

The University of Hull

**Nature and the Victorian Entrepreneur:
Soap, Sunlight and Subjectivity**

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Dedication

To my Parents Lou and Bill Bergin erstwhile provider and promoter of Sunlight,
respectively.

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Nature and the Victorian Entrepreneur: Soap, Sunlight and Subjectivity.

Summary

At the heart of any philosophical exercise lies an understanding, be it explicated or taken for granted, of Nature. This thesis explores how Nature may have come to be understood as it is in our everyday life in the late twentieth century.

The life and work of one Victorian Entrepreneur - William Hesketh Lever, First Viscount Leverhulme of the Western Isles - is explored to reveal a cultural dynamic behind entrepreneurial activity. His personal philosophies, his legacy including Port Sunlight village, the Leverhulme Trust and the product for which he is best known, namely Sunlight Soap, are examined to reveal the extent to which his understanding of Nature impacted on his thought. What he expressed in his philosophy as *his* thought is questioned and it is suggested that in Leverhulme's life and work can be seen the organising dynamic of subjectivity. Leverhulme, it is suggested, was as subject to this process of organisation as were, and are, the consumers of his products. The symbolism of soap is explored through order, not only in the literal sense of personal and public hygiene but, also, by extension, of order in the wider sense, that of organisation.

Thus this thesis extends from the analysis of soap as a product and its marketability through the metaphor of Sunlight, which is taken to stand for an idealized, anthropocentric Nature, an understanding of which underpins the sociology of order upon which much organisation is premised.

Soap as an intimate tool of personal organisation, through its contact with the body and with clothing is taken, in Freud's terminology, to be a yardstick of civilization. As a permanent feature of the mass-consumer market it shares the physical intimacies of the body, the domestic economy of the household and, in the wider economy, the technological developments in the saponide industry, the regulation of the governance of the 'environment' as well as impacting on 'popular' culture. As such it is particularly susceptible to analysis through some of the work of Foucault, in particular his work on subjectivity, power/knowledge and technology of the self.

Acknowledgments

In preparing this dissertation I know I owe debts to several people whom I have indulged over the years. It was Norman Jackson at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Pippa Carter of the University of Hull who wrote to me in Algeria enclosing information about opportunities for postgraduate study with which they were associated at the time. The impetus they gave then and the faith they have always shown in me has been constant and usually greater than the faith I have in myself. At the University of Hull, Patrick MacLagan has been of tremendous help and support from the time of my registration there. Bob Cooper, latterly at the University of Keele, has been a formative influence on a number of lives, not least mine; it is an influence which will remain for the remainder of my working life and one which will, I hope, continue to mitigate the effects of the brutal bureaucracy experienced both within and without formal organisations. Latterly, while working at the University of Wolverhampton, I have shared many thoughts, insights and doubts with a number of close colleagues. So thank you also Dave Young and Kevin Hogan. Inspiration has come from conversations with these and many others over more years than is fitting for a work of this nature. I hope that the indulgence and inspiration has been met with something that does justice to the contributions made by all of you, named and unnamed.

Important, too, that I should mention Lynn with whom I have learnt much of life and labour and whose love has been a sustaining factor over the years.

The Birth Of Civilization
Message From The Sea

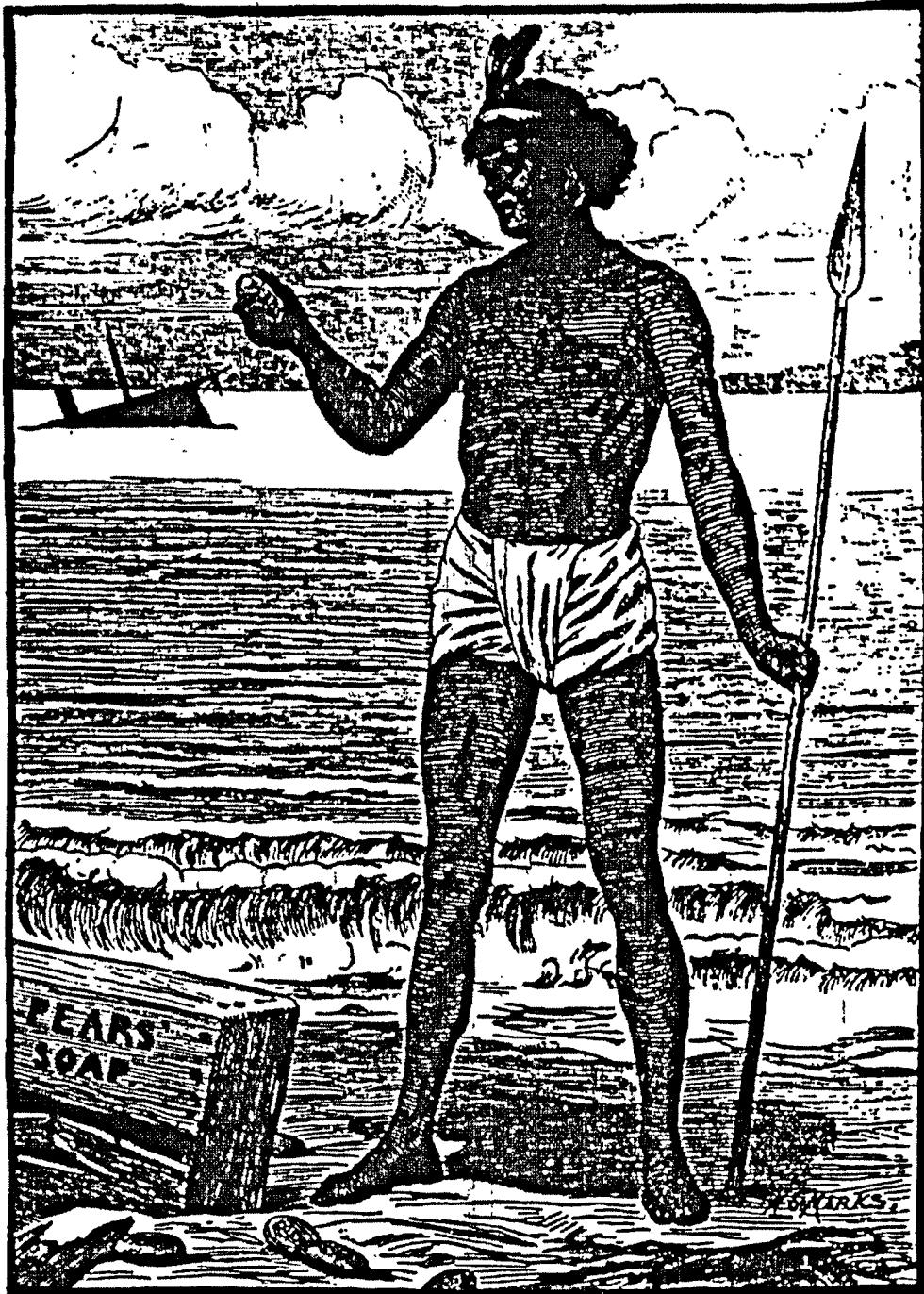


Plate 1

Pears Soap Advertisement

Chapter One

Introduction

In the past twenty years or so, but especially since the publication in 1979 of Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis: Elements of the Sociology of Corporate Life, the study of formal organisations and the concept of organisation itself has been placed on a very wide footing. This thesis seeks to contribute further to the literature which has grown in the wake of Burrell and Morgan's seminal tome. At the heart of this thesis is the argument that the role of the entrepreneur extends beyond the taken-for-granted innovative economic activity so often associated with entrepreneurs to their being shapers of culture. Thus it attempts to move beyond an analysis of an organisation to an analysis of organisation itself with the entrepreneur at the focus of analysis.

Prior to, and indeed to a large extent since, 1979, the concern of those writing on and theorizing organisations had as their main occupation the enhanced efficiency of organisational dynamics so that the outcome of much organisational analysis and research tends to be presented in terms of an enhanced economic return for the researched organisation, often expressed in monetary terms. In short the emphasis is on 'Getting a bigger bang for the buck'. At best, this type of work gives a partial account of organisational dynamics. That it dominates the field of research in organisation studies is symptomatic of the concerns of the economic system in which it is embedded, namely industrial and post-industrial capitalism. Organisations have been very successful at representing their interests. So has the system of industrial capitalism. However that they are successful by their own definition does not necessarily imply that they are good. What has emerged over

the past couple of centuries in the West is simply a form of organisation premised on values which have led to an understanding of economics in terms of monetary profit and loss. Economics, of course, can and does have a much wider meaning. Put simply it can be explained in terms of human interaction with its environment for the purposes of sustaining human life. The *eco* in the term economic is often overlooked or at least has taken on a meaning which serves the interests of organised capitalism. The Greek term *oikos*, which refers to the household, and from which the English words economic and economics derive, also alerts us to the rudimentary and less than glamorous nature of economic activity, that is the maintenance of life within the household.

This dissertation seeks to explore the dynamics by which this understanding of economic activity came about. At its heart is the figure of William Hesketh Lever, First Viscount Leverhulme of the Western Isles (1851-1926). Leverhulme is the Victorian entrepreneur of the title. He is best known for the business which he founded with his brother and which survives today as Lever Brothers the soap and saponides manufacturing arm of Unilever, the giant Anglo-Dutch multinational. Lever at the time of his death was one of the wealthiest men in the United Kingdom and was the nation's second largest landowner after the crown. He rose to such prominence on the profit gained from the manufacturing of soap, the most famous of his brands being the Sunlight of this dissertation's title. He was by all accounts an extraordinarily successful entrepreneur.

However it is not simply his success as an entrepreneur which makes him a suitable case for examination. Leverhulme's enterprise extended far beyond the manufacturing of soap to embrace social experiments at home and abroad, for example his model village at Port Sunlight on the Wirral and less sophisticated, but nonetheless adventurous, schemes in The Belgian Congo, the Solomon Islands and latterly on Harris and Lewis, the Western Isles in his title. He was keenly interested in architecture, tropical medicine and social welfare at home and abroad. He was keenly interested in fine art, was a watercolourist and established one of the largest

private collections of English art. Lever was also involved in local and national politics, being an MP in the second last Liberal government. Individually these achievements are considerable; taken together, Lever the soap manufacturer stands head and shoulders above his contemporaries.

If one were to take a sideways glance around for characters of a similar standing in today's world, who does one see? In the United Kingdom well-known entrepreneurs frequently make the news and business pages of our press, for example Richard Branson of Virgin Group and Anita Roddick of The Body Shop. Internationally there are perhaps none greater than Bill Gates of Microsoft, the American computer software company, and Rupert Murdoch of News International and the various Sky Broadcasting operations, for example British Sky Broadcasting and Japanese Sky Broadcasting. Bill Gates differs from the former two in terms of wealth and the impact of his industry. While the two British examples sell products and services in an innovative way, Gates is selling ways of thinking, working and organising through his software industry. Likewise Murdoch, a late twentieth century tycoon, wields enormous influence through his media empire. By owning newspaper companies across the globe, and by owning satellite television stations he has access to ways of influencing his clients' thinking, political views, tastes, personal philosophies and habits of consumption. It is rather like the MacDonaldisation of the media in that wherever one goes on the globe one has access to a standard Murdoch product which differs little from its counterpart in another part of the globe, with the possible exception of the language of the medium. It is this influencing aspect of entrepreneurial activity which is also fascinating in Leverhulme's case. Leverhulme, at a time wherein media technology largely relied on the printed word - a technology harnessed with the emerging advertising industry which he exploited to the full - through his industry was instrumental in the constitution of our daily organisation and achieved this by building on the public health concerns of the day, and nothing occupied the minds of Victorians more than public health. Much of what he did was accompanied by his expressing his own philosophy as in the case of the building of Post Sunlight

Village and the Lady Lever Art Gallery, a philosophy which echoed the bourgeois values of the day and a philosophy which was given further voice through Lever's enterprise.

As shall be elaborated further in the chapter on Victorian Health and Hygiene, the problems created by a rapidly expanding urban industrial society led to questions surrounding the place of mankind in the great chain of being. The sentiment of the time expressed in the arts and, generally, in literature was very much of 'the world we have lost' genre. The world was in a state of transition, and not least Britain. For Britain was the country to first experience industrialisation and was the first largely urban modern nation-state. It was in the period of the second industrial revolution characterised by larger-scale factory-based production and the harnessing of steam-power which represented the technological advances over the first industrial revolution where the harnessing of water-power and innovations in iron production led to the principle changes in the economic order which were to lead to industry replacing agriculture as the main theatre of work. Lever's enterprise, in particular his soap manufacturing and his social experiments can, it is suggested here, be seen as material expressions of a philosophy or a tradition in philosophy which separated humankind from the non-human world. It is as if it were the concrete realisation of the Cartesian *Cogito*. Humankind and nature were quite separate; the former had dominion over the latter. This sentiment was not simply the basis of the philosophy of Lever's social experiments at Port Sunlight but can also be seen in the very use of some of the products of his industry.

The use of soap is an activity unique to most of the human species. Washing with soap is a cultural activity whereas washing in itself is a natural activity. Cleanliness and order are traits associated with many animal life forms, but the human is the only one to employ a cleansing agent (as saponides are often called). In using them humans may be seen to be acting unnaturally as the personal hygiene products industry is now aware. For in 'cleaning' our bodies, soaps and saponides also remove properties which are beneficial to the skin and hair. Stoddart, reflecting

upon our practices of hygiene, wonders what an alien from another planet would make of these practices.

In some respects a hypothetical observer from another planet would notice many similarities between man and chimpanzee; both are active playful creatures with inquisitive minds. Both vocalise and seem to express mood with facial expressions, and both take great interest and delight in their young. Old individuals, past the nubile age, are venerated by the group, and intertribal warfare is not uncommon. Both have acute vision and hearing, and dexterous, tactile fingers. But as far as their reaction to the smells of their colleagues are concerned, the observer would notice a clear difference between the species. He would note that, particularly for Westernised man where hygiene facilities allow, body odour is regarded as unpleasant and distasteful, with great efforts being expended in its removal. Not only is soap and water used to prise free the fatty scented secretions from the skin but tufts of hair which grace the most scented regions are routinely shaved off. His flamboyant use of perfumes, however, would tell our observer that the human sense of smell is far from defunct and he might become confused when he compared the role of genital odour which accompanies copulation in chimpanzees with the general disgust expressed by humans when confronted with the same odour. His confusion would mount still further if he should find out that the most sought after ingredients for man's perfumes have, since the beginning of recorded history, been the sex attractant odorous secretions from various species of mammals. If he read the history books he would note that at the time of her death the walls of the Empress Josephine's rooms were so heavily impregnated with the sexual lure of the Himalayan musk deer that the workmen engaged in refurbishing them were quite overcome with nausea and fainting attacks. He might stop to wonder why a primate which seeks out privacy for mating, and consorts with a single female for long periods of time and which copulates far more frequently than the chimpanzee should use sex attractants of deer, civets and beavers and not those of its own scent glands upon his body than any other higher primate, and women have higher numbers than men. Our observer could hardly be blamed if he returned to his home planet wondering just how on earth the olfactory biology of these two very closely related creatures could have diverged so far so quickly. But it was on earth, and because man is an animal subject to the forces of natural selection like all other animals, that it happened. (Stoddart 1990, pp.8-9)

What the hypothetical observer would have witnessed in the different behaviour of the two species, the human and the chimpanzee, was the cultural life of humans and the natural life of chimpanzees. This distinction rarely enters our thinking as we go about our daily toilet routine, or ritual as it may be more properly understood. Rather it is considered natural to wash and clean ourselves before we present ourselves socially at places of work, entertainment or whatever. Those who don't,

for example the eco-warriors - the best known of whom in England is the self-styled Swampy - are seen to be breaking the cultural code for not using soap and shampoo, arguing instead for the benefits of the body's natural oils to look after its skin and hair.

So beyond the pale is this way of thinking, living and behaving that it is often portrayed as a threat to the established order and as a threat it is something which has to be eradicated or at least pilloried. A number of examples come to mind, two of which will be mentioned here. The French government saw it fit to sink a Greenpeace sailing vessel to prevent it from disrupting the testing of nuclear weapons in the South Pacific, taking the life of a Greenpeace worker in the process. The ecological values espoused by the Greenpeace organisation were sufficient a threat to the military-industrial values of the French Government for it to take such an action. Closer to home in the 1980's and early 1990's is the example of the Greenham Women, a group of women protesters encamped on common land outside the American cruise missile base near Newbury in Berkshire.

Ruthven writes:

All the women arouse a degree of hostility far in excess of any inconvenience they may cause to soldiers, policemen or residents living near the base. Shopkeepers and publicans refuse to serve them; hooligans unexpectedly join forces with the establishment and actualize the verbal insults by smearing the benders (homemade tents) with excrement and pig's blood This spontaneous and voluntary association of females, without formal leadership or hierarchy, seems to threaten the soldiers, the local gentry, the bourgeoisie of Newbury and even its hooligans far more than the missiles, although the latter would be a prime target in the event of nuclear war .(Ruthven 1984, p.1048a)

To be so socially peripheral as Swampy, as Greenpeace Activists, as the Greenham Women is to place oneself on the margins, if not beyond the margins, of humanity in the eyes of the establishment, of the dominant values held by a society and by the media. To live *that* close to Nature, or to live in such a way that one is not considered to be human is to leave oneself open to being classified as dirt, as 'matter out of place' as Douglas (1984) calls it and so subject to being removed as dirt.

Yet it is not uncommon in this and other societies to see large numbers of people living under canvas, taking their holidays, communing with Nature. That they are not castigated in the way that the Greenham women were, nor in the way that the eco-warriors are suggests that they are doing something quite different, something condoned by the mores of society. And indeed they are. They are espousing the aesthetic of a subjectified population, a population which sees itself anthropocentrically as master and owner of the natural world, a population who can choose to reap the benefits of nature in whichever way it wants so long as it does not transgress the boundary between humanity and nature.

Nature in Organisation Theory

Concerns such as these are not the stuff of which conventional enquiries into organisations and organisation are made. Indeed little is made of the idea of the natural world, of Nature indeed of human nature. It is taken for granted. Burrell and Morgan make this argument early in their 1979 work.

...Although organisation theorists are not always very explicit about the basic assumptions which inform their point of view, it is clear that they all take a stand on ... these issues. Whether they are aware of it or not they bring to their subject of study a frame of reference which reflects a whole series of assumptions about the nature of the social world and the way in which it might be investigated. (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p.x)

Dealing specifically with the idea of Nature, as in the natural or non-human world, is also rare among organisation theorists. The question does arise in Burrell and Morgan's book briefly.

Associated with ontological and epistemological issues, but conceptually separate from them is a third set of assumptions concerning *human nature* and, in particular, the relationship between human beings and their environment. All (sic) social science, clearly, must be predicated upon this type of assumption, since human life is essentially the subject and object of enquiry. Thus, we can identify perspectives in social science which entail a view of human beings responding in a mechanistic or even deterministic fashion to the situations encountered in their external world. This view tends to be one in which human beings and their experiences are regarded as products of the environment; one in which humans are conditioned by their external circumstances. This extreme perspective can be contrasted with one which attributes to human beings a much more creative role: with a perspective where 'free will' occupies the centre of the stage; where man is regarded as the creator of his environment, the controller as opposed to the

controlled, the master rather than the marionette. (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p.2)

Although this represents a step in the right direction in opening up the debate in theorising organisations, in itself it is limited to a debate over free will. Humankind, as it were, is still seen to be privileged at the centre of economic activity. Elsewhere in the field the idea of the environment has appeared in the past in organisation theorising in the work of Lawrence and Lorsch (1967). As Burrell and Morgan write:

... The study was directed at answering the basic question 'What kind of organisation does it take to deal with various economic and market conditions?' (Burrell and Morgan 1979, p.164)

Novel as this thesis of Lawrence and Lorsch was in suggesting that there weren't universal principles of organisation, the closest their work came to exploring the role of Nature in organisation theory was the metaphor they chose to use in presenting their argument, that is an organismic metaphor seeing organisations as being systems open to their environment and the human nature of managers and colleagues within an organisation. As such it is an essentially functionalist piece of organisation theorizing. Other theorists in the 1960's and 1970's have also paid some heed to the idea of the environment in organisation theorising. However, like Lawrence and Lorsch, the extent of this theorising has been limited to conceptualising the business environment solely in terms of the organismic metaphor for example Burns and Stalker (1961), Emery and Trist (1965), Terreberry (1968) and Child (1972).

It was not until 1986 that organisation theorists were alerted to the limitations of viewing organisational environments in such narrow terms. Cooper, in a conference paper that year referred to this essentially anthropocentric approach to the study of organisation and organisations as Kitsch. On Nature Cooper writes:

We tend to speak of nature less and less and environment more and more because, as part of that environment, we testify to the efficacy of the production-consumption process which cocoons us from the strange and disturbing which Nature (including 'human nature') represents. The transformation of Nature into environment is that more general context referred to by Kundera in his indictment of Descartes' fateful characterisation of man as 'maitre et proprietaire de la nature' - more precisely, it is kitsch which disguises itself as

‘objectified knowledge’. (Cooper 1986, p.14).

In the paper he applies to the study of organisation in the social sciences the notion of Kitsch aired by the Czech writer Milan Kundera. For the purposes of this thesis what Kundera writes on Kitsch, and how he introduces the idea of Kitsch is particularly apposite.

Toilets in modern water closets rise up from the floor like white water lilies. The architect does all he can to make the body forget how paltry it is, and to make man ignore what happens to his intestinal wastes after the water from the tank flushes them down the drain. Even though the sewer pipelines reach far into our houses with their tentacles, they are carefully hidden from view, and we are happily ignorant of the invisible Venice of shit underlying our bathrooms, bedrooms, dance halls and parliaments.

The bathroom in the old working-class flat on the outskirts of Prague was less hypocritical: the floor was covered with grey tile and the toilet rising up from it was broad, squat and pitiful. It did not look like a white water lily; it looked like what it was: the enlarged end of a sewer pipe. (Kundera 1985, p.155)

In the above two paragraphs can be seen the idea of progress being the separation of humankind from their animal nature and the capitalisation of many aspects of human behaviour, both animal and psychological. Progress may be signified by the replacement of “the enlarged end of a sewer pipe” with something resembling a water lily. Human nature, including its animal or physical nature, may be understood as being sanitised, as being cleansed. Sitting on something resembling a water lily is seen to be somehow preferable to sitting on the enlarged end of a sewer pipe. We are invited to forget or deny that part of our makeup which is animal and dress it up as something else. Our animal nature takes second place to our human nature as if there is something abhorrent about our inherent bestiality. In the words of some advertising material for Qualitas Bathrooms, an English sanitary-ware manufacturer, we are invited to ‘Turn (y)our bathroom into the Palace of Versailles’ - not just a bathroom at Versailles but the whole palace. The bathroom, the daily bath or shower, the going to stool, the use of the bidet - all these one time purely functional activities have now become forms of entertainment, of indulgence, of pampering, or narcissistic adoration and sites of colonisation by capitalism. The toiletries industry and the sanitary ware industry all play their part in maintaining and furthering our Kitsch understanding of ourselves.

Hygiene in Organisation Theory

In the field of organisation theory the understanding of human behaviour in terms of hygiene was introduced by Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman (1959). Writing specifically on human motivation it was argued that in the workplace the lack of hygiene or maintenance factors led to dissatisfaction among workers. Hygiene factors were given as salary, working conditions, interpersonal relations, supervision, administration and company policy. They were named hygiene factors, analogous “to the medical use of the term meaning ‘preventative and environmental’” (Herzberg 1966, p.337). The choice of this term reflects the original aim of the study.

This study was designed to test the concept that man has two sets of needs: his needs as an animal to avoid pain and his need as a human to grow psychologically. (Herzberg 1966, p.334)

The study was conducted by way of interviewing two hundred engineers and accountants “who represented a cross-section of Pittsburgh industry” and who were asked

about events they had experienced at work which either had resulted in a marked improvement in their job satisfaction or had led to a marked reduction in job satisfaction. (Herzberg 1966, p.334).

Herzberg continues:

The principal result of the analysis of this data was to suggest that the hygiene or maintenance events led to job dissatisfaction because of the need to *avoid* unpleasantness; the motivator events led to job satisfaction because of a need for growth or self-actualization. At the psychological level, the two dimensions of job attitudes reflected a two-dimensional need structure: one need system for the avoidance of unpleasantness and a parallel need system for personal growth.

Why do the hygiene factors serve as dissatisfiers? They represent the environment to which man the animal is constantly trying to adjust, for the environment is the source of Adam’s suffering. The hygiene factors listed are the major environmental aspects of work. (Herzberg 1966, p.337)

Elaborating on the medical or health metaphor of this model of motivation, Pugh,

Hickson and Hinings write:

Just as lack of hygiene will cause disease, but the presence of hygienic conditions will not, of themselves, produce health, so lack of adequate ‘job hygiene’ will cause dissatisfaction, but their presence will not of themselves cause satisfaction. (Pugh, Hickson

and Hinings 1983, p.183)

For Herzberg (1966), it was the responsibility of industry for the hygiene factors to be provided so that employees would then be spurred into (productive and profitable) action by being motivated. Rather like the reformers of the last century, as will be discussed below in Chapter Four, Victorian Health and Hygiene, he saw it as the responsibility of the shakers and movers in society to be responsible for the amelioration of the less privileged in society. By those standards Herzberg was a Liberal. But by arguing that the road to self-actualization lay in the direction of gainful employment suggests that, by arguing in favour of the status quo, Herzberg was a conservative. But then his field of expertise was management. Motivators, according to him and his colleagues, consisted of satisfaction with the work itself, recognition, a sense of achievement, responsibility and the opportunity for advancement. Implied in this argument is that only those who are motivated - and in Herzberg's more widely available writings this means motivated in and by the work place - can be considered normal. To be locked into a hygiene seeking pattern of behaviour is not to have "reached a stage of development at which self-actualizing needs are active"; hygiene seekers "are fixated a less mature level of personal adjustment" (Herzberg 1966, p.342). In the language of a professional psychologist with the panoply of psycho-babble to add weight to his pathologising argument, Herzberg - erstwhile Distinguished Professor of Management at the University of Utah - continues:

A hygiene seeker is not merely a victim of circumstances, but is *motivated* in the direction of temporary satisfaction. It is not that his job offers little opportunity for self-actualization; rather, it is that his needs lie predominantly in another direction, that of satisfying avoidance needs. He is seeking positive happiness via the route of avoidance behavior, and thus his resultant chronic dissatisfaction is an illness of motivation. Chronic unhappiness, a motivation pattern that ensures continual dissatisfaction, a failure to grow or to want to grow - these characteristics add up to a neurotic personality. (original emphasis).

Herzberg adds

The neurotic motivation of hygiene-seeking is mostly a learned process that arise from the value systems endemic in society. (Herzberg 1966, p.343)

Herzberg argues that mankind does indeed have two sets of needs. He asks us to

think about man twice;

...once about events that cause him pain and, secondly, about events that make him happy. Those who seek only to gratify the needs of their animal natures are doomed to live in dreadful anticipation of pain and suffering. This is the fate of those human beings who want to satisfy only their biological needs. But some men have become aware of the advantage humans have over their animal brothers. In addition to the compulsion to avoid pain, the human being has been blessed with the potentiality to achieve happiness. And as I hope I have demonstrated, man can be happy only by seeking to satisfy his animal need to avoid pain and his human need to grow psychologically. (Herzberg 1966, p.347)

This psychological growth being achievable in the main through work, paid employment. The poor 'less mature', 'neurotic', chronically unhappy hygiene-seeker can hardly be blamed for his or her plight given then influences s/he is exposed to. In the light of the value systems of the late twentieth century, as mediated by television, it would seem that most of our needs, physiological and psychological, are met mainly through consumption. As Herzberg may be seen to be selling an ideology - the ideology of work - so many advertisements sell us our insecurity. And many of these advertisements are concerned with our animal nature. For example the detergent industry is forever suggesting that we are unhappy with our wash. It has been doing so for over one hundred years. Body odour, halitosis and dandruff have all been featured in advertising campaigns. Lately in the United Kingdom, and following a North American lead, advertisements have begun to appear for remedies for flatulence and vaginal thrush. And what to do with our dead bodies once the life that once occupied them has been spent? No need to worry, those "final expenses" will be met at no cost to our loved ones if the prudent buy the appropriate product from Age Concern, the charity which helps the elderly in Britain, or Friends' Provident Life Office. Despite the efforts of those like Herzberg, or Gombrich as we shall see below, who suggest that we have a need to grow psychologically as well as physically, our animality or animal nature is a cause for concern, a cause of insecurity if not outright disgust and terror. Just as in Kundera's novel, where architects serve the function of making "the body forget how paltry it is, and to make man ignore what happens to his intestinal wastes after the water from the tank flushes them down the drain" (Kundera 1985, p.56), so architects of the mind, be they Leverhulme, Gombrich or

Herzberg, foster ways of thinking analogous to the toilets “in modern water closets (which) rise up from the floor like white water lilies” (Kundera 1985, p.56). They emphasise the advancement of the human over the natural, the psychological over the physiological, the ordered over the disordered, the pure over the dangerous, the clean over the dirty.

Elsewhere in the wider field of organisation theory, specifically in the field of management thought and practice, in an attempt to make sense of British management, Alistair Mant (1977) suggests that the difficulties which have visited British management and industry since the mid-nineteenth century may in part be associated with the different meanings which have been attached to the word ‘management’ over the past four centuries. He suggests that an early source of the word is the Italian *manneggiare* “which (roughly translated) meant handling things (Latin *manus*, a hand)” (Mant 1977, p.7). This meaning, Mant suggests, was ultimately a masculine concept which later became confused with the French *menager* “which meant careful use (especially in a household) or a careful housekeeper - altogether a more gentle, perhaps feminine usage”.(Mant 1977, p.9) Mant says that the idea of management seems to have kept this dual character ever since. In the British context, as opposed to the English speaking contexts of other states, those whom Mant refers to as the ‘opinion formers’ try to fit such ambiguous concepts as ‘management’ “into a kind of over-simple binary coding system” (Mant 1977, p.6) which he calls British Binary Thought.

The net result is to split important areas of endeavour and thought into (effectively) clean and dirty compartments. Thus, while applied science has to mean machines, grime, oily rags, soot, effluent etc., ‘pure’ is the word most preferred by the soap manufacturers, almost as though soap were not the end of a manufacturing process. What the language denies is the substantial *middle ground* where, in an integrated system, or, for that matter, within a human being with integrity, the opposites overlap. (Mant 1977, p.6)

Mant was writing specifically of the the boundary which separates the arts, science and manufacture in Britain. He suggests that no such boundaries exist in Germany which may account, in part, for the success of German industry. His argument is given some support when we consider the function of The Royal Society of Arts in

Britain. Even though the brief of this institution extends to examining the typing skills of the nations keyboard operators, the opinion formers of this country have managed to attach a rather aloof ethos to this institution, which was established over two hundred years ago. That its full title The Royal Society for Arts, Manufacture and Industry is seldom used suggests, after Mant, that the dirty - that is the manufacturing industry side - has been carefully laid aside in order to promote a clean image, to attract a clean membership promoting clean values. For Mant, British management is now clean -clinically so - to the detriment of those it purports to serve, the worker-colleagues, the economy and the wider public. Britain, the first industrialised country, now has a manufacturing base which accounts for only twenty per cent of foreign export earnings. The remainder is entrusted to the service industry in the form of banking, insurance and finance, hospitality and tourism. Not only is management clean, but so are the occupations of most of the economies work-force.

Following this introduction this thesis takes the following form. Influenced by the work of Foucault, Chapter Two - the Theoretical Overview - sets out by asking, as Foucault did, why do we see things the way we do. It is suggested here that our system of ordering, of organisation in the West is a result of the particular way economic development occurred here. Thus our main economic activities have been subjected to the requirements of Capitalism and that knowledge (of ourselves) is limited to its usefulness in sustaining this economic system.

Chapter Three - On Nature - looks at the idea of and the complexities that lie therein. A growing appreciation of these complexities leads to to multiteity of views as to what constitutes Nature, and how it was viewed in Leverhulme's time

Conventional accounts of the development of "reform" in nineteenth century Britain are typically presented is of the progressive nature of Victorian society and its ability to deal with the problems of modernity. Chapter Four introduces a Foucauldian analysis which suggests the disciplinary nature of the reforms and the increased

intervention by the state in the lives of the populace. The new urban-industrial proletariat was required to be in good health and disciplined for the maintenance of the new industrial order. Employing the Foucauldian concept of power, that power is immanent and not located in any one site, the following chapter introduces the life of one Victorian entrepreneur, William Hesketh Lever.

Lever, the entrepreneur in the title of this thesis, is introduced in Chapter Five. His background, life, work and philosophy are explored. What is revealed is a person of simple beliefs with an autocratic manner. His philosophy regarding the benefits which may accrue to an industrial society through contact with nature and the natural world is tempered by the obstacles to be met by human nature. Nonetheless, as an embodiment of power, his philosophies touched and still touch the lives of millions of humans. The partial understanding of economics he held, and his anthropocentrism thrive to this day.

I begin in Chapter Six to review how the entrepreneur has been studied. The conventional approach to the study of entrepreneurs is on the one hand an attempt to explain the emergence of the entrepreneur at a certain point in history, for example in the work of Weber and Schumpeter. More recently there have been a number of attempts to identify and foster a climate which would encourage the emergence of entrepreneurs to help the ailing post-industrial economies of the developed world. Developing some of these ideas I begin to reflect on the nature of entrepreneurship in terms of power and subjectivity. .

Pursuing themes raised above, a case is put forward in Chapter Seven for understanding the process of organisation in terms of what is clean and what is dirty. It is suggested that much organisation is premised upon these categories. By looking at the work of Douglas and Stallybrass and White, symbolic ordering in terms of distinguishing the clean from the dirty, the high from the low, a dynamic of organising becomes evident, that is the establishment of norms or normative behaviour by one “high” group which regulates the behaviour of a “low” other.

The effect of this normative function is noted in relation to subjectivity.

Chapter Eight concludes this thesis.

Throughout the text of this thesis I refer to the Victorian entrepreneur of the title as Leverhulme. Although this, in places, is technically incorrect as he did not assume the title Leverhulme until 1917, it is as Leverhulme that most academics and others know of the benefactor of the Leverhulme Trust in addition to his many other legacies.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Overview

“Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at” (Berger 1972, p.47).

So speaks John Berger in his acclaimed television series Ways of Seeing. In essence Berger is summing up what it is all about - life and its reproduction - not just human life as that is simply one manifestation of life on earth. However, human life is his focus as culture is the vehicle through which he chose to make his argument, in particular paintings from the time around the Renaissance. And, of course, culture may be seen as the mask which prevents us from gaining a more fundamental sense as to our essence.

The question which Berger articulates is this: Why did Western painting develop the way it did? It is a fascinating question. The answers he tentatively draws are that the tradition developed the way it did because it represented the ordering of society. Painting had a function in maintaining the status quo. It also mirrored in its technique, not least in the development of perspective, the rise of the individual upon which the edifice, and much more besides, of latter-day western civilisation has been built.

Berger's concerns are echoed in the work of another philosopher, Michel Foucault. In Les mots et les choses, first published in 1966, Foucault tells us of the origins of this work:

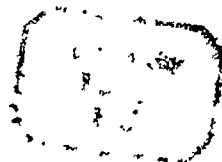
This book arose out of a passage in Borges, out of the laughter that shattered, as I read the passage, all the familiar landmarks of thought - *our* thought, the thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography - breaking up all the ordered surfaces and all the planes with which we are accustomed to tame the wild profusion of existing things and continuing long afterwards to disturb and threaten with collapse our age-old distinction between the Same and the Other. This passage quotes a 'certain Chinese encyclopaedia' in which it is written that 'animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) *et cetera*, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a long way off look like flies'. In the wonderment of this taxonomy, the thing we apprehend in one great leap, the thing that by means of the fable, is demonstrated as the exotic charm of another system of thought, is the limitation of our own, the stark impossibility of thinking *that*..

But what is it impossible to think, and what kind of impossibility are we faced with here? (1974, p.xv original emphasis)

Like Berger, Foucault is probing at fundamentals. Why, in any classificatory system, why in any system of ordering are things ordered the way they are? What are the implications of this? How did this system come about? These two authors' work are chosen to explore the status of Western knowledge because each respectively casts a light on exploring the dynamic under investigation. Berger through his analysis of oil painting delineates the influence of Capitalism on representation, in this case in European oil painting. Foucault, on the other hand in his archaeological method, draws our attention to the dynamic within an episteme in tracing the development of seemingly disparate fields of enquiry in a given band of time. Like Berger, he too is studying representation, in this case how humankind represents itself to itself. Berger uses pictorial images, Foucault words. Both writers argue that the impact of representation, of how we have come to understand ourselves, has led to the subjectification of mankind.

Berger makes the point thus in relation to women:

To be born a woman has been to be born, within an allotted and confined space, into the keeping of man. The social presence of women has developed as a result of their ingenuity in living under such tutelage within such a limited space. But this has been at the cost of a woman's self being split into two. A woman must continually watch herself. She is almost continually accompanied by her own image of herself. Whilst walking across a room or



whilst she is mourning at the death of her father, she can scarcely avoid envisaging herself walking or weeping. From earliest childhood she has been taught and persuaded to survey herself continually.

And so she comes to consider the *surveyor* and the *surveyed* within her as the two constituent yet always distinct elements of her identity as a woman. She has to survey everything she is and everything she does because how she appears to others, and ultimately how she appears to men, is of crucial importance for what is normally thought of as the success of her life. Her own sense of being in herself is supplanted by a sense of being appreciated as herself by another. (Berger, 1972, p.42)

There is no other work in the history of art which expresses these sentiments or which seeks to study their implications. Perhaps this is because Berger expresses a pan-nationalistic account. He expresses it with melancholic eloquence in both the written and spoken word that leads the reader or listener/viewer to ask 'what might have been?' He does so with great sympathy and in some places anger. He is, of course, implicitly criticising the bourgeois aesthetic.

What Berger proposes in his argument is quite devastating - that essentially a woman is valued simply in terms of her ability to attract a mate and reproduce. A fairly average man, with any sympathy, viewing this programme or reading the accompanying text might well sympathise with the role of woman, a role in which he is an unwitting accomplice. Berger continues a little later:

Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of woman is herself male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object - and more particularly an object of vision: a sight. (Berger 1972, p.47).

Berger does not suggest that it is women alone who are subject to the way of seeing he is critiquing. The final paragraph of his book suggests that the majority of those who live under capitalism share a common fate.

Capitalism survives by forcing the majority, whom it exploits, to define their own interests as narrowly as possible. This was once achieved by extensive deprivation. Today in the developed countries it is being achieved by imposing a false standard of what is and is not desirable. (Berger 1972, p.154).

How is this false standard imparted? A short answer to this question is through the

agents and agencies of Capitalism. But who are these agents and what are these agencies. If one accepts Berger's argument that majority define their own interests as narrowly as possible and, in so doing, unwittingly support Capitalism then this should be as manifest in universities and other centres of learning as it is in advertising agencies, stock exchanges and supermarket aisles. That it is so overarching in its operation has led others, often as trenchant in their criticism as Berger, to question the role of those who inhabit centres of learning.

The work of Edward Said, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, New York, who delivered the 1993 Reith Lectures on BBC Radio, is of relevance here to elaborate these points. In this series, titled Representations of the Intellectual, Said sets out his vision of the task of the intellectual, which after Gramsci, includes "everyone who works in any field connected with either the production or distribution of knowledge" (Said 1994, p.7). Said quotes Julian Benda, writing on intellectuals in 1927, for whom the intellectual is a figure set apart

... someone able to speak truth to power, a crusty, eloquent, fantastically courageous and angry individual for whom no worldly power is too big and imposing to be criticized and pointedly taken to task (Said 1994, p.7).

If what Said argues is the role of intellectuals and if one accepts Gramsci's definition of an intellectual, then it would appear that the presence of intellectuals in business schools is scarcely noticeable. Said expresses his critical characterisation of intellectuals who succumb to the pressures of professionalism thus:

... thinking of your work as an intellectual as something you do for a living, between the hours of nine and five with one eye on the clock, and another cocked at what is considered to be proper, professional behaviour - not rocking the boat, not straying outside the accepted paradigms or limits, making yourself marketable and above all presentable, hence uncontroversial and unpolitical and 'objective'. (Said 1994, p.55)

This should make us aware that certainly something is lacking in the almost routine way in which colleagues in universities carry out their work. One does not wish to be damning of them or their enterprise. But for most of us lecturers in the English university system who conduct research, we ought to remember the privileged

nature of our position. There are at least two ways of doing so: one may be represented by the rather status quo approach, viz. repay your debts to society by producing work which supports the system which supported you. Alternatively, there is an approach which Said would support

For Said, the intellectual represents

... an individual vocation, an energy, a stubborn force engaging as a committed and recognizable voice in language and society with a whole slew of issues, all of them having to do in the end with a combination of enlightenment and emancipation or freedom ... (of the) poor, the disadvantaged, the voiceless, the unrepresented, the powerless. (Said 1994, p.84)

Advocating what he calls amateurism he suggests that intellectuals possess

...the desire to be moved not by profit or reward but by love for and unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers, in refusing to be tied down to a speciality, in caring for ideas and values despite the restrictions of a profession. (Said 1994, p.57)

In the field of Organisation Theory, that body of literature which seeks to explain the concept of organisation, occasionally with *organisations* as its focus of analysis, a field of enquiry has emerged over the past fifteen-to-twenty years which is produced by the type of *amateur* intellectual of whom Said speaks; for example the work of Gibson Burrell, Pippa Carter, Norman Jackson, Robert Cooper, Heather Hopfl, Burkard Sievers, among a number of others in Great Britain and elsewhere. Burrell, together with Gareth Morgan in 1979, produced a key text in the development of this *œuvre*, viz. Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis. In the context of Said's Reith Lectures the enterprise of Burrell and Morgan's work is particularly interesting. What they do is to present a map of work conducted by organisational analysts (up until the mid nineteen-seventies) and demonstrate that in the approach to the study of *organisations* there is often a whole host of unexplored and taken for granted philosophical assumptions upon which such work is built. Their task is to break down the field of organisational analysis into what they identify are four paradigms and explore each in turn in terms of the underlying methodology, ontology, epistemology and views of human nature. What they find in their analysis of the organisational analysis literature is that most of it can be located in what they call the Functionalist Paradigm. That is,

in Said's terms, produced by *professional* intellectuals who are *at home* in this paradigm. And, for Said at least, feeling at home and being an intellectual implies a certain disjunction. For Said not being at home, of being in exile - if not actually then at least metaphorically - is the fate of the intellectual.

The pattern that sets the course for the intellectual as outsider is best exemplified by the condition of the exile, the state of never being fully adjusted, always feeling outside the chatty, familiar world inhabited by natives, so to speak, tending to avoid and even dislike the trappings of accommodation and national well-being. Exile for the intellectual in this metaphysical sense is restlessness, movement, constantly being unsettled, and unsettling others. You cannot go back to some earlier and perhaps more stable condition of being at home, and, alas, you can never fully arrive, be at home with your new home or situation (Said 1994, p.39).

If this all sounds rather discomfiting then take heart. For advantages accrue to this state of hopelessness. Exiles, Said tells us, never see things in isolation. There is the sense of seeing things in the actual here and now, *and* in terms of what has been left behind (Said 1994, p.44). It is remarkable that so many of the foremost thinkers in western philosophy are, or were, exiles. Said, for one, is. As is Derrida, a *piéd-noir*, Cixous and Kristeva. These are people who live and work in a country not of their birth. There are also those who may be seen as exiles as they do not fit the norms of society (in their sexual identity) for example Foucault and Barthes. Exile not only allows for the juxtaposing of ideas and leads for them to be seen in a new and unpredictable light but also, Said argues, the exile has the additional advantage of seeing things "not simply as they are, but as they have come to be" (Said 1994, p.45). Thus the richness and the newness of the work produced by, for example, the authors mentioned above comes from them occupying territory not already occupied by those who produce functionalist organisation theory; those academics who have given up or bought into the pressure of specialization which kills one's sense of excitement and discovery.

... In the final analysis, giving up to specialization is, as I have always felt, laziness, so you end up doing what others tell you because that is your speciality after all. (Said 1994, p.57)

This giving up to specialization is in effect turning a blind eye to our own subjectification, to our surveying ourselves, to presenting ourselves as respectable and presentable resources in marketplace of human labour. In Said's terms, the

functionalist organisation theorists are time-serving clock-watchers who must never stray outside the bounds of convention. Thus, such theorists of organisation are as susceptible to the organising dynamics of capitalism as are those producers and consumers who people schools, shops, factories and other theatres of work in the twentieth century.

How is this organisation dynamic achieved? If the Berger's argument is pursued, that is the way we see paintings is governed by the interests of the dominant form of power, then perhaps we are part of the way to an understanding of the dynamics which lie behind organisation theorising, that is theorising organisation and organisations reflects the interests of power which lie behind organisations. However, by way of immediate elucidation, consider the above material from Berger. Berger, as already noted, is tracing the development of oil painting in Europe from the time of the Enlightenment - especially in portraiture. The development of this type of painting he associates with the development of capitalism. What is portrayed represents the patron's value, his status, the status of his family and so on. The medium could almost be incidental; it is the message that counts. The medium of the time was oil-painting.

