 1879, some unpublished fragments on socialism in Spain by Mill [1879a, 1879b] were published with an introduction by Helen Taylor, who said that Mill wanted to publish a book on the issue in 1869 [Taylor 1879, pp. 34–34.])

Thus, in the nineteenth century, Díaz Benjumea, an expert on Don Quixote, says that "what surprises me most is that these judicious people [the British] praise Mill's talents as a writer, when in Spain, for example, he would be labelled as a crazy, utopian visionary" (Díaz Benjumea 1865, p. 146), referring, among other things, to his defence of a limit to the accumulation of property. Schiattarella (1877, p. 92) talks about a Mill who presents brave concepts "but (who is) noticeable also for his great doubts and contradictions." Mill's theories were used to describe both socialism and protectionism; the nationalization of land and the workers' struggle. In the paper *La Discusión* (4–13–1865, p. 3) published in Madrid, Mill is referred to as halfway between the old schools and socialism. Martin de Olías, mentioned above, said of Mill:

[22]The *Essays* were translated only in 1997 (Mill 1997); *Principles* was not translated until 1943 in the *Fondo de Cultura Económica* according to the edition by Ashley (1909), and later it was reissued in 1951, 1978, 1985, 1996, and 2007 (this last version used the text from the seventh edition of 1871). Most Spanish authors cited the French version (for instance, Carrán 1879).

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> The illustrious publicist did not cease for one single moment to promote worker association, to argue for their sharing the profits from capital, and to recommend the setting up of Trade Unions as a way to prevent the preponderance of institutions and to combat the selfishness of businessmen, employers and authorities. Economists of other nations and even his own have directed many attacks on Stuart Mill: the former have yet to explain why, being a liberal, the latter considered property to be a domain in which legislative action can always be influenced and exercised directly and limitlessly (Martín de Olías 1875a, p. 291).

He talks extensively about Mill's concept of property, which, ''modifying his [liberal and individualist] principles, related them with some socialist principles'' such as ''legislative action ... may be exercised to prevent the social harms inherent in its vicious organization and great concentration'' (Martin de Olías 1875a, p. 290). Thus, ''he rejected supply and demand as the absolute and fair principle to follow'' (p. 291). For his part, Azcaráte (1876, p. 489) pointed out: ''Stuart Mill, who wrote a book about freedom—which was regarded by many, but not all, as the gospel of individualism—later modified his ideas and in his autobiography he refers to himself as a socialist; and other economists, above all in England, follow this tendency.'' Botella (1889, p. 482) reiterates that Mill, ''after having written a book on liberty which was considered by many as the gospel of individualism, confirms the suspicions of Clement, a fervent individualist, reviving the thesis of the right to work and calling himself a socialist in his Autobiography.'' And while the philosopher Ortega y Gasset (2006, p. 61) refers, much later, in 1930, to a ''socialized cruelty'' of liberals such as Spencer and Mill, Joaquin Costa (1912, p. 147) states—alluding to the issue of land—that Mill could be considered ''more socialist than some of those taken for socialists.''

In the protectionism-liberalism debate, *Compendio de las lecciones de economía política* by Ramon Anglasell (1858) accepts Mill's arguments for infant industries (Almenar 2000, p. 67). Cánovas del Castillo follows Mill by stating ''that protection rights could be advised by political economy, when temporarily established to nationalize a foreign industry that might thrive in some town or other, according to their own peculiar conditions'' (Cánovas 1891a, p. 605).[23] Gabriel Rodríguez (1888) also defended protectionism using this argument of Mill's (Perdices and Reeder 2003, pp. 123, 175). In a way, Cánovas came out of the protectionism-*librecambismo* issue victoriously, thanks to this argument, which he used to introduce the protectionist tariff of 1891. This led Spain to begin to tighten its economy until the first years of Franco's rule (see Schwartz 2006).

In any case, the limited response to Mill in Spain relates to a disconnection in respect to British economic literature (as opposed to continental literature), which had its beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.[24] During the first two phases of the response to classical thinking—which, according to Lluch and Almenar (2000), corresponds to the end of the Enlightenment and the period that lasted from 1808 to

[23]He quotes the French version of the *Principles*. It also received diffusion in Cánovas (1891b).