Capitalism has become a way of life over the past five centuries, at first in the West and latterly expanding to the remainder of the globe. Capitalism is, literally, a way of life - it is one of life's ways. We live Capitalism or, perhaps more correctly, Capitalism lives us. As has been noted elsewhere the reproduction of capital and human reproduction are inextricably linked (Bergin, 1996). Everything in a capitalist system, or, perhaps more correctly, everything in *the* capitalist system, has a value from the mechanically recovered flesh of dairy cattle to the surgically recovered eggs of artificially aborted female human foetuses. Capitalism is almost organic in its operation. If we take the view that we live capitalism then we may come to see it as organic. Its existence *is* life - human life. Typically we may have understood Capitalism as a form of exploitation of Nature. We may eventually come to see it as humanity being a vehicle for Nature, organic life. And that the

product of our thought, at least as far as what we conventionally conceptualise economics as being, is the conduit for life.

How might one set about studying entrepreneurship in the light of the concerns of Berger's and Foucault's questioning of the order of things and how we come to see what we see the way we do? How does the amateur pursue knowledge without being subject to the requirements of a profession, without giving up to specialization? In addition to his work on ordering, Foucault wrote extensively on subjectivity and power. This literature is particularly informative when attempting to theorise the role and function of the entrepreneur, as shall be seen as this thesis unfolds. Rather than understanding the entrepreneur as a sole agent, pursuing his own interests, an analysis of his life and work in the light of Foucault's writings suggests a much more complex mode of operation than conventional accounts of entrepreneurship would suggest.

A conventional narrative-style account of Leverhulme the entrepreneur would indeed be just that - *an* account, a story, one among many competing to tell the story of Leverhulme. Facts and figures could be checked, dates exacted etc. But the end product would simply be a story, possibly a very interesting story. But the story would have an arbitrary beginning, even a conventional beginning - say with his birth. Likewise for an ending - say with his death. However what is learnt from such an exercise other than perhaps the skills of historiography, if not hagiography? To adopt an approach postulated by Foucault, one generally at home in the post-modern *oeuvre*, one learns, one is changed in the process. One is taught to be wary of certainties, to be forever circumspect. To write and research in the pursuit of factual knowledge one is simply reproducing the system which endorses such approaches. To pursue the hidden, the censored, the disorganised, *to dig the dirt*, one resists, one may influence, one may change. However one never knows what lies ahead. Those social sciences which seek and believe in progress can only tread lightly for we are limited in our capacities to foresee the consequences of our action. The likelihood of those sciences ever achieving their goal(s) is a doubtful one for

the obvious reason that enterprises based upon rationality ought to be treated with circumspection as noted above and also because science is not the scientists' science but rather is an adjunct of what Foucault terms power/knowledge. Knowledge, for Foucault, must be conceptualised as an integral part of the process that constitutes the social domain.

All knowledges are productive in the sense that they have definite effects upon the subjects one seeks to know. For the social sciences these effects are not separable from the practices of administration to which these sciences are tied (Henriques et al 1984:92).

In the context of domestic health and hygiene practices this means that, in examining how and why these have come to be, it is crucial to count for the effects inside them of historically specific circumstances that refer to social practices and to other discourses centred upon the subject .

Subjectivity

The term subjectivity was mentioned earlier and it is to this term that attention is now focussed. Foucault denotes two meanings of the word "subject": subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge and that both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject (op.cit.; loc.cit). The making of the subject, the process of subjectification rests upon three axes:

- **Truth** - gained from the objective knowledge of human sciences
- **Power** - relations between people who act upon one another, that is when power is exercised people are made into subjects and
- **Ethics** - i.e. self-construction as a moral subject. The definition of ethics for Foucault is the "practice of liberty" (1988:4). It relies on truth about what it is to be human.

So 'subjectivity' does not stand on its own but is an outcome. It is this aspect of Foucault's work which makes it so fascinating. For so little, in the light of his work, is seen to stand on its own but is always the result of a much larger process. Thus in the light of Foucault's work, the taken for granted approaches of established methods of enquiry are quite severely compromised and are indeed

rather limited in their usefulness towards understanding - if indeed they have any other use than in the process of subjectification. When one approaches a field of enquiry or a phenomenon in that field, one is immediately made sensitive to the potential of the phenomenon under investigation - as is evidenced by his understanding of the term subject.

The above is included simply as a way of illustrating the reluctance of conventional theorizing to admit to, what Foucault refers to as, “the three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects” (1982:777):

- (i) the modes of enquiry which try to give themselves the status of sciences
- (ii) the objectivizing of the subject into what he calls the dividing practices, e.g. the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the good boys, and
- (iii) the way a human being turns himself into a subject. Foucault gives the example of how men have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of “sexuality” (ibid.:778).

These may be labelled Language, Labour and Life respectively. Foucault, in this paper, states that it is not power but the *subject* which is the general theme of his research. And when studying any phenomenon, be it power or the subject or whatever he warns us that:

We have to know the historical conditions which motivate our conceptualizations. We need a historical awareness of our present circumstances (idem.).

And for example his analysis of the concept of power. As mentioned earlier in this chapter the conventional - even that term is problematic and contradictory in the context - approach to the study of power in organisation is premised upon a Marxist analysis, seeing power relations as pyramidal - power belonging to and exercise by ‘an elite’. For Foucault, after Deleuze (1988), power

- is not possessed by a class or group or strategy, exhibited in action.
- does not belong to the state - the state is an effect of many diverse power relations
- change of power relations changes the economy, contrary to Marx’s view
- is ‘the relation of forces passing through singularities’
- is productive of reality *prior* to repression
- power of the state is not expressed in the law - moral, commercial and economic impulses all affect law.

Hence, two models of power emerge

- Power relations are not pyramidal (as with Marx and capitalism)
- Power is immanent, always in specific relations, never transcendental.

And two senses of power

- denoting domination and constraint and
- enables the constituting of the subject and these lead to the two meanings of the subject already noted.

In what way, then, can hygiene practices, public health policies, the use of soap be employed to exemplify Foucault's argument that power is immanent, always in specific relations and never transcendental? As Foucault explains, power does not act directly upon people - rather it "acts upon their actions":

...in itself the exercise of power is not violence; nor is it a consent which implicitly is not renewable. It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects (1982:789).

We see social boundaries everywhere; for example in railway travel standards of accommodation are referred to as class, in Britain this being first and standard. There are different classes of spectator accommodation at racecourses and concert halls, even at football grounds. The best positions for spectators are those available to those who have the means to pay the highest prices - privilege depends on wealth or, at least, favouritism. Racecourses are, in the British context at least, good examples of spectator division on the basis of social standing. Take Royal Ascot: the most privileged view of proceedings is from the Royal Enclosure along with the members of the Royal Family. Then there is the members enclosure where members of Ascot racecourse view the races. Then we descend to Tattersalls and finally to the punters who people the Silver Ring. The privileges attached to those who share the Royal Enclosure include a shorter distance from the parade ring; rubbing shoulders with the owners and trainers giving possible access to privileged information and more comfortable surroundings and a good view of the finishing line. The punter in the Silver Ring has the longest hike to the parade ring, no access to privileged information and generally poorer information. "Membership has its privileges" as the American Express advertisement has it. The message is be like "us" (or at least strive to be like "us" and you will/may be rewarded. Be subject!

The maintenance of organisation is premised upon the maintenance of boundaries.

Technologies of The Self

In addition to his work on subjectivity and to the influence of his work on transgression, another area of Foucault's *œuvre*, which he referred to as "Technologies of the Self" (after a seminar of that title which he gave in 1982), has influenced the thinking behind this thesis. Shortly before he died in 1984, Foucault suggested this seminar title to be the basis for a new book. In its message the seminar may be understood as complementing Foucault's work on subjectivity, focussing specifically on the emergence on the concept of self and the eventual subordination of one's own knowledge of oneself to an attenuated understanding of self based on the influence of a number of agencies such as the church and - later - various Christian denominations and the rise of the human sciences.

Foucault defines technologies of the self as those

... which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality (1988b:18).

They are one of four technologies, the other three being Technologies of Production, Technologies of Sign Systems and Technologies of Power, all of which were explored in his earlier works. Foucault adds:

These four types of technologies hardly ever function separately although each one is associated with a type of domination. Each implies certain modes of training and modification of individuals, not only in the sense of acquiring certain behaviours but also in the sense of acquiring certain attitudes (1988a:19)

The contact between the technologies of domination and those of the self Foucault calls governmentality, a term to which he introduced his readership in 1979.

In this paper, Foucault traces the development of the hermeneutics of the self in two different contexts: i) Graeco-Roman philosophy in the first two centuries A.D. of the Roman Empire and ii) Christian spirituality and monastic principles developed

in the fourth and fifth centuries of the late Roman Empire. The question he poses is why did the injunction “Take care of yourself” of the Graeco-Roman period give way to the “Know yourself” of the later Christian period. He suggests this occurred because “our morality, a morality of asceticism, insists that the self is that which one can reject” (ibid.:22). Further he suggests that knowledge of the self (the thinking subject) takes on an ever-increasing importance as the first step in the theory of knowledge. The point which Foucault makes in this paper is that the process of taking care of oneself, of knowing who one is and of one’s limits through, say, introspection gave way in the Christian era to knowing oneself through power invested in others. In Christianity, which he points out is a *confessional* religion in addition to being a religion of salvation, it is the authority of the hierarchy and submission to that hierarchy, in Holy Orders and in lay life, which leads to a knowledge of the self.

It (Christianity) imposes very strict obligations of truth, dogma, and canon, more so than do the pagan religions. Truth obligations to believe this or that were and are still very numerous. The duty to accept a set of obligations, to hold certain books as permanent truth, to accept authoritarian decisions in matters of truth, not only to believe certain things but to show that one believes, and to accept institutional authority are all characteristic of Christianity (1988b:40).

The importance of this for Foucault is that this form of knowing oneself, particularly through verbalization as developed in the recounting one’s sins, a practice which had wider influence from the thirteenth century onwards with the introduction of the sacrament of penance, in renouncing oneself, gave rise in the nineteenth century by the human sciences to the constitution of a new self.

Knowledge of self, over the millennia since the beginning of the Christian era, moved from an understanding of the self by the self to an understanding of the self based on the expert knowledge of others, of authority figures. As a former disciple of a La Sallean institution - a school run by the order of monks founded by Jean Baptiste De La Salle - this writer for fourteen years wore the motto *Recta Sapere* over his heart - it was part of the school crest which appeared on the school blazer. The motto translates as “relish what is right”. As pupils of this institution one was

taught what was right. Pupils were not encouraged to *look* for what was right. We *knew* what was right because we were *told* it was right

This orientation of Foucault leads us to the questions “What do we know?” and “How do we know what we know?” and also the corollary “How do we know what we know is knowledge?” as opposed to, say, ideology. So, in the case of this thesis one is led to question the received wisdom on economic development and entrepreneurs contribution to it in the Victorian era; one is also led to consider the idea of Nature - how it has changed and how it changes us - in the arts, in social reform, indeed, in Foucault’s terms, to “the objectivizing of the sheer fact of being alive in natural history or biology” (ibid.:777).

Nature

This piece of work should be read in the tradition of the exploration of the questions Foucault, and Kant before him, were asking. It is as much a reflection upon a process as it is a product. This dissertation is an attempt to explore the significance of entrepreneurs in answering the question ‘What we are today?’ It is suggested that our hygiene practices, and the industry associated with them, *may* shed light on this question. An understanding of the meaning of Nature is fundamental when exploring ideas of this type. It is a particular understanding of Nature which leads to our conception of what we are. This understanding, it is suggested here, is one which is widely promoted but unstated in mass-consumer culture and can be seen in the philosophy of the one of the founders of Lever Brothers, William Hesketh Lever, Lord Leverhulme of the Western Isles. Entrepreneurial activity is seen here as being as much cultural as it is economic.

In pursuing this dissertation under the title Nature and the Victorian Entrepreneur: Soap, Sunlight and Subjectivity, what is attempted here is an examination of the understanding of Nature in the Victorian period, and of the impact of this understanding on one Victorian entrepreneur, Leverhulme. As is perhaps inevitable

when dealing academically with the concept of Nature, the term Nature grew to be a difficult concept to tie down and one's early understanding of the concept was indeed the result of one's own subjectification. One's view or understanding of Nature was coloured by the sentiments of Leverhulme and his contemporaries and commentators on the period. However, this attenuated understanding of Nature left an enormous amount of questions unaddressed, for example, human reproduction as addressed by Berger, *inter alia*. Also the work of Foucault, for example in The Order of Things with its concerns of Life, Labour and Language. Indeed, questions arise which address the very essence of humanity itself - and the humanities - and its fairly recent manifestation in the literature of the social and behavioural sciences.

Capra (1988) puts it succinctly when he says that we cannot speak of Nature without, at the same time, speaking of ourselves. On the face of it when reflecting on this insight of Capra's, one can appreciate its relevance in the context of the debate on objectivity in the behavioural sciences. But such concerns are a mere side show when set against the tendency of the human sciences to objectify the fact of being alive in Nature, as Foucault puts it. The more one reflects upon such questions, the closer one may come to an understanding of humanity as Nature speaking, Nature talking. That is, as a form of life on Earth, humans tell themselves how remarkably successful they, as a species, have been in adapting themselves to their environment and in adapting their environment to suit them. This will become more apparent as this text develops.

Health and Hygiene

In a similar way Mary Douglas's suggestion, that our routine hygiene practices and the 'ritualized' cleansing practices of 'primitive' societies are not dissimilar, leads one to reflect upon the meaning of our hygiene practices. Both Douglas and Foucault suggest that we ought not to take the everyday, the banal for granted. Both argue for the need to throw aside conventional wisdom, to remove the

blinkers, to cast aside conventional organisation theorizing if one wishes to grasp a fuller understanding of our current mode of organisation and order. Douglas's work takes us back over a century to show how similar our hygiene practices are to those of societies which are conventionally understood as primitive. Foucault, likewise, has unearthed the past to demonstrate, among other things, the process of ordering embedded in the reform of the social and the political in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among the reform legislation he studied was that surrounding the provision of sewage and sanitation.

The toilet practices of the industrializing economies, specifically the English economy, were widely held to be symptomatic of a civilising process. Recently the economic development officers of The Potteries in Staffordshire began promoting the tourist wares of the towns which make up The Potteries by informing the wider public that we are celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the water closet. As a piece of technology the water closet, as opposed to the earth closet, is almost universal in its application. Human faecal and water waste is transported away from the home, office, factory or whatever - the seat of production so to speak - and is processed at some remote facility. As a piece of technology, disregarding peculiarities of engineering design - be it a high-level or a low-level water closet, a coupled system or a squat or whatever, it is a fine example of control of practices within a household by agencies beyond that household, or *oikos*, in Greek, from which is derived the word economic, economics, ecologic etc. Toilet practices may be seen to be at the heart of the distinction between the two meanings of the word economics: literally it means the domestic economy, the life practices of the household - in the sense that 'home economics' once appeared on school curricula. Latterly the word 'economics' is used in a theoretical sense, viz. the economics of the state relating to a state's performance in terms of production and consumption which of course affects the humble *oikos*. Thus in matters as simple, as banal, as everyday as going to stool, the household and the individuals within the household become subject to a system of organisation. And as Foucault reminds us regarding banal facts:

... that they're banal does not mean that they don't exist. What we

have to do with banal facts is to discover - or try to discover - which specific and perhaps original problem is connected with them. (Foucault 1982, p.779)

Thus, through a study of something as everyday as a toilet closet, toilet tissue or even a bar of soap, we may uncover elements of organisation and ordering hidden to us. Personal and domestic hygiene and public sanitation may be seen as symbolic of a system of organisation. Our everyday toilet and hygiene practices and the period in which they emerged are undoubtedly connected with the rapid population growth in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries together with the industrialisation of economies and the growth of towns and cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These practices have the effect of making individuals subjects, subject in the sense of being controlled or dependent and subject in the sense of being tied to one's identity by a conscience or self-knowledge.

Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to. (Foucault 1982, p. 781)

Looking specifically at the personal care products industry which developed in the second half of the last century one can see this double of the meaning of 'subject' in operation. On the one hand the individual was subject to a regime of sanitary reforms which included the removal of taxes on soap and also, as techniques of persuasion developed with the growth of the advertising industry, one's own identity (as a consumer) was shaped by the information accompanying the products of the new hygiene industry.

The symbolic importance of this industry has yet another dimension. While personal and public hygiene affected the development of industrial societies by ensuring the efficacy of environments in which human life could survive, the very concept of dirt avoidance, of the taboo surrounding pollution, became a metaphor to live by, to use Lakoff and Johnson's terminology. The reader is no doubt familiar with the Wesleyan phrase 'Cleanliness is next to Godliness', and the Victorian expression 'A healthy mind in a healthy body'. These were expressions of the metaphor which guided social reform from the eighteenth century and which

occupied the minds of prominent Victorians, such as Leverhulme, the entrepreneur studied in this dissertation.

While developments in public health helped to ensure the viability of the public body, soap and saponides (the term saponides is used as a descriptor of all products of the soap and detergent industry including recent additions such as cleansing bars, soap free soaps, cleansing milks and the like) when they eventually became quite freely available ensured the regulation of the private body. And what a wonderful mechanism for so doing - for there can be few such intimate instruments of regulation as soap. Apart from water there is nothing that is applied to the human body with such regularity as soap. It is part and parcel of daily organisation. The beginning of the day is, for most, marked by a wash with soap and water.

Leverhulme

In the context of this dissertation then, there is an interplay between these two meanings of the word 'subject'. Further, there are a number of subjects. To start with the title, Nature and the Victorian Entrepreneur, there is the subject of the thesis - Leverhulme and the process of subjectification. He, of course, in his life and actions affected the subjectivity of others. He was not alone in this - he was not unique. There were others at the time, for example Cadbury in Birmingham and Pullman in Illinois to name but two, with whom he might be compared. All of these figures may be viewed as catalysts in the process of subjectivity in the last century. However, it is the nature of Leverhulme's enterprise which marks him out as special in the context of subjectification. His business was fundamentally concerned with orderliness, with propriety, with control, with demarcation with creating an awareness, an identity, for himself and for others. Both Pullman and Cadbury stuck to the knitting of their respective industries, coach making and chocolate manufacture. Leverhulme on the other hand diversified both within and without his soap-making business. All the time, however, it is evident that he is, in the Foucauldian sense, a singularity through whom 'the relations of forces' pass.

To have the ambition to do what he achieved in his many enterprises can be explained in terms of him being enmeshed in a system of power relations. He acted but was also acted upon. His actions affected others; he maybe said to have subjected and to have been subjected. As a catalyst he may be understood to embody the discourses of the day such as Empire, order, public health, industrial growth, the death of Nature to name but a few. Through him these discourses were channelled to the mass-consuming population who in turn were subject to the norms and values of the time.

Leverhulme has previously been characterised as *having* subjects in his neo-feudal barony of Port Sunlight on the Wirral. Literature on paternalism may also explain, partially at least, the role of a Leverhulme, a Cadbury, a Pullman on the local economy. However such specialist explanations, are at best partial, and cannot attempt elucidate the multitude of phenomena acting upon one such as Leverhulme and he in turn acting upon them.

With Leverhulme as the vehicle on which this study is based, it will become apparent that his involvement in the manufacture of soap can be seen to be symbolic of his role as one upon whom 'power' played. Soap, and its function as a cleansing agent, can be understood as a metaphor for the ordering of the wider society. Leverhulme did not limit himself to the production of soap but also to the production of symbols of which Sunlight is a particularly good example, as is his village Port Sunlight. Sunlight, it is suggested, is what was missing from the lives not only of his employees but of the emerging mass of industrial producers/consumers. Leverhulme was the provider of Sunlight.

This role of his extended in to his patronage of the arts, as will be discussed at greater length later in Chapter Five. For now it is enough to note that much of the imagery in the paintings he bought, among them many paintings by the Pre-Raphaelites, portray the world we have lost, a preindustrial bucolic paradise. Leverhulme can be seen to be doing at least two things in his purchase, and eventual

donation, of these paintings. Firstly he can be seen to be attempting to attenuate his position as a 'soap-boiler', a Nonconformist arriviste by showing publicly that, after all, he was an educated man of taste. Secondly, he can be understood as showing that, by making these paintings available - first to his employees and latterly to the wider public - he was attempting to educate, to imbue a culture of refinement to the ordinary, consuming public. Their cultural needs to him were as in need of attention as their physical needs. In seeing the wider public in these terms, Leverhulme was embroiled in an attempt to establish a hierarchy of cultures, or at least to reinforce one that had already been established. As the physical uncleanness of the masses, at least prior to the widespread availability of soap, was a threat to social stability - in the sense that a healthy economy needs to be fuelled by healthy bodies - so the lack of a refined intellect was seen to be a threat to the bourgeois aesthetic. If the mass of producer/consumers did not share or aspire to the status of the bourgeois, if their values were beyond the pale of middle-class respectability, then that respectability may be threatened or even overthrown. In Stallybrass and White's terms, the unrefined were designated 'low' to the 'high' of bourgeois sentiment and aesthetics. The colonization of the minds became as important as important to the success of the growth of a consumer culture as did the colonization of their bodies (through the consumption of mass produced goods). It is ironic to note that, what at times appear to be the high-minded motivation of Leverhulme in his attempts at education, the opening of the Lady Lever Art Gallery was followed only some twenty years later by the first radio soap opera in the United States of America. As an actor in this field, Leverhulme clearly can be seen to be enmeshed in the play of power:. As Hall reminds us, "Cultural practices are never outside the play of power" (1993, p.23). This is as true of art galleries as it is of radio and television soap opera.

However, the 'high' which Leverhulme, and others in the nineteenth-century espoused, is defined by its relationship to the 'low' - the two are inseparable, part of the same continuum. Just as Leverhulme and other manufacturers needed a healthy body of employees for their factories which, through their products, led to

the perpetuation of a healthy body of consumers, so the designation of the working class as 'low' - at least in terms of bourgeois artistic sensibilities - makes manifest 'the contradictory nature of symbolic hierarchies', as Stallybrass and White contend.

Again and again we find a striking ambivalence to the representations of the lower strata (of the body, of literature, of society, of place) in which they are both reviled and desired. Repugnance and fascination are the twin poles of the process in which a *political* imperative to reject and eliminate the debasing 'low' conflicts powerfully and unpredictably with a desire for the others. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.5 original emphasis)

If this process of transgression is accepted as being an essential, if unacknowledged, dynamic to the process of organisation, then the role of the entrepreneur as an agent of change in the wider social arena may be more easily understood. Foucault's work, for example in The Order of Things, "reveal(s) the surface disorder of things to the degree that they are spoken" (Bouchard 1977, p.17). The symbolism surrounding transgression, the maintenance of boundaries, their indeterminacy - may be a function of there being several understandings of the concept of Nature all of which are in constant tension.

At the risk of being literal, soap is a fitting metaphor through which to examine the dynamic of organisation. Soap, as a cleansing agent, operates on the surfaces of water, reducing its surface tension, that is, the affinity its molecules have for each other in preference to the molecules of the material to be washed. Soap restores order following a soiling of the skin or of a fabric. If soap *is* a yardstick of civilization, Foucault's work reveals just how tenuous this civilization is.

Entrepreneurs

However, the focus of this study is not limited to the analysis of the symbolism of soap and saponides in the process of subjectification, but rather to argue for an understanding of the role of entrepreneurs - in particular one Victorian entrepreneur - in this process. While the great unwashed were necessary as a mass-market for the furtherance of the ambitions of Leverhulme, the revolution, of which he was

part, may also be seen in terms of, what Foucault calls, an ‘anti-authority’ struggle in which a new class, the industrial bourgeoisie sought to be accommodated by the status quo. The new class represented a shift in the process of power in meeting the requirements of a new social order based upon urban industrialism. Thus to be accepted by the status quo, these revolutionaries had to present themselves and their enterprise in ways which would lead to reward. They themselves became powerful by virtue of their relationship to the prevailing form of power. This involved crossing boundaries hitherto closed to them. To cross these boundaries they had to contribute to the dominant form of power. As ‘engines of social progress’, as a number of them were called, they themselves had to be seen to be ‘clean’, no longer as outsiders but as key players on the power broking in the new and repackaged social order.

The social process of which Leverhulme was a part involved boundaries and the maintenance of boundaries. This aspect of organisation was not unique to the period in which he lived. It is evident today in social organisation. It was evident several millennia ago. What is worthy of investigation in the last two centuries, and in Leverhulme’s enterprise in particular, is the technology by which this organisation is achieved.

Order/Organisation

When we speak of ‘being organised’ we seldom think in terms of being passively organised. Rather, we think of *being organised* as something positive, something which speaks of potential to get things done, to organise - that aspect of organisation characterised by ‘Personal Effectiveness’ modules on MBA degree courses. But of course to be personally effective, one is desired to be so to meet the requirements of the system that lives us - a system which in the late twentieth century, requires us to be leaner and fitter. And it is in the nature of Capitalism, as Berger tells us, for us to define ‘our own interests as narrowly as possible’ - that is our own interests mirror the requirements of our economic system. However,

again conventionally, one is not encouraged to think of life or Capitalism - and its manifestation in pension funds, health insurance, health services etc. in this way. Indeed one may well be affronted by the notion that, in terms of the capitalist system, one simply represents so many thousands, tens or hundreds of thousands or even millions of pounds to an economy.

This should not surprise us greatly. That it does is indicative of the censorious aspect of modern economic organisation. One is forever perplexed when listening to undergraduate students studying psychology of the importance they attach to the notion of a) objectivity (in research) and b) the notion of the individual. This was brought home quite recently by one student when discussing what she might choose for her third year independent study. In attempting to contextualise her somewhat limited study one enquired whether she could relate interests in her life to what she wished to pursue in her study. The response was that “there are other things in my life apart from psychology” - the implication being that as an *individual* she had choices to make and that psychology was something she would treat in an appropriate way - cold, detached and calculated. Clearly she saw herself as producing psychology rather than psychology producing her. Not only that but by being part of the psycho-industry she would not be rewarded for thinking otherwise. For her, and for many of us, we tend to see what surrounds us as resources for our survival as opposed to viewing ourselves as resources for the survival of the economy. Our being subjects and subjected is, for the most part, overlooked.

Chapter Three

On Nature

... it can be said that we are a saner, more contented people when we have the chance to enjoy a close familiarity with a small parish-sized patch of countryside, in which we can plant our own experience, watching it grow and become overgrown. (Harrison 1984, p.166)

... without access to wild nature the English would spiritually perish. (Trevelyan 1962, pp.6-7)

...one nation whose culture has demonstrated a love of nature most consistently. (Mullins 1985, p.)

We can never speak of nature, without at the same time, speaking about ourselves. (Capra 1988, p.77)

The problem of writing on Nature generally is noted by many of those who have tackled the subject (Mullins 1985; Williams 1980; Douglas 1973). Lovejoy tells us that :

The word 'nature', it need hardly be said, is ... the most frequent subject for the investigation of philosophical semantics. The problem, however, is never addressed and overcome, rather it is simply acknowledged and put aside.(1960, p.16)

One must echo Lovejoy's sentiment. There is a difficulty in understanding what is meant by Nature, the problem being confounded by it being the product of another nature, human nature. This problem lies at the heart of this dissertation and, one might add, at the heart of contemporary philosophy. When Foucault, after Kant, posed the question 'What are we today', he was also asking 'What is Nature

today?’ That is, where do we see ourselves fitting into the great chain of being in the late twentieth century? And how is it that we have come to see ourselves in this way? These concerns have taxed the minds of those who lived before us and, presumably, will continue to occupy the minds of those who will live after us. They are to be found in the works of classical antiquity, in the philosophies of the Renaissance and of the Enlightenment and in the works of those writing in the Victorian era in this country. They also surfaced in the debates on sanitary reform in the last century (Hamlin 1985) and have even appeared in the field of organisation theory (Cooper 1986).

When writing of Nature and the Victorian Entrepreneur, one’s understanding of the focus of this thesis became rather ambivalent the more one read on Nature. Initially one envisaged writing upon Nature *as the Natural World*, non-human Nature, including attitudes to it, representations of it, its place in contemporary philosophy, and its symbolism. Of course this thinking of Nature was the result of being seduced by Victorian representations of Nature, the idea of Nature and art as being needs of the mind, as Gombrich (1981) put it in his Leverhulme Memorial Lecture. Specifically, what was intended was to appraise the representation of Nature in the Victorian era, in the arts (painting and literature), political philosophy, urban planning, and science: in the ‘age of purity’ as Foucault (1974) characterised this period. Each of these areas may *seem* remote from philosophical semantics. But, of course, in so far as they were debated and by politicians, philosophers, philanthropists urban planners, entrepreneurs and scientists, the various understandings of Nature represent an application of philosophy.

Take the example of landscape gardening which, in seventeenth century England, may be seen as a revolt against an overdose of formal geometric design in gardens. This fashion spread to Germany and France from 1730 onwards and was the beginning, if not the cause, of a change of taste in all the arts. Thus “at one point at least, the history of landscape gardening becomes a part of any truly philosophical history of modern thought” (Lovejoy 1960, p.15). Likewise it is to literature that

one must look, particularly in its more concrete forms, if the inward thoughts of a generation are to be discovered. As Leverhulme was involved in so many different projects - housing, politics, manufacturing, and art collecting, to name but a few - an appreciation of the representation of Nature in each of these areas is offered.

Latterly, however, that aspect of Nature to which many dictionaries pay primary attention, that is *human* nature, has influenced the orientation of this dissertation to such an extent that what is presented here is a shadow or an echo of the original idea. For it is in the process of organising and being organised, that our understanding of Nature changes. The idea of Nature in the mid-to-late Victorian Era was quite different from the idea of Nature say two centuries or even millennia beforehand. And it is quite different from the idea of Nature today. These differences reflect shifts in understanding and these shifts in understanding frequently reflect changes in the economy. It would be facile to say that this phenomenon represents progress (an idea which gained great credence in the Victorian era as a result of the Darwins' theories of evolution and natural selection), although it may be commonly understood as such. Rather, an understanding of the provenance of the idea of Nature, specifically in the Western arena, may lead to an understanding of the dynamics of subjectivity.

Representations of Nature

By the mid-nineteenth century the idea of Nature had undergone a number of fundamental changes since earliest recorded discourses on the subject. However, the status of Nature, although sublimated, remains the same as always, that is in fundamental opposition to culture. Freud represented the received wisdom of the time thus:

For the principle task of civilization, its actual *raison d' être*, is to defend us against nature. (1963, p.15)

Latter day commentators may put this thus other way round:

For the principle task of civilization, its actual *raison d' être*, is to protect the environment.

The awe-full aspect of Nature to which Freud was alluding is seldom foremost in our Western images of the natural world. In our so-called 'civilised' countries, where civilisation is emblemised by economic development which has been achieved by a domination of Nature - in the sense of the harnessing of natural forces, wind and water, the mining of raw materials, the developments in agricultural and applied sciences - awful aspects of another nature, human nature, predominate and are fought against. For some romantic conservationists the ills wrought by the process of industrialisation, increasing urbanisation, may be checked by the preservation of our (English) wildlife and countryside. No other body of symbolic reference, it is held, can fill as much of the void left by the collapse of 'traditional society' with its closeness to the natural world. Such sentiments are indicative of a society in transition or one which has experienced a major transition. They are views which represent the culmination of the developments of industrialisation and the scientific domination of the natural world.

What emerged during the process of mastery of Nature, especially since the Renaissance, was an aesthetic of Nature. The process of subjugation of Nature in itself did not lead to any appreciable increase in the satisfaction which might have been expected in living standards and so other things were demanded from Nature. This is especially evident in the economically advanced countries.

We welcome it as a sign of civilization, as well, if we see people directing their care to what has no practical use value whatever, to what is useless - if, for instance, the green spaces necessary in a town as playgrounds and as reservoirs of fresh air are also laid out with flower-beds, or if the windows of houses are decorated with pots of flowers. We soon observe that that this useless thing which we expect civilization to value is beauty. (Freud 1963, pp.92-93)

Nature, it is suggested in this type of sentiment, meets not only our life needs in forms of energy (food and heat) and shelter (clothing and housing) but also the needs of the mind:

... the idea of nature contains an extraordinary amount of human history. What is often being argued, it seems to me, in the idea of nature is the idea of man. (Williams 1980, pp.70)

It goes without saying but perhaps it *needs* saying, that the idea of Nature dates only from the birth of mankind's awareness of itself. Man, as an object of enquiry

in the human sciences, is, comparatively, a recent phenomenon. Man's attempt to understand himself has led to an understanding of Nature. Records of thoughts on Nature date from classical antiquity. In Western civilisation the hallmarks of our attitude to Nature were set by Socrates and Plato when the focus of their attention turned to mind, internal nature, and external Nature, the natural world, was relegated to second place. The upshot of the separation of mind from matter led to questions of our origin as a species. Are we a part of Nature or are we apart from it? And, if we are a part of Nature, how could Nature produce a species, the human species, whose efforts, as a result of their philosophising, lead to so much destruction of the natural world? Sheridan puts it thus:

As the population increases so more and more of the earth's resources are eaten up. Without work, men die. The more work is performed, the closer the ultimate threat of total extinction for mankind. (1980, p.69)

"The idea of man", of which Williams was writing, and the systems of thought which gave rise to that idea, are unearthed by Foucault when conceptualising Nature.

The animal maintains its existence on the frontiers of life and death. Death besieges it on all sides; furthermore, it threatens it also from within, for only the organisms can die and it is from the depths of their lives that death overtakes living beings. Hence, no doubt, the ambiguous values assumed by animality towards the end of the eighteenth century: the animal appears to be the bearer of that death to which it is, at the same time, subjected; it contains a perpetual devouring of life by life. It belongs to Nature only at the price of containing within itself a nucleus of anti-Nature. Transferring its most secret essence from the vegetable to the animal kingdom, life has left the tabulated space of order and become wild once more. The same movement that dooms it to death reveals it as murderous. It kills because it lives. Nature can no longer be good. That life can no longer be separated from murder, nature from evil or desires from anti-nature, Sade proclaimed in the eighteenth century, whose language he (Sade) drained dry, and to the modern age, which has for so long attempted to stifle his voice. (Foucault 1974, pp.277-278)

Questions concerning the benign or malign qualities of Nature, if pursued, lead down the roads to the philosophy of Nature and to questions of ontology which played no part in the original thinking behind this piece of work. Gradually the incontrovertible connections between the questions, say, Foucault - a major force on contemporary philosophy - was addressing and the Nature of which

Leverhulme, a Victorian soap manufacturer - spoke became obvious and impossible to ignore. A narrative account of Leverhulmes's life gave way to an interpretation, in the light of some of Foucault's philosophy, of entrepreneurial activity with Leverhulme as its focus. Leverhulme, one of the great entrepreneurs of the late Victorian, period was instrumental through his business activities in imparting a sense of nature to his mass-consuming public.

The Domination of Nature

Contemporary studies on the idea of Nature in western civilisation are replete with references to Francis Bacon (1561-1626). Bacon's writings are *arguably* the single most important source of our (western) present-day relationship with the natural world. This is not to deny the influences of the Judaeo-Christian heritage and the Genesis myth. In Bacon's view religion and science were engaged in a mutual effort to compensate for the damage incurred as a result of the expulsion from Eden.

For man by the Fall fell at the same time from his state of innocency and his domination over creation. Both of these losses can even in this life be in some part repaired; the former by religion and faith, the latter by arts and sciences. (Bacon.(4), pp.247-248)

Bacon believed that, through the domination of Nature, humankind's material progress would be enhanced. Through progress in the arts and sciences mastery over Nature would be regained. The "state of innocency" would be restored as religion shared with the arts and sciences the burden of its restoration. This posturing by Bacon helped create the climate in which earthly hopes flourished at the expense of heavenly ones. In coupling innocence and dominion, Bacon claimed to have found a way back to the latter through science, which was quite different from the means available for regaining the former.

The philosophy of Nature as developed by Bacon was elaborated further for the next two-and-a-half centuries. Joseph Glanville in Plus Ultra (1688) wrote that the objectives of the new natural philosophy was to ensure that "Nature being known, it may be *mastered, managed, and used* in the services of human life." And Descartes, pursuing this line argued, that we:

... render ourselves *masters* and possessors of nature ... (that through) the invention of an infinity of the arts and crafts ... (we are enabled) ... to enjoy without any trouble the fruits of the earth and all the good things which are to be found there. (1955, (1) p.119)

The domination of Nature had begun in earnest by the early nineteenth century in Britain. The new mechanical arts, notably the revolution in iron production in Coalbrookdale and the mechanisation of the textile industry, afforded more brutal assaults on the natural world than it had hitherto experienced.

Correspondingly, an academic interest in the philosophy of Nature declined rapidly. By the mid-nineteenth century Robert Knox and Charles Darwin, each in their own fashion, appropriated the word 'philosophy' - the one for a 'philosophical anatomy', the other for 'philosophical naturalists'. Both were concerned to identify laws of the living world. Biology thus came to replace a philosophy of Nature. Natural history until this time had been happy simply "to comprehend and glorify a prolific Creator by the study of His Creation" (Rehbock 1983, p.5). As scientific disciplines grew, their work became identified with measurement and mathematical demonstration. The attitude toward Nature changed from a contemplative one to a pragmatic one. One was not so much interested in Nature as it is; one asked, rather, what one could do with it. Thus, the natural sciences turned into technical sciences; every advancement of knowledge was connected with the question as to what practical use could be derived from it (Heisenberg 1958).

In continental Europe at this time a complementary development emerged, that of Idealism. It found little favour in Britain other than among the Philosophical Naturalists at Edinburgh. The German Idealists not only paid attention to the details of natural phenomena but they were also concerned that the mind "be deeply and delicately sensitive" to the overall beauty of natural phenomena (Rehbock 1983, p.18). Nature was viewed by them as an organismic whole, more than a sum of its individual parts. The affinity of Naturphilosophie with the Romantic movement was to influence the arts in Britain. On the continent the combination of Naturphilosophie and the arts is most notable in the work of Goethe (1749-1832),

poet and seminal figure in the biological sciences. Goethe “accepted as a priori principles of the unity of all nature (including man), and the *scala naturae*, or chain of being” (Rehbock, p.9). Nature for Goethe was a “musical symposium, in which the poverty of a solitary theme was enriched by an endless and expanding series of variations” (Rehbock, p.20).

Thus by the Victorian period there had developed in Europe two quite distinct philosophies of Nature. On the one hand Nature was to be mastered so that humankind's dominion over her might be regained as in the tradition of Bacon. Despite the religious garb in which this idea was dressed, for example, mankind was doing God's will by applying its skill to dominate Nature which was in mankind's stewardship, it was a pragmatic stance by which material possessions and the adornments of material culture would increase. On the other hand, the Idealist tradition which emerged in Europe emphasised a more harmonious existence with Nature, an argument which found expression in the arts in Britain.

The Representation of Nature in Britain

The poor peasant talking to himself in a
stable door-...
And the passing world stares but no one
stops to look closer. So back to the
growing crops
And the ridges he never loved.
Nobody will ever know how much tortured
poetry he
pulled weeds on the ridge wrote
Before they withered in the July sun...

Kavanagh (1974) “The Great Hunger”

To appreciate a bucolic or peasant way of life, with its closeness to Nature, invariably implies a distancing or removal from the peasantry. The peasantry, and its way of life, are categorised by the non-peasant. The aesthetic of Nature throughout the development of western civilisation was pursued by the leisured classes; it became, in the past three centuries, a bourgeois aesthetic. The labouring classes had neither the time nor the means to pursue such interests. They were too

close to the natural world to appreciate the aesthetic.

Throughout the gradual separation of humankind from non-human Nature, this leisured-class aesthetic was developed more widely. Thomas (1984) has dated its occurrence from the beginning of the sixteenth century, the time of the Enlightenment, when 'man' became an object of enquiry. This aesthetic manifested itself in a fundamental change of attitude to the natural world, which saw over three hundred years - from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries - the emergence of what Thomas refers to as a "non-utilitarian attitude" to the natural world (Thomas 1984, p.240). While Thomas may be correct in identifying such a change, to refer to it as "non-utilitarian" is perhaps inaccurate. Rather it may be more correct to view this change not so much as non-utilitarian, but rather as an exploitation of symbolism in Nature. The anthropocentrism of Bacon, who suggested that "if man were taken away from the world, the rest would be all astray, without aim or purpose" (Thomas 1984, p.18) was to give way to Charles Darwin's explanation that humanity to animals was one of the noblest qualities and one of the last to be acquired, "for savages did not possess it" (Thomas 1984, p.188).

The evidence presented by Thomas may be interpreted thus: with the growing awareness of human ascendancy over animals, a separation of the human species from other forms of animal life took place. By the late sixteenth century it became common to shelter animals under separate roofs. Whatever the motives underlying this development were, for example, hygiene, such a separation may be interpreted as contribution to an assertion of the uniqueness of mankind. But this was because the boundary between man and the natural world was seen to be so slight, the separation of man from beast underpinned the former's moral superiority. It removed the human species from the bestial. Bestiality "was the sin of confusion; it was immoral to mix the categories" (Thomas 1984, p.39). "Physical cleanliness", as Mill was later to write, was necessary because its absence "more than anything else renders man bestial" (Thomas 1984, p.38). Not only cleanliness, however, for " .. the human brute without arts or laws, ... is poorly distinguished from the rest of animal creation" (Gibbon 1912, p.314). Culture after cleanliness, was as

necessary to man as was domestication for plants and animals.

In the nineteenth century Fourier, Saint-Simon, Engels and other Socialists explicitly aimed at the full separation of man from the animal kingdom and his complete lordship over inferior species (Thomas 198⁴, p.153). Yet the convention was now that mankind was only entitled to domesticate animals for food and clothing. To tyrannise animals or to cause them unnecessary suffering was not thought of favourably. In the United Kingdom the institutionalisation of these changing attitudes was evidenced by the introduction of the statutory surveillance of the treatment of cattle at Smithfield in 1781 and in 1786 the licensing of slaughterhouses. They were further evidenced by the establishment of such bodies as the Society (later the Royal Society) for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1824), the foundation of the Kennel Club (1873), the holding of the first Dog Show (1859), the first Cat Show (1871). These events, Thomas argues, are evidence of acceptance of the view that the world does not exist for man alone, a view which can “fairly be regarded as one of the great revolutions in modern Western thought” (Thomas, 198⁴, p.191). The gap between human needs, on the one hand, and human sensibilities, was by the nineteenth century, very wide indeed.

But these developments, rather than being a reflection of a sensibility of, in this case, the British, may be understood as indicative of other changes. For it would be absurd to suggest that the welfare of animals was making the British more civilised especially when, in the mid-nineteenth century the country was susceptible to the ravages of famine, contagious diseases and the like, when more than half of the population were living in accommodation thought unfit for *human* habitation by the standard of the time. Rather these changing attitudes may be understood as a result of new modes of perception, of thinking, of ordering..

If one considers what was happening with regard to plant-life from about the mid-eighteenth century onwards one may better understand this. Thomas, for example,

suggests that after 1735, which saw the publication of Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature, the *lingua franca* of the countryside began to be purged of its more baroque elements. Names given to plants were names that would not be out of place in polite, *bourgeois*, society. The language was, in effect, being cleaned up.

... the old vernacular names for plants and animals were disliked because they were thought too coarse. Anyone who wants evidence of the way in which polite sensibilities have changed with the centuries need only consider the briskly anatomical nature of this now suppressed terminology, for in the seventeenth-century there grew black maidenhair, naked ladies, pissabed (or shitabed), mares fart and priest's ballocks. In the herb garden could be found horse pistle and prick madam; while in the orchard the open-arse (or medlar) was a popular fruit. Even the black beetle was twitch ballock and the long-tailed titmouse bumtowel. (Thomas 1987, p.85)

Foucault, in The Order of Things, refers to this period as the period of 'purification'. He argues that phenomena can be understood and talked about in a new way because they can be seen in a new way. Referring specifically to the work of natural historians and Linnaeus he writes:

We must not see the constitution of natural history, with the empirical climate in which it develops, as an experiment forcing entry, willy-nilly, into a knowledge that was keeping watch on the truth of Nature elsewhere; natural history - and this is why it appeared at precisely this moment - is the space opened up in representation by an analysis which is anticipating the possibility of naming; it is the possibility of *seeing* what one will be able to *say*, but what one could not say subsequently, or see at a distance, if things and words, distinct from one another, did not, from the very first, communicate in representation.

And continues:

The Classical age gives history a quite different meaning: that of understanding a meticulous examination of things themselves for the first time, and then of transcribing what it has gathered in smooth, neutralized and faithful words. It is understandable that the first form of history constituted in this period of 'purification' should have been the history of nature. For its construction requires only words applied, without intermediary, to things themselves. (Foucault 1974, pp.130-131)

Thus by the end of the eighteenth century a new way of seeing and talking about things in the natural world had emerged, this being due to the dissolution of sameness; words were no longer understood to be the same as the things they represented but as representations of things. And as mankind, through this process

of classification and ordering, began to understand the natural world so mankind began to seek understandings of itself. This is not to say that these developments expressed a new curiosity. That had long been established, as Foucault writes:

It is often said that the establishment of botanical gardens and zoological collections expressed a new curiosity about exotic plants and animals. In fact, these had already claimed men's interest for a long while. What had changed was the space in which it was possible to see them and from which it was possible to describe them. (Foucault 1974, p.131)

In a foreword to the English translation of *Les Mots et Les Choses* Foucault gives a succinct account of his aims, of which Sheridan has written the following:

The history of science has given a certain primacy to the sciences of the abstract and inorganic, to mathematics, cosmology, physics, for example - sciences, in fact, that embody most completely the ideal model of scientific endeavour. The other disciplines, those in which the human being figures, to a greater or lesser extent, as object as well as subject, are thought to be too impure, too resistant to objective criteria, too deeply imbued with the human colouring of error, superstition, and prejudice to provide anything but an irregular, confused history. (Sheridan 1980, p.48)

Thus, in focussing on this and the previous aspect of Foucault's work, it can be seen that changes in the understanding of Nature were a result of Nature being represented, ordered and classified *objectively*. Foucault's history of science is an account of not only mankind understanding what we term the natural world in a new way, and which gave rise to future possible understandings, but also *mankind began to understand itself in new ways*. Further, the gradual urbanisation of Britain together with industrialisation created a space, both literally and figuratively, in which Nature could be represented as never before. In this space there also appeared the world we have lost, a world represented by the idea of a golden past which fuelled a romantic sentiment.

Nature and Romantic Sentiment

Given the insights offered by Foucault, there appears to be a hollow ring to expressions of sentiment such as the following:

To look at England is to look at a land that has been well loved.
And to look at English landscape painting is to see why it has been

well loved. (Mullins 1985, p.8)

This statement by Mullins appeared in a book which accompanied a television programme on British landscape painting. What Mullins writes is the perfect outcome of the processes of conceptualising to which Foucault alerts us. Mullins's opinion would surely have gone down as well in the late nineteenth century as it appears to do in the late twentieth century. Such sentimentality has certainly caught the popular imagination, and it was crucial that it did. For by identifying with the grander enterprises of the gentry and aristocracy who commissioned such works of art, the more ordinary citizen or *subject*, was enmeshed in a process of "normalisation" or "embourgeoisement", a process upon which the status quo depended for its survival. The love of the landscape (which was owned by the wealthy and the aristocratic), of which Mullins wrote, a love propagated by wealthy landowners, became a love for the countryside among those urban dwellers in whom an aesthetic sophistication developed, the rising middle-class.

For the more humble country dweller, many of whom had their homes demolished by the larger landowners, such as the Fourth Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth House, who did not wish his panorama spoiled by the sight of "rustic retreats", the type of sentiment expressed by Mullins would probably be incomprehensible. Yet we are told by Thomas that a well-kept garden, always a pretty sight, was understood as a reassuring symbol of social contentment (198^h~~3~~, p.234). Flower gardening by the late eighteenth century had emerged as a means by which humble men could prove their respectability. Gardening, it was believed, had a civilising effect on the 'labouring poor'. By the beginning of the nineteenth century there was no country in which flower-gardening had as socially wide an appeal as in England (Thomas 198^h~~3~~, p.239). Its pervasiveness was even used to explain the lack of radical and political impulses among the British proletariat (Smith 1950). Such assertions by Thomas and others who write in praise of the British and their love of gardening - 'Adam's profession', as it is often referred to - one is after all nearer to God in a garden - are more suggestive of a normalising process of the wider population than these writers suggest. Interestingly Thomas makes no reference to

Foucault, although he is commenting on phenomena which Foucault interprets as being evidence of more fundamental changes of in The Order of Things, such as Linnaeus's system of classification.

Rural Idylls

To the present day the imagery of retiring to a rustic retreat is ingrained on the popular imagination as the following quote from Barclays Bank publicity shows:

Subject to a few basic conditions we're happy to grant mortgages on virtually any type of house, from one yet to be built to a Tudor cottage.

The impression one is left with when reading of the roles that gardens and gardening, cottages, rural idylls, rustic retreats and the like had in shaping the Victorian imagination is that the English countryside was replete with such wholesome icons. It is as if everywhere one went in the countryside one was not far from a Cotswold village. The pastoralising sentimentality of a former-day Mullins has had a powerful influence. If a well-kept garden was a sign of social contentment where was it so? In villages? If so what about the occupiers of the isolated tied cottage whose responsibility did not extend to the maintenance of the property or the plot which surrounded it? Did the emerging "cottage ideal", of which Leverhulme and many Liberals (Vincent 1966, p.241) were advocates, not have its origins in some form of coercion? Did the starving peasants in north-west England and on the west coast of Scotland in the 1840's busy themselves in their cottage gardens as the potato crop failed?

It is difficult to think that they did. The image of the rural cottage idyll is, as Hawkins (1986) argues, closely identified with the rural south. It is the England of the pastoralising advertisement. The propagation of such sentiment increased as industry expanded. Gardening, cottages of domestic and social contentment were a reaction to the tensions which accompanied industrialisation. Their appeal was essentially negative, indicative of a desire to escape from urbane vices and affectations. Although there were many who felt that the natural world ought to be tamed, it was not to be completely suppressed and dominated. For the emergent

romanticising of the world we have lost, characterised by what today are termed chocolate box images, was counterbalanced by what might be termed the “noble savagery” in the natural world as evidenced by some of the poetry of Tennyson and the paintings of Landseer, his ‘The Monarch of the Glen’ for example.

The image of a traditional England which developed in the last century is one of the most enduring features of advertising in England. Its employment promises a return to Eden at various levels. When retired from one's ‘appointed calling an Earth’, i.e. work, one looks forward to the ‘retirement cottage’ one always promised oneself. Paradise was, after all, a garden. Better to be sure of Eden in this life than hedge one’s bets for the next. Perhaps one can afford such a dream while still working, and thus be tempted by the ‘Stockbroker Tudor’ of a Church's or a Barratt’s quality home. The sense of regaining what we have lost through industry and being industrious, as Bacon argued, is still very much with us.

Hawkins (1986) dates the influence of this feature in English advertising from the 1880's. It has been noted above from Thomas's work that the sentiment was there in the late eighteenth century. What was being expressed in the ‘Eden myth’, as manifested in such imagery, was the experience of transition. It was not peculiar to England in its transition from an agricultural to an industrial society. Finney in her analysis of ‘types’ of garden in French, German and English fiction of the nineteenth century argues that the type most prevalent in the latter is the garden as a Wordsworthian image of Eden.

Novelists such as Charlotte Bronte, Eliot and Dickens expressly borrow the imagery of Eden to describe the landscape of childhood and use the analogy of fall and redemption to portray a character's progression from innocence to maturity. Correspondingly, on the socio-historical axis, the Eden myth comes to stand for the “fall” of timeless moral England into dynamic urban industrialization. (Finney 1984, p.5)

The rural imagery in the English novel “flourished with fervour, a last attempt to capture what is passing before it completely disappears” (Finney 1984, p.12). Moreover, English Romanticism, she writes, is nostalgic and backward looking. It is difficult to find why such images may have flourished in England. It seems that

writers on the subject are unwilling to give a definite reason. Finney, however, is at least prepared to speculate. She writes that the tradition “was stronger in England than elsewhere, perhaps precisely because the industrial revolution began there and because few, if any, European countries possessed a larger proportion of urban populations” (Finney 1984, p.104).

It ought to be remembered that our sentiments in the pastoral are ruled by images of the past. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the cottage ideal of the Elizabethan period was very attractive. But its reality would be unacceptable to even the most resolute Romantic. Yet for the Liberals at the end of the last century, for Leverhulme and for “most representative Victorians” (Vincent 1982, p.34) the cottage home was the heart of the nation. It was an expression which, certainly by the late nineteenth century, had no basis in reality. Rather it was a reaction to the working class housing such as that in Manchester, described thus by Engels in 1844:

Heaps of refuse, offal and sickening filth and everywhere with pools of stagnant water. The atmosphere is polluted by the stench and is darkened by the thick smoke of a dozen factory chimneys. A horde of ragged women and children swarm about the streets and they are just as dirty as the pigs which wallow happily on the heaps of garbage and pools of filth. (Engels 1958, p.71)

Engels's description of urban life as he found it was echoed by the reality of cottage life as described by Dickens in The Chimes, published a year later. One of the central characters, Will Ferns, describes his cottage birth-place thus:

It looks well in a picter but there ain't weather in a picter. 'Tis harder than you think to grow up decent in such a place. That I grewed up a man and not a brute says something for me. (Dickens 1845)

Echoing sentiments of Berger, which were to emerge more than a century later, Dickens is suggesting here that how something is represented, in this case a country cottage, is simply one among a number of possible ways of seeing, and not necessarily a description of its reality. The reader is being warned by Dickens that while the image is seductive, all within the seemingly idyllic cottage may not be well.

The conditions of the labouring classes' housing on and off the land, both within and without the cities, were brutish, more fitting for swine than for human creatures, according to Engels. That this was recognised in literature serves to underline that the image of the 'cottage house' was symbolic. Like trees, cottages symbolised continuity. And, compared to urban squalor, they symbolised innocence and purity. "The assumption was that virtue grew under a thatch roof and vice under a tile roof." (Ford 1977:44)

Nonetheless the tradition of rural imagery percolated through to many walks of Victorian life. Weiler (1982) quotes Hobhouse (1864-1929) - a prominent Liberal - who held that the new industrial order "destroyed the simplicity of men and women from the cottage to the castle" (1893, p.70). The impact of the numerous studies into the lives of the working poor resulted in the Liberals calling not only for social legislation but also for remedies for the quality of life. Rural nostalgia among Liberal reformers is one testimony to this.

In other words, the recognition of mass poverty in Britain in the 1880's produced much the same reaction in Liberal circles that the onset of industrialization had produced in many Socialists in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The new Liberal concern with community, social harmony and the common good, and Hobhouse's concern with meaningful work all testify to this. (Weiler 1982, p.101)

It was this mood and the call for community and a rejection of the atomistic notions of society which contributed to the spawning of the social experiments of Leverhulme and Cadbury, both Liberals, both Nonconformists. Although both Port Sunlight and Bournville predated the publication in 1898 of Tomorrow: A Peaceful Plan to Reform, Ebenezer Howard had the effect of codifying what Leverhulme and Cadbury professed to be their motives, that is that the social advantages of the city and "the natural advantages of the countryside must be fused to create garden cities which would attract the surplus population of both" (Bebbington 1979, p.57). Such movements as the development of factory villages and the garden city movement, "the greatest single fruit of the schemes of Nonconformists at the turn of the twentieth century for remedying the problems of

industrial Britain” (Bebbington 1979, p.57), saw Nature as mitigating the injustices and dislocations in the Victorian cities. Such problems were also to be adjusted within Nature, and finally healed over by Nature (Creese 1977, p.67). Contact with the natural world, as it was understood by these protagonists, would benefit the wellbeing, spiritual and physical, of all those living in the reformed urban spaces.

Despite Thomas's assertion that the British preoccupation with gardening is indicative of a non-utilitarian attitude to Nature, it must be borne in mind that it was precisely the exploitation of botanic life on which much of the economic success of the expanding British Empire depended. Brockway's (1979) study of the function of Kew Gardens, and its popular image as a place of recreation and spectacle, highlights the tension expressed elsewhere with regard to the Victorian attitude to Nature. That is the image of the 'Eden myth' wherein mankind once lorded it over Nature, where Nature was non-threatening and served only to show the powerful benevolence of the Almighty, a myth which, during the period of industrialisation, was indicative of a period of transition, went hand in hand with the actual utilitarian domination of Nature. The Romantic associations of Kew were further underlined by its Royal associations. Yet behind the scenes at Kew, lie the successes of the rubber plantations in Malaya, the development of chiconia resulting in the control of malaria and the German development of sisal in East Africa (Brockway 1979, p.7). The romantic appreciation and pragmatic exploitation of the natural world may thus be seen to be interdependent, the one giving rise to the other.

The moral influence with which the lives of industrial proletariat were believed to be infused through contact with Nature, that is the consciously stated motives of Cadbury and Leverhulme, was met by the moral justifications for exploiting Nature by scientists, policy makers and statesmen. For Bacon several centuries earlier, it was a moral imperative to regain domination over Nature through the arts and sciences. Others, in the nineteenth century, among them Joseph Chamberlain, promoted the idea of “constructive imperialism” in which it was the duty of the state

to transform those economically backward colonies which could not develop without the assistance of an imperial power (Munro 1984, p.24).

One episode in early modern history which has entered the folklore of industrial and imperial Britain, serves to illustrate these competing philosophies. The *Bounty*, the ship on which Captain Blythe was removed from his captaincy by a mutiny of its crew, was on a voyage to bring grapefruit from the Pacific tropics to the West Indies. The grapefruit were to be given to the slaves working the plantations there as part of their diet. Captain Blythe was, in a sense, being sponsored by the Royal Society for Arts, Manufacturing and Industry (founded in 1753) on this mission. He was in pursuit of one of their prizes. As is now commonly known he failed. The enterprise eventually failed also as, when grapefruit were eventually delivered to the slaves in the West Indies, it was found that the slaves had no taste for them.

In the story of *The Bounty* can be seen the domination of Nature in the Baconian sense, the “constructive imperialism” advocated by Joseph Chamberlain endorsed by Royal Patronage, and the domination of man by man - all in the context of industrial capitalism. The mutiny by *The Bounty*’s crew and the resistance of the plantation slaves to an imposed diet illustrate the difficulties in attempting to dominate humankind as if it were just another resource to exploit.

The difficulty, alluded to earlier in this chapter, of comprehending what is meant by Nature, of what Nature is today, is complicated by these two opposing philosophies of Nature. In most of the literature referred to Nature *is* external to man: there is little allowance of the part played by humans in the ‘great chain of being’. This view of mankind being *separate* from the natural world may owe much of its provenance to Christian theology. None of the writers mentioned above thought of *themselves* as animals. Engels, as was noted above, wrote of the poor urban women and children as if they *were* pigs. Hopkins, poet and priest, likewise commented:

The all-present dirt and squalor and the ill-shapen physical type of so many of the people, with the ... unbearable thought that, by degrees, almost all of our population will become a town

population, and a puny, unhealthy and cowardly one. (Pick 1971, pp.74-75)

That the poor in their living conditions, appearance, physical and mental constitution were so different from the more fortunate in society led them to be seen as low, animal-like, as 'other'. The condition of the poor can be seen to influence the middle-classes seeing them as low, as animal-like, as other. The cause of their poverty and ill-health was largely held to be the demographic changes brought about by the industrialisation of large parts of Britain which in turn depended upon the physical exploitation of Nature. The symbolic exploitation of Nature was believed by many to be a cure for at least some of these ills.

Nature in Victorian Painting

The deeper we move into the nineteenth century the more the black shadow of industry hangs over visions of rural England. (Mullins 1985, p.25)

In the context of man's relationship to Nature, the industrial revolution was perhaps the most powerful instrument of change in English art in the nineteenth century, as it was in other areas such as economic and social policy. Until the late Victorian era much of English art reflected the outlook and interests of the aristocracy and the landed gentry. Few artists in the mid-nineteenth century came to terms with the technological revolution that was breaking around them. Besides few patrons of art wanted a picture of a railway terminus or a viaduct in their collections. Given the weight of opinion-makers such as Ruskin and Arnold, this is not surprising.

Yet such features of industrialising society did make their way into some Victorian painting. Attempts were made to make the new industrial landscape look as though it belonged to classical antiquity. Architects and engineers played along basing the designs for viaducts and aqueducts on similar features that strode across the Roman Campagna (Mullins 1985, p.117). That there were few patrons willing to sponsor an art which recorded the dislocations of the Industrial Revolution is noted by Mullins. Yet such art did find a market in the production of illustrated books.

Artists whose work filled these publications were trained in the topographical traditions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such training encouraged representations of man's works as being subservient to the rule of Nature. Yet by the mid-nineteenth century, works produced by such artists could hardly be said to respect these priorities. Of the work of one such artist, John Cooke Bourne, Mullins writes:

His drawings suggest man struggling to keep the peace with the natural world he knew and trusted, while reporting an occurrence which was ripping the world apart. (Mullins 1985, p.124)

Nature still featured in such paintings but it was used to temper the intrusion on landscapes of industrial artifacts. What was once the consensus view of man's relationship to Nature, that is the view from the manor house in English painting, in which the Englishman's love of Nature, and particularly animals, for example Stubbs's paintings of horses, gradually gave way to a more honest interpretation of Nature, that is its multiteity. In Landseer's paintings, "the Victorian artist par excellence" (Mullins 1985, p.60, original emphasis), the multiteity of Nature is most clearly represented. His work is a body of extremes. On the one hand the majesty of Nature is represented by the Monarch of the Glen, on the other Nature "red in tooth and claw", as Tennyson put it, was represented as in the The Otter Hunt. A third representation, that of his favourite subject, the dog, shows how well man can be served by Nature once domination has been secured.

Not all painters of the period succeeded in demonstrating so efficiently the complexity of the idea of Nature and, where success was achieved, it was only of the non-human natural world. Indeed not all painters wanted to. As noted above, Finney argues that the use of rural imagery in the nineteenth century English novel was an attempt to capture what is passing before it completely disappears, so a genre emerged among painters who portrayed England as if the Industrial Revolution had never happened. The Pre-Raphaelites began to paint England more bright and beautiful than she had ever looked before (Mullins 1985, p.136). The Pre-Raphaelite movement sought to "encourage and enforce an entire adherence to the simplicity of nature" (Rosetti 1901). In fact the paintings of the Brotherhood

were anything but simply truthful representations of Nature. Rather they called for insight as well as sight to unveil their moral content (Axton 1977, p.306). The art of the Pre-Raphaelites was art at its most schematic in which Nature mediates the relationship between art and spirit. Their contribution to English taste was not inconsiderable, their ideals and methods dominated English painting until the end of the nineteenth century.

One of their influences among other artists was the attribution of spiritual symbolism to natural phenomena. Everyday experiences such as that of sunlight or seeing a rainbow were represented in paintings and poetry, in the context of Biblical history. The Bible tells of the rainbow being made by the Almighty to function as a sign. For Ruskin the bow or colour of the cloud always signifies mercy, the sparing of life. Sunlight itself functioned as a symbol of God's righteousness. To view natural phenomena thus, and Ruskin was not alone, may be understood as part of that tradition which saw the advances of science as removing the mystery from life. As Ruskin had written of the 'microscopic malice' of botanists, so too he wrote of physicists:

I must question whether anyone who knows optics, however religious he may be, can feel an equal pleasure or reverence which an illiterate peasant may feel at the sight of a rainbow. (Ruskin 1908, p.387)

Elsewhere Ruskin had written that the labouring peasant, because of the hardship which surrounded him, was unable to appreciate an aesthetic of Nature. Despite this contradiction, his remarks underline the presence of several competing understandings of Nature which emerged in Britain in the last century, occasionally finding expression by the same individual.

The elusiveness of a normative statement on the idea of Nature was noted early in this chapter. Ideas of Nature are reflections of man's development in relation to the natural world. The assault on Nature which began following the advances of the Enlightenment was met with an increasing awareness of a respect for other forms of life, both plants and animal, a respect which today speaks the language of 'environmentalism'.

By the Victorian period the domination of Nature as argued for by Bacon was clearly understood by some as having many unforeseen consequences, for example the demographic shift to towns and cities. The squalor which accompanied the process of urbanisation was noted by the artists of the period who produced images of an idealised life in Nature which manifested itself variously as the 'Eden myth' or the 'cottage ideal'.

So powerful was the appeal of rural imagery, of Nature before industrialisation, that it inspired plans both at the national level and at the level of the philanthropic entrepreneur to remedy the worst excesses of industrialisation. The nostalgia of the reaction to industrialisation in the nineteenth century produced "one of the great British inventions - the green city" (Mullins 1985, p.153).

Nature and the Homestead

Prior to the publication of Ebenezer Howard's Tomorrow: A Peaceful Plan to Reform in 1898, which may be regarded as the most influential manifesto for urban planning in the last century in Britain, there had emerged a tradition of urban planning in the United Kingdom, albeit largely at the behest of those who owned the land to be developed. The two landmark developments in the late Victorian period are those developed by Leverhulme and Cadbury, at Port Sunlight on the Wirral and at Bournville, south of Birmingham, respectively. These, essentially industrial, villages were predated by others such as Robert Owen's scheme at New Lanark at the turn of the century, Price's village at Bromborough - also on the Wirral - and Saltaire near Leeds. Prior to the development of factory villages there existed villages belonging to large estates, the villages housing those who worked the estates. Today the 'heritage' industry presents such villages as sites of historical interest, of scenic beauty, as examples of progressive social planning. All of these schemes had at their hearts the welfare of those who lived in them. In particular they sought to provide for the physical well-being of their inhabitants. For, it

was believed, that the health of the community depended upon the health of those of whom it was comprised. Even more importantly, the economic success of the industry upon which the community depended likewise depended upon the health of the inhabitants. The welfare of the individual went with the welfare of the community.

One of the chief tasks of those who establish an enterprise is the management of those who are to be employed therein. The difficulty in managing the industrial workforce from its earliest appearance is well documented, for example by Pollard (1968) and Bendix (1974). Owen, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was faced with such a problem. Faced with eighteen hundred 'unruly Scots', the task before him was to take control of them to turn this material into a law-abiding and contented community, and a productive force. This he did by introducing regulations, temperance and discipline, cleanliness and economy (Darley 1975, p.81). Discipline, then as now, was understood to be the key to the economic well-being of the enterprise. Another example is that of James Silk Buckingham in his plans for a town called Victoria. He envisaged the development of a community very much along the lines of Bentham's Panopticon, or at least Foucault's interpretation of it, where there would be "no blind alleys or quite culs de sacs ... no secret and obscure haunts for the retirement of the filthy and the immoral from the public eye" (Darley 1975, p.85). What Buckingham was reacting to were the conditions which prevailed in the new, unplanned and unregulated manufacturing centres, and to those excesses of human nature which offended the sensibilities of the rising middle classes.

Why some factory housing schemes should have taken the form of model villages reflects the importance that was attached to a closely-knit community and also expressed efforts to the form of social structure that existed prior to the industrial revolution. Village communities formed the focus of the lives of the majority of Britain's population until as recently as 1850. Village life "has represented the fulfilment of an ideal on many levels over a long period" (Darley 1975, p.vii). In

addition to corralling the work force of the estate or of the factory, the housing in model villages was seen to be a statement of the tastes of the land - or factory - owner. Often the interior of the dwellings was not much better than the homes from which the labourers had moved. More attention was paid to the appearance of the cottages than to the comfort of those who were expected to occupy them.

The early factory villages, such as Saltaire and Price's village, had mechanisms of regulation within them for reforming the working population. Borrowing ideas from the philosophy of "affectionate tutelage" (Bendix 1974, p.50) employed by Owen at New Lanark in the Institution for the Formation of Character, which he founded in 1816, the focus of life at Price's Village was the Belmont Mutual Improvement society. Ostensibly packaged in garb which would lead to the 'improvement' of those who attended such institutes, they were early examples of mechanisms of discipline in industry. In New Lanark 'characters' were to be *formed* which would benefit the enterprise there while at Price's village the *improvement* was to be *mutual*, the individual employee and their family benefited as the candle-works benefited.

The development of villages such as Port Sunlight and Bournville differed in a number of respects from those which had preceded them and those which followed in the wake of Howard's gospel of urban planning. The earlier villages were established close to the site of the production of their raw material, for example the mills at Saltaire were close to the centre of production of wool. Owen's choice of location for his village was because of the good water supply, the natural energy which powered his mills. Likewise those towns which followed publication of Howard's book were envisaged as multi-industry centres, much the same way as Peterlee, Telford or Milton Keynes were planned in the second half of this century. Bournville was chosen because it was sufficiently distant, at the time, from the centre of Birmingham where the Cadburys had their original production site, but close enough to take their best workers with them. Birmingham was also where the Cadburys lived. Port Sunlight was chosen by Leverhulme because the land was

cheap and the site would provide good dock facilities for the ships which would bring raw materials from the tropics and facilitate the export to the Empire, and beyond, of the finished product. It too was close to a large pool of labour, both in Birkenhead and in Liverpool. However, it was the supposed benefits which the location of these sites would bring to their employees that attracted much comment. This was where their similarity to Howard's message lay, that is, that the social advantages of the city and the natural advantages of the countryside must be fused to create garden cities which would attract the surplus population of both.

The garden city tradition, with its long-term influence over government new towns policy and town and country planning, is the greatest single fruit of the schemes of Nonconformists at the turn of the twentieth century for remedying the problems of industrial Britain. (Bebbington 1979, p.57)

George Cadbury (1839-1922), one of the Nonconformists of whom Bebbington wrote, is said by one of his biographers - A.L. Gardiner - who was also a close friend, to have referred to much of his social philosophy in terms of the benefits which contact with Nature would bring. Gardiner, seemingly echoing Cadbury, decries the changes which have overtaken Birmingham since Cadbury's childhood: the "sylvan solitude" that was once Ladywood having given way to "featureless workmen's houses without gardens or beauty". The change which he saw in his lifetime in Birmingham he understood as being reflected in the moral and spiritual changes in the city's population. Gardiner tells how Cadbury

...realized how profoundly environment affected character, and with that grasp of simple elementary truths, which was the secret of his power, devoted himself unceasingly to the problem of the industrial world and to its old, healthful contact with natural things.(Gardiner 1923, p.13)

The severe asceticism of his youth, Cadbury's family were members of The Society of Friends, which Gardiner describes as "essentially a separate social and religious caste", left an aesthetic void, which the young Cadbury compensated for by his interest in Nature which later played so great a part in his ideals of social reform. To the end of his life, we are told, he retained a love for the Bucolics of Virgil which he first learned of in school.

Cadbury's boyhood interest in Nature led him in later life to be dissatisfied with any

housing scheme unless there was provision for the inhabitants to beautify their dwellings with a flower garden in addition to the cultivation of vegetables.

He was insensible to the practical value of a garden, but it was its use in cultivating the mind ... that appealed to him most. The garden was to him the “veriest school of peace” (Gardiner 1923, p.72).

Judging by the content of his stated philosophy, which underpinned his establishing production at Bournville, Cadbury would seem to have believed that through industry Paradise could be regained, a promise held out a couple of centuries earlier by Bacon. Speaking about the motives behind the foundation of Bournville, Cadbury is quoted as saying:

The prophet foresaw the time when the Christian evangel should give beauty for ashes and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness. For the ‘ashes’ of the crowded tenement building, of the narrow and filthy court, of the mean street, of dreary lives and moral and spiritual deterioration, it is our joy to give our people the ‘beauty’ of God’s open sky, the living green of the fields and the foliage, the scent of the roses, the singing of birds, the divinely appointed recreation of tilling their own gardens, of the easy skilful, joyous use of their limbs. (Gardiner 1923, p.256)

The healing power of Nature was called upon by Cadbury to mitigate the damage done to those who returned alive from the great war. He hoped that they would

... come back with a firm resolve to help forward such legislation as will enable men to enjoy sunshine, fresh air and flowers around the houses in which they live, and that the land of England will be turned into better account than it has been in the past, for the benefit of the people rather than the self-indulgence of a handful of rich men. (Gardiner 1923, p.263)

In the light of what has become of the firm of Cadburys, now part of one of the largest confectionery and soft-drinks producers in Europe, one wonders what has happened to Cadbury’s message. Bournville as a factory village still exists, but there is little in the corporate message which echoes the sentimentality of the founder of Bournville. Like Port Sunlight on the Wirral, Bournville is a sought after area by prospective house owners. The letters BVT (Bournville Village Trust - the authority which oversees the development of property in the Bournville area) in a property advertisement usually means that one pays higher for such a property than for a similar house in a similar area of Birmingham. Rather like Leverhulme, much of Cadbury’s dream died with him. Those aspects of his legacy which

benefited the industry survived, his personal dream perished. And, like Leverhulme, much of his vision was based upon a contradiction. Both, in their stated personal philosophies, stressed the benefits which would accrue to their own work force and, especially in Cadbury's case, to the wider population that contact with Nature would bring. Both promoted their philosophies in terms of the 'Eden myth'. However, both also depended on the natural world, and its exploitation, for their schemes to succeed. Neither mentioned this when promoting their plans. In other words their concept of the natural world were partial at best, and ignorant (modernist and anthropocentric) at worst. Also, what they wished to reform in particular, that is human nature, was often alluded to but always in terms of human nature existing separate from the natural world. Their plans were expressions of the spirit of the Renaissance, that of humankind's domination of Nature.

The social experiments of Port Sunlight and Bournville may be understood as products of the New Liberalism which emerged in Britain in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The revelations of poverty and its effects in this period resulted in a demand for social legislation and produced a concern within Liberal circles about the quality of life created by industrialism (Weiler 1982, p.185). Competitive commercialism, Hobhouse argued,

... has made us pay for such advantage as it has brought. No mere change of machinery can undo the moral damage it has done.(Hobhouse 1893, p.4)

Likewise Cadbury believed that "machinery creates wealth but destroys men". Yet he pursued his plans for the development of Bournville and the expansion of his industry. The benefits of the regime there he publicised, as Leverhulme did, at Port Sunlight. Each commissioned studies of the child populations of their villages which showed, in both cases, that they weighed more and measured taller than their counterparts in urban industrial environments thereby establishing the benefits of the healthy life of a 'rural' habitation, and of manufacturing industry. Infant mortality was also significantly lower than in the working class areas of industrial cities. Physical fitness was introduced at both Bournville and Port Sunlight. For Cadbury it was a prerequisite for a contented employee. In the official pictures of

the company in 1912 “enormous emphasis is laid on groups of men doing press-ups and women doing gentle gymnastics”. (Darley 1975, p.70)

Despite the newness of these ventures and the supposed enlightened regimes which sustained them, one cannot but help drawing analogies between these late Victorian social experiments and the publicity which surrounded them and some of the practices which emerged in Nazi Germany. Both the Victorian entrepreneurs and the Nazis stressed the importance of physical fitness, both had their origins in a naive naturalism. Also, both were the results of the stated personal philosophies of Leverhulme and Cadbury in England, and of the ideologues of the National Socialist party in Germany. In other words, the happiness of the many in Bournville and Port Sunlight and in Nazi Germany, was defined by a few people which Schwartz (1990) reminds us is a characteristic of totalitarianism. Leiss makes the connection with Fascism as follows:

Fascist ideology used the concept of Nature in its “blood-and-soil” theories as a weapon against rationalism: the realm of Nature was glorified as the original and true source of feeling, inspiration and action in contrast to the supposedly distorted conceptions arising out of intellectual reflection; a return to this source was allegedly to supply a remedy for cultural sickness and a guide for correct behaviour. ... As the social crises which accompanied the industrialization of Britain gave rise to the garden city movement, the Victorian concern with the healthy body and other areas to do with propriety, so the severe social crisis which gave birth to Fascism brought to the surface many latent contradictions that were epitomized in the use of anti-technological propaganda as a mask for a regime which exploited modern technology to the fullest in the service of domination. (Leiss 1972,p.172)

That the domination of Nature has led to the domination of man by man has been commented on by a number of writers. In the tradition of the Frankfurt School the work of Horkheimer comes to mind, especially The Dialectic of Enlightenment and in the work of Marcuse, for example One Dimensional Man and Eros and Civilization. In the field of organisation theory the point is also made by Burrell and Morgan (1979) in their discussion of the philosophical underpinnings of the sociological paradigms they identify. The natural sciences were used as a model upon which the human sciences were built, so that the technology which informed the domination of Nature lead in turn to the domination of the many in the

industrialising economies. This is not limited to the physical domination of humankind in the sense of being physically fit to work but also extends to what might be termed psychological propriety, which was the objective of many of the educational and 'cultural' programmes of the entrepreneurs.

The removal of factories from the urban milieu to what we now term 'greenfield' sites was thus held to have had two benefits for the employer - the physical welfare of the workforce ensured a healthy supply of labour and their mental discipline, it was hoped, would bring loyalty to the firm and to the economic regime of which they were part. Removed from the corrupting influences of the town, the village labour force were to be putty in the hands of the rising industrial aristocracy. Essentially the new factory villages - and the later garden cities - were people farms. The productivity of the employee contributed to the economic well-being of the community. The productivity was shaped by the philosophy of the founding entrepreneur, often disguised as philanthropy. Yet the influence of the philanthropy was not limited to an employee's physical well-being but extended to that of their families and also to the cultural well-being, that is the schooling of the village children, the education of adults, the general provision of sports and leisure facilities, all of which made the village inhabitants subject to the regime of the employing organisation and, in the case of Lever Brothers and Cadbury's, were examples of late Victorian employees' subjectivity.

Summary

The difficulties associated with thinking and writing on Nature were noted at the beginning of this chapter. Douglas succinctly summarises such difficulties thus:

... nature is known through symbols which are themselves a construction upon experience, a product of mind, an artifice or conventional programme, therefore the reverse of natural. (Douglas 1973, p.1)

When we speak of Nature we speak of mankind's understanding of what is referred to as the natural world. Nature doesn't exist except in our understanding of it. Increasingly, however, that understanding is an attenuated understanding, one

which is promoted rather than discovered.

By the late Victorian period several competing philosophies and understandings of Nature were current in Britain. They could be found in fields seemingly as diverse as aesthetics, economics, reform, and housing. That they found expression in the social experiments of Cadbury, Leverhulme and others, suggests the influence of these ideas and the influence of those who propagated them. The development and espousal of these ideas is symptomatic of Foucault's understanding of the immanence of power and his notion of subjectivity. In the cases of the entrepreneurs mentioned they themselves were as subject to the manifestation of power in these understandings and philosophies of Nature as their employees and consumers may be understood to be.

In reviewing part of what is a very extensive literature on the subject of Nature there appears to be a consensus on the following two points which Leiss (1972, p.15) summarises as follows: (1) the effort to master and control nature has an essential connection with the modern utopian vision, be it in the writings of Bacon, Cadbury or Leverhulme and (2) the mastery of nature is achieved by scientific and technological progress. A third point is raised in some of the literature, notably that literature which seeks to *explain* phenomena in a critical tradition, for example that of the Frankfurt School, and also the work of Foucault, is that the attempt to master external nature has a close and perhaps inextricable relationship with the evolution of new means for exercising domination over men - or, alternatively, human activity becomes so much a part of the natural environment that mastery over nature and mastery of man are only two aspects of the same process.

In this essentially Marxist interpretation can be seen the concerns of Foucault and the idea of subjectivity. Thus the scientific and technological order which promised to liberate mankind from its universal enemies (hunger, disease and exhausting labour) enables - in a Marxist sense - the ruling elites to increase their ability to control individual behaviour - or in a Foucauldian sense - leads to further

subjectification of the population through the power/knowledge associated with the eradication of these enemies. It is to the identification and control of one such enemy that attention is now turned.

Chapter Four

Victorian Health and Hygiene

One did not have to look far for evidence of poverty and malnutrition; in London, and in the great industrial cities it was overwhelming. The subsequent idyllic concepts of English country life bore no relation to the actual realities in the last decades of the nineteenth century. (James 1976, p.129)

Britain in the Victorian era was a society in transition. One manifestation of this transition could be seen in the island's demography: the rise in population growth and the gradual location of most of that population in towns and cities. These changes in turn had a number of consequences. On the one hand the concentration of such huge numbers in the new centres of population led to unforeseen health problems. Mortality rates grew; there were several cholera epidemics; living conditions were appalling. How these problems were caused affected views on how they should be remedied. On the one hand there was the view that the poor were the source of disease and ill-health generally. On the other, it was argued that ill-health and disease caused poverty and that the removal of the former would reduce the prevalence of the latter.

That reform legislation was enacted from the time of Queen Victoria's accession should have come as no surprise. Britain was threatened from without by disease and revolution and from within by the propagation of a species - the human urban poor - whose classification was at times indeterminate. Britain had an established tradition of voluntarism in the field of relief of the poor, notably among Quakers and Dissenters. Existing provision for the welfare of the poor in the form of the

Elizabethan Poor Laws was not delivering relief and was understood in the new industrial age to be a recipe for idleness and wastefulness. The Elizabethan Poor Laws offered relief but did little to alleviate disease which was now seen to be the cause of poverty. Not all poverty could be abolished, but that caused by disease could be.

To the middle-class Victorian the presence of poverty, destitution, cholera and starvation at the centre of their source of well-being, the new urbanised society, undoubtedly caused discomfort if not outright terror. That its prevalence was chiefly among the urban poor led the more fortunate to be wary of their poorer fellow citizens. For many it was not simply that disease and contagion were a source of danger, it was the poor themselves. The poor were literally a source of danger; they embedded, and were embedded in, pollution.

Conventional histories of reform legislation in England in the nineteenth century, for example James (1976) or Read (1979), are typically written in a narrative style with supporting facts. There is little interpretation. Reform, the plank on which many Liberal governments in the last century were based, is presented by such conventional narratives as one way of staving off the threat of revolution. The spectre of the American War of Independence (from Britain), the French revolution and a similar, but unsuccessful, exercise in Ireland (until 1801 an English colony and for the remainder of the nineteenth century part of the Union) led to major acts of reform. Britain, it is often argued, had reform where other societies had revolutions. However an alternative, Foucauldian, interpretation of reform legislation in Britain does lead to a shifting of emphasis away from the “benevolent” perspective of reform to a perspective that, for the maintenance of life through the regulation of the body, leads to an understanding of reform as being “vital” - that is essentially to do with human life and its (re)productivity. This will be returned to at the end of this Chapter.

For some commentators at the end of the eighteenth century, for example the

Reverend Thomas Malthus, that all too animal-like aspect of human behaviour - over indulgence in sexual behaviour - would, through the resulting inexorable population growth, severely check the progress promised by the mechanical and medicinal arts. Malthus's warnings on the population explosion, to which he was witness, were accompanied by health risks. In the century from 1750, Britain's population increased three-fold from 6 to 18 million. In 1801 one in five workers was employed in manufacturing and associated occupations; by 1871 this had climbed to two in three.

The conditions in which the new urban poor found themselves were comparable to those in the shanty towns and refugee camps of the Third World in the late twentieth century.

Appalling neo-natal, infant and child mortality accompanied by the abomination of child labour in mines and factories; life expectations were exceedingly low - often under twenty years among the working class - and everywhere sickness precipitated by family breakdown, pauperization and social crisis. The squalor of the slums was exposed time and again by social reformers, novelists, newsmen, and clergymen appalled to find hell at the heart of civilization. (Porter 1997, p.399)

Friederich Engels in his *Condition of the Working Classes in England* (1844) noted the following of the living conditions of the poor.

Passing along a rough bank, among stakes and washing lines, one penetrates into this chaos of small one-stories, one-roomed huts, in most of which there is no artificial floor, kitchen, living and sleeping-room all in one.... Everywhere before the doors residue and offal; that any sort of pavement lay underneath could not be seen but only felt, here and there, with the feet. This whole collection of cattlesheds for human beings was surrounded on two sides by houses and a factory, and on the third by a river, and beside the narrow up the bank, a narrow doorway above led out into another almost equally ill-built, ill-kept labyrinth of dwellings.... Everything which here arouses horror and indignation is of recent origin, belongs to the industrial epoch. (Porter 1997, p. 400)

The lack of an *artificial floor* and the reference to the dwellings as *cattlesheds* are indicative of the status in the great chain of being of the unfortunates who lived in these wretched conditions. Likewise in *Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, Mearns raised a similar question.

To get to them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous gasses arising from accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in

all directions and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never visited by a breath of fresh air, and which rarely know the virtues of a drop of cleansing water.... You have to grope your way along dark and filthy passages swarming with vermin. Then, if you are not driven back by the intolerable stench, you may gain admittance to the dens in which these thousands of beings who belong, as much as you, to the race for whom Christ died, herd together. (Mearns 1883)

What was to be done about this state of affairs was subject to competing personal and political philosophies. In Britain the belief of individualism and the growth of the doctrine of self-help was countered by those who advocated paternalism or those who advocated some charitable intervention, often based upon religious beliefs.

Before solutions to the problems associated with the urban poor and population growth could be established, the causes of the ill health of the populations had to be established. It was in Paris that the association of poverty and illness was made by Rene Louis Villerme in *Recherches Statistiques sur la ville de Paris* (1821). Novel as his discovery was, the tenet of his work was that the poor themselves were to blame. For Villerme the root to salvation for the poor lay in moral regeneration. As Porter puts it

If disease originated with them, the answer was to civilize them out of poverty. (Porter 1997. [407]).

In Britain statistical information compiled by William Farr (1801-1883), compiler of abstracts in the new Registrar General's Department, led to an understanding of the diseases prevalent in industrial societies. The understanding would lead to improvements in the welfare of the less fortunate urban inhabitant. The poor *were* redeemable. Policies which would lead to the development of public health were supported by the belief that the new centres of population which accompanied the new industrial society were not beyond salvation in terms of restoring health to the populations living there. The sanitary idea, that is that prevention should lie at the heart of policies leading to health reform, was born. The emphasis was upon the delivery of clean water to and the removal of waste matter from dwellings. A number of professional bodies established at this time were supported by progressive doctors who shared Farr's beliefs for example the Metropolitan Health

of Towns Association, the National Association for the Promotion of Social Sciences, the Royal Statistical Society, the London Epidemiological Society and various other bodies that united reformers, policy makers and politicians (Porter 1997, p.408).

When one considers the living conditions in Victorian towns and cities from the perspective of the late twentieth century one may not be too surprised to learn of the great efforts that were made at reform. In the introduction to this dissertation the impact of the Irish potato famine of 1845-1848 is mentioned. In terms of the conditions of the urban poor in Britain at the time, the immigration into towns and cities by tens of thousands of starving Irish brought with it new threats to an already precarious *modus vivendi*. For example in 1847, “the most fatal year in the history of Liverpool”, a city of less than 250,000 people there were 5,845 deaths from “fever” and 2,589 deaths from “diarrhoea” (Frazer 1950, p.48). Nationally, there were four great cholera epidemics in the nineteenth century. One, in 1848, associated with the Irish potato famine and others in 1831, 1853 and 1866. Diarrhoea alone was fatal to 237,498 persons between the years 1848-1856. That this statistical information is available is itself a result of the emerging discipline of noso-politics of the last century.

Tremendous efforts were made by Whig politicians to reduce the risk of contagion by, among other things, regulating (and ensuring) the supply of clean water. The arguments of the time are not dissimilar to arguments that one hears today in the wake of the privatisation of the water industry. The Tories then argued that water should be supplied only on the basis of the users preparedness to pay whereas the Whigs argued that water should be supplied to all in towns. In parliamentary debates of the time the Tories were referred to as the dirty party and the Whigs the clean party (Hansard 1854). This type of classification was not atypical of the thinking of the time, a time in which we are told that “No topic more occupied the Victorian mind than Health, not religion, or politics, or Improvement, or Darwinism” (Haley 1978, p.3). The threat posed to constitution, both physical and social, effectively saw the beginning of the war on dirt, a war which we are

constantly reminded of through the medium of television, as it continues to the present day. We must be ever vigilant. It was a duty to be on guard. For Foucault, the eighteenth century saw various obligations being placed on families. Likewise Spencer argued:

Perhaps nothing will so much hasten the time when body and mind will be adequately cared for as a diffusion of the belief that the preservation of health is a duty The fact is, that all breaches of the laws of health are physical sins (Spencer 1896, pp.282-3 original emphases).

Spencer understood in economic terms the importance of good health for the nation. For him the healthy body is the chief requisite in itself for human happiness and usefulness.

The first requisite is to be a good animal, and to be a nation of good animals is the first condition of national prosperity (Spencer 1896, p.222).

Spencer at times bordered on being a eugenicist. He saw that the supreme end of nature is “the welfare of posterity”, and “in so far as posterity are concerned, a cultivated intelligence based on a bad physique is of little worth, seeing that its descendants will not die out in a generation or two” (Spencer 1896, p.32). What is significant about his writing is the metaphor he used to explain the social, that is he likened the social to the physical. In his History of the Intellectual Development of Europe (1863) his thesis is that “...social advancement is as completely under the control of natural law as is bodily growth. The life of an individual is a miniature of the life of a nation” (Haley 1978, p.86). For the bodies politic and economic to deliver an ordered society, the bodies of those who constituted society also had to be of good health. And, quoting an erstwhile proprietor of Jermyn Street Turkish Baths, Haley reminds the reader that the received wisdom of the time was “Disease is only filth” (Haley 1978, p.17). Not only was the eradication of filth planned, but there also emerged efforts to ensure that healthy Victorian bodies were ruled by healthy Victorian minds. Thus changes in aspects of the nation’s life included the introduction of sports in public schools which reduced bullying and increased morale. Keeping boys busy when out of class as well as in them reduced opportunities for ‘sensuality’ (homosexuality) and the ‘solitary vice’ (masturbation). There appears to be little in the literature of the time regarding

feminine propriety.

Haley argues that the physiological metaphor of the nineteenth-century historians and social critics was more than simply an analogy. Rather it was, he suggests, a way of seeing life as an organic whole rather than as a system of correspondences. In his Sartor Resartus Thomas Carlyle (1795-1889) actually details the anatomy of the body politic writing of circulation, skin, bones, muscles. He argues for two methods of restoring the social organism to a state of health: he urges the enactment of factory legislation, the building of public parks in cities, sanitary reform, and improved ease of emigration; he also advises his readers to bath more often.