[24]The same happened with the reception of Adam Smith—in contrast to Mirabeau, Say, and Bastiat (Perdices 2000)—of which some said it summarized everything for Steuart (Schwartz 2000, p. 222; Reeder and Cardoso 2002). David Ricardo was partially translated in 1848 but with limited recognition (Frias 1993); the same happened with Malthus (Llombart 1973). Regarding translations of political economy books into Spanish in the nineteenth century, see Llombart (2004) and Cabrillo (1978).

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1840—Spain followed an evolution in the field of economic thought not much different from that of other European countries. Competent economists were keeping an eye on the latest theoretical developments in the field, and dealt with a wide range of sources—even with the predominant presence of Say's Law from 1808 until the decade of the 1830s (Cabrillo 1999). However, in the middle of the aforementioned decade of the 1840s and the beginnings of the Restoration (1874)—a period in which the Economist School of thought dominated—the incoming flow of current thoughts remained limited to French economic culture and Italian historic literature.

In particular, as Pelet (2001) says, the most important gap in this last stage is the limited presence of John Stuart Mill's writings and ideas, which were not used until the Restoration. This was odd, given the fundamentally legal and philosophical (but not mathematical) vocational training of Spanish economists, as well as the fact that many of their teaching tasks were shared with the political field or with their professional practice as lawyers, with both being in favor of Mill's theories. In reality, while the *Principles* were not used directly, they did indirectly influence some handbooks of the time. Thus, for example, *Filosofia de interés personal* (1865) by Mariano Pedro Carreras y Gonzales uses the structure of Mill's handbook: introduction, production, distribution, circulation, and consumption (Almenar 2000, p. 66; Perdices and Reeder 2003, p. 132).

Finally, in the period from 1874 to 1904–14, in which the ideas of German academic socialism became widespread, there existed a group of economists (Santiago Diego, Madrazo, Melchor Salvà, Salustiano Olózaga) that personified a clear connection to the Economist School, with great success for J.S. Mill's ideas and a first response by historians. Thus, for example, Melchor Salvà gave a speech in 1868 at the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (published some time afterwards, in Salvà 1884) clearly addressing Mill's authority, especially in the area of public finances. Salvà's *Curso de Economía Política* in 1881, of which several editions were published and which was often used in teaching, approached some mild liberal and reformist ideas in tune with the line set out by J.S. Mill (Perdices and Sánchez Hormigo 2007, p. 98). At the same time, in his *El bimetalismo internacional* (Salvà 1884), Salvà's discussion leans towards the dual psychology held by Mill, at the exact moment when critical ideas were being directed towards this idea as it was reflected in the international conferences on the currency issue that took place in Spain in 1878, 1881, 1889, and 1892. In the first page of *El Imparcial* (6–12–1889), Mill's authority is quoted in relation to a tax on profit:[25] "a man as eminent as John Stuart Mill, who considers it as one of the most costly, annoying, prone to immorality and that incites fraud."

Liberty and Constitutionalism

Probably Mill's most important influence on Spain comes from his parliamentary work. However, his influence on the parliamentary debates in Spain dealing with economic policy issues—taxation, tariffs, and fiscal reform in general—is more limited than his "applications to social philosophy," to use Mill's own famous wording, in particular, his works on liberty and constitutionalism.[26] As we have seen,

[25]The "impuesto sobre las utilidades mercantiles e industriales."

[26]This also happened in the Portuguese Parliament, where Mill has been reported to be quoted in thirty-two debates from 1821–1810 (Almodovar and Cardoso 2005).

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the silence in the Spanish Cortes that greeted Mill's contributions to the field of economic policy is due to the critical view Spaniards held of utilitarianism and to the fact that they preferred continental authors; admiration of Mill's theory on constitutional freedom, however, was indisputable.

Mill published *On Liberty* in 1859 and *Considerations on Representative Government* in 1861. This latter work pointed out that the essential characteristic of democracy was to have sufficient representation of minorities, and that, because of this alone, it was better than any monarchy or aristocracy. In *On Liberty* (1859), one of Stuart Mill's texts that had the most subsequent influence in forming a liberal ideology, the author writes about nature and the limits of power that can be rightly exercised by a society over the individual.[27]