This consciousness of perfect outer pureness, that to thy skin there now adheres no foreign speck of imperfection, how it radiates in on thee, with cunning symbolic influences, to thy very soul. (Carlyle 1899, p.234).

Carlyle, Haley argues, speaks both in the scriptural tradition and is reflecting a medical theory which was fast gaining in popularity. For Victorian reformers and social commentators physical health was used as a model for a higher human excellence. Morality and healthiness of a nation went hand in hand with the morality and healthiness of the individual (Haley 1978, pp.253-255).

Thomas Macaulay (1800-1859), essayist, historian, Parliamentarian and statesman was another who was outraged by what he saw in the towns and cities. Being sensitive to the contradictions of economic development he wrote:

Never will I believe that what makes a population stronger, and healthier, and wiser, and better, can ultimately make it poorer ... If ever we are to yield the foremost place among commercial nations, we shall yield it not to a generation of degenerative dwarfs but to some people pre-eminently vigorous in body and mind. (Macaulay cited in Hayley 1978,p.27).

In Britain, the chief protagonist in the development of noso-politics in the nineteenth-century was Edwin Chadwick (1800-1889) who had lodged and worked with Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), a formalizer of utilitarian ideas. Chadwick became a full commissioner of the Inquiry into the State of the Poor in 1833 (in the year the Births and Deaths Registration Act was passed, as noted above an example of the development of noso-politics). It was the shocking state of affairs revealed in

the report of that commission in 1842 - Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the State of The Poor - that led to large scale planned attempts to clean up the mess. Chadwick, together with Bentham, a team of medical doctors and statisticians, including Farr, employed “searchlight statistics” which showed the way to mortality black spots. The result was that efforts at reform were concentrated in those areas. Chadwick’s leading principle was the “sanitary idea”. He and his team

... examined conditions obtaining in the worst fever districts and concluded that high incidence was largely caused by dirty habits and drunkenness, but the poor could do little to better themselves while living conditions remained filthy. The doctors recommended that powers be given to Poor Law Guardians to cleanse stagnant pools and ditches, inspect lodging houses, and prosecute any person failing to abate nuisances. (Cartwright 1977, p.102)

With its publication, the report set an agenda as to what remedies were necessary for the amelioration of the conditions of the working classes. Summarising chief conclusions of the evidence as it appeared to him, Chadwick wrote:

First as to the extent and operation of the evils which are the subject of the enquiry:-
That the various forms of epidemic, endemic, and other disease causes, or aggravated, or propagated chiefly amongst the labouring classes by atmospheric impurities produced by decomposing animal and vegetable substances, by damp and filth, and close and overcrowded dwellings prevail amongst the population in every part of the kingdom, whether dwelling in separate houses, in rural villages, in small towns, in the larger towns - as they have been found to prevail in the lowest districts of the metropolis.
That such disease, wherever its attacks are frequent, is always found in connexion with the physical circumstances above specified, and that where those circumstances are removed by drainage, proper cleansing, better ventilation, and other means of diminishing atmospheric impurity, the frequency and intensity of such disease is abated; and where the removal of the noxious agencies appears to be complete, such disease almost entirely disappears. (in Clayre 1977, p.133)

Chadwick did not disguise his concerns in terms of altruism, in the sense that *something had to be done* to relieve the suffering associated with poverty and ill-health. His argument was clearly economic. Suggesting that gainful employment might be expected to bring some reward in terms of not being subject to the ravages of disease he continues:-

That high prosperity in respect to employment and wages, and various and abundant food, have afforded to the labouring class no exemptions from attacks of epidemic disease, which have been as frequent and as fatal in periods of commercial and manufacturing

prosperity than in any other. (*ibid.*, p. 133)

Chadwick was also mindful of the cost of all this in terms other than human misery:-

That of the 43,000 cases of widowhood, and 112,000 cases of destitute orphanage relieved from the poor's rates in England and Wales alone, it appears that the greatest proportion of deaths of the heads of families occurred from the above specified and other removable causes; that their ages were under 45 years; that is to say, 13 years below the natural probabilities of life as shown by the experience of the whole population of Sweden.

That the public loss from premature deaths of the heads of families is greater than can be represented by any enumeration of the pecuniary burdens consequent upon their sickness and death. (*ibid.*, pp. 133-4)

The impact of wretched living conditions upon the social behaviour and morality of the poor was also noted by Chadwick.

That the population so exposed is less susceptible of moral influences, and the effects of education are more transient than with a healthy population.

That these adverse circumstances tend to produce an adult population short-lived, improvident, reckless, and intemperate, and with habitual avidity for sensual gratification.

That these habits lead to the abandonment of all the conveniences and decencies of life, and especially lead to the overcrowding of their homes, which is destructive to the morality as well as the health of large classes of both sexes. (*ibid.*, p. 134)

Summarising his chief findings, Chadwick again focussed argued that attention to personal, physical and domestic propriety would pay handsome dividends in the moral sphere.

And that the removal of noxious physical circumstances, and the promotion of civic, household, and personal cleanliness, are necessary to the improvement of the moral condition of the population; for that sound morality and refinement in manners and health are not long found co-existent with filthy habits amongst any class of the community. (*ibid.*, p. 136)

The report called for the introduction of statutory regulations covering the removal of sewage, construction of efficient drainage systems, the regulation of street cleansing, the paving public areas and highways, the delivery of clean drinking water. In addition it called for the sanitary regulation of dwellings, the regulation of nuisances and offensive trades (which included slaughtering, tanning, dying) and the provision of burial grounds.

His sanitary maps showed that the average age of death was related to class: forty-three years for gentry, thirty for tradesmen, and twenty-two for labourers. It was Chadwick who was responsible for the cause of death to be recorded on death certificates. Much as his studies castigated the conditions in which the poor found themselves, Chadwick, through his employment of statistics, helped establish the belief that the poor themselves were not to blame for the perilous living conditions. In the restrained words of his biographer, R.A. Lewis, Chadwick “drew his respectable hearers to the edge of the pit and bade them observe the monsters they were breeding beneath their feet” (Cartwright 1977,p.103). He helped debunk the widespread belief that rapid and unfettered ‘progress’ was beneficial to the community. He also drew attention to the fallacy that the town was only a large scale village. In other words, the living conditions in the new and expanding centres of industrial production needed policing in a way that hitherto had not been conceived. The viability of such centres of population in economic terms depended on the health of their population. The connection between the wealth of an economy and the health of its population was slowly being made.

Chadwick’s achievements were enshrined in The Public Health Act 1848 (The Chadwick Act). In that year alone an estimated seventy thousand people died from cholera. Gradually Chadwick fell out of favour with the political authorities, largely it is felt because of his autocratic manner. Cartwright tells us that in Parliament:

One member declared that England wanted to be clean but not cleansed by Mr. Chadwick

and that:

A Times leader approving Mr. Chadwick’s dismissal contained the words that ‘we prefer to take our chance with cholera and the rest rather than be bullied into health’. (Cartwright 1977, p.107)

Chadwick had obviously ruffled a few feathers in the dove-cote by suggesting that it was the conditions in which the poor were forced to live, by the economic status quo, rather than their own actions that were to blame. The body politic was not happy with the suggestion that it too should be subject to a regimen of hygiene.

However progressive his initiatives were, they of themselves only tackled part of the problem. His eternal monuments are the paved town, clean streets, a pure and unfailling water supply and drains which carry off our waste. The assumption on which he operated, that the most threatening diseases to the urban poor were contagious was established. By reinstating the understanding that contagion was to blame, something which was displaced for a time in the late eighteenth-century by pythogenic or miasmatic theory which held all disease to be due to bad air, Chadwick fell out of favour with the establishment, for his work showed that all classes were as susceptible to the ravages of the most threatening diseases of the time; in other words the more well-to-do in society had more in common with the impoverished and unhealthy urban dweller than they wished to believe. However improved sanitation alone could not lower mortality rates. Sanitation between the years 1848 and 1868 improved but other conditions remained the same. Those areas which were neglected included housing, overcrowding, diet and nutrition, hours of work and factory conditions

Chadwick's role was taken by John Simon who, in 1854, was appointed Britain's first chief medical administrator at the newly created Medical Department of the Privy Council. He introduced new public health legislation which was consolidated in the Public Health Act of 1875. In his Eleventh Annual Report (1868), Simon reviewed the role the state was playing in the field of public health:

It has interfered between parent and child, not only in imposing limitation on industrial uses of children, but also to the extent of requiring that children should not be left unvaccinated. It has interfered between employer and employed, to the extent of insisting, in the interest of the latter, that certain sanitary claims shall be fulfilled in all place of industrial occupation. It has interfered between vendor and purchaser; has put restrictions on the sale and purchase of poisons, has prohibited in certain cases certain commercial supplies of water, and has made it a public offence to sell adulterated food or drink or medicine, or to offer for sale any meat unfit for human food. Its care for the treatment of disease has not been unconditionally limited to treating at the public expense such sickness as may accompany destitution: it has provided that in any sort of epidemic emergency organized medical assistance, not peculiarly for paupers, may be required of local authorities; and in the same spirit it requires that vaccination at the public cost shall be given gratuitously to every claimant.

The poor, once recipients of benefit under the poor laws, then the object of opprobrium because of the threat their living conditions posed to the new urban industrial order were slowly reformed into the very substance on which the success of industrialism depended, a healthy body of producers/consumers. This requirement in turn gave rise to the need for industries which would help maintain a healthy and clean population, for example the saponide and chemical industries. In addition, the middle class had found an outlet for their position as facilitators of change through the establishment of a public health service peopled by professional civil servants.

Other legislation bequeathed by Simon attempted to provide for decent homes, clean food and the prevention of industrial diseases. It was as a result of his work, particularly his third report in 1860 that the following acts were passed: The Factory and Workshop Acts of 1867 - regulating the physical working conditions of the country's working population; The Sanitary Act of 1866 - which had as its concern the supply of clean water to urban populations and the removal of sewage; The Vaccination Act 1871 - which saw the beginning of the attempts to control and contain the contagious diseases smallpox, typhus and cholera; The Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act 1868 - which outlined the minimum standards required for the proper housing of the urban industrial worker, in addition to 'Great Public Health Act' of 1875 - which was consolidatory in nature and attempted, once again, to right the wrongs identified (but still not attended to) in the 1848 Act - covered sewage, nuisance, offensive trades, inspections for markets and slaughterhouses. In terms of Foucault's observations on "governmentality", the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act 1868 represents a major turning point in the sensibilities of government in the United Kingdom *vis-a-vis* the sacred rights of property, for this Act demonstrated that the state possessed the power and the will to interfere with such rights in the name of "public health".

Regarding the supply of water, 'governmentality' was also evident in the policies of Alderman Joseph Chamberlain of Birmingham who, in 1874, demonstrated his

belief in the intimate connection between a pure and abundant water supply and the maintenance of public health. He argued that

... all regulated monopolies, sustained by the state, in the interests of the inhabitants generally, should be controlled by the representatives of the people, and not left in the hands of private speculators. (Frazer 1950, p.139)

Attempts to ensure that the populations diet was wholesome were made in the Purity of Substances Act which sought to outlaw trade in adulterated and diseased foods. Checkland highlights some of the difficulties that consumers had to face when attempting to provide for themselves:

... adulteration of food served to diminish depending power and to damage health. Co-operative shop-keeping was, in part, an attempt to avoid Prussian blue in tea, plaster of Paris in bread, red lead in pepper and mahogany sawdust in coffee. (Checkland 1971, p.234)

Standardizing hygiene practices in the home were catered for in 1874 when the London School Board introduced lessons in laundry work (Read 1979, p.37). In his 1860 report Simon commented on indoor branches of industry which often resulted in “physical seclusion from sun and air and of mental privation from what is beautiful and animating from external nature” (Cartwright 1977, p.89). The Window Tax, which was introduced at the end of the eighteenth century was repealed and, Frazer tells us, “this was of assistance to those who were anxious for health reasons to encourage the admission of light and air in living rooms” (Frazer 1950, p.132).

Liverpool was singled out for special mention by a number of sources. In 1846 that city had appointed a number of sanitary officers in the wake of The Liverpool Sanitary Act and after a five year period had elapsed it was felt that the city was safe enough for Queen Victoria’s first visit there. Frazer tells us that the city was confronted with a particularly difficult problem, particularly with regard to housing. An 1864 report showed that there were upwards of three thousand courts, representing twenty-two thousand insanitary houses containing a population of more than one hundred thousand people. “This evil was of the first order of magnitude” (Frazer 1950, p.133). It was not until 1883 that the machinery became available to begin clearances and rehouse the population.

Bad as the situation was in English cities, it was considerably worse, Frazer tells us, in Berlin and Paris where the death rate exceeded that of Liverpool. The death rate in St. Petersburg was almost twenty-five percent. Indeed Frazer (1950,p.93) suggests that English cities were among the healthiest in the world. This was achieved through the attention given to public health as enacted in the legislation mentioned above. By the end of the nineteenth century the town-dweller had benefited “while leaving the sordid life of the country-dweller almost unaffected”. Thus the town became more healthy than the village at the end of the nineteenth century (Cartwright 1977, p.96).

Not all who were prepared to comment on the changes brought about by reform legislation welcomed its benefits. Reflecting on the changing structure of the population in which there was an increasing number of the middle-aged, Read informs us that The Times of May 1st. 1901 commented that the end result would be a change in the whole atmosphere of society

... an old man’s world would not be a beautiful one. It would not be one with variety, sparkle, sunshine, mirth, and the charm of the unexpected ... we might begin to regret the advance of sanitary science. (Read 1979, p.383 original emphasis)

As there was no central public health authority in place to initiate and oversee the development of these measures, the creation of such a body was considered to be of paramount importance. Gradually legislation was enacted which led to the establishment of such a body. Under the Royal Commission on the Health of Towns (1843-45) Liverpool appointed the first medical officer for health. Further support for Chadwick’s recommendations was evidenced by the passing of a Nuisances Removal Act, a Common Lodging House Act and an adulteration of Food Act in the years 1846 and 1847.

It was in 1848 that the British Public Health Act was passed which established the principle of a centralised government of public health issues. Under the act if the General Board of Health was petitioned by at least one tenth of ratepayers or if the

annual death rate of a locality exceed 23 per one thousand inhabitants, the Public Health Act had to be adopted. By 1853 one hundred and three towns had adopted the act.

Progressive as the legislation was it did not find favour in all quarters. To introduce the legislation in a given locality meant an increase in that locality's rates, something which was as unpleasant to the local burgers then as it is now. Likewise to the vested interests whose economic activities were subject to regulation and thus subject to regulation and often taxation, the new legislation was also unwelcome.

Such was the resistance to these measures that their chief instigator, Chadwick fell out of favour.

Foucault (1976), in "The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century", takes as an example of what he was to later term "governmentality", the sudden rise in importance assumed by medicine, which, he argues,

originates at the point of intersection of a new, 'analytical' economy of assistance with the emergence of a general 'police' of health. (Foucault 1976, p.171)

This 'policing' of health in Victorian Britain is particularly noticeable in the reform legislation of the last century. Much social legislation *is* reform legislation in the sense that literally it *reforms* the constitution of society. Rather than being viewed solely as the outcome of policies of well-intentioned members of the legislature or benevolent acts of philanthropy, to view such reform in terms of 'governmentality' leads to a quite different understanding of the working of society. Foucault describes what he means by 'governmentality' - or reason of state - thus.

In a few words, reason of state refers neither to the wisdom of God nor to the reason or the strategies of the prince. It refers to the state, to its nature, and to its own rationality. This thesis that the aim of a government is to strengthen the state itself implies several ideas which I think are important to touch upon to follow the rise and development of our modern political rationality. (Foucault 1988c, p.221)

The basis for the emergence of this policing - policing in the sense of developing and applying policy - he suggests, can be broadly explained by the need to

preserve, maintain and conserve the 'labour force'. Populations thus became the object of study, of statistical analysis. There was both the need to control populations, in the sense that an unruly population was perceived to be a threat to the established order and in the sense that its welfare - its physical wealth - was a resource that needed to be monitored. The health of the population became in general one of the essential objects of political power. Thus a population's

numerical variables of space and chronology, longevity and health (emerged) not only as a problem but as an object of surveillance, analysis, intervention, modification etc. The project of a technology of population begins to be sketched: demographic estimates, the calculation of the pyramid of ages, different life expectations and the levels of mortality, studies of the reciprocal relations of growth of wealth and growth of population. (Foucault 1976, p.171)

The effect of this concern with the well being of the population gave rise to what Foucault terms the noso-politics of the eighteenth century, by which he means policy-making based upon an understanding and classification of diseases. He identifies the main characteristics of noso-politics as (i) the privilege of the child and the medicalisation of the family and (ii) the privilege of hygiene and the function of medicine as an instance of social control. The effect of these politics, according to Foucault, ensured not only the population's subjection but also the constant increase of the utility of the population. The impact of this on the family was to subject it to a regime of obligations imposed on parents and children alike which Foucault lists as follows:

obligations of a physical kind (care, contact, hygiene, cleanliness, attentive proximity), suckling of children by their mothers, clean clothing, physical exercise to ensure the proper development of the organism: the permanent and exacting corporal relation between adults and their children. (Foucault 1976, p.176)

The family was thus governed by essential laws which advocated, from the eighteenth century onwards, "the healthy, clean, fit body, a purified, cleansed aerated domestic space, the medically optimal siting of individuals, places, beds and utensils, and the interplay of the 'caring' and the 'cared for' figure" (Foucault 1976, p.173). This period saw the publication, from the mid-eighteenth century, of a number of manuals which outlined the principles of care for family health.

Summary

Conventional accounts of the development of “reform” in nineteenth century Britain are typically presented in terms of the progressive nature of Victorian society and its ability to deal with the problems of modernity. A Foucauldian analysis suggests the disciplinary nature of the reforms and the increased intervention by the state in the lives of the populace. The new urban-industrial proletariat was required to be in good health and disciplined for the maintenance of the new industrial order. Employing the Foucauldian concept of power, that power is immanent and not located in any one site, the following chapter introduces the life of one Victorian entrepreneur, William Hesketh Lever.



Plate 2 Portrait of Lord Leverhulme by Augustus John

Chapter Five

Leverhulme: The Organisation of Hygiene

LEVERHULME

Leverhulme 1st. Viscount, cr. 1922, of the Western Isles; Baron, cr. 1917; Bt. cr. 1911; Honorary Member of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water Colours; Grand; Officer of the Belgian Order of Leopold II; Hon. LL.D. Edinburgh; F.R.G.S.; Hon. F.R.I.B.A.; M.P.(L) Wirral, Cheshire (1906-1910); High Sheriff Lancs. 1917; Junior Warden for Grand Lodge of England 1918; Mayor of Bolton 1918-1919; Clubs, National Liberal, Reform, R.A.C. (Who Was Who, 1975)

On the whole Leverhulme's biographers have been very fair to him. His only child, the second Viscount Leverhulme, writing in a very stilted, and almost apologetic fashion, faithfully records the milestones in his father's life from Nonconformist cradle to crusader-style grave. Wilson (1954a) begins to peel away the layers of the The Old Man, The Chief, Uncle Bill or Billy Lever, as Leverhulme has been variously called. Jolly (1976) gives the overall impression of writing as a sycophant. Yet he does manage the occasional incisive comment. Wright (1982) confining himself to Lord Leverhulme's Unknown Venture, an account of the development of the Liverpool School of Architecture, writes that "once one has learnt quite a lot about this extraordinary man, it needs a real act of will to stop exploring further" (Wright 1982, p.36). Knox (1976) provides some first hand knowledge of the man, leaving the reader with a sense of sympathy by the tragic figure cut by Leverhulme in his last years. Bellini (1981) in his brief but pugnacious interpretation of Leverhulme's life evokes no such sympathy. Even the catalogue of the Royal Academy exhibition commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the merger between Lever Brothers and Van den Bergh and Jurgens gives a poor

impression of Leverhulme as an employer and as a patron of the arts.

William Hesketh Lever (1851-1925): First Viscount Leverhulme of The Western Isles - A Brief Biography

Despite his fondness for relating his life's story in the classical rags to riches mould, William Hesketh Lever was born into a comfortable middle-class family, the seventh of ten children and the elder of two boys, on the ninth of September, 1851, in Bolton, Lancashire, a town described by Engels as one of the worst industrial towns in England. His father, James Lever, was also of comfortable origins. He, James, had had a formal education at a private school and later at Rivington Grammar School (near Bolton) which he left at the age of fourteen to be apprenticed to the leading grocer in Bolton. James Lever's parents were Anglican but as an apprentice he was influenced by his employer's Nonconformism. Once he had served his time he went to manage a grocery store in Manchester. Through his religious devotion as a Congregationalist he met, and later married, Eliza Hesketh, the daughter of a cotton-mill manager, in April 1839.

Within a short period of his marriage, James Lever joined an erstwhile fellow apprentice from Bolton as a partner in the firm of Stones and Hesketh. Lever senior's task was to manage the firm's newly opened grocery store. In 1864 James Lever bought out his two partners and became the owner of the business into which he was to introduce his eldest son, William, three years later. By hard work, hard bargaining and an abhorrence of waste, James Lever amassed a considerable fortune (Nicholson 1960, p.3).

William Hesketh Lever attended three schools between the ages six and fifteen, excelling, it seems, in none of them, either academically or on the playing field. His first school was a mixed private school and it was here, between the ages of six and nine, that he met his future wife and some of his lifelong friends, notably Jonathan Simpson, later one of the many architects he was to employ.

Leverhulme, by the time he entered his father's business - he had wished to stay on

at school and train to be an architect, his mother had wanted him to become a doctor - led a highly organised life. On his sixteenth birthday he was presented by his father with a copy of Samuel Smiles's Self-Help, first published in 1859.

The Influence of Smiles's Self-Help

Of those events which his biographies credit as having had the most notable influence on the young Leverhulme, none is given more prominence than Samuel Smiles's Self-Help. By the time Leverhulme, like Smiles the son of a grocer, received his copy, Self-Help was already a bestseller. By the end of the nineteenth century it had sold a quarter of a million copies. Asa Briggs, introducing the centenary edition, notes that by 1959 it was in its seventy-second edition. What Briggs attributes to the success of Self-Help is the very feature which may render it difficult for today's reader to digest, that is its neatness of phrase. Despite the 1988 edition of Self-Help being marketed by Sidgwick and Jackson as part of the 'Library of Management Classics' with an introduction by Sir Keith Joseph, it contains pearls of wisdom such as the following: 'he who never made a mistake, never made a discovery', 'the tortoise in the right road will beat the racer in the wrong', 'the nation comes from the nursery'. Indeed, this simplicity of expression on Smiles's part and its propagation by the adult Leverhulme may account for the subtext of hostility towards Leverhulme by his biographers. Leverhulme held such store in the book that he used to give copies of it to promising young men in his employment.

It is important to remember that, when considering the content of Smiles's message that in essence it was simply a codification of values which were old even one hundred and forty years ago when it first appeared. It was one of a number of books to appear in the 1850's which set out the same message and which were as keen as Smiles to teach healthy lessons to the rising generation.

The guiding idea of Self-Help was that the most important results in daily life are to be obtained not through the use of extraordinary powers, such as genius and

intellect, but through the energetic use of simple means and ordinary qualities, with which nearly all individuals have been endowed (Briggs 1959). Radical Liberal though he once was, Smiles was convinced that self-help was preferable to socialism. For him “prudence, frugality and good management are excellent artists for mending bad times; they occupy but little room in any dwelling but would furnish a more effectual remedy of life than any reform bill that ever passed the Houses of Parliament” (Smiles 1959, p.137). He suggested that what we are accustomed to decry as great social evils, will, for the most part, be found to be but one outgrowth of mankind’s perverted nature.

Smiles, writing in 1887, advocated working class independence, as Leverhulme was later to do. Those who noticeably benefited from the doctrine of self-help were those who contributed to some conspicuous field of social usefulness to their fellow men. Wealth and position, respect and high office were secondary considerations for Smiles. Self-help, it may be argued, went against the increasing flood of reform legislation of the mid-Victorian era as it held that people must be dealt with as units because it was only by the elevation of individuals that the elevation of the masses can be effectively secured. Sir Keith Joseph takes up this point in his Introduction to the 1988 edition.

He lauded individualism not as a means to worldly gain but as path to independence and to self-fulfilment. (Joseph 1988, p.8)

Individualism, and not opportunism for self-advancement, was seen by Smiles, and later Joseph, to be at the heart of economic activity in the service of others. Leverhulme was to put this message at the heart of his social philosophy.

Smiles has often been thought of as a ‘Philistine’. He is said to have failed to understand the sources of artistic creation and failed to give adequate attention to ‘flair’ as a factor even in business success.

True, he had his sharp limitations: he was no abstract thinker, and he was naive about art, believing that effort and will alone could make an artist. (Joseph 1988, p.9)

Somehow what Joseph writes here may be seen to be the received wisdom about Smiles. But there is a whiff of snobbery about such comments. Smiles, writing of

Shakespeare “as a successful manager of a theatre” (1988, p.168), is generally understood to miss the importance of the playwright’s importance. The point which Smiles was trying to impart was that his output had a significance other than artistic creation and that was work, and that this work was of some economic significance - as the burghers of Stratford-upon-Avon would today doubtless testify. For Smiles Shakespeare was a successful entrepreneur. Indeed success in any field of work was viewed in terms of entrepreneurial activity by Smiles. Hence Joseph’s endorsement.

But, of all the economic histories ever written, it is Smiles’ *Self-Help* that most explicitly and vividly portrays, celebrates - above all, understands the entrepreneur and the virtues that make him what he is. For that reason, if for no other, this book, so deeply expressive of the spirit of its own times - is also a book for our times: government and governed, employer and employee, in work and out of work, need to take to heart and keep in mind. (Joseph 1988, p.16, original emphases)

Smiles was advocating his readership to attach economic importance to their labour, because the success of this labour would reap benefits not only for themselves but for their fellow man.

Why labour this point so? Well Leverhulme was influenced by Smiles work and was referred to by one of his biographers as “Mr. Smiles Disciple” (Jolly 1976). As noted above Smiles’ *Self-Help* is replete with neat nuggets of homespun philosophy. Perhaps this ought to be excused as the books readership was no doubt general and not primarily aimed at economists or management specialists. In propagating the message of the economic nature of much human activity, Smiles can be seen to contributing to the development of the human sciences. As a manufacturer, and especially as an entrepreneur, Leverhulme *can* be understood to be a true disciple of Smiles. In his recorded speeches and addresses he may be understood as using similar techniques as Smiles in an effort to impart the vital importance of economic activity. He used simple expressions in many of his speeches, as Smiles did, in an effort to communicate some important message. Like Smiles, Leverhulme extolled neither the virtues of Capital nor Labour in promoting his message, but preferred to argue that both were parties to economic

enterprise and were mutually dependent.

Leverhulme's Entry Into Soap Marketing and Manufacturing

The wholesale grocery trade in which Leverhulme joined his father was regarded as a respectable career. It is significant that, once James Lever gained control of Stones and Hesketh, he immediately sold off the retail end of the business. Receiving money directly from the public, as retail grocers do, was especially looked down upon - being in trade and being a gentleman were antithetical positions. Leverhulme started his working life on a shilling a week. However, within five years, by the time he was twenty-one, he was a partner in the firm with an annual income of £800. Within two years of this considerable advance in his personal fortune he married.

Prior to being made a partner in his father's firm Leverhulme spent some time as a commercial traveller. Because of his success as a representative the firm removed to larger premises in 1872. Stones and Hesketh's stock-in-trade was butter, eggs, potted meat, starch, mustard, black lead and soap. To secure the freshest dairy produce available Leverhulme travelled to both Ireland and France where he arranged a system of packing despatch centres, cutting out the need for middlemen. The butter he procured in Ireland he marketed as *Ulster Fresh Lumps* in an intensive advertising campaign in an effort to persuade his customers to identify *freshness* and quality with Stones and Hesketh. As a commercial traveller he had increased the firm's volume of business by so much that it was decided to open a branch in Wigan which he was to manage. By 1884 the Lever wholesale grocery business had grown to be the largest in the North West outside Manchester and Liverpool.

It was in 1884 that Leverhulme, aged 33, toyed with the idea of retiring with his wife to a Hebridean retreat. There does not appear in the biographies any clear explanation as to why he abandoned this "pastoral dream" (Jolly 1976, p.18). Nor is there any apparent reason as to why he should have chosen to enter the soap manufacturing industry. He had been enormously successful in the grocery

business and it is possible that he felt that he had it in his powers to be successful at whatever he turned his mind to. It is well documented in his biographies that in 1884 he expressed a disinclination to return to work in the grocery trade after a holiday he took that year. His son suggests that the manufacturing of soap may have appealed to him because the cutting and wrapping of soap was one of the first duties he performed as an apprentice in his father's wholesale business (Leverhulme 1927, p.38). Entering a manufacturing industry, if successful, would have enabled him to pursue a pastoral idyll at a later date if he chose to return to it.

Manufacturers of soap prior to Leverhulme's entering the field produced long bars of soap bearing the wholesale grocer's name and possibly the name of the manufacturer. It was a commodity which the consumer related more to the wholesaler or retailer than to the manufacturer. It was the wholesaler who cut and packed the soap for delivery to the retailer. "Lever's idea", his son writes, "was to establish a soap which would be of unrivalled quality and which under a registered name would be advertised and sold universally" (Leverhulme 1927, p.38).

Up until 1884 Levers marketed their soaps under the name *LEVER'S PURE HONEY*. Requirements of the 1875 Trade Marks Act led Leverhulme to search for another trade name as their soap was neither pure nor did it contain honey. *SUNLIGHT*, Leverhulme felt, was as distinctive a name, as he hoped his soap would be. Lever's at this time had several manufacturers supplying their soap requirements for, as they advertised in their house journal *The Lancashire Grocer*, not all manufacturers could supply all types of soaps at a uniformly high standard. Lever's boasted that only by selecting the best soaps from each manufacturer could they ensure a range of quality soaps.

The one soap that Leverhulme had made to his specifications encountered production problems for which its manufacturers demanded an extra consideration. At the time, the mid 1880's, the prices of raw materials for the soap industry were lower than ever before. Thus Leverhulme felt conditions were ripe for him to move into the manufacture of soap.

James Lever was opposed to his son leaving the grocery trade but eventually gave way in the face of Leverhulme's determination. A failing firm of good soap makers was approached in Warrington. The output of this firm was in the order of a few tons a week. Leverhulme had plans to produce a minimum of one hundred tons a week in order to ensure a good profit. He secured the works on a short (six year) lease. Leverhulme originally planned to produce a soap made solely of vegetable oils. This had to be altered to a recipe containing 25% tallow to give the soap a firm consistency. Sunlight Soap thus constituted was marketed as pure in the sense that it contained no 'filling' of silicate or soda.

By early 1886, Lever Brothers' - Leverhulme was joined in the venture by his only brother - Warrington works was producing twenty tons a week. Orders for the soap began to pour in, even though the works employed only one agent. Production facilities were expanded in December 1886 and by the end of 1887 the works was producing four hundred and fifty tons of Sunlight Soap per week, in addition to the valuable by-product glycerine. Once established in Bolton and Wigan, Leverhulme marketed the soap throughout the United Kingdom, then Europe, South Africa, Canada and Australia in the wake of Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee (1887) when passion for the Empire was at its height. The demand for Sunlight soap would soon outstrip production capacity at Warrington. The owner of the site at Warrington was unhelpful during negotiations for a building lease. The Warrington banks were unwilling to underwrite expansion as they felt that the town could not support two soap manufacturers, the other being Joseph Crosfield and Son, the second largest producer of soap in the U.K. at the time, which Lever Brothers later acquired. Leverhulme, annoyed with what he always referred to as the 'banker's mentality' - by which one may understand bankers' conservatism and the role they play in capitalism, raised the initial capital he required by realising his share in the family grocery business, determined not to stay in Warrington at a landlord's mercy. Thus were laid the foundations of what was to become one of the world's largest companies in terms of volume of sales and profits.

On reading the various accounts of Leverhulme's life there is an apparent rift in it at about the year 1906. Indeed, as Wilson notes, by the year 1907 Leverhulme, then fifty-six, had reached the zenith of his powers (Wilson 1954a, p.48). Up until then he had built up his fathers wholesale grocery business to being the largest in north-west England outside Manchester and Liverpool. He had embarked upon soap marketing in 1884 and then soap manufacturing first in Warrington in 1886 and then, two years later, at Port Sunlight on the Wirral. The next ten years saw the growth of the village there and Leverhulme emerging as the rising star in the constellation of Britain's soap makers. He also bought Thornton Manor, a nineteenth century Gothic house almost three-and-a-half miles from Port Sunlight which he redesigned and enlarged in what is termed an Elizabethan or Tudor style. In addition he bought the village of Thornton Hough, adjoining the Manor, demolished and rebuilt it in a quintessentially old English style complete with a forge and oak trees. He also stood as a Liberal candidate in four general elections in 1882, 1894, 1895, declined to stand in 1900, and eventually entered Parliament in 1906. From 1906 onwards, being firmly ensconced in public life as a Member of Parliament, his activities may be interpreted as being more oriented to cementing his social recognition than pursuing his earlier entrepreneurial elan.

1906 was an eventful year for Leverhulme, for not only did he enter Parliament, but he was also personally vilified by Northcliffe's Associated Newspapers, with support from the Daily Mirror, regarding the activities of the Soap Trust. At the heart of the Daily Mail campaign was the reduction by the manufacturers in the contents of a bar of soap from sixteen to fifteen ounces in an attempt to pass on the cost of increased raw materials prices to the consumer. The Trust of which Lever Brothers were members, was an amalgamation of soap manufacturers who exchanged shares, made mutual commitments in their businesses in the buying of resources in an attempt to keep the cost of production low. Following Northcliffe's campaign, in which Daily Mail journalists referred to Port Sunlight as Port Moonshine, sales of soap made by Lever Brothers fell by sixty per cent. The

demand for shares in Lever Brothers fell to such an extent that their value was reduced by twenty five per cent. Leverhulme felt that he had no choice but to sue for libel. After a five hour opening address by Sir Edward Carson for Leverhulme, which ended with Carson inviting Northcliffe's counsel to cross-examine Leverhulme, the suit was adjourned - so impressed was the defence by Leverhulme's apparent integrity. Northcliffe's counsel agreed total damages of £91,000 for this suit and a similar action pursued in Scotland, an unprecedented amount to be awarded in a libel action. Leverhulme donated the sum awarded to endow a chair of civic design at Liverpool University, one of many great acts of giving by him in his lifetime.

Leverhulme's social advancement continued in 1911 with his being made a Baronet. In 1912 he purchased a twenty-eight year lease on Stafford House, formerly London home of the Sutherland family. This he renamed Lancaster House, to reflect his origins as benefactor, and offered it the following year to the nation, an offer accepted by Mr Asquith on behalf of the government (Lancaster House is the only building between Clarence House and Buckingham Palace). 1913 saw the demise of Lady Lever. The following year King George V and Queen Mary visited Port Sunlight to lay the foundation stone of the Lady Lever Art Gallery, erected to commemorate Leverhulme's wife. In the years 1917 to 1918 he was High Sheriff of Lancashire, his native county. He was also made a Baron in 1917, on which occasion he chose the name Leverhulme, an amalgamation of his family name and that of his wife - a choice which caused some consternation in the College of Heralds. In 1919 Leverhulme became Mayor of Bolton, the town of his birth, and donated an eighty-eight acre site to the town to be used as a civic park. The year before he died he "produced a remarkable plan of his own for the city, designed to give it the finest civic centre in the United Kingdom" (Briggs 1991, p.28). This was, however, turned down by the Council. During this period 1917-1919 he purchased the island of Harris with Lewis off the Western Isles. Baron Leverhulme was created a Viscount in 1922 and that same year Princess Beatrice opened the Lady Lever Art Gallery.

If the above litany of landmarks in Leverhulme's life seems too good to be true, then that is the way his posthumous publicity machine wishes it to appear. Among these milestones could be registered the disastrous purchase in 1920 of the Niger Company, the folly of his foray into the Western Isles and the destruction of his Rivington retreat near Bolton by a suffragette arsonist in 1913. It is not surprising to read that he was greatly concerned with his immortality and his posthumous image. His intentions were certainly dynastic as may be witnessed from some of his correspondence at the time of his only surviving child's birth. A summary of Leverhulme's outlook is presented thus - rather uncharitably - by one of his biographers.

His paramount regard was for himself and for the extensions of himself in this family, the small group of friends of his childhood, and the firm of Lever Brothers. ... To the lowly and eminent he was always devoted and loyal. It was his equals - those who felt entitled to challenge his opinion or thwart his intentions - who were most likely to see brutish side of his face and find themselves cynically used or violently abused. For the King, or Gladstone, or Lloyd George, he was quite prepared to sit up and beg, round up sheep, or dig a few truffles. For Labour, for his work-people, he had a conscientious regard, attention to their education and welfare as one of them might have devoted himself to the training of a promising and well-loved whippet. (Jolly 1976, p.234)

It is true that his only successes had to do with his business. But as a businessman he was extraordinarily successful. And, as shall be shown below, business was at the centre of his personal, religious, and social philosophies. He can hardly be said to have succeeded in creating a dynasty with only one heir to his title and he, the second Viscount Leverhulme, produced just one male child with whom the title dies. Before his death in 1925 Leverhulme acknowledged the failure of his social experiment at Port Sunlight. He was also acutely aware of the ill-feeling towards him regarding his involvement in the Western Isles. Knox (1976) captures the pathos of Leverhulme's life by relating how, on his final return trip from West Africa, a few months before he died, Leverhulme was asked to choose and read the lesson at the Sunday service. He read from Ecclesiastes (Ch.2 v.4).

I made me great works; I builded me houses; I planted me vineyards; I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted in them trees of all kinds of fruits. I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees: I got me servants ... I gathered me also silver and gold ... So I was great ... for my heart

rejoiced in all my labour ... Then I looked on all the works that my hands had wrought, and on the labour that I had laboured to do: and, behold, all was vanity and vexation of spirit, and there was no profit under the sun. (Knox 1976, p.79)

Regrets are borne of an unfulfilment. Wherein lay the unfulfilment of one who apparently achieved so much? If there was 'no profit under the sun' where then did he hope to find it, and why could it not be found in a life seemingly so full of achievement and beneficence? Was he really an "egocentric lunatic" (Bellini 1981, p.144), "erratic" (Wright 1982, p.13), "insane", (Toynbee 1971, p.97), or "schizoid" (Jolly 1976, p.150)?

The history of soap manufacture to the mid-nineteenth century

Remarkably little is known of the manufacture and use of soap until the middle-ages. However soap manufacturers' literature, for example Lever Brothers' house magazine Progress, suggests its provenance as follows. Cleaning substances were used several centuries before the birth of Christ, if the Old Testament is to be believed. Job IX., 30, refers to "snow water" for making hands clean. In Jeremiah 11., 22, the following appears:

For though thou wash thee with lye, and take thee much soap,
yet thine iniquity is marked before me.

Pliny records the use of soap in Pompeii, and of its introduction as an invention of the Gauls. He speaks of two kinds, a liquid soap and a hand soap which were used, not for cleaning but to give a reddish tint to the hair. He also notes that soap was used more by men than by women. The Romans are known to have used various soapy plants, e.g. soapwort (*safonaria officinalis*) and may well have introduced them to England.

'Savon', the French word for soap is thought to have its origins in the first centre of soap-making in Europe, Savona in Italy. Another explanation for the origin of the word soap is that it takes its name from a hill in Rome. The clay at the foot of Sapo Hill was found to help in the removal of dirt from cloth. One explanation as to the cause of this property of the clay is that the hill top was the site of animal sacrifice. The beech ash used in burning the sacrifice mixed with the animal fat, was washed

down to the foot of the hill from where it was later removed for laundry work. A third explanation for the origin of the word soap is that it is a corruption of the Latin word for tallow, *cebum*, from which the word sebaceous is derived - the sebum being a fatty acid that lubricates the hair and skin. Thus in the use of soap animal fat or tallow - in a treated form - was used to remove oils, fats and dirt from the surface of the skin and hair of humans.

Soap making as a trade was introduced into England in the fourteenth century, soap being sold in Bristol at 1d. per lb. The manufacture of soap began in London in 1524, but not until one hundred years later is there any authoritative history of its progress. Elias (1979) notes the scarcity, or rather non-existence, of soap at about this time for those who wished to follow Erasmus' code of etiquette.

Monopoly in the soap trade came in 1622 when Charles 1 required that the Society of Soap Makers at Westminster pay him £4 per ton on 5,000 tons of soap annually. Soap makers outside the society were liable to heavy fines and imprisonment as they would have been deemed to be fraudulently manufacturing soap. By 1650 the excise on materials needed to make a barrel of soap amounted to 4s.8d. Excise duty of £10 per ton (1d. per lb) was introduced in 1711 by Queen Anne. This was increased in 1713 to 11/2d. per lb. and later in 1782 to 21/4d. per lb. The tax on soap was used to finance the debts incurred during England's wars with France at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Because soap was subject to duty it had to be made in bond under the constant surveillance of an excise officer. Thus the costs of production were further increased.

The cost of soap was clearly becoming a burden to those who used it, especially the poor. Yet the increase in consumption of soap continued. In 1782 revenue of £104,500 was recorded, suggesting production in the region of 47 tons. In 1793 this increased to £403,530 from about 180 tons; and in 1815 to £747,759 from about 333 tons. Whether this increase was due solely to an increase in consumption or there being more *recorded* production is not clear. However, revenue continued to rise suggesting a rapid increase in the demand for soap: £1,200,000 was yielded

from soap duties in 1827 and in 1835, two years after the first reduction in the duties, the revenue was still about the £1,000,000.

The benefits of developments in the manufacture of soap, and cosmetics generally, was not welcomed by all. Such was the threat to the kingdom's manhood by the developments in the emerging personal care products industry that, in 1770, an Act was passed which would prosecute women who made convincing use of cosmetics.

“That all women, of whatever age, rank, profession or degree, whether virgins, maids, or widows, that shall from and after such Act, impose upon, seduce and betray into matrimony, any of his majesty's subjects, by their scents, paints, cosmetic washes, artificial teeth, false hair, Spanish wool, iron stays, hoops, high-heeled shoes, bolstered hips, shall incur the penalty of the law in force against witchcraft and like misdemeanours and that the marriage, upon conviction, shall stand null and void.” (Poucher 1959, p.17)

Despite the recorded increase in the production of soap, its benefits were not available to all. The Bishop of London in October 1844, noted that the impossibility of the poor to cultivate “habits of cleanliness which were equally essential to the physical comfort and ‘the sound moral state of the population’”.

The Bishop

... knew it to be a fact that, to a large extent, as a substitute for soap, those poor persons would use articles too disgusting to be named; and, consequently, the linen when washed, was more infested than before. (Progress March 1938, p.35)

Soap, in his view, was still too expensive because of the excise duty. Between 1845 and 1853 the number of soap manufacturers in Britain increased from two hundred and sixty-two to five hundred and sixty-six. Three hundred and ninety-three failed the next year. Yet the recorded production of soap increased, due to better policing by the excise men. In 1853 duty on soap was abolished by Gladstone, the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time. Gladstone justified his decision on the threefold ground that the tax had encouraged a great deal of fraud, that the restrictions were injurious to public health and that the tax adversely affected the export trade.

By 1901 consumption in the United Kingdom was three hundred thousand tons.

This represented an increase in consumption of almost 1,000 per cent in just under one hundred years. Almost sixty per cent of the market had been captured by Lever Brothers. If indeed the consumption of soap is a yardstick of civilization, then the British were well on the way to being civilised with Lever Brothers as the principle agents.

The British Soap Industry Before Leverhulme

As Wilson notes, the outstanding feature of the soap industry in the United Kingdom prior to 1888 was the limited and local nature of the markets. The wisdom behind a system of zones which prevailed was based on local suppliers and manufacturers knowing their local markets and so being able to serve these markets better than outsiders. It was, according to Wilson, “a comfortable world, gentlemanly and harmonious”(1954a, p.20). The implication here being that Leverhulme’s arrival disturbed this gentlemanliness and brought disharmony.

The location of soap manufacturers was determined by the need to import most raw materials. While consumption remained relatively low until the end of the eighteenth century, sufficient tallow, the principle type of fat used in the manufacture of soap, could be met by the home market. Discoveries relating to chemistry of soap making, especially Leblanc’s 1793 discovery that alkali could be obtained from common salt, revolutionised the industry from the turn of the nineteenth century. The opening of trade was dependent on the revolutions in transport making Asia and the New World accessible for the marketing of soap. Also the raw materials for soap, increasingly tallow gave way to vegetable oils, had to be brought from tropical west Africa and the South Sea Islands, areas in which Leverhulme was to establish plantations. Undoubtedly the salt reserves in Cheshire account for the large number of soaperies established there. A further contributing factor may have been the rapid industrialisation of that area of the country and the consequent demand for a cleansing agent of some kind.

Most of the larger producers were established in the nineteenth century. William

Gossage and Sons of Widnes was founded in 1855. They specialised in the export trade and by the late nineteenth century with sixty-six to seventy-five per cent of the export trade they were sending between fifteen to twenty thousand tons abroad each year.

R.S. Hudson of West Bromwich specialised in the production of dry soap powders, the soap being brought in from Gossages. They had a substantial business in the export trade, the main markets being Australia and New Zealand. In 1875 they established a works in Liverpool.

Joseph Crossfield founded his firm in 1815 at Warrington Bank Quay. The factory still bears his name but the firm is now part of Unilever. The main production was filled soap, that is tallow filled with silicate of soda, a cheap and popular household soap. Later developments in the field of industrial chemistry earned them an excellent reputation which they maintained and extended well into the twentieth century.

Joseph Watson and Sons of Leeds entered the manufacture of soap after switching from the tanning of hides and the manufacture of fat and tallow which was used as an industrial lubricant. Tallow candles followed and then soap. By 1885 they were producing about one hundred tons a week. They also developed a trade in glycerine. All of these firms, as Wilson notes, were family firms with strong overseas connections.

Further south, the largest producer in the West Country was Christopher Thomas and Brothers of Bristol, a family of Welsh Unitarians who had migrated there in the 1820's. By 1878 they had a large market, especially in Bristol itself, where that year they sold over one thousand tons of soap. Their chief customer for the glycerine by-product was Alfred Nobel and Company.

The leading London producer of soap was the firm of John Knight who was "one of the few pioneers in soap-making who conforms to what some historians consider

to be the orthodox lineage of the industrial revolutionaries” (Wilson 1954a, p.15). Wilson tells of the courtly attitude of the firm to its employees and customers. The staidness of the gentlemanly Victorian behaviour is captured in the following passage by Wilson.

Silk hats and frock coats long remained standard office dress, office employees were addressed as gentlemen, and the quest for new orders in the west End was made in a brougham. (Wilson 1954a, p.15)

Into this unruffled world Leverhulme entered as a manufacturer of soap in 1886. A new broom is said to sweep clean. To the established players in the field, Leverhulme must have appeared as the original white tornado.

Port Sunlight: The Expression of Leverhulme’s Philosophy

By the end of 1887 Leverhulme had purchased just over fifty acres of land on The Wirral and so began an adventure the likes of which, on a smaller scale, he could have embarked upon had he opted for his Orkney island retreat. As if to underline his capacity for turning dust into gold, Bromborough Pool was no idyllic greenfield site. Its unpleasantness is noted by both Wilson and Jolly who describes it as “a dank and dreary mixture of flat fields, marshes, and muddy creaks between the Mersey and the railway to Birkenhead” (1976, p.25). From this site was to grow the most visually appealing of all industrial villages to which the name Port Sunlight was given, implying the very opposite of dank dreariness.

The ceremonial cutting of the first sod on the site of the new soap works was undertaken by Leverhulme’s wife in March in 1888. The crusading nature of Leverhulme’s enterprise did not go unnoticed by W.P. Thompson who, as patent agent in Liverpool some years before, came up with the name ‘Sunlight’ for Leverhulme’s new soap. In the Bear’s Paw restaurant in Liverpool after the ceremony at Bromborough he recalled that some nine hundred years previously a different kind of invasion had taken place on the Wirral Peninsula, that of the Danes. They came to conquer and make slaves ‘in dirt and heathen darkness’ as one report of Thompson’s speech has it (Jolly 1976, p.43). Leverhulme, in contrast, came with ‘his beautiful Sunlight soap’ to establish a great industry among

the Wirral people for their great benefit.

However Leverhulme pointed out at the same banquet that the priority was to build the soap works as “it will require all the capital we can spare to build our works, but that (housing) is a matter for the future” (Wilson 195^{4a}~~8~~, p.36) The following year planning for the first twenty eight ‘cottages’ was underway. These were completed in 1892 on which occasion Leverhulme told another invited audience that it had always been his intention and that of his brother to

... build houses in which our work people will be able to live and be comfortable - semi-detached houses with gardens back and front, in which they will be able to know more about the science of life than they can in a back slum, and in which they will learn that there is more enjoyment in life than in the going to and returning from work, and looking forward to Saturday night to draw their wages. (Wilson 1954a, p.36)

Eleven years after the completion of the first cottages Leverhulme revealed, in an interview, the philosophy underlying his plans for the provision of welfare at Port Sunlight. His idea was a variation of profit sharing to which he gave the name ‘prosperity sharing’, the advantages of which he set out thus:

If I were to follow the usual mode of profit sharing I would send my workmen and work girls to the cash office at the end of the year and say to them: “you are going to receive £8 each; you have earned this money: it belongs to you. Take it and make whatever use you like of your money.” Instead of that I told them: “£8 is an amount which is soon spent, and it will not do you much good if you send it down your throats in the form of bottles of whiskey, bags of sweets, or fat geese for Christmas. On the other hand, if you leave this money with me, I shall use it to provide for you everything which makes life pleasant - viz. nice houses, comfortable homes, and healthy recreation. Besides, I am disposed to allow profit sharing under no other than that form. (Wilson 1954a pp.146-147, emphases added)

How should Leverhulme be understood? The biographical and historical accounts which appear above tell a conventional story of Leverhulme. As has been noted some authors saw fit to make judgment on Leverhulme’s character and mental state. Those who have published accounts of him seem to be drawn into making a statement as to how they feel about him. The present writer has experienced an enormous ambivalence when attempting to understand Leverhulme. The details of his life, whom he upset and how he upset them, seem to get in the way of seeing

the man as he perhaps saw himself. It is significant that in the various accounts of his life that he does come across as an insensitive megalomaniac be it in the affairs of the Belgian Congo, among the crofters of Harris and Lewis, among the art establishment, the College of Heralds, the workforce at Port Sunlight or even in the eyes of Northcliffe's newspapers. That he did attract, and can still attract, so much opprobrium should be read as symbolic of his role as an entrepreneur, as a herald of the new industrial order.

What he achieved, what he 'organised' was quite considerable as can be witnessed from the contents of Appendix One which chronicles the main developments of his life. But his achievements demand explanation other than in purely functional terms. His role as a successful entrepreneur extended to something more than simply establishing one of the world's most successful soap producing companies. Also his role as a successful entrepreneur should not be viewed as successful simply in terms of the innovation which he brought to an already established industry. Granted the innovations which he introduced included the production and marketing of packaged soap. He may be understood as having been successful in seeing the opportunities which existed following the removal of duties on paper and soap as an ideal platform on which to develop his entrepreneurial elan. But his impact was, and remains, wider than that.

There is little doubt that Leverhulme had a social philosophy. There is little doubt that he was powerful. There are reasons for accepting that the characterisation of him as a benevolent despot, in his early years of soap manufacturing, as correct if the published accounts of his life are to be believed. But to focus on the man to the exclusion of the wider social, economic, philosophic and political influences which operated upon him would give, at best, a partial of his life.

From the previous chapters a number of salient points emerge through which a more comprehensive understanding of Leverhulme's life may be understood. In the Theoretical Overview the work of Foucault is introduced. In particular his work on representation, on subjectivity and the related area of power. Chapter Three, On

Nature, shows that during the Victorian Era there was an awareness (by some) of a number of different interpretations of Nature. It also shows that since the time of the Renaissance, the domination of Nature was seen to be part of the belief in progress. The perilous state of the nation's health in the last century was the focus of Chapter Four, Victorian Health and Hygiene. Mention is also made of the contribution made by Foucault to this field through his paper on noso-politics. To understand Leverhulme in terms of Foucault's concept of power, to understand him as one who was subject and who, in turn, was part of the social regulation of subjectivity - as may be witnessed from the following expressions of his philosophy, which was premised on the centrality of 'business' to his life and in his view to the lives of others - is to understand a hitherto concealed dynamic regarding entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship.

Reference was also made earlier in Chapter Two, the Theoretical Overview, to capitalism being the conduit through which we live life. Capitalism lives us, it was suggested. Humanity, as a form of animal life and increasingly in common with many other forms of animal life, is organised by capitalism. Our production and reproduction is centred around capitalism. However, human life, it is held by some, is sacred. Its position in the great chain of being is given preeminence. Its sacred status is usually thought of in terms of religious teachings, especially in the West. Could it be otherwise? It is essential to the survival of the species to ensure its survival. However, this doctrine which leads to putting the survival of human life first has its downside - most notably when one considers the impact that human economic activity has upon the rest of the ecosystem, that system upon which the economy of other life forms depends. In stressing the economic performance of humanity, the economics of other forms of life - upon which humanity itself depends - is overlooked. Referring back to the philosophy of Bacon, Glanville and Descartes can be seen the embodiment of the central position given to humanity, at the expense of other forms of life. It was, after all, divinely ordained that this should be so. It is written in the Bible, in the Book of Genesis. However, as Cooper (1986) reminds us, the Book of Genesis was written by a man and not by a horse. To view life through the eyes of a horse or any other non-human animal, or

even through the eyes of a hypothetical visitor from another planet, would lead to a very different view of life on earth, humanity and human economic activity.

Leverhulme may be viewed as part of the tradition which emerged in the Renaissance, as a 'prophet' who continued the philosophy of humanity's domination of Nature. His task was to order humanity, in particular to help in maintaining it as an economic force by contributing to its health. He was a modernist, he clearly believed in the possibility of rationally ordering society. His early success as a wholesale grocer may have led him to believe that human beings and their economy could be organised along the same lines as Lever and Co.'s lines of starch, butter, black lead and potted meat.

Leverhulme the Conduit

Earlier in this chapter the influence on Leverhulme of Samuel Smiles's Self-Help was mentioned. His biographers write that it was given to him on his sixteenth birthday by his father. They also write that he was fond of presenting the book to young men in his employ at Port Sunlight. This book is part of a tradition of literature which emerged in the 1850's which set out the same message. That it struck a chord with the Lever's should not surprise us greatly. In Briggs words it contained "sound values and useful knowledge about the problems of urban and industrial life and the right tactics for 'getting on'" (1959, p.9). Smiles himself was influenced by similar books which had appeared in the 1840's and 1850's. Thus there was nothing particularly remarkable about his book other than its success. There were seventy-two editions published by 1959. Today it forms part of the Library of Management Classics. The theme stated in Self-Help is that practical success in life depends more on physical health than is generally imagined (Smiles had a medical training). Smiles also demanded "that all Englishmen ... should follow the example of their betters" with regard to postponing present pleasures for future good (Briggs 1959, p.27). Leverhulme's crusade was to ensure the physical health of the population. His debt to the influence of Smiles seems apparent here. However, it should be remembered that Smiles was codifying only what was

required by the economic system of the time. To follow the example of one's betters was to invest in the status quo the authority of its right to governance.

Leverhulme may thus be seen as part of that tradition identified by Foucault (1976, 1979, 1988b) when writing of 'governmentality', the politics of health in the eighteenth century and of technologies of self. The understanding of self was not something which was left to the individual but was embraced in policies which led to the governance of lives by the state, and strengthened the role of the state. Leverhulme may have believed that he was taking the lead in espousing the policies and philosophies he did. He may have had an unshakable belief in these policies and philosophies. But in a Foucauldian sense, Leverhulme was *being spoken* by the requirements of the economics of the time, that is modernist, non-ecological economics. In the tradition of the Christian pastoral, where a figure - the word pastor is often used - a priest, looks after the well-being of his flock and guides them on the path to righteousness, so Leverhulme attempted to guide those in his charge. His responsibility and sense of duty to others may be understood as a type of latter-day *noblesse oblige* in his neo-feudal Barony on The Wirral. But the task was not limited to those in his employ at Port Sunlight, but extended to his other production facilities and to the consumers of his products. Through his enterprises Leverhulme helped sustain a technology of self, that is a way of knowing oneself, which was required for the propagation of an economic system based on the promise of Bacon and others.

Leverhulme's Philosophy

Leverhulme set out his philosophy in a series of lectures which he delivered in the first two decades of this century and which were subsequently published in a number of volumes (Lever 1893, Lever 1905 and Leverhulme 1918). In these lectures Leverhulme's simplicity of expression echoes the writings, in both style and content, of Smiles in Self-Help. Leverhulme also expressed an economy of effort in that the lectures were remarkably similar. So whether he was talking of health, welfare, housing, industry, art or the economy the lectures carried the same

message. In a nutshell, this message was that these seemingly disparate areas were mutually interdependent. And, not only that, but that the common good rested on what was good for the individual. In this sense Leverhulme understood better than most of his contemporaries the centrality that industry was to have in the national and international economy, as Joseph (1988) suggests. This being so despite the decline of the British economy in the years following 1880. As a conduit Leverhulme transmitted this message when invited to do so and attempted to embody it in the various enterprises with which he was involved. In his philosophy he attempted to address all parties, labour, management, the consumer and even the conservative element within society. Hawkins suggests that the latter were responsible for much of the popularising of the 'Eden myth' and the propagation of the 'cottage ideal' in the discovery of rural England at the end of the last century. The strength of this sentiment obviously caught Leverhulme's imagination in his vision for the 'New Jerusalem'. Below are some expressions of his philosophy presented under headings which represent what are presented by his biographers as those areas which keenly interested him. As business was his life, it is fitting to begin with some of his thoughts on business.

Leverhulme's Business Philosophy

In a speech to Public Health officers in 1910 he stated his core business philosophy thus:

The highest function of a business is the development and perfecting of the health and character of the employee. (Lever 1910, p.4)

This belief was the basis on which most of Leverhulme's enterprise was based. In this speech he went on to embrace almost everything which was of concern to him as a business man and philanthropist. For example, echoing Smiles's dislike of central government, he viewed state bureaucracy as inefficient, as the following shows.

The cultivation of roses and oaks costs money, the growth of weeds costs nothing; that pernicious cultivation has its attraction for those short-sighted tax-payers who represent the penny-wise-and-pound-foolish policy of Government. Nature has dealt the Anglo-Saxon race a winning hand in brain and body, with great destinies the world over - and Nature only asks in return that we play the game and make the best, and not the worst, use of the material she

has given to us. After all, civilization is only the evolution and development of man's power by teaching and learning the lesson of life. (Lever 1910, pp.3-4)

Here is an example of Leverhulme's tendency to combine Jingoism, naturalism, progress and a critique of the status quo in one short passage. Here he is setting out his stall. He has identified the problem; he can bring solutions. With regard to inefficiency he continues:

There is just as much health and life running to waste amongst uncontrolled, undirected human beings in business as there is of mechanical force running to waste in an uncontrolled Niagara or Victoria Falls. (Lever 1910, p.4)

Again Leverhulme turned to the natural world to make his point. What is being wasted are the gifts bestowed on us by Nature. But they are being wasted by what Smiles termed the outgrowth of mankind's perverted nature. In the business arena these perversions were apparent in the conflicting claims of management, capital and labour.

And what a waste of the natural forces of human nature this narrow, selfish view entails, resulting in an endless conflict between the three joint forces of productive enterprise, management, capital, and labour. (Lever 1910, p.4)

Leverhulme seeks to extract the greatest potential from all these forces for the well-being of mankind. And that well-being extends beyond the mere physical.

(T)here is a side of life that bears on the question of health, and that side of life is what is called modern business. It may be quite correct to speak of man as the Human Machine, but, all the same, he is something more than a set of mechanical appliances and principles ingeniously joined and cogwheeled together. I am not a so-called Christian Scientist, but I do believe that, side by side with research into causes of ill-health, decay and death in the physical body, should also proceed research work into those mental causes of ill-health and premature decay resulting from conditions under which our modern business life is passed. (Lever 1910, p.3)

In "The Industrial Situation", the introduction to the American edition of The Six Hour Day which was retitled The Six-Hour Shift, he encapsulated his larger economic vision.

Every healthy human being seeks for happiness, and has to find happiness in supplying the wants of the body with food, clothing and shelter. And equally happiness can only be found in feeding mind and soul with ideals of beauty, art and learning ... and everything that tends to produce such happiness in men and women is good, and

to do whatever produces this state and condition is to achieve the highest possible gain for the Empire and the whole of mankind. (Leverhulme 1920, p.5)

This, of course, was to be achieved through business. Not unfettered economic growth but business developed through regulation and influenced by moral principle.

Wise State control in business has resulted in our progress being the greater and our civilization the highest the world has ever known. The highest business success does not rest, therefore, on a narrow selfishness, but on a high moral basis. And this applies with equal force and truth to the employee and is does to Capital and management. The employee must be subject to State control, and will be better able to realise his own material well-being by being subject to wise State control, equally with capital and management. (Lever 1910, p.4)

What was good for humanity was good for business and *vice-versa* as becomes apparent in the following.

Modern conditions of economical production require the aggregation of huge masses of human beings in centres suitable for special industries. The massing together of employees is not only a condition essential to productive success, but is preferred by the employee to thinly populated centres. Mankind is a social being, and from time immemorial has loved to live in close and even crowded proximity to his fellow man. To walk through any of our modern cities is to understand how the uncontrolled forces of private gain have worked prejudicially not only for the wretched employees compelled to live in slums, but has equally been inexpedient and wasteful from the point of view of capital and management. As a matter of principle all would admit that every diligent employee has a moral and indisputable right out of the product of his labour to live in a decent home, to possess the opportunity to bring up his children in decent environment, to enjoy the best possible facilities for the development of all his own, his wife's and his children's faculties, so as to make them healthy and strong and long-lived. And all must, upon even the most superficial thought, admit the expediency of this from a merely business point of view. (Lever 1910, p.5)

The interests of business and labour were clearly interdependent, if not the same as he reiterates:

Business expediency, therefore, demands better housing conditions for employees, apart from the principle I have already stated of the employee's own unquestionable right to the same. (Lever 1910, p.5)

Foucault's (1979) argument that the governance by the state was increasingly

ensured through the policing of the *oikos* - that is the economy of the home or household - can be witnessed in Leverhulme's thought. In his address to the Royal Institute of Public Health he can be seen to be speaking in favour of the policing, by public officials, of the economy of the home and the importance of the home and the household to the wider economy.

Mere business expediency demands, apart altogether from the propelling power of principle, that town and city alike be made as healthy as village life. To realize this, we require, in addition to the necessary work of the architect or builder, work of investigation and research which can only be carried on by those trained in the medical profession, in order to teach us how to provide the best conditions of healthy home life. Humanity requires the assistance of a health architect and builder to plan healthy conditions for their bodies a great deal more than for the marshalling in proper form and order of mere stone, brick and mortar. (Lever 1910, p.5)

Leverhulme develops his argument outlining the costs of poor planning, of shortsightedness in business affairs:

As a result of the experience obtained by investigation, record, and research, a Medical Officer can predict with perfect confidence and all reasonable accuracy from management, capital, and the employee that if houses are crowded fifty and over to the acre that the death rate in that area will be over 25 per 1,000, and the loss of time through sickness over 10 per cent, out of the possible year's work, the infantile mortality will be high, and the physical condition of the growing children poor and unsatisfactory; but that if the houses are built so as not to exceed 12 houses per acre, thus allowing ample space for air and gardens, playing fields and so forth, the death rate will be under 14 per 1,000, and the loss of time from sickness will be a negligible quantity out of the possible year's work, and that the infantile mortality will be low and the physical condition of the growing children excellent and most satisfactory. But these are mere physical conditions; the mental and moral deterioration of the slum dweller and the mental and moral development of the garden dweller are no less remarkable, although not so easy to prove by definite statistics. Healthy home life has made England what she is, and England's future position amongst the nations of the world depends upon the maintenance of a healthy home life. In the slums we make it impossible for motherhood to be held sacred or for age to be revered. In the garden home we make possible the mother's loving care and the father's wise control, so essential to the young life of the children. The influence of the home depends on its environment. Surround a home with slums and you produce moral and physical weeds and stinging nettles. Surround a home with a garden and you produce the moral and physical beauty and strength of the flower and the oak. A home is much more than a mere house, and we must never forget that the home, and not the individual, is the unit and foundation of the nation. Our home life is the secret of our sturdy, honest business character. (Lever 1910, pp.5-6)

It is important too note that his argument in this and other speeches was premised upon business efficiency. Thus the home was as much a part of business as was the factory and office. And the welfare of humanity extended not just to their physical being but also their metaphysical needs as the following two extracts show.

Now, may I submit in full confession of my ignorance, that there may perhaps be times in our life when even bodily health requires a medicine that ministers only to the mind. Within the last few weeks one of our most distinguished physicians stated a case within his own knowledge of a cure of bodily sickness through action on the mind - and I am confident that many such cases are within the personal knowledge of most present in this room. Now, in every human activity nature has so closely linked together effort and resulting reward with the highest standard of healthy life, that it is certain the health of the employee does suffer and his efficiency does deteriorate if reward does not follow close on effort. (Lever 1910, pp.6-7)

There are two states of existence that destroy men, a state of luxury and a state of poverty. "Give me neither poverty riches" sang the Psalmist, echoing the concentrated wisdom of centuries. ... Poverty does not mean only starvation and the lowest forms of penury. We suffer poverty when we lack the means of satisfying legitimate and healthy wants of mind and soul - when under the necessity of denying oneself and one's family all those requirements which, whilst not necessary in themselves to the mere immediate health of the body, are necessary to the development and health of the mind and proper enjoyment of life, and the denial of which does ultimately lower the health and efficiency of the body. (Lever 1910, p.7)

Towards the end of this all-embracing speech, Leverhulme clarifies for his audience the importance of business which can be understood as his complete understanding of the organisational dynamics underlying industrial societies.

In giving these few aspects of business expediency I have merely touched upon the fringe of this great subject, but I feel no apologies are due for making this the topic of my address before a Congress of the Royal Institute of Public Health. Are we not a nation of shopkeepers, and is it not your duty to maintain our efficiency as such? Therefore, every aspect of business expediency must be a true and proper subject for your investigation and research. Your sphere of active service cannot with advantage be limited to questions of ventilation, cubical area, light, heat, and sanitation. Every fact and circumstance that affect the home life and the health, well-being, and development of mind and body must come within the field of your legitimate sphere of study and research. Certainly those business activities which occupy the whole life of more than nine-tenths of our population do come within the range of your responsibility. (Lever 1910, p.7)

On reading these words from one of this country's greatest business people, one can scarcely fail to be impressed by the breadth of his vision, a vision one rarely, if ever, hears expressed today. To understand industrial society the way Leverhulme did requires a revolutionary understanding of economics which very few industrialists, politicians or entrepreneurs are capable of grasping. Perhaps this explains why he had so little faith in Parliament as an agent of change.

In an address titled "Yourself is Master", delivered in 1917, Leverhulme argued again that the interests of business were the interests of the individual as the following extracts show. In this address can be seen the influence of what has become known as Fordism. Leverhulme was attempting to imbue his audience with a sense of responsibility both as producers and consumers.

When we come to read that no one can serve two masters, and that we have to fear our masters in fear and trembling, I think we must link them to the true master and employer, ourselves as consumer. ... Therefore, there are not two masters - the employer and the consumer - but only one master, who is the consumer: one servant, who is also the consumer, and over and above all there is Christ. (Leverhulme 1918, p.204)

Part of this responsibility to oneself as master relied on what today might be termed self-management. Leverhulme tried to sell to employees the benefits of working a six-hour day. Working fewer hours for the same rates of pay would surely be attractive to all parties. He presented his argument thus:

We want only 33.3 per cent increase to make it possible for each of us to produce as much in six hours as in eight, and that is less than the average scale which has shown to be possible.

With shorter hours we can have better education. From better education springs the wisdom which was asked for by Solomon, and our children and children's children can receive, under a properly organized system of a six-hour working day, as good an education as can be given to the children of the master.

So you will see that in a few generations a great, healthy, strong, and ambitious race of men would be produced who could help to control the industries in which they worked, but all this can only be realised by wisdom brought about by education. On these lines, keeping reduced cost of production steadily in mind, we can have an England and an empire spreading throughout the world, founded on lines that are so wise and practical that poverty becomes unknown, unemployment is never heard of, goods are produced in increasing volume at lowest price, and happiness reigns supreme. (Leverhulme

1918, pp.208-209)

To achieve harmony in business and industry it was important for all sides to see their mutual interdependency. One way of attempting to achieve this was through the Co-Partnership movement which emerged at the beginning of this century. Leverhulme was committed to the movement from 1908 and introduced a co-partnership scheme at Port Sunlight. In an address delivered in 1916, and entitled "Industrial Administration", he argued for the merits of a system of administration based on co-partnership in contrast to a growing management fad of the day.

Mere desire to attach a staff to a particular industry, and to ensure long service, is not sufficient. The solution of this problem can only be found in the actual working conditions themselves, and until these working conditions are acceptable to both employers and employees, neither are yet prepared to surrender their weapons of attack and defence, or to "beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks" in order the better to cultivate a larger and richer harvest.

As you know, a minority of employers, myself included, hold very strongly the view that only under a system of actual Co-Partnership can the spirit of greed and fear be eliminated and a just division of profits as between employer and employee be obtained. (Leverhulme 1918, p.250)

For all parties to be satisfied in the industrial enterprise, as measured by the indicators of good wages, good profits and reasonable hours, current management practices were insufficient.

To ensure the attainment of these aims and objects and of these sound economic conditions, and as part of the control of labour, the words "Scientific Management" have been applied. Unfortunately, much that is preached and sometimes practised by this school of employers is neither scientific nor worthy of the name of management. But underlying all the error of this school of thought are some good, sound, wholesome practices. But perhaps a less stilted and less irritating title would be "Industrial Administration." The supreme spirit of scientific management worthy of that description must be that of administration. "Management" rarely considers the workman other than from the point of view of control, and to thrust the antagonizing spirit of control to the front place, as so-called "Scientific Management" would appear to be doing, is not to make the relations between employers and employees less irritating, but rather the contrary. The whole idea associated with "Management" is that of control, which idea has embalmed itself, and its meaning, in the name "boss." But workmen have grown and developed much during the last quarter century, and are no longer blindly consenting to be "bossed" or controlled as if they were children. Workmen have become responsible human beings,

and claim some just and sane share in the management of their own lives and conditions. The workman to-day claims rights, and does not deny that the exercise of rights will bring with it the responsibility for the performance of duties, and these duties he is willing to undertake. But to show how inapplicable the word "management" is, it is obvious that you cannot have management of rights nor management of duties. To show the better applicability of "Administration," you can have administration of rights and administration of duties. Therefore, if employers and employees are to be brought to work together, and if all suspicion and distrust, not to say actual and active opposition, are to be abolished, then the idea of "Management" as "bossism" must be surrendered by the employer. (Leverhulme 1918, p.251)

Stressing the benefits that the removal of "bossism" would bring to both sides he continues:

Scientific Management is apt to be viewed as entirely designed to increase the profits and advantages of the employer at the expense of the employee, whereas Scientific Administration would be welcomed as merely the science of production in the simplest, easiest way which would secure the highest wages and the greatest prosperity for employers and employees. Scientific Administration can be honestly based on the assumption that the interests of employers and employees are identical, and opposition thereto can only be possible on the assumption of the obvious error that these interests never can be honestly identical. (Leverhulme 1918, pp.252-253)

Leverhulme and Nature

As can be seen in some of the above passages in which Leverhulme expresses his philosophy, he was not averse to referring to The Creator and to Nature and the wonderful resources she has bestowed upon humanity, and not least the English. It has been suggested above that Leverhulme in his enterprises attempted to popularise them by reference to what is termed the 'Eden myth'. So to establish a six-hour working day was to go some way to meeting God's will:

It was never the Creator's intention to send us into this world as so many "hands" - He sent us with imagination. He sent us with love of the country, He sent us with ideals and with outlook, and these are simply stifled under the present industrial system. (Leverhulme 1918, p.31)

Again the establishment of industrial villages and improved town-planning was to follow Divine will:

It is said that 'God made the country, and man made the towns.' But there can be no reason why man should not make towns livable and healthy, and if towns are made livable and healthy they will be

just as much subject to the beneficent influence of bright sunshine, fresh air, flowers, and plants, as the country. But just as surely as the country is made by God, so surely is that man is made also by the same Creator. (Leverhulme 1918, p.156)

During the Great War he again associated Britain's greatness with the wealth which Nature had bestowed on her and her people and to which he looked forward to being fully exploited again once the war was over.

We ... are making sacrifices of life and treasure on a scale that we are apt to believe is greater than our forefathers, even in their most difficult wars, were ever called upon to endure. (This is not true) in relation to the resources science has placed at our disposal for our more rapid recuperation from the effects of this war, by the exploitation and development of the nascent wealth that Nature, with lavish hand has stored up for us within our boundaries. To realize the natural strength of the British Empire, let us think of it in the words of the poet:-

As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head. (Leverhulme 1918, p.290)

Industrial relations did not escape this treatment as can be seen from the following

If one were to sow nettles and thistles, one would never expect to find a harvest of perfumed roses sweet and fragrant; and if we sow morose words among our staff, they will reach, through our staff, to our customers and drive them away. We none of us can do our best work under any other conditions than when we are happiest. It is, remember, the warm sun that causes the buds to open and give forth their perfume. (Leverhulme 1918, p.128)

For Leverhulme the mechanisation of industry was the principal route to the elevation of mankind:

... by taking advantage of the discoveries of science in invention and industrial development, we may supply all our wants with less exertion and secure a greater reserve of leisure to satisfy the hunger of mind and soul. (Leverhulme 1918, p.6)

He developed this point by saying that he disapproved of the worker's life being

... absorbed and controlled as a mere unit in a great factory or workshop that leaves him no scope for the exercise of the higher intellectual developments of modern life. (Leverhulme 1918, p.6)

The disciplinary regime which accompanies mechanisation is, however, noted by him.

Without machines, man required mere brute force and strength, with relatively little skill and no special high character or moral laws to guide him. The drunken or debauched workman is incapable of running a modern complicated machine in the factory or a modern

high-speed locomotive. ... The whole tendency of modern machinery is to improve the workman. ... (T)he modern machine ... is one of the greatest religious and moral teachers the world has produced in modern times. ... All the tendencies of the greater use of machinery are in the direction of improving man. Machinery properly used need not degrade man, but is capable of raising him indefinitely. (Leverhulme, 1918, pp.12-13)

Industry for Leverhulme was “civilising”. It leads to much more than, in his case, the simple production of soap and saponides. The six-hour day which he advocated, but never established, was also advocated three centuries earlier in More’s Utopia. For Leverhulme industry promised a Utopia. However the civilising process depended on productivity.

Now, I believe firmly that the workmen of this country - I have endeavoured to practice it in my own limited way - have as much right to an artistic home, a comfortable home in a garden, with all the amenities of life as their employer. Now I say that this is the first essential to the enjoyment of this leisure. What use is it talking to a workman about a nice artistic home with pictures or engravings on the wall, taste shown in everything when he only comes home to sleep and to rest for the next day, leaves early and his only time at home is an occasional Sunday? You won’t raise a taste for an artistic home under these conditions. Art flourishes only where there is leisure and all that art means, in increased demand for books and everything that makes for comfort, and, believe me, reduced hours of labour are essential for increased demand. (Leverhulme 1918, p.276)

For Leverhulme the cottage home was the heart of the nation. It was this philosophy which lay behind the housing developments he instigated on The Wirral. Meet the physical needs of the people, he believed, and the elevation of their minds would follow. The following short extracts from his addresses encapsulate his thinking on housing:

Men and women who get up to go to work before daylight and return from that work after dark, cannot find life worth living. (Leverhulme 1920, 5).

The individual home is the solid rock and basis of every strong intelligent race. The more homes there are and the better these homes are the more stable and strong the nation becomes. (Leverhulme 1918, p.5)

He advocates

better homes - homes with gardens, homes that are really places in which a soul can live and expand and not caves in which we can crouch out of the light. (Leverhulme 1918, p.4)

Again, advocating the importance of gardens

Our manufacturing towns are squalid and overcrowded, with ugly dwellings, without gardens. They are unlovely congestions, without beauty or the possibility of refinement. (Leverhulme 1918, p.4)

And one place where such conditions did prevail, or so he liked to tell his audiences, was his own village of Port Sunlight.

If Port Sunlight is representative of the general population of the United Kingdom, then we can assume that the increase of population, and in fact the great majority of the future population, will be provided by the higher grade of working men, the most intelligent and fittest of their class, and we may take the most optimistic view of the future. (Leverhulme 1918, p.180)

The benefits of village life at Port Sunlight are ascribed in no small measure to healthy pursuits such as gardening and horticulture.

In addition to these front gardens we have also allotment gardens to almost each block of cottages. These allotments the tenants cultivate themselves as vegetable gardens, or properly fence and use for poultry etc. These allotment gardens are placed as near as possible to each cottage, and are the very safety valve of the Village. Their use and appreciation by the villagers speak more eloquently than any words of mine could do of the absolute need for such means of healthy recreation. (Lever 1905, p.16)

The philosophy behind Port Sunlight is articulated thus in a piece commissioned by Lever Brothers. The Christian 'Eden myth' is apparent in the stated attempts to go backwards and harmonise relations.

Port Sunlight ... is not a philanthropic venture, not is it a dividend-earning concern; it is an attempt to establish a good understanding between the warring forces of Capital and Labour, for the greater benefit of both, in the words of the founder, 'to socialize and Christianize business relations and get back again in the office, factory, and workshop to that close family brotherhood that existed in the good old days of hard labour. (George 1909, p.5)

George describes the Sylvan spirit of the village in a way which suggests that, if what Leverhulme achieved on The Wirral is a bench mark in industrial housing developments, it would seem that the potential for enhanced living conditions are limitless.

It is indeed characteristic of Port Sunlight that rusticity has everywhere been preserved; the builder has almost invariably respected the trees which are numerous and healthy; so great was his regard for them that, in several places, they have even been

allowed to encroach upon the footway, thus adding to the rural effect. (George 1909, p.8)

And, as the village has been raised from the mire, no doubt the elevation of the souls who live there will follow.

... for an insanitary area has within twenty years been transformed into a flourishing and healthy village, very green and English in its aspect, and clean as the proverbial Dutch town. (George, p.8)

Leverhulme, again employing imagery from Christianity, argues that innocence can never be regained under the prevailing living conditions. By allowing the status quo to prevail, trouble is only being stored up for the future.

A child that knows nothing of God's earth, of green fields, of sparkling brooks, of breezy hills and springy heather, and whose mind is stored with none of the beauties of nature, but knows only the drunkenness prevalent in the hideous slum it is forced to live in, and whose walks abroad have never extended beyond the corner public-house and the pawnshop, cannot be benefited by education. Such children grow up depraved, and become a danger and terror to the state, wealth destroyers instead of wealth producers, compared to whom the South Sea Islanders, the Maori, or Zulu is an educated citizen. (Leverhulme 1918, p.159)

Leverhulme was for a long time keenly interested in design and especially civic design. He believed a good civic environment was as conducive to the welfare of a town as a good home was for the welfare of its inhabitants. He endowed the world's first University Chair and School of Town Planning in 1908 with the damages he was awarded in the Soap Trust libel trial. Wright (1982) notes that sixteen Housing (of the Labouring Classes) Acts were passed between 1851 and 1909. Ever scornful of Parliament's ability to be effective, Leverhulme during this period had established his own village with hundreds of houses built to a standard far in excess of the building regulations requirements of the time. At the opening of the Spring Exhibition of the Oldham Art Gallery he argued for the importance of art in the lives of people and the nation.

These magnificent Art Galleries and this brilliant display of Art and the beautiful in paintings, drawings and sculpture, are powerless for good on the dweller in squalid surroundings, but these squalid surroundings can be abolished and slum areas swept away altogether.

Let us remember that the slum dweller under the grime and dirt of his squalid surroundings possesses the element of a common human nature, and is capable of being affected and touched by every good influence. A slum dweller may on seeing Art and the beautiful be thrilled by its influence; but it is not reasonable to expect much

effect from it on his character and conduct so long as the only place for him to return to and live in, with his wife and children, is the slum and his squalid surroundings. We none of us would attempt to grow fragrant flowers and wholesome fruit except under favourable conditions. And favourable conditions are essential for the growth and development of good citizens. (Lever 1915, p.6)

An ability to appreciate the beautiful and artistic Leverhulme felt to be vital for the conduct of good business.

The man or nation incapable of aspiring after the beautiful and artistic is incapable of that supremely intelligent thought and action in business affairs which alone can win success. ... We are the better and the more thorough and efficient in our life from the silent influence of every truly great work of art. (Lever 1915, p.4)

In one of the most eloquent passages to be found in his speeches, he goes on to develop the importance he attaches to the value of great works of art.

As the foundation of every truly great work of Art is the beautiful, then the masterpiece in itself has produced happiness and pleasure. And the reason here also is not far to seek. There is no real permanent happiness apart from right conduct. Art and the beautiful raise up in mind and soul an association of ideas and experiences suggesting prophecies of the ideal in conduct and character. The harmony in Art and the beautiful suggest, again silently and with extreme sensibility, the ideal for conduct in our daily life. Art and the beautiful unconsciously create an atmosphere in which happiness and virtues grow and flourish. Art and the beautiful civilise and elevate because they enlighten and ennoble. But to achieve this and to be truly great Art must faithfully interpret the experiences, the hopes and the fears, and the possibilities of man. The picture of a cottage crowned with thatched roof, and with clinging ivy and climbing roses and a small garden foreground suggesting old-fashioned perfume of flowers and a home in which dwell content and happiness, appeals straight to the heart of each of us, and there are few who can resist its quiet, peaceful influence for good. (Lever 1915, p.6)

Later in this speech Leverhulme suggested that Oldham had what was needed for it to become a pleasant urban environment.

You have a better site for an attractive city than ever Paris or Berlin commenced with. Nature had not been so generous in the surroundings of these cities as she had been with Oldham. (Lever 1915, p.6)

This may raise a wry smile on the faces of those who know the towns and cities of north-west England today. However, it was Leverhulme's belief. Three years later he attempted to redesign the town of Bolton, the town of his birth, an offer which

was turned down by the town's councillors.

Leverhulme was aware that living conditions in rural areas, so often thought of as healthy environments, were not necessarily better than those which prevailed in the towns. His suspicion that all is not ordered in Eden, as Dickens suggested in The Chimes, is reflected in the following.

We drive or walk past ivy-clad cottages in the country, admire their beauty, and the thought that there can be fully-grown men and women, not always even brothers or sisters, forced to occupy the same bedroom from the lack of proper housing never presents itself to us. (Leverhulme 1918, p.158)

Such a state of affairs Leverhulme thought of as a brothel of vice and misery. When establishing his venture on Harris and Lewis, which will be returned to below, Leverhulme again was affronted by what he saw of the homesteads of the crofters. Linking squalor with imbecility he wrote:

We are so accustomed by our experience of great cities to link respectability with cleanliness, that it has become difficult to explain the islanders' indifference to their surroundings except in terms of mental and moral decay. (Nicholson 1960, p.31)

Among his many plans for Harris and Lewis was an island-wide laundry service. For Leverhulme, according to Nicholson, crofts were "houses not fit for Kaffirs" (Nicholson 1960, p.30). Such disparaging remarks by Leverhulme were not atypical. It is difficult to judge if they were simply the result of bad-tempered old age. It is perhaps more accurate to see them as a reflection of Leverhulme's role as a conduit for the rational organisation of wider society, be it in the Wirral, Harris and Lewis, the Solomon Islands or the Belgian Congo. His way of dealing with new ventures was to pathologise those upon whom he depended and who eventually would, if his plans came to fruition, depend on him. In terms of his overseas ventures, this may be interpreted as Jingoism but Jingoism may have been an essential dynamic to the expansion of the Empire. Thus for example he was able to say:

Let us make the most of our English-speaking race, the finest race, in our opinion ... on the face of the globe. (Leverhulme 1918, p.32).

Leverhulme's son interprets his father's view of the non-industrialised tropical

territories thus:

His point of view, put simply, was this. In Europe and America there was the white man whose own soil and climate could not furnish certain of his essential needs; in Africa there was the black man living in a land where Nature in her most prodigal mood heaped in profusion the products which the white man needed. (Leverhulme 1927, p.312)

This sentiment was not out of keeping with some of the thinking of the time. Joseph Chamberlain who, unlike Leverhulme was a Conservative, was a notable exponent of what is termed constructive imperialism.

Wilson tells of a similar manifestation of Lever's arrogance. Leverhulme wished to secure plantations in the tropics as a source of his raw vegetable materials. He was thwarted in his ambitions because of the policies of British overseas development policies at the time. He was eventually offered a twenty-one year lease in Sierra Leone, an offer which attracted the following scornful remark from Leverhulme:

I sometimes wish that all native chiefs in the British Colonies, in Africa at any rate, were made dukes. In my opinion we should then take the sensible view that this land was theirs for development and the advancement of civilization, and just as we will not tolerate a duke keeping his land for his own pleasure, or to lock it up, and have laws passed that make this impossible in the United Kingdom, so I can never understand why a black man should be allowed to assume a different attitude, and neither develop his own land nor allow other people to do so. (Wilson 1954a, p.166)

Leverhulme did not take up the Sierra Leone offer having secured, in 1911, a lease on one-and-three-quarter million hectares in the Belgian Congo. The Belgian Congo was established as the Congo Free State in 1885 by Leopold II of Belgium. Cecil Rhodes, the British adventurer and colonialist, is alleged to have said that an audience with King Leopold was "like half an hour with Satan" (Jolly 1976, p.111). Roger Casement, the British Consul in The Congo, found sharp practices by white traders there. It was common for women and children to be held hostage in special houses to secure their menfolk's involvement in harvesting the natural resources of the area. Amputation of one of the feet of plantation workers was also found to be an effective way of securing their loyalty. Leverhulme, in setting up Les Huileries du Congo Belge, with his "world reputation as a liberal

industrialist and humanitarian would bring badly needed respectability to Congo affairs” (Jolly 1976, p.104).

Leverhulme’s philosophy is presented by those who have written of him as his personal philosophy. The point being made here is that how he viewed his interpretation of self-help, or ‘rational self-interest’ as he was fond of calling it, was a manifestation of his being subject to the requirements of the developing economy. But the power which was ascribed to him as a successful businessman, and was certainly wielded by him, was also invested in him by the economics, legislation and health policies of the time. His frequent references to Nature were also expressions of philosophies of Nature at the time, Nature as in the natural world and nature as in human nature. And, just as physical hygiene was to be attended to, so too were the needs of the mind.

Harris and Lewis

Leverhulme’s venture on Harris and Lewis provides a wonderfully succinct example of his attempt to apply the philosophies he held. Of all his ventures perhaps none demonstrates his commitment to betterment, in terms of providing housing, health an education premised upon industry and the entire reorganising of an economy, than his foray into Hebridean affairs in 1918. It is also true to say he met with his fair share of difficulties through the resistance of the impoverished, the crofters whose welfare he attempted to champion, and the Scottish aristocracy. In an attempt to persuade the islanders that their interest lay in following his plans he compared his enterprise there to the development of Venice several centuries earlier, as this extract from a speech he made to Stornoway town council makes clear.

In Venice the interests of art and the interests of commerce were in competition. So what did the Venetians do? They decided to make their city a centre both of the arts and commerce. Working together we can carry out the same idea in Stornoway. (Nicholson 1960, p.101)

If published accounts are accurate, the venture also showed the best and the worst sides of Leverhulme who, by the time he started his acquisition of the islands, was well into his sixties. It is suggested that he compared the islanders to those who

worked on his plantations in the tropics who “only need a leader to show them to make the most of their natural resources” (Nicholson 1960, p.20).

It is suggested that sentiment, rather than a keen business sense, played a large part in attracting him to Harris and Lewis. He had spent an enjoyable holiday there in his early thirties and it held memories for him of his wife. Nicholson quotes him as saying of his first visit to the island that he ““was greatly delighted by its natural beauty and variety of scenery, by its wonderful healthiness of climate and the charm of its people”” (Nicholson 1960, p.2).

The task which Leverhulme set about was to transform the economy of the islands from crofting, a form of subsistence agriculture, to one premised upon fishing which would employ the men of the island. The weaving of tweed was to be reorganised, in true entrepreneurial fashion, by removing production from the crofts to its accommodation in a large weaving mill to be located in Stornoway. The reorganised weaving industry would be the main source of paid employment for the island’s women. He also envisaged the development of a tourist industry there.

Leverhulme’s sensibilities appear to have been offended by what he witnessed on the island, and in particular by the crofting system. The ‘black houses’, as the dwellings on the crofts were called, were shared by humans and beasts; there was no physical divide between them. Nicholson comments that “(t)here was something companionable, even Biblical, about the close association between the family and their animals” (Nicholson 1960, p.30). For Leverhulme, as was noted above, “they were houses not fit for Kaffirs” (Nicholson 1960, p.30). On learning that Stornoway’s motto was that ‘God’s Providence is our Inheritance’, Leverhulme is said to have been delighted. Nicholson (1960, p.81) tells us that “(i)t concisely expressed his own thoughts”. In his first address as proprietor to the townspeople in 1918 he attempted to legitimate his plans for the island by calling on the progress which science would bring.

I do feel that we in this island have been drifting a little away from the modern line of march of science and art. We have not kept up with all that science has placed at our disposal

for the improvement of the resources of the island.
(Nicholson 1960, p.57)

For Leverhulme the appeal of developing the fishing industry there was expressed thus in a letter to his agent on the island: “It is a harvest which man neither plants, nor sows, nor ploughs, but only reaps ...” (Nicholson 1960, p.85). However, when he learned of the mortality rate of herring by predators other than man he wrote to a naturalist colleague: “We must have an energetic campaign against porpoises and dog fish, which devour far more herring than gulls and whales” (Nicholson 1960, p.88). To remove the threat posed by the whales he developed a whaling industry whose oil he extracted at Port Sunlight and whose meat he planned to turn into tinned sausages for African ‘natives’.