The first reference found about the 1859 *On Liberty* was an article written by the tax and financial expert Segismundo Moret in 1862 in a journal published from 15 October 1861 to 1 April 1863.[28] The article begins with the following sentence: ''As we are not very familiar with Mill's name, it is not out of place to provide some information about this thinker'' (Moret 1862, p. 545).[29] After this, he gives special importance to his political economy studies, arguing that his *Principles* were published in America and translated in France. Although he points out that whoever wants to know about the social framework has to read his studies on credit and taxes, he goes further by saying that Mill has made an effort to take science out of empiricism, relating it with morals and politics, but has not been successful in his efforts, as his arguments lose strength ''by giving attention to details that prevent them from reaching higher conceptions'' (Moret 1862, p. 346). He may be comparing Mill's empiricism with the ''harmonious rationalism'' typical of Krausism. Not spending much time on this discussion, Moret talks glowingly about the *System of Logic* and his defence in *On Liberty* of individuality, spontaneity, and the limits to power, although, quoting Dupont-White, Moret says that Mill always ''refers to liberty as a good that we have long possessed'' (Moret 1962, p. 362) and not as an abstract possibility. According to Moret, in Mill's writings, individual freedom is taken for granted—opinion and law are to conspire against it—mixing up society and the State, ''the same as he does in his *Principles of Political Economy,*'' where he follows the narrow theory of J.B. Say, ''represented nowadays by Molinari'' (Moret 1962, p. 364).

However, the first Spanish translation of *Essay on Liberty* appeared in 1890 after quite a delay; it was translated by Lorenzo Benito y Endara, a department head at the Universidad de Barcelona (Mill 1890). But his greatest influence would not come

[27]For Mill, restrictions to the power of the state in relation to the individual should take into account the priority of those individuals most trained in the practice of democracy. Because of this, he would end up defending censorial suffrage. With regard to his energetic defence of public education for all, his opportunity to make a specific proposal came when, in fact, he took a seat in the House of Commons from 1865 to 1868.

[28]Actually, many liberal economic and philosophic journals were created during that period. The first years of publication of journals discussing John Stuart Mill is 1849 (*La Época*, Madrid) and 1856 (*La Discusión*, Madrid). Most of the economic journals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were gazettes of prices and economic advice (Trincado and Perdices 2000; Reeder 2003).

[29]Even in 1906, Mill is not considered as influential in Spain as Henry George, or as in Great Britain (*Revista Católica de las Cuestiones Sociales* 1906, p. 492).

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about until much later. The most influential Spanish writer, and the one who was most influenced by this work, was Ortega y Gasset, who greatly admired the originality of England and its society.[30]

In nineteenth-century Spain there existed a well-established level of knowledge of English constitutionalism, but the dominant interpretation was that it was a mixed system of government with equality of powers in the form of a constitutional monarchy that, among other things, did not appreciate the role of parties or executive-legislative relations (Varela 1997, pp. 97–124).

While the 1808–12 situation was favorable for the crystallization of English influence on the first Spanish constitution (given the admiration of figures such as Jovellanos or the fact that the British were allies against a French invasion), at a later time the British model did not seem to be as appealing to the representatives of the courts of Cadiz. However, the exiles, who were seen by many of the first liberals as being doomed because of the successive restorations made by Fernando VII acting in an absolute monarchy, changed the perception of the British political system. Thus, under the reign of Isabel II, within the group of liberals who would run the parliamentary process of the Spanish electoral legislation, there were many authors who had been exiled to London, such as Antonio Alcalá Galiano, Patricio de la Escosura, Evaristo San Miguel, and José María Orense. They all showed a lasting interest in British political institutions in their parliamentary speeches (Llorens 1968, pp. 88, 165).[31] After 1848, following the revolution, the English model—with its gradual evolution and reformist spirit—became generally more attractive for Spanish parliamentarians, from several political viewpoints.[32]

In this climate of growing attention to British parliamentarism, the first Spanish translation of Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) came out. It was published under the title *El Gobierno Representativo* (Verdejo 2007), and was financed by Siro García de Mazo. The translation is dated 1878, which is quite late compared to other European countries, reflecting Spain's cultural backwardness at the time (to cite only three, both the French and German versions came out in 1862, and the Polish version in 1866). Also, as was common at the time, it is possible that

[30]In *La rebelión de las masas* in 1929, Ortega said: ''what most interests us in Stuart Mill is his concern for the low-class homogeneity that was seen to be growing throughout the western world'' (Ortega 2006, p. 114).