As whale meat is rather tough it will improve mastication. ... The native is not an epicure, so long as it is good wholesome food.
(Nicholson 1960, p.219)

Leverhulme, in his involvement on the islands, wished to rescue the island people from the poverty “induced by their own traditions” (Nicholson 1960, p.100), which seemed to him on occasions to be almost “mediaeval” in their backwardness and “feudal reliance” on the laird (Nicholson 1960, p.68). Leverhulme in his scheme for the islands was attempting to undo in a few short years what had taken centuries to evolve. Nicholson suggests that at the heart of his ideas for change was to change the islanders thinking, to bring them into the twentieth century.

He did not so much fear the competition of the croft as the competition of the crofting idea. If the men were led to imagine that there was something splendid in their traditional way of life, they would never exchange it for a better one. (Nicholson 1960, p.178)

Leverhulme’s venture on the islands failed. The islanders simply did not want to know of his plans. Word had reached them from Port Sunlight of the regime which existed there.

Rumours, which were not baseless, had reached them from Port Sunlight that a tenant held his house only so long as his conduct at work and in his leisure hours was found satisfactory and that he was subject to all kinds of restrictions on the animals he might keep, the washing he might hang out, and the use to which he might put his garden. (Nicholson 1960, p.127).

The market for fish declined and the rise of Soviet Russia effectively sealed off promising east European markets. The market for tweed was also in recession.

Leverhulme withdrew his plans and offered the town of Stornoway to its people which they accepted. The crofters and others who lived on the land declined his offer of rights to the property they inhabited. Flying in the face of self-help, but acting in self-interest, they were only too aware that as owners of houses and lands they would have their properties assessed for rates on a scale beyond their means (Nicholson 1960, p.201). Crofters would also have lost the right to government grants and the protection of the land court. As owners they would not have been eligible for compensation for improvements made to properties. Unlike the Irish peasant, Nicholson adds wryly, the islanders never asked for freehold.

Leverhulme attempted to sell his interest in the islands but met with little success, apart from the disposal of one sporting estate which still left him in possession of almost ninety per cent of the islands, a situation which endured until his death. It is estimated that he personally invested up to £3,000,000 in his Hebridean venture of which £55,000 was realised by the sale of his assets following his death.

The modern visitor can see nothing there of the inspiration of Port Sunlight. It is drenched in melancholy, the original blackhouses and tin shanties alternating with the shoddy architecture of Leverhulme's £250 cottages and his four-square manager's houses climbing the shoulder of the hill above the deserted quay. His concrete water-tower is the dominant feature of the landscape, rearing its club-foot against a sullen sky. (Nicholson 1960, p.217)

This description by Nicholson somehow seems to sum up the disappointment which Leverhulme must at times have felt as those whose interests he championed expressed suspicion about his motivations. Human nature was a formidable obstacle to his plans for Harris and Lewis and elsewhere.

Leverhulme and Human Nature

It is sometimes difficult to associate the eloquence with which Leverhulme spoke of the natural world with the day-to-day management of Port Sunlight. The contents of the following notices from 1904 and 1906 stand out in stark contrast to the supposed healing effects of the natural world which were to be found in the village.

NOTICE
TRAIN AND TRAM
TICKETS

To prevent the possibility of any misapprehension, it is thought desirable to expressly state that our providing Train and Tram Tickets for those Female Employees who care to use them, is not a condition of any contract of employment, but is a gratuitous act on our part, which we can discontinue at any time, and that the issue of such Tickets or Vouchers for same by us, or the use thereof, places us under no responsibility whatever.

LEVER BROTHERS LIMITED

April 14th 1904

Baths
for
Female Employees

Baths, with Hot and Cold Water, and Dressing Rooms, have been provided for the Girls employed in the Department who may wish to make use of them.

Applications to be made each day to the forewoman of the Department before 12 noon. Only a limited number can be accommodated each day and permits will be granted as near as possible in rotation.

REGULATIONS

- 1st. The Bath Rooms will be open from 4.45 till 5.30. Saturdays from 11.45 till 12.30, unless otherwise stated.
- 2nd. No one will be allowed to use the bath unless the necessary permit has been obtained through the proper channel.
- 3rd. Time Boards must be given up along with the permit to the attendant when entering and the Time Board will be returned when leaving.
- 4th. A towel and waterproof cap will be supplied to each person and must be handed back to the attendant in good order before the Time Board is returned.
- 5th. These Baths are provide solely for the benefit of Female Employees and it is expected they will be used in a proper manner.
- 6th. The attendant has instructions to report any case of unbecoming conduct and has authority in any extreme case to expel the offending person or persons. Serious notice will be taken of any complaints.

LEVER BROTHERS LIMITED

Port Sunlight

March 1st. 1906

Notice

Tobacco Chewing

Indulgence in this filthy and disgusting habit appears to be increasing in these works, and considerable damage is being done by expectoration.

Rigorous measures will be at once adopted to put down the practice, and Employees are hereby notified that anyone found indulging in the habit within the Factory, will be liable to instant dismissal.

LEVER BROTHERS LIMITED

PORT SUNLIGHT
JUNE 28TH 1906

These notices signal that there was a great chasm between the regime at Lever Brothers and the Arcadian picture Leverhulme painted of the benefits of industrialisation. The employees at Port Sunlight were left in no doubt about the tenuous nature of their positions. Leverhulme and Lever Brothers were on a mission to stamp out the bestial in humanity no matter how. They were looking for order. They were disgusted by the animality of humanity which surrounded them. Yet this characterisation of the low “Other” is in keeping with Stallybrass and White’s (1986) analyses of discourses such as that in which Leverhulme was engaged. This is developed further in Chapter Seven. Leverhulme and Lever Brothers were as dependent on the existence of dirt as they were on efforts to remove it. Not only this but their project may even be understood as a further development of the philosophy to make humankind lord and master over Nature. By exercising the toilet and etiquette practices which Leverhulme and his associates endorsed, their employees and consumers would be less animal-like, perhaps not even animals at all. Animal nature would, therefore, not be a problem for the management of organisations.

That humankind, at least the civilised western variety, may no longer be an animal is the subtext to certain products associated with the personal hygiene products. Consider the image in Plate 3 - ‘A clearer view of personal hygiene - your invitation’. This publicity was delivered to most households in this country several years ago. Press comment in The Guardian at the time read that “Jeyes have your

bottom in their sights". The publicity surrounded the launch of a product called Hakle Moists, a type of wet tissue. The invitation which dropped through the nation's letterboxes asked us to

*Feel the extra freshness
of Hakle Moists*

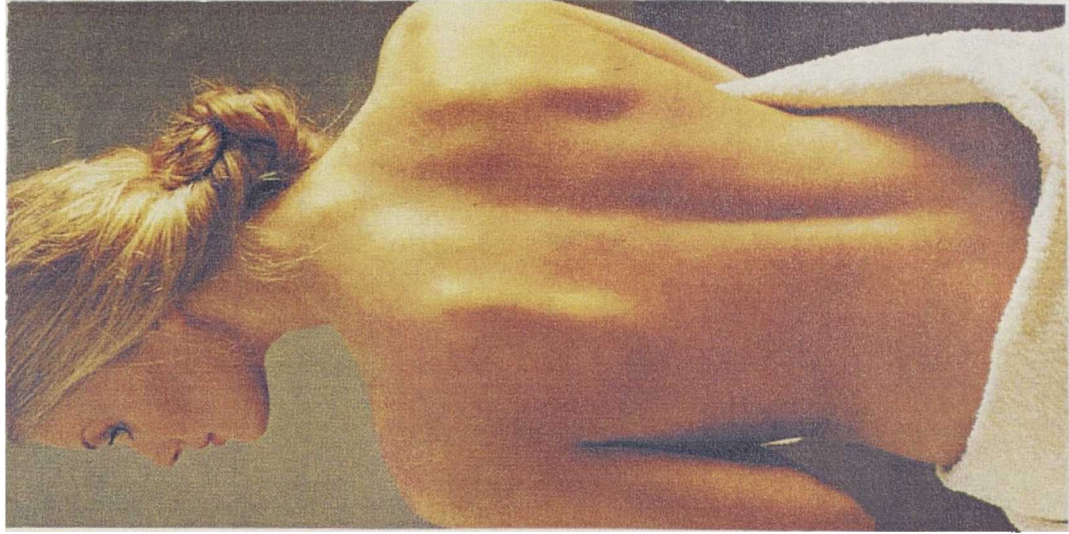
The text reads:

Feeling really fresh and confident is an important part of our every day lives. And now, Hakle moist tissues provide a higher level of personal hygiene for you daily routine. Hakle Moists toilet tissues gently cleanse away the residue dry tissues leave behind (sic). They are lightly moistened with a soothing lotion and are suitable for all the family. Use them along with your normal dry paper in a 2-step "first dry, the Moists" cleansing routine.

Hakle Moists, the country's first moist toilet tissue, are hypoallergenic, completely flushable and biodegradable.

So complete has the removal from the natural world been, that humans do not appear to crap or shit. They simply have a problem with the "residue" which normal tissues leave behind. Perhaps the Enlightenment project may now be understood as having been accomplished.

However, providing the means by which humanity might render itself clean, by which it may be removed from the bestial, and which showed outward signs of taste and refinement was no guarantee than human nature could be dominated, or at least share his wishes for its betterment. In a lecture titled "Science, Religion and Workshop" delivered in 1924 to the Society of Chemical Industries, Leverhulme addressed the role of religion in a world which had become increasingly dominated by science. He suggested that the bigoted attitude of the Church from the second to the eighteenth centuries had held back development in the humanities and sciences, and that since science had established itself beyond the realm of the Church's influence, the quality of life for mankind began to improve .



*A clearer
view of
personal
hygiene*

Your invitation

Hakle Moists Publicity



Plate 3

Science and men of science, once freed from the thralldom of the Church's wrong interpretation and mal-administration of the Bible, have made more progress in the raising of the level and comfort and happiness of mankind in the last two centuries than was achieved in all the preceding centuries of the world's history." (Leverhulme 1924, pp.7-8)

However progress brings with it its own problems, and just as science progresses, so must religion:

(W)ith each development and progress of mankind clearer religious knowledge is required and is essential to moral stability and rectitude of character and to community life. (Leverhulme 1924, p.8)

Despite the technical advances in manufacturing industry, progress on another front was lagging behind. Leverhulme continues:

But if professors of religion have not kept pace with the advances of Science in the ethical and moral sphere, still less have the professors - if I may apply this academic phrase - of industrialism in modern manufacturing activities. When one considers the revolutionary change that has been created by new and better methods of production placed at the disposal of manufacturers by inventors, we manufacturers must confess with shame that improved methods of production have not resulted in equally improved conditions of life for the workers in factories. (Leverhulme 1924, p.10)

Presumably reflecting on a life which fell short of his expectations of industrial harmony, Leverhulme called for a science of human affairs which would revolutionise business affairs just as the chemical industries had its revolutionary heroes.

Science is rightly often described as knowledge applied to the phenomena of nature. Nature has no greater phenomena than what we call human nature, for, in the words of the Lancashire man, "There's nowt so quare as folk." (Leverhulme 1924, p.12)

This lecture was delivered some forty years after Sunlight Soap was first produced and the housing experiment which followed. It is a telling comment on, what may appear to some, to be the failure of management sciences over the previous two centuries.

Leverhulme's Legacy: Soap and Saponides

There is perhaps no better example of the thesis that Leverhulme's role as an entrepreneur was not limited to the manufacture and distribution of soap than in the

symbolism which surrounded some of his products, not least Sunlight soap. The product itself may have been mass produced by the most up to date and efficient machines and the most efficiently organised work force, but when it passed out of the factory it assumed, especially for Leverhulme himself, a symbolic value. Leverhulme and his senior executives were obviously aware of the value of advertising their products, which, in effect, transformed them into a medium of cultural communication. Lever Brothers' first main product 'Sunlight' soap is described in an early Lever Brothers' advertisement in the following terms:

Sunlight Soap: Less Labour, Greater Comfort. Guaranteed
Perfectly Pure, Genuine, and Free from Adulteration ...

For Leverhulme soap was clearly not just a cleaning agent - it had become, through the symbol of 'Sunlight', a symbol of a new age in which, paradoxically, industrial technology would bring about a return to pastoral, idealized conditions of a former time. Soap, especially Sunlight soap now becomes the carrier of a mediating message, a message which signifies to the consumer Leverhulme's own vision of industrial society. In this case the name of the product is not to be read merely as a brand image, and advertising gimmick - it is that but it is also so much more. It expresses Leverhulme's belief that industry could recreate the 'lost paradise' of the idealized pastoral vision of the 'Eden Myth', bringing to fruition the philosophies of Bacon and the Renaissance thinkers.

'Sunlight' directly translates this pastoral image through its obvious association with Nature and the bucolic life, it counterposes the natural with the adulterated (which is paradoxically associated with industry), the desired with the rejected. Another of Leverhulme's products 'Lux' serves precisely the same function with its Graeco-Latin echoes on the light-dark opposition. It is instructive at this point to refer to Barthes's (1972) 'structuralist' analysis of soap-powders and detergents where he brings out the mythicised properties of two Unilever soap-powders ('Lux', 'Persil') and one of the detergents ('Omo'). It is clearly Barthes's intention to show that industrial products are sold as symbols, and even the answers to dreams, as in the following example.

To say that Omo cleans in depth is to assume that linen is deep,

which no one had previously thought, and this unquestionably results in exalting it, by establishing it as an object favourable to those obscure tendencies to enfold and to caress which are found in every human body. (Barthes 1972, p.37)

Many products associated with soaps and detergents are marketed as somehow restoring order following an experience of disorder. Purity is somehow regained through washing, the mess and danger associated with pollution is overcome. Associated products such as Comfort also reassure the consumer following the trauma of soiling.

Appendix two develops a 'political economy' of soaps and saponides, which suggests that soaps and detergents are more than just cleansing agents and are embodiments of technology and power/knowledge.

Leverhulme's Legacy: Port Sunlight Village

The significance of Leverhulme's concern with the supposed benefits which would accompany the establishment of a techno-pastoral living environment dominates his entrepreneurial philosophy and activity, as has already been suggested. The symbol, 'Sunlight', therefore becomes just a readily applicable to the housing complex of Port Sunlight village, built for his employees, as it was to soap.

Port Sunlight village was built not just as a housing complex for Leverhulme's employees - there are currently several Unilever factories in the area which provide tenants for the village: Lever Brothers, Van den Bergh and Jurgens, Prices' Oils - but as an architectural expression of Leverhulme's belief in the ameliorating benefits of village life. The village is situated on the southern side of the River Mersey almost opposite the city and port of Liverpool. The area on both sides of the Mersey represents one of the biggest and oldest industrial conurbations in the country. This fact has to be borne in mind when thinking of Port Sunlight village, for the contrast between the aging, and now decaying, industrial ecology of the rest of Merseyside and the village itself is remarkable even today.

The building of the village was begun in 1889 and, as was mentioned above, the architectural style is 'Old English'. The architectural style and general planning of the village clearly owes something to the Garden City movement which emerged at the end of the Victorian age as a reaction to the growing industrialism of the time, for example Letchworth Garden City and Welwyn Garden City, but the village can only be properly interpreted in terms of Leverhulme's personal preoccupation with the benefits that contact with the natural environment will bring an industrial society. Port Sunlight village with its quasi-medieval architecture, its green open spaces, its roses and geraniums, was clearly Leverhulme's attempt to provide 'higher' satisfactions in terms of the 'Eden myth' which reverberated with the associations of the 'village green', the intimacy of a small organic community where Nature and man lived together (in contrast to the surrounding conurbation where Nature had been annihilated by industry). In short, the village represents an expression of the belief that industry and Nature, in all its forms, are entirely compatible with each other, indeed that science and industry can be used in the service of the external natural world.

There is perhaps no better example in the list of Leverhulme's legacy to support his arguments regarding the benefits which industry can bring than the symbol of Port Sunlight village. However, an essential for the well-being of a community is the well-being of the people there. As Leverhulme was fond of expressing sentiments such as the following

The cottage home is the unit of the nation, and therefore the more we can raise the comfort and happiness of the housewife, the more we shall raise the standards of efficiency of the whole nation. (Leverhulme 1918, p.89)

However when asked if he would ever repeat the experiment his reply was that he would not. He said that it was a mistake to think that it would work because people who work together and live together always quarrel (Knox 1976). Likewise a working visit by Toynbee there revealed the tensions of living in the village

The village was built at the end of the century on a piece of marshy derelict land and one felt the marsh had never quite been reclaimed. All the houses in the village were said to be damp, and this was the

dampest house I had ever been in. In my room the curtains were wet all the time, and it smelt so strongly of wet and mould that when the lights went out one could imagine mushrooms blossoming out of the cracks in the walls. All the houses had been built with bathrooms, but with outside lavatories. The Parkins a few years ago had decided to remedy this by partitioning off part of the room I was in with a space of hardboard and putting the lavatory in this small space. The head of the bed leant against the partition and you could hear not just the flushing of the lavatory but the snap of elasticated knickers, the crinkle of lavatory paper. (Toynbee 1971, p.108)

Toynbee was writing of Port Sunlight some eighty years after the project was launched, so some fabric decay might be expected. But there were problems there from the early days as her ethnographic research shows. Mrs. Parkins, Toynbee's landlady, had this to say:

'Father,' she said, 'is a great believer in the village. I think you have to be born here to accept it. At least we are near the edge and I can look out of my window and see the main road outside. But I couldn't live right in the middle. I'd go out of my mind. It isn't just that it's a dead place with nothing happening, it's because it belongs to the firm. Everything belongs to them, every bit of grass and breath of air.' She put down her crocheting and looked out of the window. 'There are other women here feel the same way. No one living in Bebington will come near the place. All the new people that come and live in it come from a long way away and they haven't grown up with the feeling against it that there is round here. (Toynbee 1971, p.108)

Freda, one of Toynbee's colleagues on the production line, had been associated with the village for most her life:

'It's a mausoleum,' Freda said, as I was working with her one afternoon. 'You've got to be dead to live in the village.' This was the general reaction to it, but there was as well a deeper and very understandable feeling of dislike. 'When you've got a job like this, you want to forget all about it when you go home, if you can. You don't want to rent your house from the firm, and be surrounded by the same faces you work with. If you live in the village you never get away. Your work is the whole of your life, and I couldn't stand that,' Freda said. 'Of course when my Dad was a boy it was different. There weren't many jobs or many houses, so they didn't mind. He spent half his time doffing his cap to the managers who lived in the village, or giving votes of thanks to the Viscount. On Sundays sometimes the Viscount would order a parade through the village with the Sunday school and the band, and he'd march at the head. Everyone had to come out on their doorsteps to watch.' I heard a great many other people talking about the village with the same kind of suspicion and distaste. (Toynbee 1971, p.109)

Leverhulme's concern with order extended to the village. Not only did he design

some of the houses there, but he also attempted to design the way people lived there.

Lever was a paternalist. 'The private habits of an employee,' he said, 'have really nothing to do with Lever Bros. providing the man is a good workman. At the same time, a good workman may have a wife of objectionable habits, or he may have objectionable habits himself, which make it undesirable to have him in the village ... it is not a matter of a man being dismissed from his employment. (Toynbee 1971, p.112)

This order extended not only to their homes, but also their gardens. Toynbee reports that:

A very short time after the village was founded, central management took over the control of the tenants' front gardens. People had been using their gardens for chicken runs, 'while,' said Lever, 'the family washing was unblushingly exposed on their railings'. (Toynbee 1971, p.112)

The trades unions' approach to Leverhulme's management was never a very warm one, largely because Leverhulme believed in his own philosophy of co-partnership. He had no time for what he referred to as the ca'canny aspect of trades unionism.

In a letter to Lever, the Secretary of the Bolton branch of the Engineers Union wrote, "No man of an independent turn of mind can breathe for long in the atmosphere of Port Sunlight. That might be news to your Lordship, but we have tried it. The profit-sharing system not only slaves and degrades the workers, it tends to make them servile and sycophant, it lowers them to the level of tending machines. (Toynbee 1971, p.113)

These are insights to life at Port Sunlight, during Leverhulme's time and since, which are not immediately available to visitors to the heritage centre there. Such information itself is matter out of place in the posthumous publicity machine which works on Leverhulme's behalf.

Leverhulme's Legacy: Art

The Leverhulme collection makes it possible to form an objective view of cultured public taste at the turn of the century. (Thompson 1980, P.5)

To what extent this "cultured public taste" was a reflection of Leverhulme's own taste is debatable for his purchases of works of art underwent a significant change during his life as a collector. Leverhulme's career as a great patron of the arts, his

collection was one of the last great general collections, may be seen as falling into two camps. There are those works which appealed to his romantic view of Nature, pastoral beauty and innocence. There are also those works which reflect the tastes of the status quo, which can be understood as enhancing his social standing. One aspect of his personal taste common to both camps is his belief that things English ought to hold pride of place in the art world. And, with his emphasis on the centrality of the home to the well-being of the economy, his son writes:

He always considered that his career as a serious collector began with the purchase, during his Wigan days, of two figures of a shepherd and a shepherdess in eighteenth century Derby Bisque ware. These simple but delicately beautiful pieces seem fittingly to typify many of his tastes as a collector - they are objects for the decoration of a home. (Leverhulme 1927, p.277)

These figures can be seen today at the Lady Lever Art Gallery.

Two factors are suggested for Leverhulme's beginning to collect seriously; firstly the acquisition of Thornton Manor on The Wirral in 1888, where he had the space to build a private collection. Secondly, it is suggested that he began to collect slightly earlier than this, in 1886, for the purposes of advertising (Morris 1980). In 1886 Leverhulme began buying from the Royal Academy, the first surviving painting to be bought by him for the purpose of advertising is G.D.Leslie's "This is the way we wash our clothes" (Morris 1980, p.35). At the time Leverhulme assumed that copyright passed to the purchaser of a work of fine art and so felt that he could do as he pleased with a painting. Needless to say this attitude on his part caused a few heads to turn and led to the first of several run-ins with the art establishment. In 1889 Leverhulme purchased from the Royal Academy Exhibition Frith's "The New Frock", which bore the sub-title "Vanitas, vanitatum, omnia vanitas" ('Vanity of vanities, said the Preacher: all is vanity'). Before the exhibition had closed to the public advertisements which reproduced the picture, appearing with the words "So Clean" and "Sunlight Soap" about the head of the young girl in the picture, were to be seen on the streets of London. Leverhulme used several arguments to justify his early uses of fine art - one being "that his advertisements created a new interest in 'high' art among a wider public, hitherto uninterested in art" (Morris 1980, p.14). For Leverhulme Frith's painting

displayed all the virtues of cleanliness and of Sunlight Soap. Frith was furious with the result of the sale to Leverhulme but, as he had not reserved copyright, he admitted that he had no legal redress.

For the purposes of advertising Leverhulme used good second rate artists. But by early in the new century Leverhulme had established himself as a serious collector and, it would seem, was more sensitive to the uses of fine art. Reproductions of paintings were offered for so many soap wrappers. The attempt to heighten the public's interest in art through the use of paintings on hoardings, was complemented by efforts to beautify the 'cottage home'.

Leverhulme's view of industrial life was a comprehensive one in as much as he intended to integrate factory with extra-factory life. Port Sunlight village is a testimony to this wish. Further testimony is provided by the Lady Lever Art Gallery which Leverhulme built as the architectural crown to Port Sunlight Village. The art gallery represented his belief that art could not only be enjoyed by professional art lovers but it was in fact a necessary part of the life of everybody including that of his employees. But in the context of the present analysis what is especially revealing about the art collected in the Lady Lever Art Gallery is its emphatic pastoral and archaic character. It is significant that the gallery houses one of the larger collections of Pre-Raphaelite paintings. The Pre-Raphaelite movement was inspired by a desire to return to a pre-industrial period of art, namely that of "Quattrocento" in mediaeval Italy. For Pre-Raphaelites such as D.G. Rossetti (some of whose paintings are in the Lady Lever Art Gallery), art could only be regenerated by a return to a more pristine past that has been destroyed by the worst excesses of industrialism. In choosing the paintings to be housed in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Leverhulme chose those which were likely to appeal to popular sentiment. It is increasingly significant that there are no examples of modern abstract art. The gallery is dominated by paintings and sculptures which represent natural and pastoral scenes, and Leverhulme's son describes one of these, Sargeant's painting 'On His Holidays', which depicts a fishing scene, as the painting that gave his father the greatest pleasure in the gallery.

In these three areas of Leverhulme's entrepreneurial legacy - his industrial products, Port Sunlight, his art collection - can be seen an underlying systematic plan which consistently supports an interpretation of Leverhulme's behaviour in terms of 'bridging the gap' between a desired pastoral past and a functional instrumental future. It is clear that Leverhulme himself was aware of the negative aspects of industrialism, for example he publicly criticised bad working conditions and bad industrial housing and he was aware of the lack of the quality of life that mass industrial society created. His version of the 'Eden myth' was expressed in the belief that the desirable qualities of the past (which were to him not imaginary but real, for example 'Old English' architecture) could be recreated out of the economic riches of industry. It is not the function of myth to resolve or mediate contraries in any real or empirical sense (they may or may not do this) but *to provide a conceptual framework of thinking about the possible overcoming of contradictions*. What can be seen here is an example of entrepreneurial life that can be understood in terms of a different rationale than that of purely functional rationality. Leverhulme's rationality was based on the management of contradictions and not on the optimising or 'satisficing' of outcomes. It is this particular point which suggests that a mythical analysis as an appropriate methodology for the study of industrial behaviour rather than the illusory idea that human decision making in business organisations can be reduced to the logic of the machine.

Leverhulme's Legacy - The Leverhulme Trust and the Leverhulme Memorial Lectures

Despite Lord Leverhulme having been dead for almost three quarters of a century, much of his philosophy perseveres through the agency of the Leverhulme Trust which was established eight years after his death, in accordance with his wishes expressed in his last Will and Testament, which he made in the year before he died, to continue and promote his ideas and values. There are few people in British Universities who do not know of the Leverhulme Trust. The extent and influence

of the Trust's work are very widespread indeed. Professor Asa Briggs, the well-known historian has had a long association with the Trust and in 1991 published its history, wherein the following information is to be found.

The Leverhulme Trust has believed as strongly as Lever himself did in encouraging self-help, and it has been deeply concerned as he was to combine commitment to the adventure of learning and research with a concern for practical results. Many of the projects the Trust has sponsored have had their own romance; most of them have brought the best out of people who without the support of the Trust would have been deprived of *their* opportunity. Acknowledgements in the forewords to books, including some of the most interesting and important books published since the 1930's, bear witness to the contribution that the Leverhulme Trust has made to individual scholarship. So, too, do the annual reports of institutions, particularly universities and polytechnics, when they describe their institutional research programmes. Occasional newspaper articles add to the testimony. (Briggs 1991, pp.12-13)

The work of the Trust is not limited to United Kingdom activities.

From the start it has been committed to work outside Britain, as Lever himself was, in several continents. Indeed, it is in some of those parts of the world where Lever found his new materials, no longer territories of empire but segments of a developing Third World, that some of the most exciting Trust ventures have been carried out. The Trust has been involved also since 1963 - and is still involved - in bringing into Britain scholars from what until recently was a Second World; and in 1963 Leverhulme post-doctoral visiting fellowships were offered to scholars working in Universities and academies of science in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, in 1987, 15 study abroad studentships were offered to British Scholars. (Briggs 1991, p.13)

In the context of the argument of this dissertation, that is that the role of the entrepreneur extends beyond his or her skills of business organisation, to having a greater cultural impact the work of the Trust is of not inconsiderable significance. Further, when one reflects on the dynamics of power - as outlined by Foucault - and its inextricable association with knowledge one can see in the workings of the Trust these dynamics at work, as the following makes clear.

(H)ow does the work of the Trust relate to the work of the State? ... (This question) focuses on central issues in national history, including comparative national history. It was posed generally in an international context in 1974 by the then President of the American Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation in a paper on 'Foundations and their Fields' delivered to an international conference on 'Charitable Giving'. Dr. Bowers noted how 'the practices of government', especially the degree of its investment and health, 'profoundly affect

Foundation programmes', but he did not seek to present a chronology or to compare with the United States, where Foundations flourish, with Britain, where there are fewer of them, or with France, where they have scarcely existed.

In brief, when considered within a spectrum of Foundations and Trusts, with many of whom it has cooperated, or in relation to the State, with which it has cooperated too, the Leverhulme Trust has set out to respond to the claims and needs of individuals and of institutions without duplicating what other Foundations or the State have been doing. It has always sought to be innovative rather than reactive. In the closing words of the introduction to the second Report, published in 1955. 'The Trustees' primary concern is to foster new ideas which may lack support from other resources and not to provide an established retreat for old ones, however worthy. (Briggs 1991, pp.14-15)

Briggs, in the following, outlines the strong links between agencies of State and the Trust.

The first of the four Chairmen (sic) was Lord Heyworth, who apart from being an outstanding businessman, did much and in many ways to advance the study of the social sciences or 'social studies' as he preferred to call them. He was also Chairman of the National Council for Social Science. The present Chairman, Sir David Orr, who has been Chairman since 1982, is also Chairman of the British Council - with its wide range of international relations and activities. Through such connections - and they have never been absent - private and public concerns interact: they provide a key to the understanding of our society. As this book will show, I have learned as much from personal contact with all four of my Chairmen and with their colleagues as I have done from research on the voluminous but patchy records of the Trust. There is as much oral history as there is documentary history behind what I have written.

I have learned much also from the six Directors of the Trust with whom I have been associated, the first of them Sir Miles Clifford, who entered the Colonial Service in 1921 in Nigeria, the country with which Leverhulme had been so closely associated. I first learnt of the Falkland Islands from Sir Miles long before they had become prominent on the twentieth-century world map; he had been Governor there. The second Director, Lord Murray of Newhaven, was Chairman of the University Grants Committee on which I served during the late 1950s and the early 1960s in what was perhaps the most constructive and exciting period of its history. I owe a great personal debt to Keith Murray, who was the most effective Chairman of any body on which I have ever served. (Briggs 1991, pp. 16-17)

The Leverhulme Trust was, until 1965, the largest dispenser of research funding in the United Kingdom. Today it funds research to the tune of about ten millions of pounds annually. In 1965 the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) was

established. The SSRC's first chair, Lord Heyworth, was a former chair of the Leverhulme Trust (Briggs 1991, p.16). The Leverhulme Trust is still a major source of funding into health, medical, social scientific and civic design research, the stipulation in Leverhulme's Will being that it be used "for research and education". That there was, and is, such closeness between the Leverhulme Trust and the research councils is worthy of further comment. These two bodies constitute sites of discursive practice, in Stallybrass and White's terms, who note that

Certain sites of discourse belonging to dominant groups have privileged power to define and hierarchize all the other sites of discourse, and therefore have the power to describe or endorse the value of their utterances. (Stallybrass and White 1996, pp.49-50)

It is remarkable that one such as Leverhulme, with his vision born in the Victorian era and espousing what are termed Victorian values, should today be involved, albeit vicariously, in the dispensing of research funding for sciences and academic disciplines - such as psychology, sociology and economics - whose period of growth, if not their origins lie in the Victorian era, in the 'age of purification' as Foucault termed this period. Although the first grants by the Trust were made in 1932, the Leverhulme Trust will not be wound up until around the year 2039 at the earliest. Normally, under English Law, the capital of a trust "has to pass to the absolute ownership of beneficiaries after a limited period of time - not later than 21 years after the death of a specified person who was alive on the day when the income Trust became effective" (Briggs 1991, pp.22-23). Leverhulme in his will chose as the specified person the last survivor of the descendants of Queen Victoria who were alive on the day he died. It was in 1983 that vagaries of the Will were eventually cleared and the date of around 2039 was decided. Then "not only the Leverhulme Trust but the Victorian Age would come to an end!" (Briggs 1991, p.22)

There were a number of other charitable provisions made in the will concerned with the welfare of the families of grocers, travellers and chemists. But it is the Leverhulme Trust which, although it had humble origins in terms of the provision

made for it in Leverhulme's will, has become the most widely known of the many gifts he made in and after his lifetime.

A recurring activity associated with the aims of the Leverhulme Trust, namely the triennial Leverhulme Lecture held at Liverpool University, is examined here. Leverhulme, in his own lifetime, made many speeches and addresses as has been noted above. The initial series of lectures dealt with aspects of chemical research; but in 1968 the Trustees felt that the ground covered did not adequately represent the first Viscount's width of interests. The growth of the Trust and the broader scope of its activities at home and overseas encouraged the Trustees to establish a new series of Leverhulme Memorial Lectures. The triennial Leverhulme Lecture may be understood as a continuation of Leverhulme's lecture giving. The purpose of the lectures is to 'cover any subject related to the more urgent problems of the day affecting the welfare of society at home and abroad'. The series of lectures began in October 1971. The topics of the lectures are very wide ranging indeed and do reflect the Viscount's interests and concerns, at the centre of which was business and economic activity. Among the lectures that have been delivered to date under the auspices of the Leverhulme Trust are the following:

1. "Technology and Man" delivered by Sir Brian Flowers, FRS (1971).
2. "Conflict and Contract: Industrial Relations and the political community in times of crises" delivered by Professor Ralph Dahrendorf (1975).
3. "The Importance of Being Curious" delivered by Professor Hans L. Kornberg, FRS (1977).
4. "Nature and Art as Needs of the Mind" delivered by Sir Ernst Gombrich (1981).
5. "Some Trends in World Trade" delivered by W. Arthur Lewis, Professor of Economics, Princeton University (1984).
6. "The Public School's in the 1990's" delivered by Sheila J. Browne, Principal of Newnham College, Cambridge. (1987.)
7. "Europe Beyond 1992" delivered by The Rt. Hon. Lord Jenkins of Hillhead (1990).

It is instructive to examine these lectures to gauge how closely they do, in fact, reflect Leverhulme's interests and concerns. The first four of these lectures have

been chosen as they might have been delivered by Leverhulme himself. The remaining three lectures noted above are more easily located in the late twentieth century.

The first lecture, "Technology and Man" was delivered by Sir Brian Flowers, the then Chairman of the Science Research Council. In his opening comments he echoes the sentiments of Leverhulme as in the following:

It is singularly appropriate that a lecture in memory of William Hesketh Lever, first Viscount Leverhulme, should be on 'Technology and Man', because Leverhulme understood the relation between technology and man certainly better than anyone else of his time and probably better than any of us does today. 'I work at business', he said, 'because business is life. It enables me to do things.' (Flowers 1972, p.5)

Flowers suggests that Leverhulme's perceived failure, that is his misgivings about Port Sunlight, and the venture in Harris and Lewis, can be put down to simple human pressures - that the workforce and population were unwilling to accept the type of organisation which Leverhulme felt was appropriate for the success of the business and the benefit of the community. Outlining the purpose of his lecture he says that

I should like to explore the real nature of science and technology and discuss some of the influences which bear upon them. I shall go on to speculate on what major changes of priority there may be in the future and what the effects of these priorities may be both in industrial practice and in the education of scientist and technologists. (Flowers 1972, p.6)

For Flowers "Technology is what we *do*, whether we are scientists or engineers or housewives" (1972, p.8. original emphasis). And in the common-sense style of Leverhulme, he points out the omnipresence of science in our daily lives.

So science is a connected whole. But there is more to it than that. Society demands to be satisfied by its investments in science; it has goals it wishes to achieve. It wants better transport, better communications, better housing, better health, better food, more electric power; it wants to be defended, it wants more rewarding leisure, it wants more relevant education: it wants all these things at a reasonable price, and increasingly it wants them not to intrude in unwelcome ways, not to pollute the environment with noise or filth or poison. None of these things is possible, or at least they would be much more difficult to achieve, without science. (Flowers 1972, p.10)

Flowers's lecture then ranges far and wide exploring the impact of science on our lives, taking in the role of social science, population growth, pollution, depletion of finite natural resources, nuclear and solar energy and, something which was central to Leverhulme's thinking, the quality of life. Leverhulme, it is recalled, believed in the emancipatory value of mechanisation in industry. Flowers subscribes to this argument but was aware of the limitations of mechanisation.

The interaction between man and his resources is one side of the coin. The other is the interaction between man and his machines. This again is chiefly a problem for the social sciences, or at least one in which technology must be seen chiefly as a spur to social change. It follows that the desirability of a new technology should be evaluated in relationship to the social changes which it is likely to engender. ... What is required is some means for bringing technological progress under social control. (Flowers 1972, pp.25-26)

Mindful of the counter-culture movement of the 1960's and 1970's, Flowers plays up the benefits of science.

However, there are dangers of being too negative in our present mood of anti-science. Few would really wish to do without electric power, or modern transport and communications, or modern drugs. Innovations like these, in spite of their undoubted side-effects, have in fact improved the quality of life immensely for those who have possessed them. It is only since they became available on a mass scale that the side-effects have for a time come to the fore. (Flowers 1972, p.25)

Flowers suggests that science and technology should be embraced by all so that humanity may get on with the business of living and life. Whatever tools there are to make the process more beneficial and rewarding to all should be taken on board and an understanding of the dynamics involved should be developed and imparted to all. As for the scientist's role in all this he writes:

The scientist needs to see not only science as an interesting thing in itself; he needs to understand its interrelations with the rest of human endeavour, with the economic, social, legal, and aesthetic framework which not only bears upon it but which science should help to shape, stoutly denying the existence of two cultures, so that, in Leverhulme's words, he can see science as a means to 'enable people to live for themselves and work out their destiny'. This perhaps, is the biggest challenge of them all: to break down the old academic barriers and to rebuild in modern terms the vision of a university as a place where man can come to terms with his technology. (Flowers 1972, p.27)

The Second Leverhulme Memorial Lecture was delivered by Ralf Dahrendorf in 1975. Dahrendorf at the time was Director of the London School of Economics and Political Science. The 'subject related to the more urgent problems of the day affecting the welfare of society at home and abroad' which he addressed was industrial relations. Again, not only was this of current concern at the time but Leverhulme as a businessman, politician, entrepreneur and social reformer was, as we have seen, keenly interested in this area. Dahrendorf's lecture was delivered during the period when the Labour government in Britain entered the so-called 'social contract' with the trades unions. Echoing some of the themes of his predecessor Flowers, Dahrendorf proposed

(...) today to look at the other side of the medal and suggest ways in which the application of the pure theory of conflict may be tempered by another element which I am going to describe as that of contract.
(...) Let me abandon easy metaphors and be specific. In so far as my subject of industrial relations and the political economy is concerned the turbulence ahead will require above all one decision: the transition from a period of high expectations of economic expansion which, for a variety of reasons, can no longer be satisfied to a period of moderate expansion coupled with a shift in prevailing concerns to questions of quality of work, education, of life.
(Dahrendorf 1975, p.8)

Dahrendorf noted that industrial relations in Britain and in the United States were qualitatively different to those prevailing in Germany, his country of origin. Like Leverhulme, he argued that industrial relations is only one part of a much more powerful economic system and to focus on one part was to miss the larger picture. As Leverhulme called for co-partnership, so Dahrendorf extolled the virtues of works councils, democracy in the workplace.

Our immediate problems are economic; but they are only part of a major change in the conditions of our existence which requires a change in attitudes and approach, and the key to both is a review of the institutions in which we are living, above all those around the economy and government. I rather like Hayek's notion of a 'constitution of liberty', and in many ways this is the issue.
(Dahrendorf 1975, p.9)

Advocating industrial democracy, and acknowledging the limitations of parliamentary democracy, as Leverhulme did several decades earlier, Dahrendorf suggests that government needs to be reconceptualised.

Participation improves people's lives. But the problems posed by industrial relations to the political community in times of crisis are

even more serious. They are the problems of governability, of the ability of elected parliaments and governments to implement policies in the interest of their constituencies in view of the impact of the autonomous processes of industrial conflicts on all other areas. In other words: how can a government effectively fight inflation if it has no real influence over wages and prices. (Dahrendorf 1975, p.13)

In short, he asks, “how can the political community assert its legitimate place in view of the impact of industrial relations on the entire society” (Dahrendorf 1975, p.13)? The panacea which he holds up for consideration is the idea of the social contract.

It is no accident that the idea of the social contract has been launched in this country, and I am going to suggest that, in line with the thrust of my argument so far, it is this idea which, if developed, is most likely to help us if we want to resolve the problem of coping with a critical situation in a constructive way.

The task is to define the ways in which organizations can be linked to the political community without any prejudice to the autonomy of the former or the primacy of the latter; it is to find patterns of political organization analogous to those which I have described earlier for industry and which combine recognized differences of interest with arrangements to guarantee information, confidence, and to some extent co-operation; in other words, a social contract. (Dahrendorf 1975, pp.14-15)

At the heart of this enterprise, Dahrendorf argues, is conflict management, conflict being the area of the social sciences for which Dahrendorf is best remembered. In industry the harnessing of the conflicting claims of labour and capital might result in a greater good for all.

I continue to think that conflict is the great creative force of human industry. Since stagnation is, in a world of uncertainty, in itself a threat to liberty, we need to accept the motive strength of what Kant called ‘antagonism’ and Simmel ‘contest’, or ‘conflict. ... The important question to ask is: under which conditions does conflict serve as a creative force, producing new potentialities of life as well as helping to implement them. (W)e need new methods of conflict regulation if we do not want to run the risk of being destroyed by our inability to domesticate the forces which we have unleashed and I would add that there is little time to lose. (Dahrendorf 1975, pp.17-18)

Perhaps in the late 1990’s we are a little closer to domesticating these forces in the sense that, since Dahrendorf gave his Leverhulme Lecture, we have seen a number of economic experiments carried out, for example the notion of a home-owning and

share-owning democracy. The current Labour government seems committed to something similar in the wake of the dismantling of the welfare state which it labels a 'stakeholding society' - a broadly similar idea to the Thatcherite experiment - in which it is hoped that if the wider population own part of the economic system be it in the form of shares, pensions, property or something else of capital worth, then their commitment to the system in which these objects of worth have some value may be guaranteed. However at best this tackles only part of the problems facing late twentieth century Britain. Poverty and health remain and loom as large now as they did in Leverhulme's own time.

Science, scientists and funding for science was the theme of Professor Hans L. Kornberg's lecture, the Third Leverhulme Memorial Lecture, "The importance of being curious", which was delivered in October 1977. The biographical detail which accompanies his lecture informs us that Kornberg "is concerned not only with important basic research in the biological sciences but also with the sometimes unexpected medical, economic, and social consequences that flow from the application of that research". Again, Kornberg seems a suitable vicar for the spreading of Leverhulme's word.

Kornberg began his lecture by outlining those areas in which biochemistry involves itself. These include human reproduction, food shortages, population growth. He implicitly questions the priorities behind state funded research and holds up space research and the development of napalm as examples of malignant research funding. Because of the undoubted benefits which science and research and development funding can bring he suggests that:

It would be thus expected that public interest would be growing. It would also be expected that those charged with the conduct of public affairs would give full support to those research activities that are most likely to achieve the desired results and that they would accord high priority to educate young people to carry out such research in the future. I do not believe that these expectations are being fulfilled. (Kornberg 1978, p.7)

Kornberg notes that the erosion of public funding research and development may well be shortsighted and is critical of this impoverishment. Defence, however, was

the one area then, as now, that attracted substantial research and development funding.

The erosion of support for civil research and development in this country not only progressively weakens the intensity of scientific effort in this country but seriously weakens the scientific capability of this country in relation to that of other members of the European Community. And, secondly, the argument that the erosion of support for biological and medical research is but the removal of surplus fat, caused by excessive high living in the past, cannot be sustained. (Kornberg 1978, p.15)

The “importance of being curious” in the lecture’s title is a call by Kornberg for scientists to be funded in research which has no obvious application. The shortcomings in the funding of science in Britain he describes in the following.

Not only has money had to be diverted from the support of research to the maintenance of administrators to operate the customer-contractor scheme, but the Councils have become increasingly reluctant to accord the highest priority to the support of research that has no specific application in view and that, in American phraseology, is ‘curiosity-oriented’ and not ‘mission oriented’. In other words, there has not only been a drastic reduction in the total sums of money available to the Research Councils to be deployed as they think best, but there has been increasing pressure to spend also the remainder in ways that accord with nebulous ‘national needs’. (Kornberg 1978, p.21)

As has been noted above, and as Briggs too points out, ‘Nature’ - and man’s relationship with it - had always interested Leverhulme. The fourth Leverhulme Memorial Lecture has been selected in order to indicate how Leverhulme still embodies and expresses power and is still engaged in the process of subjectification.

The lecture delivered by Sir Ernst Gombrich, the well known art-historian, took place at Liverpool University on February 23rd, 1981. The occasion was highly formal to which two hundred and fifty guests were invited to hear Sir Ernst expound on the theme “Nature and Art as Needs of the Mind”. The ritual of the occasion consisted of civic dignatories and senior representatives of other universities, the introduction of the speaker by the Vice Chancellor of Liverpool University, and a formal banquet attended by one hundred specially invited guests.