[31]In the case of Alcalá Galiano, for example, the importance of the English experience represents a turn towards realism and pragmatism, which led him to champion the strategy of a pact as a way out of the crisis of the *Ancien Regime* (Sánchez García 2005). The experience of exile in England also left a deep imprint on Salustino de Olózaga, who had begun his political activity during the period of the *Trienio Liberal* (1820–1823). The parliamentary system always proved itself an iron defence: so, for example, when the executive moderates tried to snatch the discussion of the project of the municipal law from the lower house in 1840, Olózaga, as leader of the progressive minority, opposed the use of Mill's arguments: it removed the minority's right of debate, which could annul any vote (*DSC* 23–IV–1840, n° 49, p. 1116).

[32]For example, José Polo de Bernabé, in 1858, criticized ''the false socialism that threatens to destroy society'' and ''the poor democracy that threatens to tyrannize it'' (*DSC* 11–II–1858, cit. p. 249). The middle point between two extremes that acted as a vaccination against the *sobre-revolución* was also interpreted in an English way by Manuel Durán y Bas. For his part, Posada Herrera, as minister to the governor, pointed out that the efficiency of the English system was based on a reformism that allowed for the maturation of the legal changes made (Posada Herrera, *DSC* 22–3–1859).

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García de Mazo used the French version, titled *Le Gouvernment Representif*.[33] However, in 1890, Cánovas (1890, p. 94), when talking about democracy in Europe and America, quotes the French translation by Dupont-White; the same as Isern (1891a, b, c), who repeatedly quotes the French translation. The Spanish translation (Mill 1878) was part of the *Biblioteca Científico-Literaria*, a collection specializing in scientific texts with a positivist orientation founded by Krausists such as Manuela Sales y Ferré and Federico de Castro. With regard to the translator, very little information is available, as Ramírez Arlandi (2007) points out, except what is contained on the cover of some books translated by the former.[34]

Mill's work, originally published in Seville by the administration of the Biblioteca Científico-Literaria and in Madrid by the Vitoriano Suárez bookstore, does not have a prologue by the translator; instead, it has notes and observations that ratify Mill's ideas with some sort of additional comments or new pieces of information. The translation also has an extensive appendix, which includes the Electoral Law voted for by Parliament: ''as some of the reforms introduced were inspired by the principles supported by this book, though their application is both limited and partial, it should be considered as a flattering indication of future progress rather than true progress.''[35]

This last fragment testifies to the knowledge and repercussions that the work of English philosophy achieved in Spanish political and legislative circles of diverse tendencies, even before their translations into Spanish. Thus, the liberal economist Luis María Pastor (1864) dedicated an essay of his to the reform of the Spanish electoral system, in which he proposed the Hare plan as a solution to the problems of the malfunction of elections in Spain, sometimes literally reproducing arguments that Stuart Mill had used in his defence.[36] For Pastor, the origin of this malfunction was based on the excessive centralism and in the control held by city councils over elections. Martin de Olías (1875a, p. 292) talks about Mill's defence of Electoral Law ''despite the opposition of some sober Lords with their privileges ... who did not understand the spirit of the century, nor felt the justice or listened to the voice of liberty.'' Also, Leroy-Beaulieu (1873a, b) reports Mill's death, giving special importance to *On Liberty* and his *Considerations*.

In turn, the political conservative Ángel Carvajal Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Sardoal, member of the parliamentary commission that in 1870 would draft the Electoral Law that would bring liberal male suffrage to Spain,[37] made ample

[33]Before the 1878 translation, *Considerations* and Mill's work on politics were widely quoted. See Pastor (1863 or 1864), Pelayo Cuesta (1868), Azcárate (1880), Pérez Pujol (1881), Amador (1885), Marfil (1919). *El Imparcial* (0–07–1872, p. 7) announces a Library (Biblioteca Social, Histórica y Filosófica) in which they were trying to translate C*onsiderations, Auguste Comte and Positivism* and the *Principles*. They never managed to do so.

[34]He held the post of Jefe de Trabajos Estadísticos (director of statistical studies) in Seville, was editor in chief of the *Revista de Tribunales,* and actively filled the roles of translator and prologue writer, with a preference for socio-political topics. In particular, he translated Herbert Spencer, on occasions quite soon after the first publication of the work.

[35]Cited in Ramírez Arlandi (2007, p. 527).

[36]In *Considerations,* Mill (1877) defended Thomas Hare's plan, which proposed to offer a solution that would reconcile the extension of the vote—including universal suffrage—with the selection of the best. See Sierra (2007).

[37]Marque de Sardoal (*DSC* 4–4–1870, p. 7100).

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reference to Mill in a debate dealing with the Electoral Law bill[38] by attempting to refute the suggestions to apply a single district system to Spain:

> This thinker, who has a Europe-wide reputation and who, in my mind, professes absurd opinions about public representation, is in favor of unicameralism, and nevertheless, in his studies about representative government, he accepts, given the special circumstance in which England finds itself, not only a second Chamber elected by popular vote, but also the aristocratic Chamber.... Mr. Díaz Quintero must see how the most radical authors on certain occasions, accept conservative procedures as the only way to arrive at the radical ideas that they propose.... The English state, which with the best practical sense and the greatest political criteria, has welcomed the system of Stuart Mill both with laughs and skepticism, despite the respect that his name inspires and in spite of his reputation as head of the English school of positivism which has made so much headway in the political domain in recent times (Diario de Sessiones del Congreso 1–4–1870, p. 7020).

The Subjection of Women

One of the fundamental milestones in the fight for the recognition of women's rights was the publication in 1869 of *The Subjection of Women* by John Stuart Mill, which he credited his wife Harriet Taylor, an enthusiastic feminist, with cowriting. Mill realized that the position of women had to be analyzed from the perspective of happiness, justice, and liberty.

The relationship between Mill's feminist ideas and Spain goes through Krausism. As Raley (2001, pp. 17–18) suggests, in Spain intellectual channels were not controlled by a rigid philosophical canon, and so philosophers whose success was negligible in their own country were much more esteemed in Spain. That is the case with Krause, who was little appreciated in Germany.[39] It seems paradoxical that Krause's writings paved the way for the acceptance of Mill's defence of women's rights in Spain, while it was precisely the strong impact of Krausism in Spain that helps to understand the limited penetration and diffusion of J.S. Mill's utilitarian ideas. But the coincidence of interests and objectives in the women's question disguised the philosophical differences. So, Mill's theory, in fact, seems to be taken as a means to an end more than the end in itself.

Krausism strived for the perfection of man through man himself, specifically by means of pedagogy and law. But the ambition of Krausism to advance human beings explicitly included the significance of the "female half." In Spain, aside from Julián Sanz del Río, Fernando de Castro stands out as a defender of women. Castro's intimate restlessness found a way to channel itself with the creation of the Ateneo Artistíco y Literario de Señoras in February of 1869, the Conferencias Dominicales para la Educación de la Mujer from February to May of 1869, and the Asociación

[38]Actually, when Mill stood for Parliament in 1865, it was widely reported in the newspapers published in Madrid (*La Época* 3-31-1865, p. 3; *La Correspondencia de España* 3-31-1865, p. 3; *La Discusión* 4-13-1865, p. 3) Díaz Benjumea (1865, p. 146) talks about "his dubious election, as everybody asks: what titles (read, income) has this gentleman so as to take a seat in Parliament?"

[39]And also with Wilhelm Dilthey, "discovered" by Ortega, but not much appreciated in Germany, either.

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para la Enseñanza de la Mujer, popularly known in Madrid as ''Castro Institute.''[40] Several department heads of the Universidad de Madrid were teachers in the aforementioned association; for example, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Gumersindo de Azcárate, Manuel Maria del Valle, Juan Facundo Riño, and Rafael Torres Campos.

The scope for a change in thinking was wide in the second half of the century, as, although Mill's ideas on feminism were known, they were criticized by many in Spain. Díaz Benjumea points out: ''It is widely known that those in the French chambers that have pleaded for admitting women's right to vote suffered whistling and booing. Mill, with all his English seriousness, asserts that this right must be acknowledged to women, and nobody goes into panic'' (Díaz Benjumea 1865, p. 146). The most criticized idea of Mill's was his concept of marriage (see the reference to Mill in Gómez de Baquero 1892, p. 2; Isern 1903, p. 355). Actually, Mill's book on feminism did not come out in Spain until 1892, when it was made possible thanks to the translation by the naturalist writer, Emilia Pardo Bazán (1851–1921), under the title *La esclavitud feminina* (Mill 1999).[41] Previously, and by the same author, an article about Mill appeared in *Nuevo Teatro Crítico*, which would later be converted into the prologue of the aforementioned translation (Pardo Bazán 1892).[42] It was none other than the Krausist, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, who introduced Pardo Bazán to the feminist works of John Stuart Mill. Pardo Bazán maintained an extensive epistolary correspondence with Giner, who at the same time was a friend of Concepción Arenal (1820–1893), an initiator of Spanish feminism. By means of this correspondence, Bazán was able to exercise some influence on Krausist sensitivity in regard to the feminist question. However, Giner, following Krause quite closely, outlined individual differences relating to sex, but, according to Emilia Pardo Bazán, he was ''decisively feminist,'' given that he was highly interested in ''all that concerned the betterment of the female condition'' (Pardo Bazán 1915, p. 59).[43]