We need to remind ourselves of Gregory Bateson’s (1973) injunction that meaning

derives from context and that no event can be understood in isolation from its context. In the present context this means that the symbolic value of the Leverhulme lectures can only be fully grasped if I go beyond the immediate context and immediate location of the lectures themselves. To understand each lecture in context is to place it within the broader picture of the Leverhulme myth. What I see in symbolic terms in the Leverhulme lectures is the reproduction (that is the return from the past which is of course another way of expressing Mercea Eliade's myth as "eternal return") of Leverhulme's idea and values. In a mythical sense, then, Leverhulme is not dead, and it is exactly this which Levi-Strauss's conception of myth as a "machine for the suppression of time" refers to. Myth is synchronic, that is, it reverses time. The myth expressed in 'Sunlight' soap, in Port Sunlight Village, and in the Lady Lever Art Gallery and its contents is reproduced, albeit in different forms, in each Leverhulme lecture.

Sir Ernst's introduced his lecture in the following words:

I should like to thank the Trustees for the honour they have done me inviting me to give the Fourth Leverhulme Memorial Lecture. I am most conscious of the fact that it was an act of faith on their part to ask a cloistered historian of art to deal with "a subject related to the more urgent problems of the day affecting the welfare of society at home and abroad". I certainly would not have had the courage to accept if my assignment had been to solve any of the more urgent problems of the day. But it is said that diagnosis is half the cure, and I hope you will at least consider my diagnosis a contribution to a problem which much concerned Lord Leverhulme for its effect on the welfare of society. Thus I have ventured to take my cue for the topic and title of this lecture from certain of his statements which I found in the catalogue of the memorable Royal Academy Exhibition in the spring of last year, dedicated to the Founder of the Lady Lever Art Gallery and Port Sunlight on Merseyside. These foundations, I discovered, were more than random benefactions; they sprang from philanthropic conviction, to put it in Biblical terms, that man does not live by bread alone. "A child", he wrote for instance - "that knows nothing of God's earth, of green fields, of sparkling brooks, of breezy hills and springy heather, and whose mind is stored with none of the beauties of nature ... cannot be benefited by education" and, more concretely, he commends "semi-detached houses with gardens back and front, in which they will be able to know more about the science of life than they can in a back slum". And as with Nature, so with Art. "Art and the beautiful civilize and elevate" he wrote - "because they enlighten and ennoble" and this faith, of course, was behind his foundation of the Lady Lever Art Gallery. (Gombrich 1981, p.3)

Sir Ernst's argument in the lecture was that mind knows Nature through metaphor, symbol and myth and indeed that symbol and myth are needed as sustenance for the activities of the human mind. Nature and art are among the richer sources of metaphor and symbol and in this respect both Nature and art are especially significant in answering 'the needs of the mind':

There is an example close at hand to give a little more substance to these generalities. I mean the trademark "Sunlight Soap". Metaphor is Greek for 'transfer' and according to the traditional interpretation the qualities of the 'universal' 'sunlight' are here transferred to another 'universal', namely 'soap'. I would prefer to say that the new brand of soap was put into a parcel together with other things bright and beautiful and made to share their label. Nobody would have called it 'Nightgloom'.

Much of Gombrich's lecture is argued in terms of examples from creative writers and artists such as George Crabbe (his poem "The Village"), William Hazlitt, John Ruskin, Wordsworth and others. Gombrich goes on to say that Nature is now threatened by the inroads of man and draws our attention to the paradox that industry's spoiling of Nature has made us more aware of what we are losing. The overall argument of the lecture is presented essentially in terms of an opposition, that is that we may rely on Nature as a source of rejuvenation for the ills wrought by industrial-technological society and the mechanism by which this is realised is that of metaphor and symbol which we are more likely to find in Nature than in industry. Gombrich's message, therefore, underlines and perpetuates the philosophy that Leverhulme himself inherited from the climate of industrial rupture that he was brought up in. The context of this particular lecture can then - with some imagination - be seen as a spatio-temporal context which reaches far beyond the confines of Liverpool University and connects with the Unilever industrial empire (which is of course multi-national) and reaches back into the past to the very roots of our industrial age.

In addition, Gombrich's argument that the human mind must express itself in terms of metaphor and symbol and not simple utility is also the rationale of myth in general and is curiously emphasises the paradoxical relationship between Nature, or

the pastoral, and the newer industrial-technological culture of which Leverhulme was aware. Leverhulme had an unmitigated belief in the power of Nature and its representations to offset, indeed to enrich, the basic materialism that went with industry. Gombrich, although more aware of the underlying paradox, is a fitting reproducer of Lever's philosophy.

Summary

Leverhulme, the entrepreneur in the title of this thesis, is introduced. His background, life, work and philosophy are explored. What is revealed is a person of simple beliefs with a sometimes autocratic manner. His philosophy regarding the benefits which may accrue to an industrial society through contact with Nature and the natural world is tempered by the obstacles he met in human nature. Nonetheless, as an embodiment of power his philosophies touched and still touch the lives of millions of humans. The partial understanding of economics he held, and his anthropocentrism, thrive to this day.

The philosophies he expressed were the philosophies of his time. They were the expression of the economic requirements of capital. Leverhulme's legacy, not least in the medium of the Leverhulme Trust, continues to act as a channel wherein the 'economic' requirements of the day are addressed and debated by prominent people who themselves are singularities through whom the relations of forces pass.

Chapter Six

Studying Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship

In the context of this study the conventional use of the word entrepreneur means to imply one who undertakes an enterprise especially a commercial one, often at personal financial risk. Joseph, in the Library of Management Classics edition of Self-Help, tells us that “(t)he word was invented by Jean Baptiste Say to mean anybody who puts existing resources to more productive use whether inside an existing organization or by setting up new one” (Joseph 1988, p.13). Because of their status as economic prime movers entrepreneurs, and entrepreneurship, have been the focus of study by a range of disciplines in the social sciences - sociology, social history, business history, economics. Each approach brings with it its own requirements and produces its own genre of findings. Entrepreneurs may be studied because a study has been commissioned, for example a biography or a business history, because of their impact on a local or national economy or on an industry, for example Cadbury or Leverhulme, because of their wider impact on the development of a society or because a more detailed understanding of their lives may lead those charged with economic development to create environments in which entrepreneurs will emerge. Such was the thinking behind the Conservative Government’s economic policies in the late 1980’s in the United Kingdom; it was an effort to entice entrepreneurs out of the woodwork. There are also less scholarly approaches to studying entrepreneurs simply because of their presence on the social scene - for example the exploits of Tony O’Reilly of Heinz, Bill Gates of Microsoft, Rupert Murdoch of News Corporation. Nonetheless the fact that these figures are the object of (sometimes prurient) study reflects the importance of the position that they occupy on the global stage.

Storey (1982) in a stimulating review of approaches to the study of entrepreneurship identifies several themes which occur consistently throughout the literature. These he categorises as follows:

1. Role of family.
Childhood experiences.
Role of class education.
2. Role of class division.
3. Psychological motivation and personality.
Religious beliefs.
4. Work experience factors influencing the individual's choice to set out on his own.

The question he poses is this: can one trace a single dominant variable? He concludes that in the studies he addresses there is difficulty identifying a single causal explanation. Take for example the variable of religious beliefs, a well-known study being Hagen's (1964) On the Theory of Social Change: How Economic Growth Begins. Storey writes:

The co-linearity between certain religions, parental roles, class, education, a managerial experience and access to capital make it difficult to isolate the independent effect of a single influence upon economic development. (Storey 1982, p.95)

Storey is equally skeptical when it comes to explanations offered by social and behavioural science:

Despite (the) research on motivational aspects there appears to be little conclusive evidence that these theories offer a comprehensive explanation of economic development. The psychological and sociological characteristics of the new firm founder are fairly consistent across societies and time periods, but it is unclear whether it is possible to alter these in a given society so as to increase new firm formation. Even if they can be altered, it is likely to take at least thirty years for today's children to form their own firm. (Storey, pp.95-6)

Apart from studies which attempt to predict the emergence of entrepreneurs, others by economic historians and social theorists attempt to explain the historical emergence of entrepreneurs at that point in history when capitalism emerged. Here the work of two economic theorists Weber and Schumpeter, is of relevance.

Early Theorising

Unlike conventional business school-type research into entrepreneurship (which seeks to identify factors which lead to the emergence of entrepreneurial talent) the *social* theorising of Weber and Schumpeter attempts to offer explanations as to why entrepreneurs emerged when they did and seeks to explain their social activities once they had arrived. Both Schumpeter and Weber in their explanations of the behaviour of entrepreneurs use devices which explain the social activities of entrepreneurs as time-centred events. That is their invoking notions of “overlapping geists” and “atavisms” in explanation of entrepreneurs’ activities.

In comparing the social theories of Weber and Schumpeter, although their interests differed, their social theories and economic sociologies are similar in scope and theoretical conclusions. Further, both theorists highlight features of entrepreneurial activity which resonate with aspects of Leverhulme’s career.

For both Weber and Schumpeter the innovator is “at once a man of unusual will and energy and a man with no capital” (Macdonald 1971, p.78). Both Weber and Schumpeter reject hedonism as the underlying motive of entrepreneurial action and capital accumulation. For Weber the entrepreneur exists for the sake of the business instead of the reverse as a result first of a religious impulse and later simply as the effect of an irrational sense of duty (Weber 1930, p.70). Likewise for Schumpeter whose *typical* entrepreneurs “retire from the arena only when and because their strength is spent and they feel no longer equal to the task” (Schumpeter 1934, p.92).

If not hedonism then what is the motive of entrepreneurial action? Weber explains it as an atavism, “... the idea of duty in one’s calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs” (Weber 1930, p.80). Similarly Schumpeter writes of “..the dream and will to found a private kingdom”, “...the will to conquer” and “the joy of creating”, which point to what he refers to as a “psychology of the non-hedonist character” (Schumpeter 1934, p.93), which manifests itself in attempts to

“...gratify activity urges springing from capacities and inclinations that had once been crucial to survival though they have now outlived their usefulness” (Schumpeter 1955, p.33). For Schumpeter all of these inclinations were atavisms. Macdonald reminds us that Weber noted that once religious motivation is exhausted other motives emerge: “...the resort to entailed estates and the nobility ... is a product of later decadence” (Weber 1930, p.71). Thus the motives which Weber mentions as support for his “waning of charisma” fit into Schumpeter’s “psychology of the nonhedonist character” so that he may “well argue that these were the true motives throughout the whole period only concealed by religious garb” (Macdonald 1971, p.79).

In Schumpeter’s theory change was a pervasive feature of social life. His model shows developments by small increments, traditional methods and attitudes merely being yesterday’s rational ones now superseded by innovation. Weber suggests that traditional attitudes and values may be transmuted by new relations of production and play a new role as in the case of the aristocrat “who hurls himself into an election campaign as his ancestors rode into battle” (Weber 1930, p.167). When the structure of production changes, the older attitudes and functions are either eroded away or transmuted as above. In Schumpeter’s system of continuous change, status follows function, but with a lag, and conflict can develop here, as well as among purely economic interest groups. Ostracism was attached to economic innovation and was commonly experienced by those who championed it.

For the purposes of the present study what is so appealing in Schumpeter’s theorising is that his theory of economic development, in particular his thoughts on the role and behaviour of the innovator, would seem to provide some theoretical understanding of Leverhulme’s various undertakings and enterprises. To view Leverhulme’s development as an entrepreneur simply in terms of his religious background, as Leverhulme often did, at the cost of excluding other motivations would be to grossly oversimplify his life. Undoubtedly his role as a member of a dissenting sect did have an importance but it was not of sole importance: “Economic activity may have any motive, even a spiritual one, but its meaning is always the

satisfaction of wants” (Schumpeter 1934, p.10). (Schumpeter may be seen to be rather avante-garde in his thinking here, as Foucault was to make the point some thirty years later when he suggested that the common use of the terms economic and economics is rather limited). And again, with regard to the role religion plays in economic development, Schumpeter clearly states his position thus: “Conscious motives - no matter whether, in the concrete case, they were always religious in character - are seldom true motives - and they are never the sole motives” (Schumpeter 1955, p.32). And, as a word of warning to the wise, Macdonald adds: “Nothing is more difficult in the social sciences than the judging of an actors true motives for action, partly because of the human tendency to rationalise” (Macdonald 1971, p.88).

Schumpeter and Weber are suggestive in their writing on the origins of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship. Like Storey conclusions are elusive. Yet their work does help in contextualising how entrepreneurs may have seen themselves. Religion *may* play a part; conscious motives *may* shed some light and economic activity is always the satisfaction of wants.

Theorizing Victorian Entrepreneurship

What is striking about the literature on British entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship of Leverhulme’s period is the frequently negative attitude taken by writers and researchers to their subject. This being so of economic historians until at least the early nineteen-seventies when the balance was redressed in an attempt to redeem the entrepreneur. More recently the work of Bellini (1981) and Weiner (1981) renewed the attack on the failure of entrepreneurs from the sociological flank.

Rounding off his monograph British Entrepreneurship in the Nineteenth Century, Payne writes: “One day it may be less hazardous to generalise about different categories of British entrepreneurs. Currently, it is a dangerous pursuit, but perhaps therein lies the fascination” (Payne 1982, p.58). Certainly this writer feels

that he is operating in a minefield as there appears to be no one acceptable (to all parties) theory of entrepreneurial behaviour in nineteenth century Britain. Nor, as Storey argues above, have the social and behavioural scientists been successful in finding the key to identifying what it is that makes an entrepreneur. One suspects that this is due, in part at least, to the blurring of meaning of the various terms “entrepreneur”, “entrepreneurial behaviour”, and “entrepreneurship”. And those studies which have focussed on British entrepreneurs rely on an atypical database, that is a sample that is less than random, for very few of the business records of the time have survived and those that have have not yet been fully researched.

Payne poses, but does not respond to, the question: “How does one measure entrepreneurial activity?”(Payne 1982, p.40). He adds that “there is insufficient information to assess mid-Victorian entrepreneurship in any meaningful sense”. Generally, Payne is searching for causes of entrepreneurial failure, or perhaps more correctly is asking what happened to entrepreneurship in the closing decades of the nineteenth century that may shed light on the causes of Britain’s economic decline since about 1880 when other rising industrial economies began to capture the market share once held by British industry.

Payne suggests that until about 1870 British industrial organisation was typified by the family firm which “became partly ossified at a relatively immature level of development” (Payne 1982, p.45). This author feels tempted to defend the entrepreneur of the time who, presumably, and without the benefit of economists’ hindsight to push him, was unaware of the burden later economic historians were to place upon his shoulders. Some of the late twentieth century’s entrepreneurs are also notable for their failures, for example Cyril Lord the carpet manufacturer, John Bloom of Rolls Razor, Sir Clive Sinclair, Sir Freddie Laker, Robert Maxwell, Ernest Saunders of Guinness. The economic importance that economists attach to entrepreneurs continues to the present: for example a headline which appeared in The Guardian Weekend on November 7th 1992, “Amstrad Running Out of Ideas” implied that the company’s founder, Sir Alan Sugar, an entrepreneur, no longer had the nous to ensure that the company would deliver the return on shareholder

investments it did in the nineteen-eighties.

However this notion of responsibility to shareholder interests was not nearly as widespread in the last century. The culture of the time was more individualist in the sense that the owner/manager made the decisions affecting the company in a more direct way than say the large shareholders make decisions today, here one has in mind the large institutional investors in the United Kingdom, for example the Prudential Life Assurance Company, which has its origins in the cholera epidemic of 1848, and today owns five per cent of UK plc. The joint stock company was not as common then as it is today. This sense of individualism was not only to be found in small companies but even in concerns as large as Lever Brothers. Leverhulme himself owned at the time of his death nearly all of the voting shares in the company. His personal motivation through his ownership of the (ordinary) voting shares enabled him to shape company policy and to attempt to ensure that his philosophies and goals would be achieved.

There may, when compared with the state of affairs today, be seen to have been a dominant amateurism among manufacturing businesses of the time. While most were engaged in the business of making money, the idea of responsibility to the maintenance of social order and to succeeding generations was not foremost in entrepreneurs' minds as some of the following sources indicate. In addition it is widely reported in the literature that there was an anti-manufacturing and anti-trade bias among the status quo. Whatever material benefits accrued to manufacturers, the acquisition of social rewards was more difficult. This point is made quite forcefully by Pollard (1968). Indeed he suggests that it was an uphill struggle for manufacturers, the new feudal masters, or however one wishes to view them, to gain social acceptance. He suggests that it was as a result of their lobbying their cause and its importance to the state in terms of wealth creation and social stability that the tradition of ennobling industrialists and financiers grew. However, for a while, the Nonconformist industrialist and Jewish businessman faced further difficulties because of their religious beliefs.

In the period 1870-1914 Payne notes that studies of entrepreneurship the individual firm and the entrepreneur tend to be overlooked. In the case of Lever Brothers, however, being one of the major success stories of firms founded in the closing decades of the last century, the firm and the man *are* very closely associated. Further, Payne asks the reader to heed Hobsbawm's warning of being seduced by "simple sociological explanations" (Hobsbawm 1969, p.182). He concludes that it is untenable "to see the course of British economic development in the nineteenth century in terms of dissipation of an initial fund of entrepreneurship" (Payne 1982, p.56).

Clearly Leverhulme did not fail as an entrepreneur in his soap-making enterprise although his life's pattern does bear some of the hallmarks of a simple sociological explanation, that is the so-called Buddenbrooks syndrome, which shall be returned to below.

Payne seems to leave his options open when it comes to a definition of the concept "entrepreneur" but seems to be impressed with Flinn's (1966) offering:

He organized production. He it was who brought together the capital (his own or somebody else's) and the labour force, selected the most appropriate site for operations, chose the particular technologies of production to be employed, bargained for raw materials and found outlets for the finished product. (Payne 1982, p.14)

However, as the century progressed, Payne suggests, emergent entrepreneurs may have had more specialised roles meeting the changes that were occurring in the structure of firms and in the economy generally.

Earlier in his monograph Payne warns against faith in Hagen's work on Nonconformism and entrepreneurship whilst admitting that, although the argument is convincing, it relies on too biased a sample, that is on those entrepreneurs who attained prominence. With scarcely a reference to Schumpeter, Payne holds the view that the early entrepreneurs were similarly motivated, that is they sought to enrich themselves: in other words they were hedonistic in their motivation. Liberally quoting Perkin (1969, p.83), he agrees that the pursuit of wealth for its

own sake is a rare phenomenon. Rather it is the good opinion that attends wealth that is the attraction:

The pursuit of wealth was the pursuit of social status, not merely for oneself but for one's family ... and this often meant the acquisition of a landed estate, the purchase or building of a great home, the quest for political power, either on the national or the local scene. It was always so, during and after the Industrial Revolution. Only the relative attractiveness of land, the stately home, and the title of nobility or knighthood as symbols of social advancement appear to have varied over time. (Payne 1982, p.25)

Payne argues that the success of the few led to the emergence of others and dismisses the *Buddenbrooks* syndrome, the third generation argument, as unproven. This 'syndrome' suggests that in family businesses the founder's grandchildren lose any of the desire to be engaged in the family business after the family in Thomas Mann's novel of the same name, preferring to live on the accumulated wealth - the families business acumen having given place to artistic sensibility. This is an argument put forward by both Weiner (1981) and Bellini (1981). But if, as he argues, many sought to establish firms so that the family name might be perpetuated, if the *Buddenbrooks* syndrome is not acceptable as an explanation, is there room for Weber's notion of "atavisms" or Schumpeter's "overlapping geists" in his argument? Admittedly he doesn't discount them but nor does he admit them possibly, because they are too difficult to establish. However to lay the blame for the dissipation of entrepreneurial talent on the offspring of entrepreneur's is unfair. Granted that the *Buddenbrooks* 'syndrome' may offer an explanation but is rather presumptuous to suggest that entrepreneurial traits, or entrepreneurship itself, is inheritable.

McCloskey and Sandberg write in the hope that further studies along the lines they follow will eventually redeem the late Victorian entrepreneur. They readily admit that there were failures in some industries but suggest that proponents of the "entrepreneurial hypothesis" (McCloskey and Sandberg 1971, p.97) relied on studies of such failures only too readily. Too many studies, they argue, focus on the old established industries and not enough interest has been shown by researchers in the "miscellaneous industries and incorporeal functions" such as

Wilson's research into Unilever (Wilson 1954a & b). They summarised the findings of studies on entrepreneurship of the period as follows, after Aldcroft (1964);

- (1) (Entrepreneurs) failed to adopt the best available techniques of production in many industries, ranging from ring-spinning and automatic weaving in cotton to the mechanical cutter and electrification of mines in coal.
- (2) They underestimated the growing importance of science, investing little in laboratories and technical research or for the effective exploitation of foreign research.
- (3) They over-invested the old staple export industries such as cotton and iron, and were slow to move to the industries of the future such as chemicals, automobiles and electrical engineering.
- (4) They were bad salesmen, especially abroad.
- (5) They were insufficiently aggressive in organizing cartels to extract monopoly profit from the world at large. (McCloskey and Sandberg 1971, p.92)

If Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur with its stress on innovation is accepted, then it would seem that the above damning catalogue could hardly refer to either entrepreneurs or entrepreneurship at all but rather to business people and established British businesses. It is hardly in the nature of entrepreneurs entering the scene to cling to old methods of production for by definition that is not what makes them entrepreneurs, if Flinn's definition is accepted. Interestingly enough McCloskey and Sandberg make no reference to theories of entrepreneurship nor to definitions of entrepreneurship, the genus entrepreneur seems to be taken for granted by them.

On the other hand Leverhulme, the focus of the present study, apparently went against the grain of the above catalogue of failures by introducing a new product made by new methods, by employing vigorous selling methods at home and abroad, by being the first British manufacturer to establish production facilities overseas and by purchasing one of his principle raw materials, caustic soda, from Brunner Mond, who, among alkali producers, were quick to adopt the new Solvay process to produce caustic soda which replaced the slower Leblanc process. Lindert and Trace (1971) use the switching from the Leblanc process to the Solvay method by alkali producers as a yardstick by which entrepreneurial failure in the late nineteenth century is measured.

Another attempt at redeeming entrepreneurs of the late Victorian period is that by Coleman (1973) who argues that the process of social ambition was present in preindustrial as well as industrial Britain:

... (T)he great game of life to be played by anyone possessed of ambition but born on the wrong side of the line was to cross that divide. (Coleman 1973, p.76)

This process he refers to as moving from being a Player to Gentleman. For Coleman the opportunity afforded by industrialisation greatly increased possibilities of crossing the social divide. As he put it : “In one sense the industrial revolution was a revolution of those who were not gentlemen” (Coleman 1973, p.97). The loss of drive by entrepreneurs in the late nineteenth-century, he suggests, may have been due to “too many of the revolutionaries (being) too busy becoming gentlemen” (Coleman 1973, p.97). Despite the exhortations of writers such as Samuel Smiles, who may be seen as attempting to imbue the industrial elite with a sense of morality, the gentlemanly ideal - and its ancient knightly obsession with a code of honour, duelling, riches and rank - survived largely, Coleman argues, through the public school system, to which most of the second generation of industrialists’ sons made their way to learn the gentlemanly arts. Coleman’s argument is that far from having a negative effect on its pupils *vis-a-vis* industry as a career, the public school system actually provides much of the material for the boards of some of Britain’s largest industrial concerns. Thus he feels a transmission of cultural values attributable to the genus *gentleman* cannot be said to have a regressive effect on entrepreneurship.

Checkland tackling the question of cultural influences on British business writes thus:

It seems likely therefore that British business at the turn of the nineteenth century was seriously affected by the survival within it of older notions of human behaviour and relations rooted, ultimately in the preindustrial, landed aristocratic view of human behaviour. (Checkland 1977, p.72)

He continued his argument thus:

The industrial urban-society had produced no substitute upon which businessmen could base a sustaining view of themselves.

(Checkland 1977, p.79)

Thus the attraction of a rural estate, a gentrified existence and perhaps a life dedicated to philanthropic good works prevailed to undermine the industrial spirit. Can it be argued, then, from Checkland's conclusion that here we have a reason for Leverhulme and Cadbury establishing garden villages around their newly constructed factory-works? That is, was the thinking of the time so limited that a neo-feudal order was seen to be the only basis of the emerging social organisation that characterised late Victorian industrialisation? Is Bellini correct when he writes that Britain of the 1980's "is proof that it is possible to go backwards in time to recreate a social order of the Middle Ages behind the misleading appearance of a modern facade" (Bellini, 1981, p.4)? Is his assessment of the 'feudal' status of Leverhulme's grandson and heir apt for the Britain he describes and that which we inhabit when he writes:

The feudal ideal pervades all. Lord Leverhulme has the official duty, as Lord Lieutenant of his county, of raising the citizen army for the crown on the way to the third world war. (Bellini 1981, p.112)

Bellini's argument is couched in images of England as a rural society as is Weiner's (1981) and Dahrendorf's (1982). While it is beyond the limits of this study to broach the wider social theories of latter day British feudalism, the 'discovery of rural England' in the wake of the waning of the British economy and the propagation of such ideas, not least by Leverhulme, has been noted in Chapter Four. Hawkins (1986) suggests that the propagation of such ideas was an attempt by industrialists and manufacturers to ingratiate themselves with the traditional seats of power among the gentry and the aristocracy.

The Pursuit of Social Acceptance

A strong theme which emerges in the literature on entrepreneurship in the Victorian era is that most of the explanations offered for entrepreneurs' behaviour have a distinctly reactive ring to them. In other words having established themselves as successful manufacturers, a barrier to social advancement then had to be overcome which led to their adventurous enterprising energies being redirected in the pursuit

of social acceptance. This theme is further developed by Tsunoyama (1977) in his exploration of the opposition faced by entrepreneurs.

His argument is that the modern business person's behaviour in the U.K. (and Japan) is modified by the cultural system of its premodern society. Tsunoyama starts from the position that Britain's economic decline had as its incontrovertible and fundamental cause the weakness in British entrepreneurship. Taking the 'orthodox' line in evaluating entrepreneurship in the last century, he argues that those who initiated the development of industry had to overcome the hostility of traditional groups. "Thus the entrepreneurial ideology will be found in their efforts to break with the past on the one hand, and to advance the new on the other" (Tsunoyama 1977, p.88). This is because there always being a difficulty in mapping a future without some reference to what is or what has gone before. However for social acceptance, the link with the past must be maintained if the successful entrepreneur aspires to gentrification and hopes for a place among the aristocracy. Leverhulme not only advanced the new as an entrepreneur and clung to the past while taking the path to social advancement but also sought to recreate the best of a pre-industrial past, a philosophy which underpinned his plans for Port Sunlight, his model village on The Wirral.

Tsunoyama notes that despite being successful in achieving business fortunes, "such personal virtues as lineage, culture, higher education, elegance in manners and so on, which characterise the status of the ruling class were beyond their (entrepreneurs') power" (Tsunoyama 1977, p.81). Nathaniel de Rothschild, for example, - a Jewish banker - became a peer at length in 1885 after several refusals by Queen Victoria. In seeking explanations as to why even Victorian pride in unprecedented economic advance never quite succeeded in making the creators of wealth such satisfying figures in the saga of the human past as "the creators of nations, the composers of symphonies or the authors of reformations", Tsunoyama considers the economics of Ruskin (1819-1900), which he argues "speak for the traditional gentleman class, the disapproval and moral suspicion of a system of capitalism" (Tsunoyama 1977, p.94).

For Ruskin the most important part of a businessman's life was not to seek personal profits but to do justice. The businessman in Ruskin's eyes was to be a professional such as a lawyer or a physician to whom the community paid respect for their self-sacrifice. Likewise for a clergyman "even though his powers of intellect be small" (Ruskin 1862, p.127). For, as the stipend being a necessary adjunct for the clergyman so it ought to be for the manufacturer and not a never ending seeking of profit.

The real science of political economy is that which teaches nations to desire and labour for the things that lead to life; and which teaches them to scorn and destroy the things that lead to destruction. (Ruskin 1862, p.168)

For Ruskin the vital question for individual and nation is never "how much do they make?" but "to what purpose do they spend?" The final object of consumption is life. Life which Ruskin emphasises so strongly, includes all powers of love, pleasure and beauty.

As the art of life is learned, it will be found at last that all lovely things are also necessary: - the wild flower by the wayside, as well as the tended corn; and the wild birds and creatures of the forest, as well as the tended cattle; because man doth not live by bread only. (Ruskin 1862, p.190)

One hundred and nineteen years after Ruskin wrote the above, at a Leverhulme Memorial Lecture, Sir Ernst Gombrich - the celebrated art historian - was to draw a similar conclusion.

Industrialists then, according to Tsunoyama - after Ruskin - were to strive for social justice and forego profits if they were to be held in higher regard than was the case. He goes on to point out that attempts to do this in the guise of social welfare schemes, for example improving standards of living and heightening cultural awareness, and those which coupled these schemes with labour management policies oriented towards increasing efficiency, persisted well into the twentieth century labelled variously as "English conservative" and "managerial conservatism". Tsunoyama holds up as an example of the pursuit of the gentlemanly ideal the social experiments of those such as Leverhulme on the Wirral,

Cadbury in Birmingham and Salt at Saltaire. His argument is not too dissimilar to that of Hawkins (1986) who outlines the pressures on the late twentieth century industrialists and manufacturers to buy into the 'discovery of rural England, as noted above.

To attain a great personal fortune in industry itself was not always a key to wider social acceptance. Those entrepreneurs who continued to accumulate wealth, if not actually seeking a social reward in terms of a knighthood, at least sought that their achievements be recognised. In addition to being members of one minority group, i.e. that of a rising industrial bourgeoisie, there were many entrepreneurs who had the additional spur to action by being members of 'minority' religious denominations who thus faced opposition of the kind shown by Ruskin, as mentioned earlier.

In arguing that principles of entrepreneurial behaviour exist outside the realms of industry and commerce Young (1971) suggests that notions of "ability to make new combinations, managerial skills, perceptions of opportunity, risk taking, inventiveness (and) achievement motivation" be put aside by students of entrepreneurship and that the social origins of entrepreneurs be considered instead. He writes:

(the entrepreneur) ... is simply the most visible member from an economic point of view of what is typically a cluster of families whose activity is mutually reinforcing and coordinated by a coherent outlook on the world. (Young 1971, p.142)

He proposes that it is the minority status of entrepreneurs' social origins which spurs them to action because their social identity is in question. But, as he points out, not all fringe social groups develop the solidarity which produces entrepreneurs, only those with what he calls a relatively high differentiation. Young suggests that if such a group recognises that because of its status it will remain on the fringe of society it will engage in a constant search for opportunities that will improve the group's position. He also explains the tendency for members of such groups to enter business "where business activity is relatively open to newcomers" (Young 1971, p.143). Entrepreneurial activity is not limited to the worlds of

commerce or manufacture. Rather it is to be found among any minority group whose existence is threatened (or not valued) by those who dominate policy making in their main area of interest.

Thus widening the concept of entrepreneurial activity, Young believes, forces economists and others to return to the fundamentals of their analyses of the relationship of profit to the motivation of such innovators. All entrepreneurial activity may thus be seen to be a quest for profit in the fundamental sense. Money is only one index of the businessman's efficiency. What is sought in addition to monetary profit in both the business world and, more generally, in all entrepreneurial activity is social profit in the sense of social recognition (Higgins 1968, p.248).

Can Leverhulme's motivations be understood in such terms? Looking at motives other than greed, hedonism or monetary profit what may have lain at the heart of Leverhulme's desire for social profit? Is it fair to suggest that he did pursue social profit? To what threatened subgroup did he belong? As mentioned above Leverhulme was raised in a Nonconformist household. Being a member of a religious group other than Anglican effectively precluded an individual from social advancement outside one's own group for most of the last century. Thus in researching Leverhulme's motivation one might suggest that, following the literature on entrepreneurship reviewed here, Leverhulme sought status from those other than fellow Congregationalists. However can such speculation really shed any light on entrepreneur's behaviour? Clearly religion did play an important part in Leverhulme's life as can be seen from his philosophies outlined in Chapter Five. further he he was not a zealot having gifted both Congregationalist and Anglican churches to communities on the Wirral and in Bolton.

It has been suggested that the characteristic English attitude to industrialists arose because among them in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a large number of Nonconformists. As Nonconformists did they, as a minority group, display any behaviour which may be interpreted as seeking social acceptance? Gilbert (1976)

suggests they did. Once established as a religion in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Nonconformism's expansion slowed with the gradual demographic shift to towns: "the degree of involvement in the work process correlating negatively with the degree of involvement in church-oriented religion" (Luckmann 1967, p.30).

From about the 1840's onwards Nonconformism began to consolidate its base. The structure of the Nonconformist population gradually shifted from those "first generation" converts to Nonconformism, e.g. Leverhulme's father James, to those who were born into Nonconformist families and were socialized as Nonconformists. Gilbert writes:

For such people the preservation of the (religious) association and the association of its organizational structures, as distinct from the realization of its original goals, easily became an end in itself. (Gilbert 1976, p.152)

And during the Victorian era:

A rise in the social status in Nonconformist communities ... can be seen as something at least partly imposed on the movement by basic changes in the status and structure of social groups from which it had traditionally drawn the bulk of its members. (Gilbert 1976, pp.147-148)

Whereas the businessman incurred Ruskin's disapproval, Nonconformism was denigrated by Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) for its "provincialism" and for the "narrow and partial view of humanity" which inspired it. The attention paid by Arnold, the arbiter of cultural standards of his day, to Nonconformity was, according to Gilbert, "evidence of its emergence from the subcultural isolation of the early industrial age" (Gilbert 1976, p.158). Here may be witnessed a process of normalisation, embourgeoisement, subjectivity; a gradual move to the centre of society by members of the minority sects.

Gradually the ordinary Nonconformist member "emerged into the main theatre of social life, even if only to be called a 'Philistine' by actors already there" (Gilbert 1976, p.158). Soon "eminent laymen became guardians of the social, architectural, and cultural image which the denominations projected within the wider society"

(Gilbert 1976, p.158). Among ordinary members there was “a heightened regard for orderliness, taste, refinement” (Gilbert 1976, p.158).

This pattern of behaviour seems to exemplify what is termed ‘Wesley's Law’, that is “the idea that ascetic Protestantism leads to economic and social improvement” which in turn undermines Christianity as material well-being for most is increased, reliance on some divine providence is decreased. To obviate this tendency Wesley held that Christians ought to “increase their charity in proportion to any increase in their wealth. They had to avoid ostentation, the luxury, the worldly pleasure which increased prosperity had put within their reach” (Gilbert 1976, p.159).

In the writing of those who choose to focus on the entrepreneur and entrepreneurship in the last century, there appears to be a willingness to look for scapegoats, to condemn successful and unsuccessful entrepreneurs, once they have been identified. The writing, in the case of the successful entrepreneurs, is that the entrepreneurial talent dissipated and that in some way it was the entrepreneurs fault that this happened. There is also the sentiment that the class system in Great Britain played a part in the downturn in Britain's economic performance since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Certainly Britain's competitiveness as an economy was in decline. But one wonders why the class system and the lifestyles of newly-monied families are focussed on to the extent they are, by researchers in the field. Could there not possibly be another factor, set of factors or a relationship of factors, which have not as yet been identified, at play? In reading the literature on entrepreneurship in the last century it is fascinatingly educational and entertaining, but it does little to shed light on the concerns of economists in business schools today who seek to discover the mystique of producing entrepreneurs. One has the feeling that the rational pursuit of causes of the failure or decline of Britain's economic performance is not throwing up any answers which may prove operationally useful because, perhaps, the wrong questions are being posed.

It is widely believed today that, generally, problems of production have been superseded by problems of consumption. That is it is no longer a question of

shortages in the economy due to poor production methods, but rather that the economy is slow in growing because the consumer has difficulties in consuming. A rational economist might suggest various remedies to this, for example raise the minimum wage to ensure a decent standard of living for all. Other economists would point out the folly of this, for example making British goods and services uncompetitive by raising unit cost, the threat of wage-price inflation and so on. It often seems that there are simply too many variables to control to ensure delivery to a desired state, as the former Chancellor Kenneth Clarke was fond of telling the populace.

If one takes the view that welfarism, the social responsibility that underpins some advanced economic societies, hinders economic growth as some commentators suggest, then we are left with the position that economic hardship is the better platform from which new economic growth may begin. This would appear to go against the spirit of even ‘benevolent despots’ such as Leverhulme, but it does form the dogma on which some economic policies are built, for example Newt Gingrich’s policies in the United States and the ‘scorched earth’ policy which the last British government is perceived to be pursuing. For Capitalism to succeed there has to be growth. Prior to the advent of capitalism and the emergence of the entrepreneur there existed the “circular flow of income” in Schumpeter’s terms:

... an economic process which merely reproduces itself at constant rates; a given population, not changing in either numbers or age distribution. ... The tastes (wants) of households remained are given and do not change. ... Such a process would turn out year, after year, the same kinds, qualities, and quantities of consumers’ and producers goods; every firm would employ the same kind and quantities of productive goods and services; finally all these goods would be bought and sold at the same prices year after year. (Schumpeter 1939, pp.40-41)

With the emergence of the innovator and his imitators the “idyllic state collapsed” (Weber 1930, p.68) and it was this idyllic state upon which the ‘discovery of rural England’ was based. Capitalism, then, in Weber’s terms leads to something other than an idyllic state, a chaotic state perhaps. Thus rational economists might well consider the achievements of a Leverhulme or a Cadbury as *counter* productive precisely because their policies, if successful, did mean the meeting of wants for

many of their employees.

Current Research into Entrepreneurship

Recent work in the field of entrepreneurship does not lead to any greater understanding of entrepreneurship other than its centrality to economic development. Kuratko and Hodgetts (1995) outline the importance played by entrepreneurs in the development of the United States economy which they argue has always relied on innovation. The importance of their approach is to encourage entrepreneurial talent, albeit in a recipe-style format.

Dickens and Miettinen survey a landscape familiar to students of the field giving case studies of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial behaviour. Casson, in a useful collection of work in the field for the historian and economist, presents little new material. Kets de Vries (1985) writes of the 'dark side of entrepreneurship' and outlines what may be perceived of as negative aspects of an entrepreneur's make-up. These include an overbearing need for control, a sense of destiny, a pathological drive for success and unrealistic optimism. Negative and unpleasant as these characteristics may be, together perhaps they are the spur which lies behind economic development.

Summary

A theme of the writers reviewed in this is that social profit was indeed a motivator to many entrepreneurs in the last century. Payne, for example, acknowledges that the motives of all the early entrepreneurs were similar: they sought status through riches which would bring respect.

The contributors to the debate on entrepreneurship, and Victorian entrepreneurship in particular, show that there are a number of attempts to explain the emergence of entrepreneurs - be it social profit, hedonism or socio-cultural factors. Finding the source of entrepreneurial activity does appear to be elusive. However the importance of the entrepreneur's presence in the development of capitalist

economies is seen to be central. A key task of governments is to help create an environment in which economic growth develops. Hence, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the initiative launched by the Department of Trade and Industry to encourage the emergence of entrepreneurial talent, endorsed by, among others, Sir John Harvey-Jones, the management guru and former chief of Imperial Chemical Industries. In the post-communist economies of Europe, the catalytic role of the entrepreneur is apparent. The University of Warsaw's business school now includes the word entrepreneurship in its title.

The studies reviewed here offer little by way of predictive power or agreed conclusions as to the emergence of entrepreneurial talent but of themselves these studies are interesting. However their contribution to an understanding of the dynamic of organisation is lacking. Kilby's (1971) suggestion that studying entrepreneurship is akin to 'hunting the heffalump' is perhaps as appropriate today as it was a quarter of a century ago when it was written.

If British business at the end of the last century was limited to the survival within it of older beliefs and values which acted as a brake on economic development at a time when it was urgently needed, perhaps a similar criticism could be levelled at the theorising of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship of the period. If British business was backward looking, and no one can doubt the appeal of the past to Leverhulme, then much of the academic treatment of the subject is also backward looking. Leverhulme was a dynamic entrepreneur who espoused certain values, was guided by principle and wished to break down the division between capital and labour. He attempted to engender new relations to organise a new society. He may be understood to have failed to establish what he envisaged in his lifetime - the New Jerusalem eluded him. That failure can be partly understood in terms of the innate conservatism he met in labour and in the wider society.

Reference was made earlier to Weber's introduction of the concept of 'atavisms' which are manifested by "the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs" (Weber 1930, p.80.) The influence of the

past, the social structure is clearly seen to influence the lives of entrepreneurs of the Victorian era. Similarly there are the Marxian notions that men make their own history under circumstances directly given and transmitted from the past. Also that the tradition of all the dead generations weigh like a nightmare on the brain of the living. Brown, (1985) in a similar sense sees the bondage of all cultures to their cultural heritage as a neurotic construction. The historical, sociological and economic explanations of Leverhulme and his contemporaries' activities are likewise embedded in old and conservative ways of understanding. To think dynamically about Leverhulme, these disciplines require a Leverhulme-type presence to lift them out of their hide-bound state. Such a person may be a Foucault, someone who fosters and encourages new conceptualisations, new thoughts, in short an entrepreneurial theorist, who can throw off the shibboleths of the established disciplines, who is as concerned for the welfare of humanity as Leverhulme was (and remains through the work of the Leverhulme Trust), who deals with the issues Said advocates should be the concern of the intellectual. However, in the political economy of theory development, a conservatism operates just as it did in Leverhulme's time.

Chapter Seven

Order/Organisation

Introduction

This dissertation is fundamentally about organisation. What it offers is an exploration of entrepreneurial behaviour - in particular the philosophy and legacy of one Victorian entrepreneur - which attempts to explain the relevance that entrepreneurs may have, other than in purely economic terms, for example how humanity understands itself. Organisation is both a process and an outcome - the process being the actions and behaviour of those who constitute organisation which is the outcome. The vehicle used to explore this phenomenon is the concept of 'the entrepreneur', in particular the 'Victorian' entrepreneur Leverhulme. In examining a body of literature which purports to account for entrepreneurial activity in the last century, a theme emerges which suggests that there was more to entrepreneurial activity than can be explained simply in conventional economic terms. In other words entrepreneurs' accounts of their lives and those of economic historians who have written on entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship simply give the established accounts, stories which reinforce social ordering. The approach is rather limited in the questions it asks and indeed in its findings as was established in the previous chapter.

In the literature on Victorian entrepreneurship there appears to be a social process at work too. This bears the imprint of a wider process of organisation which may have as its hallmark Foucault's concept of subjectivity. In the case of entrepreneurs

in Britain in the last century, this process led them into the mainstream of society, despite, in many cases, their marginality as members of minority sects, as Young (1971) argues. Their marginal status may even have given them the impetus for entrepreneurship in the first place. In the case of Leverhulme, as a specific example of entrepreneurship, we have a character whose very business enterprise is part of a process of subjectification. Appearing on the stage as a soap manufacturer, he stepped directly into this process by capitalizing on an issue which had been taxing the consciences of social reformers and the minds of many others for several decades. Born into the 'Age of Purification', he was to sell purity to the masses. By the time he began his venture Britain, as noted in Chapter Four, was largely an urban society attempting to come to grips with the sanitary and health dysfunctions of urban life. The existence of so many poor in an urban milieu, offended the sensibilities of the status quo who saw the poor as a threat to order, bodily, psychic and social. The task was to reform urban society and the population as a whole into something much more manageable. That Leverhulme emerged as the chief provider of a material with which this was to be achieved makes him an eminently suitable case for examination. For in the process of the physical re-ordering of society, of cleaning it with the aid of the products of his enterprise, Leverhulme was also instrumental in shaping the sensibilities of his generation and subsequent generations to an understanding of Nature; that is the natural world as portrayed by him as paradisaical, as beautiful, a one-dimensional and anthropocentric understanding of Nature. This he accomplished, and in a sense still accomplishes, through the strategies he adopted to market his most famous product, Sunlight Soap, through his public addresses and publications, in the development of Port Sunlight village, in his patronage of the arts, and through the Leverhulme Trust.

Order: Purity and Danger

In addition to being a conduit through whom the established philosophies and tastes of his time were channelled to a wider consuming population, Leverhulme was also expressing a discourse which involved the pathologising of various behaviours and creeds, for example intemperance and short-sighted capitalism. He may be

understood as a herald who attempted to steer society away from the pitfalls which awaited it, and to which he was on occasion witness, if it veered away from the path of righteousness and purity. In this sense Leverhulme can be understood as attempting to organise society by invoking the age-old system of organising which Douglas (1984) exposes in Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.

Douglas, in this work, attempts to understand the structures of societies both “primitive” and modern through analyses of those societies rules regarding ritual cleanness and uncleanness. “Pollution ideas work in the life of a society at two levels, one largely instrumental, one expressive” (Douglas 1984, p.3). The use by a society of such ideas is the maintenance of order. Douglas’s book draws mainly upon anthropological work done in the field. Her work leaves it to the reader to translate these ideas to an understanding of modern societies, with one caveat. She reminds us that

... our ideas of dirt are not so recent. We must be able to think back beyond the last 100 years and to analyse the bases of dirt avoidance, before it was transformed by bacteriology, for example, before spitting deftly into a spittoon was counted unhygienic. (Douglas 1984, p.34-35)

Of course practices such as spitting into a spittoon have virtually disappeared across whole swathes of Western Society. But in parts of western societies the practice of spitting remains as part of the practice of hygiene, for example among immigrant communities whose understanding of ‘inner cleanliness’ is manifested by spitting. Generally, in this society, spitting is seen quite definitely as impolite and socially unacceptable. So those immigrants who do spit in public are themselves censored and are seen somehow as unclean, thus reinforcing racial prejudice.