In the words of Emilia Pardo Bazán, *La esclavitud de la mujer* was a ''strange, radical, fresh and ardent book, which in the name of individualism reclaims the equality of sexes and which, with the most exact reasoning and the tightest dialectics, pulverizes the arguments and objections that might have opposed the thesis'' (Pardo Bazán 1892, p. 14).

In her prologue, Pardo Bazán criticized Rousseau's *Social Contract,* which introduced the despotism of the State, and praised the independence of the individual

[40]In 1880, the Real Sociedad Economica Matritense invited other Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País to create similar schools. Valencia followed the example, where in 1885 they opened the Escuela de Comercio para Señoras, converted in 1888 into the Institución para la Enseñanza de la Mujer. Similar businesses were set up in Vitoria with the Asociación Alavesa para la Enseñanza de la Mujer, in Granada, Málaga, and, to the greatest extent, in Barcelona.

[41]It is curious that Pardo Bazán's translation of *The Subjection of Women* was titled *La esclavitud feminina,* a much more aggressive title than *La subjeción de las mujeres* or *El sometimiento de las mujeres*, as it was subsequently translated.

[42]The prologue was immediately referenced in *España Moderna, by* Gómez de Baquero (1892, p. 208) and reviewed in *La Época* (1892).

[43]Along the same lines, Giner's student, Adolfo Posada, did not consider sex to be a hindrance to friendship: ''instead, experience brings us to the opposite opinion, as Stuart Mill shows us'' (Posada 1893, p. 9). The only problem was education (Posada 1896, pp. 118–145). See also Posada (1897). Likewise, *regenerationista* Joaquín Costa, who was at first one of Giner's closest disciples, insisted on the necessity of pedagogical openings and legal reforms when debating the question of women.

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in Mill's ideas, citing a previous fragment from the well-known *History of English Literature*, by Taine. In respect to the British thinker, she points out:

> John was a favorite student of both Bentham and Say ... he walked about, like a good Englishman, and collected plants and herbs, and through experiment developed his knowledge of geology and mineralogy, because Stuart Mill understood nothing about the learned men of the cabinet.... Shortly after, some of his articles about Armando Carrel, Alfredo de Vigny, Bentham, Coleridge and Tennyson ... made Carlyle, who lived alone in Scotland, exclaim: "Here we have a new mystic" (Pardo Bazán 1892, p. 9).[44]

Although Pardo Bazán did not agree completely with Mill's vision, she found his contribution to the recognition of women's right to be of great importance:

> There are several points in which I disagree with Stuart Mill. But, what does it matter? As a whole one feels that a great rectification of errors is taking place and very fertile teachings are being imparted.... I will not deny that the material progress made so far this century are a source of surprise in the most advanced nations of Europe; but the material gains are unrelated to the change in conditions for women.... Stuart Mill's work was doubly beneficial in his own country, given that British women were, until recently, one of the most mistreated groups, legally speaking—peculiar anomaly! (Pardo Bazán 1892, p. 15).

Pardo Bazán was one of the first feminists of the nineteenth century. It seems the first ideas she received in this respect came from her father: "My unforgettable father, from the time I can remember how he thought, always professed an opinion quite similar to Stuart Mill's when discussing these matters, and when reading passages from *La esclavitud feminina*, I sometimes experience painfully happy memories of the reasoning I heard in my youth" (Pardo Bazán 1892, p. 14). Bazán published several articles in which she denounced the predominant sexism in Spain and proposed changes in favor of women, especially arguing—as Mill—for the possibility of an education similar to that received by men. Later, male feminists featured largely both in Pardo Bazán's life and in her books; thus, for example, her first publication, in 1876, would be a study of Father Feijoo, the eighteenth-century Galician monk who defended women's rights in his writings. Then, in 1892, Pardo Bazán would gather a collection entitled *Biblioteca de la mujer*, which presented the best feminist works of that time, and would participate in the Hispanic–Portuguese–American Pedagogical Congress, and denounce educational inequality between men and women (Her 1990). In 1906, and despite strong resistance and distrust, she would become the first woman to occupy a chair at the Universidad Central de Madrid (in neo-Latin literature), and was one of the few women members of the Sociedad Matritense de Amigo del País.

III. CONCLUSION

Mill's works, above all the political ones, were recognized and utilized in Spain as an authoritative reference in political debates. However, his ideas on economic theory

[44]Mill's life seems to be widely known at this period; in 1892, his *Memoirs* were published (Mill 1892); in 1898 the publication in French of Mill's correspondence with Gustave d'Eichthal (Mill 1898) was reported (*Revista Contemporánea* 1898).

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did not have any real influence on Spanish economists. This is a reflection of a period of Spanish intellectual history in which the country was clearly lagging behind, and remained disconnected from, many of the main European schools of thought. Nevertheless, as we have seen, it is necessary to clarify this statement in connection with several fields of thought.

In the field of the philosophy of science, John Stuart Mill's work was circulated by the same sources that made the works of Spencer and Comte known. However, his critical observations on religion did not help to popularize his work in Spain. The fact that Mill referred to Spain as a backward country probably did not affect the diffusion of his work. This could have been the case under an absolute monarchy that used the Inquisition for its own means, as in eighteenth-century Spain (that was the case of Adam Smith), but not in a liberal, yet conservative, regime in nineteenth-century Spain (the dissemination of the *regeneracionistas* in the last third of the nineteenth century can be used as a counter-example). Nevertheless, even considering the extensive acceptance of Krausism, Spanish positivism did not experience widespread diffusion. In 1870 the positivist ideology was finally adopted by followers of the positivist branch of Krausism, but only at precisely the time that Mill's doctrines began their decline in England.

Bentham's, and therefore Mill's, ethics were in a predicament at some institutions such as the Universidad de Salamanca. Thus, according to legal theory, utilitarianism originated in the work *Escuela Iluminista*, and was supported by Bentham scholars such as Toribio Nuñez or Ramón de Salas. The influence of the German Idealist philosopher Krause was much greater, and Krausism—in some ways—came about as a counter-paradigm in opposition to utilitarianism.

Political economy in the second half of nineteenth-century Spain was not particularly influenced by John Stuart Mill's ideas, either, though it should be pointed out that they were used in a biased way. The silence in the Spanish Cortes greeting Mill's contributions in the field of economic policy is due to the critical view that Spaniards had of utilitarianism and to the fact that they preferred continental authors. However, all sides used Mill's ideas: to defend socialism and protectionism, the nationalization of land, and the workers' struggle. Since the 1840s until the beginning of the Restoration, Spain paid close attention to everything foreign, and, still, there remained a void in respect to Mill's approach to economics. But while Mill's *Principles* —not translated until the nineteenth century—were not used directly, they did indirectly influence the handbooks of the time as well as protectionism-liberalism debates and questions of currency systems. Thus, after 1874, a group of thinkers (Santiago Diego Madrazo, Melchor Salvá, and Salustiano Olózaga) with a clear link to the Economists accepted the ideas of J.S. Mill. In any case, it does not seem ridiculous to venture that if *Principles* had been translated earlier, the analytical level of economic debates in Spain would have been higher—although that level is linked with a larger problem not exclusive to the nineteenth century: the delay of a marginal revolution in Spain due to the fact that economists with publications in English and fluid foreign contact arrived much later.

Mill's greatest influence in Spain is undoubtedly found among his writings about government. Though his work was criticized, it was recognized and admired in the context of a growing interest in British parliamentarianism, and many political strategies had certain Mill-like features. This was the case in the works of the progressive

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Salustiano de Olózaga. The essay *On Liberty* also exercised a great, though belated, influence, especially on Ortega y Gasset. In respect to the connection of Mill's ideas on feminism and Spain, which somewhat follow Krausist ideology, women's education was greatly influenced. Here, Emilia Pardo Bazán played a major role in the diffusion of Mill's work. So, Krause's writings paved the way for the acceptance of Mill's defence of women's rights in Spain, while it was precisely the strong impact of Krausism in Spain that helps to explain the limited penetration and diffusion of J.S. Mill's utilitarian ideas. As we see, Mill's theory was taken as a means to an end more than the end in itself: a means to defend the Spanish national ideas.

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