To pursue this example, Douglas writes that “the ideal order of society is guarded by dangers which threaten transgressions” (Douglas 1984, p.4). Spitting as a social practice disappeared because of the threat the practice posed, that is the continued widespread presence of tuberculosis in our society, there was a fear of contagion surrounding spitting. Thus the danger associated with the transgression

is illness, and, in the case of tuberculosis, it is worth noting that it appears to be on the increase again in Great Britain. One explanation offered for this is health of the immigrant Asian community. The link between outsiders and dangers is unwittingly maintained even in the discourses of health in the late twentieth century. Thus spitting, as a practice, is imbued with symbolism.

However, leaving aside examples of ritual cleanliness and uncleanness and more grounded instances of the perils of uncleanness, what is important in the argument put forward by Douglas is the contribution it makes to an understanding of our contemporary society and, indeed, institutions within this society. This is true not only for formal organisations in society, for example work organisations and learned societies, but also for loosely bound groups; an example here might be scholars who share a common area of study such as organisation theory. The dynamics which Douglas reveals are as appropriate to an analysis of such groupings as they are to the particular examples she chooses to address in Purity and Danger. Briefly, the salient points she makes in relation to the argument of this dissertation are as follows:

... ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgression have as their main function to impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating the difference between within and without, above and below, male and female, with and against, that a semblance of order is created. (Douglas 1984, p.4)

If the difference is exaggerated, is this not necessarily an artificial exaggeration? Is the difference an artefact of imposing order? Doubtless the answer to both these questions is yes. Take for example the experience of those minorities persecuted for their beliefs and practices in the Third Reich. The difference between the Aryan and the Jew was accentuated in the association, made by their persecutors, of the Jews with vermin. Perhaps the likening of Jews to vermin in some of the later propaganda had an element of correct representation, but that was only so because of the conditions in which Jews were forced to live by their persecutors, for example, in the Warsaw Ghetto. What existed within the boundary of the German state was seen to be correct or proper. What did not was not to be pursued or else the danger of transgression waited, that is, to become like, live and die as a

Jew/vermin. The sense of propriety which led to the expulsion of the Jews to the greater Reich led to an even more radical policy of their destruction in the 'final solution'.

Douglas reminds us that

Reflection on dirt involves reflection on the relation of order to disorder, being to non-being, form to formlessness, life to death. Wherever ideas of dirt are highly structured their analysis discloses a play upon such profound themes. (Douglas 1984, p.40)

Clearly then the understanding of dirt avoidance is relevant to an understanding of a society's structure, and is as relevant in understanding today's society and its institutions as it is in understanding less technologically advanced societies and societies in the past. The extreme but pertinent examples above may give rise to an understanding of the experiences of the various ethnic groups in the former Yugoslavia. The term 'ethnic cleansing' in that part of Europe refers to the expulsion by one side of members of another, say the Serbs from Croatia. The need to expel is premised upon the belief that to include, in this example, the Serbs within the confines of the Croatian state is to harbour impurity and thus to leave the Croats open to contagion. In Leverhulme's case he may be understood to be engaged in a similar exercise by pathologising the lazy, the capitalist, the trades unionist and the Scottish crofter. He too was subject to this process as a Nonconformist, an entrepreneur and a soap-boiler. As an entrepreneur, an agent for change, he and other entrepreneurs, were seen as dangers which threatened transgressing the ideal order of society.

In comparing the attitudes of modern societies to primitive societies, Douglas makes it clear that she deplores the idea that "(o)ur practices are solely based on hygiene; theirs are symbolic: We kill germs, they ward off spirits" (Douglas 1984, p.32).

She asks:

Are our ideas hygienic where theirs are symbolic? Not a bit of it, I am going to argue that our ideas of dirt also express symbolic systems and that the differences between pollution behaviour in one part of the world and another is only a matter of detail. (Douglas 1984, p.32)

Throughout this century examples of the ordering of society using the symbolism

associated with dirt may be seen and not just by the totalitarian regimes mentioned above. McCarthyism in the United States is just one example, the attempt to purge that society of communists. At about that time, in the 1950's, there was also talk of the Yellow Peril, the perceived threat to the order of society in the white western world by hordes of migrant Chinese. In this society in the 1960's and 1970's attempts were made by leading politicians, notably Patrick Gordon-Walker and Enoch Powell to instil a fear in the nation about the threats to the order of society by allowing immigrants from the British Commonwealth to settle here in Britain. The Puritan Loyalists of Ulster were given their own homeland to protect them from the influences of Roman Catholic 'idolaters' of the Irish Free State. Latterly, on the continent of Europe, racism appears to be gaining a stronghold with the emergence of neo-fascist groups in Germany and the popularity of the National Front in France. If these examples of attempts to impose an order on society are understood in terms of the symbolism associated with dirt, pollution and its avoidance, then the relevance of taking the perspective adopted in this thesis is established.

If we can abstract pathogenicity and hygiene from our notion of dirt, we are left with the old definition of dirt as matter out of place. This is a very suggestive approach. It implies two conditions: a set of ordered relations and a contravention of that order. Dirt then is never a unique, isolated event. Where there is dirt there is a system. Dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter, in so far as ordering involves rejecting inappropriate elements. (Douglas 1984, p.40)

Thus "if uncleanness is matter out of place, we must approach it through order. Uncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained" (Douglas 1984, p.40). What is disturbing about the argument which Douglas puts forward is that much of our modern, sophisticated social structure and the structure of many of our institutions is based upon something so "primitive". The sophistication of the artefacts and institutions with which we may associate a sense of progress serves to hide these primitive structures. Nonetheless we are all subject to the same rules. The rule of patterning works with greater force and more total comprehensiveness in the primitive, i.e., less technologically advanced cultures, whereas for the moderns it applies to disjointed separate areas of existence (Douglas 1984, p.40). Here it is appropriate to recall Hall (1993) when he states

that cultural practices are never outside the play of power. This is as true for the so-called 'primitive societies' as it is for the civilised societies.

Douglas's approach in Purity and Danger can be seen as a product of its age, that is as a structural analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo. However, it does anticipate themes which have been the subject of many a debate, not least within the field of organisation theory, for example in the 'paradigm crisis' of the last decade and-a-half (Gherardi and Turner 1987).

Before turning to other literature in this field, it is important to trace at least one source of pollution taboos in Western society. This Douglas does by considering the abominations of Leviticus in the Old Testament. Here Judaism and the other two great monotheistic religions have their sources of rules concerning ritual order. Douglas reminds us that "each of its injunctions is prefaced by the command to be holy, so they must be explained by that command"(Douglas 1984, p.49). She continues:

Holiness is the attribute of the Godhead. Its root means 'set apart'.
... In the Old Testament we find blessing as the source of all good things, and the withdrawal of blessing as the source of all dangers. The blessing of God makes the land possible for man to live in.
(Douglas 1984, pp.49-50)

To be holy means keeping distinct the categories of creation, of maintaining the order of the Godhead (Douglas 1984, p.53). Mankind's affairs will prosper if this God-given order is sustained. To infringe the injunctions of Leviticus will bring danger.

Order, then, is God-given. Indeed this may still be witnessed by the formal proceedings of many institutions in this society. One is forever perplexed that secular organisations and professional bodies in the United Kingdom, such as the British Psychological Society, for their incorporation must have a Royal Charter. The monarch in granting a Royal Charter to a professional body has the authority to do so because she is divinely ordained. Her authority represents the will of God and the work of that professional body represents the maintenance of the status quo.

So things are as they are because God wills it to be so. What a perfect justification for the professional behaviour of so many academics, those whom Said criticises, for example. Yet how many of them are 'believers'?

Observation of the injunctions in Leviticus had two impacts. The more general was the maintenance of social order. The other was the disciplining of the body through which social order could be maintained so we find regulations governing diet and sex - the stuff of life. Thus, for example, bestiality and homosexuality were condemned because these activities transgressed the God-given boundaries; they were seen as a threat to the social order. The taboo still exists today, for example the question of the role that homosexuals may play in the armed forces.

So, if we remove from our consideration of hygiene and pollution the understandings and explanations that science has offered over the past century-and-a-quarter, the structure of contemporary modern society may be seen to have as its base taboos and rituals regarding concepts of dirt and pollution that primitive and ancient societies share. One might even go so far as to say that, since the reforms of the Victorian era, we are perhaps closer in the 1990's in the United Kingdom to having a caste system analogous to that which has persisted despite the various attempts of post-colonial socialist administrations in India to abolish it. So those who fall outside ordered society, for example no employment families, unmarried single mothers, to name but two categories, become the object of pathological discourse by the status quo.

Order: Transgressions - Crossing the Boundary

Stallybrass and White (1986) pursue the themes developed by Douglas. In particular they argue that cultural categories, for example order/disorder, clean/dirty, high/low are never entirely separable - the identification of the one is premised upon the existence of the other. Their analyses of bourgeois discourse attempt to "see how high discourses, with their lofty style, exalted aims and sublime ends, are structured in relation to the debasements of low discourse" (Stallybrass and White

1986, p.3).

Indeed, the opposition, interpenetrations and transgressions of high and low bear such an enormous weight of cultural organization that one marvels at the sheer labour of transcoding, displacement and partition involved in the elaborate networks of super- and sub- in our cultural history. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.4)

In their analysis they focus on the high/low opposition in literature, social formation and the body. The relevance of their work for the present study is that much of Leverhulme's enterprise may be understood as constituting the lofty discourse with his business of purification of the body, the mind and the wider society. In Leverhulme's case, it is suggested, the low 'Other' is the mass which he hopes to elevate or at least order. His cleansing mission and the status it brought him was dependent on the low 'Other':

A recurrent pattern emerges: the 'top' attempts to reject and eliminate the 'bottom' for reasons of prestige and status, only to discover, not only that it is in some way frequently dependent upon that low-'Other' (in the classic way that Hegel describes in the master-slave section of the *Phenomenology*), but also that the top *includes* that low symbolically, as a primary eroticized constituent of its own fantasy life. The result is a mobile, conflictual fusion of power, fear and desire in the construction of subjectivity: a psychological dependence upon precisely those Others which are being rigorously opposed and excluded at the social level. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.5. original emphasis)

In another sense, the dependence is not only psychological but is also economic. The labour force and its kind begin to be embraced by the process of being seen as producers and consumers, something of which Leverhulme was keenly aware. As consumers their image of themselves changes from being simply workers, labourers. Thus the low labourer-producers were elevated to the high labourer-consumer for economic growth to be sustained.

In terms of personal hygiene and the personal care industry this pattern is also evident. The more the human body is fragmented by the personal care industry and colonized by its multifarious products, the further it is removed from the realms of its animal nature. The example given in Chapter Five was that of Hakle Moists publicity in which residue, and nothing else, is left behind by conventional bathroom tissue.

To demonstrate the normalizing process Stallybrass and White draw on the work of Bakhtin and his study of the carnivalesque which “was prettified, incorporated into commercial or civic display or regarded as a purely negative phenomenon” (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.9). Thus carnivals were appropriated and given a new meaning or were done away with.

This appropriation by the high of the activities of the low is evident in many other forms of organised behaviour. Take for the example religious festivals and pilgrimages in Ireland. Hand in hand with the various peoples who settled there over the millennia came new symbolic systems. Not least was the imperialist dogma of the Church of Rome which manifested itself by demonizing the carnivalesque of the native Irish, among others, and gave those activities the cloak of respectability by incorporating them within the rite of that country or territory. The annual pilgrimage-ascent of Croagh Patrick near Westport, County Mayo, serves as a good example of this. St. Patrick’s links with the mountain may be tenuous. But it is better for the social organisation of the Church for the pilgrims to be doing something condoned by the Catholic Rite rather than to be doing something ‘un-Christian’. In fact archaeologists, who have recently been at work on the summit and dated remains found there to four millennia before Christ, suggest that it was indeed a place of ‘pagan’ ritual. But, as Detienne puts it:

A system of thought ... is founded on a series of acts of partition whose ambiguity, here as elsewhere, is to open up the terrain of their possible transgression at the very moment when they mark off a limit. To discover the complete horizon of a society’s symbolic values, it is also necessary to map out its transgressions, its deviants. (Detienne 1979, p.ix)

Pursuing the example of religious festivals, in the British Isles it is noticeable that Great Britain, alone among European Union countries, has a dearth of publicly and nationally celebrated religious festivals other than the end of year Christmas feast and the Spring festival of Easter and, for the majority of the population, these have lost their Christian religious relevance. They may be understood as festivals of consumption, but not simply the consumption of food and drink which is the hallmark of many festivals, but occasions when the public is encouraged to

consume conspicuously. At Christmas this is characterized by, what may seem to some as, an over-indulgence in gift exchange and at Easter by the consumption of do-it-yourself products for the home and garden. Where there was once the 'spring clean' to celebrate the risen Messiah, there is now the more mundane annual attention to property maintenance. The cultural practices have shifted from those of religious observance, to those of consumption, reflecting a shift in power from the Church to capitalism. As the body has been fragmented and colonized by the personal care industry (see Appendix Two), so has festival or leisure time been colonized by activities which encourage consumers to look outwards for the organisation of their time. Leverhulme was acutely aware of the potential of this. His vision was to what is nowadays termed 'life-long learning', to education, to meeting the 'higher needs'. He was also aware of the need for economic sustainability and growth, seeing the worker as an important consumer as well as producer. Where once the transgressors, or deviants, of the code of these Christian festivals were those who took no part in them because of religious affiliation, or atheism, those who may be seen to transgress nowadays are those who *do* celebrate the religious significance and who criticise the emphasis on materialism which is now the feature of these festivals.

By studying the marginal, the transgressors and the deviants, the grotesque low-'Other', the system of thought can be exposed which has led to symbolic practices generally. And the symbolic, as a number of writers in the field of organisation theory have been arguing for a number of years, is important for a more complete understanding of organisation (Turner 1993). Symbolic inversion "far from being a residual category of experience, is its very opposite. What is socially peripheral is often symbolically central" (Babcock 1978, p.32).

Thus today in the United Kingdom, for example, the grist to the political party mills, criminals, immigration, terrorism, unmarried single mothers and scroungers, not to mention Europhiles, play a symbolic role out of all proportion to their actual social importance. Those whom the politicians and think-tanks claim to be working

to marginalize and remove, if not destroy, are their very sustenance. Likewise in the last century the bourgeoisie “by the nineteenth century drew its imaginative sustenance from precisely those groups, practices and activities which it was earnestly and relentlessly working to marginalize and destroy” (Stallybrass and White 1988, p.21), for example in novels and opera, or at least to *reform* to bring into, to identify with, the mainstream economic activity upon which upon which it, the bourgeoisie, thrived. The low-'Other', the filthy, animal-like, urban-industrial working class, which were necessary for the master-slave relationship, described by Hegel, for its own subjectivity were also necessary for the subjectification of the bourgeoisie.

With regard to Nature, Stallybrass and White consider the romanticism associated with the countryside. For in elevating (or corrupting) the rustic, the bourgeois bystander may have been exhibiting more nostalgia for the local and communal than the poor country-dweller could conceive. And on the occasions when the world came to visit the villager in the form of fairs or travelling shows, it was their opportunity to try on the customs of the world. Again, a two-fold process is in operation - the elevation of rural society by the bourgeois and the admiration of the bourgeois world by the country person.

At the country fair, however, the observer is also a potential participant and so the boundary between the observer and observed is never fixed. With a little imagination one can see here a process not dissimilar to the dynamics involved in social science research; in particular the competing perspectives within a given discipline, for example organisation theory. Consider the following:

We may return here to Bakhtin's central insight: that play, in the fair, is symbolic action which is rarely *mere* play: it articulates cultural and political meanings, and any simple elision of 'real' politics with the 'serious' consigns the subordinate classes to contesting state and class power within a problematic which has positioned them as ignorant, vulgar, unintimidated - as low. In fact 'low' knowledge frequently foregrounds not only the actual conditions of production but also the conditions of bodily pleasure. To define the grotesque, then, as a process of hybridization is not to neutralize its role as a kind of contestation. Rather it is to acknowledge that the grotesque tends to operate as a critique of a

dominant ideology which has already set the terms, designating what is high and low. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.43)

Within the discourse of organisation theory and the social and behavioural sciences there are norms by which behaviour is judged, the behaviour of the objects of social scientific enquiry. Yet there is also the dynamic among the academics themselves as to what constitutes proper research and, of course, there is the dynamic between the body of knowledge producers and their clients and the wider public. Stallybrass and White suggest that

(This) is not to abandon the whole issue to a random relativism of arbitrary definitions in some free-for-all, since all *sites* of discursive practice are themselves ranked and valued. Certain sites of discourse belonging to dominant groups have privileged power to define and hierarchize all the other sites of discourse, and therefore have the power to describe or endorse the value of their utterances. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.49-50)

Thus, to return to the theme of Nature, the competing understandings of what constitutes Nature are the properties of a number of sites. It is suggested here that one of these sites, one particular view of Nature - that is the non-human natural world, life outside mankind, the 'environment', an Arcadian understanding of Nature has, through the rise of western industrial capitalism, been fostered and promoted to the exclusion of other sites, not least by Leverhulme and the Leverhulme Trust. The propagation of this understanding leads to a subjectification of the wider population in their roles as producer consumer.

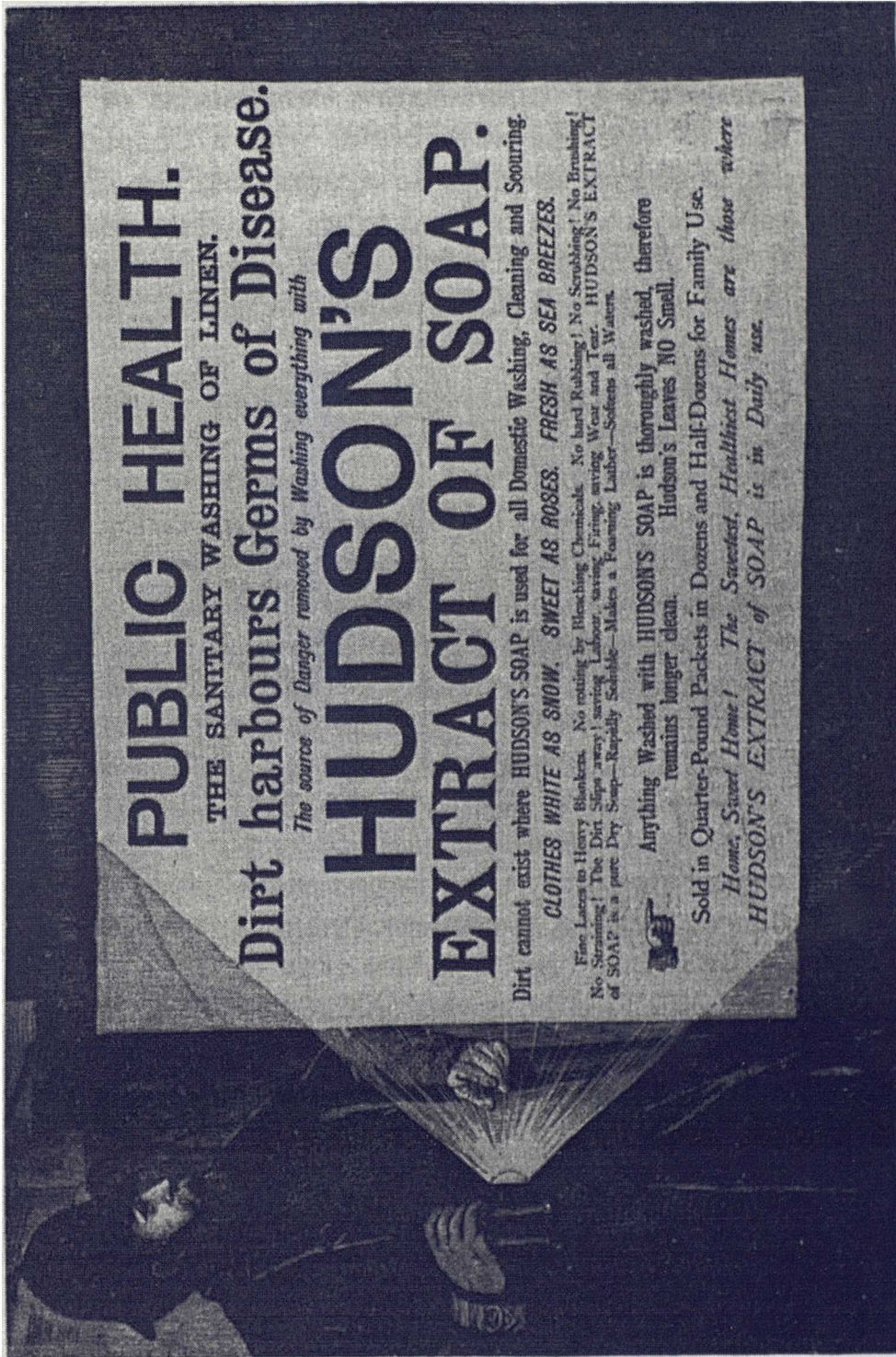
Of the three symbolic processes which Stallybrass and White identify, demonization, inversion and hybridization, it is the latter which is a particularly useful dynamic by which to appreciate social organisation.

Hybridization, a second and more complex form of the grotesque than the simply excluded 'outside' or 'low' to a given grid, produces new combinations and strange instabilities in a given semiotic system. It therefore generates the possibility of shifting *the very terms of the system itself*, by erasing and interrogating the relationships which constitute it. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.:58 original emphasis)

Hybridization, in the social context, may be understood as the shifting of boundaries all the time, to embrace a larger number of people who share a similar

identity. It operates as the basis of economic development. As a form of the grotesque the have-nots, those who do not possess a particular material possession, for example a computer with a modem, are left feeling insecure in the late 1990's. Surveys are commissioned, for example by Motorola - a large communications technology company - which show that of those surveyed, most respondents who do not possess computer hardware or who do not have access to it, admit to feelings of being left behind. The simple advertising of these market research results - for example in news bulletins - reinforces the feelings of insecurity among the computer 'dispossessed' with the result that computer ownership is increased. As Bauman (1993) suggests, the production of insecurity has been the main growth industry of the twentieth century. We are always subject to hybridization, always subject to feelings of being cast as low 'Other', not least by the soap and saponides manufacturers and the personal care products industries.

Such strategies by the marketing specialists has been their chief method since the revolutionising of the British soap industry by Leverhulme as Plate 4 shows. These advertisements and marketing methods have the effect of making the consumer want to be what s/he needs to be a fully value(d)(added) member of society. The theme of many of these advertisements has moved beyond the "Worried about your wash?" approach of the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's to the technical portrayal of science engineering Nature to develop enzymes which lift stains (often too embarrassing to talk about) from fabric or to develop proteins for the enrichment of our hair. The vacuum cleaner war between the established brands of Hoover, Electrolux and Miele and the newcomer Dyson likewise has become a news item as the avoidance of dirt continues and is developed through technology. The selling point of these machines in the late 1990's is again premised on making the consumer feel vulnerable, in this case to the dust mites that are left behind by the weaker suction of bag-cleaners as opposed to the bagless Dyson product; the main



PUBLIC HEALTH.

THE SANITARY WASHING OF LINEN.

Dirt harbours Germs of Disease.

The source of Danger removed by Washing everything with

HUDSON'S EXTRACT OF SOAP.

Dirt cannot exist where HUDSON'S SOAP is used for all Domestic Washing, Cleaning and Scouring.

CLOTHES WHITE AS SNOW. SWEET AS ROSES. FRESH AS SEA BREEZES.

Fine Laces to Heavy Blankets. No retching by Bleaching Chemicals. No hard Rubbing! No Scrubbing! No Brushing! No Straining! The Dirt Slips away! saving Labour, saving Firing, saving Wear and Tear. HUDSON'S EXTRACT OF SOAP is a pure Dry Soap—Rapidity Soluble—Makes a Foaming Lather—Softens all Waters.



Anything Washed with HUDSON'S SOAP is thoroughly washed, therefore remains longer clean.

Hudson's Leaves NO Smell.

Sold in Quarter-Pound Packets in Dozens and Half-Dozens for Family Use.

Home, Sweet Home! The Suggestive, Healthiest Homes are those where

HUDSON'S EXTRACT OF SOAP is in Daily use.

Plate 4 An advertisement for Hudson's soap, printed in The Graphic, 1 August 1891

constituent of dust being the mites' excrement.

Of course the dynamic is not limited to physical being. In an academic context it may be the influence of the marginalized, say in the field of organisation studies; for example, those, who through their work in organisational symbolism, have challenged the orthodoxy of functionalist organisation theory, as identified by Burrell and Morgan (1979), in organisational analysis and who have established another legitimate approach to the study of organisation, organising and organisations. An example of the marginalised influencing and shaping the orthodoxy can be seen in the widespread endorsement of Morgan's (1986) Images of Organization which exposed the metaphors underlying much organisational analysis. Morgan, who together with Burrell may have been regarded as the black sheep of organisation theorizing, still publishes and lectures widely on the theme of metaphor in organisation and has had his work endorsed by one of the most easily identifiable of organisation analysts, Tom Peters. With the publication of textbooks advocating a symbolic interpretation of organisations and organisation, for example Sims, Fineman, Gabriel (1993), the cultural approach to the study of organisation and organisations has very much arrived. Rather than overthrowing the functional analysis of organisations, organisational culture has been incorporated by the dominant paradigm with the result that today the functionalist paradigm may be characterized by the advocacy of establishing corporate cultures. An outcome of this may be the further elevation of the 'high' human cultural at the expense of the 'low' human natural.

Authorship: Writing/Policing

The role of the author in the construction of social categories is also examined by Stallybrass and White. Outlining the emergence of the type of plays written and the function of plays, they discern an increasing objectivity on the part of the playwright. Also they see a greater disciplinary role on the part of the author and a greater subjectification of the audience. The emergence of the *professional* author, a number of whom are given by way of example - Dryden and Jonson to name but

two - required that a distance be kept from both royal and popular patronage. As a result of this separation from the theatrical marketplace

... Jonson simultaneously mapped out the division between the 'civilised' and the grotesque body, between the stunted quarto and the handsome folio, between the 'author' and the hack, between 'pure' literature and social hybridization. In the image of the fair, the author could rewrite the social economic relations which determined his own existence; in the fair he could stigmatise the voices which competed against his own and reveal just how dirty were the hands which sullied his pure wares. (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.77)

The space thus opened up gave rise to an objectivity on the part of the professional writer who began to characterise the normal and the abnormal, the high and low, the desirable and the undesirable. The author may thus be seen to be a prototypical agent of normalcy, who, in so far as he still inhabited the fair, "it was as aloof spectator or as spectacle and freak" (Stallybrass and White 1986, p.77).

This emerging bourgeois culture defined itself more clearly through a distinct discursive space which had the effect of welding itself into a relatively cohesive body. Together with the discursive space came the physical space, the emergence of the coffee house from which most of the 'low' features of the tavern were excluded, the growth of clubs, the appearance of journals and periodicals. From this space arose the onslaught of the 'civilizing process' upon the hitherto traditional spaces such as the theatre, the fair and the carnival.

This process continues today. For example in the United Kingdom the National Viewers' and Listeners' Council, the pressure group which lobbies on behalf of complaints made by offended respectable sensibilities regarding the content of broadcast material. The purpose of this body is to censor and to purify, to guard against a corrupting representation of humanity.

Gradually, there emerged over the decades and centuries (since Jonson's time) a refined and cosmopolitan public, one that was 'internally disciplined'. The bourgeoisie had arrived. It was their sensibilities which set the norms of behaviour in the new public spaces and which set about sanitizing mass-behaviour in more

traditional spaces. Theatres, for example, became places for quiet contemplation, not 'folly'. Again, this process is evident today. The last night of the 1995 Henry Wood Promenade Concerts gave rise to much media comment when it was announced that those who were to attend would be policed to ensure that they did not turn the occasion into a party. This light-hearted and somewhat jingoistic event now had rules regarding the definition of what was acceptable behaviour among concert-goers. The sensibilities of music-lovers determined the behaviour of the party-going promenaders. Besides, the BBC wanted not only to broadcast the concert, but also record it for future use. The last night of the 1996 series of Henry Wood promenade concerts, saw, for the first time the remote accommodation of several thousand concert-goers in the open air in Hyde Park. As well as being a money-spinning venture for its organisers, the Hyde Park venue accommodated, or could accommodate the low 'Other' among the capital's music lovers

This dynamic of shaping audiences' behaviour and expectations is an example of subjectification in action. Stallybrass and White explain it as follows

(W)hat is really at issue is the symbolic manipulation of the self-image and the body-image of the audience so that it defines itself against an internalized negative image of the populace.
(Stallybrass and White 1986, p. 87)

This again acts as a double inversion. If one considers the furore over the allocation of lottery funds to art institutions, for example The Royal Opera House at Covent Garden, the Globe Theatre and Sadler's Wells, one can see that the popular imagination conceives of these places as venues for 'toffs' - the popular imagination in these particular examples being fired by the journalism of the popular tabloid press.

The physical space occupied by the rising bourgeois culture extends to day to the virtual space of television. Television soap opera, especially the British variety, can be understood in the tradition of which Stallybrass and White write. It is often said that the popularity of this form of entertainment lies in audiences feeling in some way superior to the characters they are viewing. This was especially obvious in Coronation Street in the mid 1990's where a social hierarchy was clearly evident

running from the un- or semi-skilled Duckworths - Jack and Vera (who claimed to have blue blood) to the highest professional in the series, Ken Barlow, a teacher. Better paid professionals rarely appear in the series nowadays. None of the characters are figures the viewing audience would wish to be. Either the characters' lives are unenviable because of their various personal difficulties - Ken Barlow, for example, has been married twice and has fathered children by his two wives and another, a hairdresser - or because of the poverty of the characters lives: the Duckworths' lives were lived essentially in a slum with Jack's pigeons virtually living in their 'kitchen/diner' and their hopes and ambitions largely dependent on 'luck' be it horses or pigeons. They are the butt of the bourgeois scriptwriters jokes. The Duckworths are very definitely low 'Other'. As are the other characters, for example brassy big-bosomed Bet Lynch who has a heart of gold. Erstwhile landlady of the Rovers Return Inn whose disappointingly shattered '*vie sentimentale*' frequently surfaced - something which none want but many experience - but which did not stop her from dispensing heartfelt advice and comfort to those on the Street who needed it. What many of these characters have, which may be desirable, is a fairly licentious life, cocooned in a closely-knit environment. However the licentiousness comes with a price, and that is a price which most of us on this side of the screen do not wish to pay. Part of the process of viewing Coronation Street is the viewers' ability to laugh at the ridiculous in the characters lives while at the same time taking the line that it could never happen to them because they, the viewers, are superior to the characters or have become so through being made aware of (and privy to) the misfortunes in the lives of soap opera folk. Ironically, even without the sponsorship of soap manufacturers, Soap Opera may be quite correctly so-called. That they were originally sponsored by soap companies may not be seen to be as important as their cleansing function, removing the viewers from the messy social and domestic problems of the under- and lower-working classes and encouraging them to identify with the fun-poking bourgeois perspective of those who produce these programmes. To view a soap opera is to be part of the process of subjectification. Likewise to view the 'agony' programmes - for example Oprah, Esther, Vanessa, Rikki Lake and even Kilroy on the terrestrial channels in the United Kingdom. These compete with channels on

cable or satellite to deliver shocking portrayals of other people's lives into the viewing audiences homes. Their success, as instruments of subjectivity, lies with audience identification with the norm and with its being shocked by the pathological.

The social usefulness of soap opera was highlighted in a report in The Guardian newspaper on May 5th 1998 which reported a think-tank's suggestion that this form of entertainment could carry positive outcomes to family, personal and interpersonal crises, rather than dramatise the negative outcomes. The wider 'cleansing' potential of television drama may yet have a future hitherto unexplored.

Summary

Pursuing themes raised in the introduction and the theoretical overview, a case is put forward for understanding the process of organisation, after Douglas, in terms of what is clean and what is dirty. It is suggested that much organisation may be understood to be premised upon these categories. By looking at the work of Stallybrass and White, symbolic ordering in terms of distinguishing the clean from the dirty, the 'high' from the 'low', a dynamic of organising becomes evident, that is the establishment of norms or normative behaviour by one 'high' group which regulates the behaviour of a 'low' other. The effect of this normative function is noted in relation to subjectivity. It is also suggested that Leverhulme played, and continues to play, an important role in this dynamic of organisation.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

The quantity of Soap consumed by a nation would be no accurate measure whereby to estimate its wealth and civilization. Of two countries with an equal population, the wealthiest and most highly civilized will consume the greatest weight of soap. This consumption does not subserve sensual gratification, nor depend upon fashions, but upon the feeling of the beauty, comfort and welfare attendant upon cleanliness; and a regard to this feeling is coincident with wealth and civilization. (Lieberg 1844)

Civilisation is soap. (von Trietsche)

Indeed, we should not be surprised to see soap used as a yardstick of civilisation. (Freud 1963, p.55)

Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre, but they are more deadly in the long run. Mark Twain (1983, p.xi)

It is the future generation that presses into being by means of these exuberant feelings and supersensible soap bubbles of ours. (Schopenhauer 1965).

When Freud speculated that soap might be used as a yardstick of civilisation he was echoing a sentiment which, if not current, had at least been aired in the last century. At the beginning of this dissertation it was suggested that toilet practices, generally, are cultural and as such serve the function of masking our animality, in addition to the more commonly understood function of meeting our physical needs. In Freud's terms, as aspects of civilisation, toilet practices protect us from Nature. Roheim, a neo-Freudian, echoed this sentiment when he suggested that culture consists of defence systems against anxiety. To be human, in this sense, is to be pitched against Nature. Nature and culture are, to coin a phrase, poles apart.

In this dissertation it has been shown that Nature, an idealist-romantic

understanding of Nature, was that which was promoted most frequently by Leverhulme in setting out his philosophy. As a manufacturer involved in the saponides industry, and latterly in the personal care products industry, Leverhulme was, and in a sense still is, instrumental in maintaining this essentially anthropocentric understanding of Nature. Leverhulme's philosophies include a portrayal of Nature which can be found in a genre of writing and art which can be categorised as the 'Eden myth'; that is the promise of Paradise regained is held as reward for those joining him and his kind in their enterprise. Leverhulme's enterprise itself was founded on another (economic) philosophy, that of 'constructive imperialism' which held that the natural resources of the world, both at home and especially in the less developed countries, are there for the taking by those who need them and who know their value. Both of these philosophies are ordained by Christian teaching, or are at least justified by their proponents in the light of the understanding of Christianity. And, of course, the 'Eden myth' forms part of the story of Christianity.

Leverhulme, it is argued here, was espousing a message which was current before and during his lifetime. Frequently portrayed by his biographers as *his* philosophy, what is suggested in this dissertation is that Leverhulme was and is simply a conduit through whom the economically dominant knowledge passed for the sustenance of that economy. Leverhulme's philosophy may be taken to be a manifestation of what Foucault terms power/knowledge.

Earlier in this dissertation mention was made of a number of key players on today's world business stage, most notably Bill Gates of Microsoft and Rupert Murdoch, the media tycoon. The importance attached to them, as entrepreneurs, is founded in the organisational impact of their activities. Murdoch is an almighty figure in the media of print and television throughout the globe, and above it. Gates, the richest man in the United States, influences how we organise, understand and see through the software technologies his companies develop and market. That he faces anti-trust suits, as Leverhulme did before him, may be seen as testimony to his

importance. The success of these two entrepreneurs is premised upon the importance of their products to the economic needs of the times. This was also clearly the case with Leverhulme. The British economy, both at home and in the Empire, had experienced a massive upheaval as a result of the industrial revolution. New forms of social organisation emerged in the growth of towns and cities. People were thrown together as never before. Their physical viability had to be ensured for the economic viability of the state, and the Empire. They needed and were given soap. *'Du pain et du savon'* was, it is instructive to remember, the cry of the mob at the beginning of the French Revolution.

How we organise, how we see, and, in the cases of Murdoch and Gates, what we see is determined by the needs of the economy. Our knowledge is determined by the power of those who guide and shape the economy. The private donations made over the past decade to two of England's leading universities, Oxford and Cambridge, bears testimony to this with both Microsoft and Murdoch making substantial contributions, as has Unilever, not to mention the Leverhulme Trust.

As a contribution to knowledge in the field of organisation theory, this dissertation may appear to some to be rather unconventional. What can be learned about organisation and organisations from this piece of work?

At the outset it was said that at the heart of any philosophical exercise lies an understanding of Nature. What is Nature? At the close of this dissertation is there a clearer answer to this question? Perhaps not. But it is hoped that how Nature is understood across time is a little clearer. An understanding of Nature leads to an understanding of humanity. The idea of Nature is bound up with the idea of mankind. How mankind views itself is a reflection of how it understands Nature. It is an economic dynamic. And the economic dynamic of the past couple of centuries has been premised upon capitalism.

It is fair to say that capitalism does not require us to reflect on the idea of Nature in

our day-to-day lives. Organisation theory, so often seen as a body of knowledge which facilitates the further development of capitalism, seldom addresses the idea of Nature. An understanding of Nature is taken for granted. It is typically, and necessarily some might argue, anthropocentric. Further, it is probably true to say that an understanding of Nature by organisation theorists and others in the behavioural, and management, sciences has typically not been required by the organising dynamic of capitalism. So work such as the present dissertation has not been produced. However as the potential for economic disaster is seen to lie in the potential ecological disasters which may be the result of unfettered economic development, so capitalism, for its survival, seeks assurances that that upon which it is premised, that is life, human and non-human, is sustained and maintained. The need for capitalism to survive may explain the rise of ecology movements and the environmental sciences in the second half of the twentieth century.

Leverhulme was a capitalist. His soap-making enterprise was fundamentally a capitalist enterprise. Through his business and labour-relations philosophies he attempted to create what is today referred to as the 'third way' by attempting to forge links between capital, labour and management. Chapter Five shows that he did not achieve this. Perhaps he was ahead of his time. Today the idea of co-partnership, which Leverhulme espoused, is being considered as part of the 'third way' in Downing Street and in Washington. However to view Leverhulme in terms of Foucault's understanding of power, for example, a singularity through whom the relations of forces pass, sees him as a catalyst, albeit in the guise of an entrepreneur, who went some way to meeting the requirements of capitalism. He was subject to the prevailing 'forces' and, in turn, he led to the subjectification of others.

Also, to understand cultural practices as being part of the play of power, one can understand Nature and the natural world as Leverhulme, Cadbury and others thought and spoke of them, as being cultural artefacts. Thus a common-or-garden understanding of Nature is itself within the play of power. The power in this case

may be understood as the organisation dynamic of capitalism and its expression in the philosophies of Descartes and Bacon *inter alia* .

Among the cultural practices which emerged with capitalism was the development of urban sanitation in response to the threats posed by cholera and other diseases and ailments which typically develop where sanitation requirements are not met. In addition to public health, personal hygiene was also addressed, developed and marketed. These, essentially cultural, artefacts distinguish humanity from Nature. Yet they are also vital in the sense that to ignore hygiene, both public and private, is to render human life itself precarious. Thus to engage in toilet practices as they emerged in the recent past but particularly in the last one hundred and fifty years or so in this country, is to be subject to the organisational dynamic of industrial capitalism.

In Leverhulme both these forms of subjectivity were combined. So that in engaging in modern toilet practices and in so doing using one of his products, for example Sunlight soap, although there are many products available today which borrow metaphors from Nature as part of their marketing strategies, one engages in a vital activity and literally buys into a symbolic system which articulates a particular understanding of the non-human natural world. Thus one is subject in two senses; firstly to hygiene regimes necessary for the continued development of industrial capitalism and secondly one is subject to an essentially, and necessarily, anthropocentric understanding of Nature.

In the previous chapter Douglas's maxim that where there is dirt there is a system was noted. Taken together with Hall's maxim that cultural practices are never outside the play of power, it can be established that dirt avoidance tactics and hygiene practices are closely enmeshed in a system of power. Power and order combine in something as everyday as our toilet practices. It is not too fanciful to suggest that how we present ourselves hygienically is how the system of organisation wishes us to present ourselves. Reference was made in Chapter Three

to Bacon's suggestion that we may regain our prelapsarian state through the arts and sciences. In Chapter Three mention was made too of the 'Eden myth' in the arts in the Victorian period, that is the attempt to regain Paradise, in the imagination at least. In terms of the personal care industry and the soap and saponides industry, the message which surrounds most of the marketing of these industries in these terms. It is a search for purity. The state of impurity, of bestial animality in which humanity found itself on expulsion from Eden can be overcome by the consumption of these products and images. Paradise can be regained. In Leverhulme's case, and the religious garb in which he packaged his ideas, this message is very clear. It was the Creator's intention that society should adopt Leverhulme's path for the delivery of society from the problems which beset it (Leverhulme 1918).

That such thinking has endured for so long is in itself remarkable. It is more subtle in the late twentieth century but it is still to be found. What is less subtle is the idea of securing order, of being pure. The 'age of purification' which led to attempts to order the natural world has spilled over into the human world through health reform and the type of industry with which Leverhulme was associated. In addition, through the human sciences which were spawned in this period, for example sociology and psychology, order was sought in human affairs in the regulation of the state and the regulation of the individual. This search, however elusive, is continued today, as is the search for the perfect wash. Perhaps it is more correct to say that there is a common belief that order can be achieved, in the sense that a perfect wash can be achieved, so that social and economic order can be gained as easily as stain removal. However, social and economic circumstances change as do fabric technologies. So regardless of how the problems of order and regulation change, their remedy or management is guided by a sense of orderliness. The 'Eden myth' is alive and well although never thought of as such.

"Purity is the enemy of change", wrote Douglas in Purity and Danger (1984, p.162). Much effort in functional organisational analysis is given to the management of change in the hope that some ideal managerial and organisational

from will emerge. Likewise much of Leverhulme's effort was directed to creating a techno-pastoral dream. However unwelcome change is, following the 'Eden myth', it may be part of the price paid for the Fall. Again, as Douglas puts it, "Most of us indeed would feel safer if our experience could be hard-set and fixed in form" (1984, p.162). However she reminds us that

The final paradox of the search for purity is that it is an attempt to force experience into logical categories of non-contradiction. But experience is not amenable and those who make the attempt find themselves led into contradiction. (Douglas 1984, p.162)

In the wider field of organisation studies, a similar argument was made by Law (1994) in his book Organising Modernity.

To be sure, the vain and brutal search for pure order has been around for as long as human history. But this search has become sharpened, more systematic, and more methodical, as time has passed. (Law 1994, pp.6-7)

Specifically Law is talking about the search by modernity, during the 'age of purification'. What he asks the reader to accept is that the search for order is futile, as pools of order are illusory.

It seems to me that we have spawned a monster: the hope or the expectation that everything might be pure; the expectation that if everything were pure then it would be better than it actually is; and we have concealed the reality that what is better for some is almost certainly worse for others; that what is better, simpler, purer, for a few rests precariously and uncertainly upon the work and, very often, the pain and misery of others. (Law 1994, p.6)

Law advises the reader of this book that "one of the most important arguments of this book is that the social, all the social world, is complex and messy" (Law 1994, p.5). This is a lesson that Leverhulme found, to his cost, in his experiment at Port Sunlight and later in Harris and Lewis. It is a salutary lesson but one which is less than prominent in the outpourings of social commentators in the media and elsewhere. However, the messiness of the social world has found expression in fiction. Mention was made earlier, in Chapter One, of Kundera's novel The Unbearable Lightness of Being. Kundera, in this novel, explores the status of shit and, in so doing, returns to the idea of Paradise and questions the status of 'shit' there. He asks the reader to "(b)ear in mind: there was pleasure in Paradise, but no excitement" (Kundera 1985, p.246). Kundera in the following passage offers an

explanation of the problems which beset humanity after the Fall.

Erigena's argument holds the key to a theological justification (in other words, a theodicy) of shit. As long as man was allowed to remain in Paradise, either (like Valentinus' Jesus) he did not defecate at all, or (as would seem more likely) he did not look upon shit as something repellent. Not until after God expelled man from Paradise did He make him feel disgust. Man began to hide what shamed him, and by the time he removed the veil, he was blinded by a great light. Thus, immediately after his introduction to disgust, he was introduced to excitement. Without shit (in both literal and figurative sense of the word), there would be no sexual love as we know it, accompanied by pounding heart and blinded senses. (Kundera 1985, pp.246-247)

When Chadwick fell out of favour with the political authorities his departure, as was noted earlier in Chapter Four, was accompanied by a Times leader comment which contained the words "we prefer to take our chance with cholera and the rest rather than be bullied into health" (Cartwright 1977, p.107). Likewise Leverhulme was told by the secretary of the Bolton Branch of the Engineer's Union, as was noted in Chapter Five, that "No man of an independent turn of mind can breathe for long in the atmosphere of Port Sunlight" (Toynbee 1971, p.113). Both of these sentiments can be viewed in the light of Kundera's suggestion that there was no excitement in Paradise. Neither Leverhulme's workforce nor the readership which The Times leader represented wished to lose the excitement that life outside Paradise assured. In addition Leverhulme was surprised that the crofters on Harris and Lewis did not welcome his plans for their betterment.

Light and Darkness

Leverhulme was advised against embarking on his final trip to West Africa, which was likened by one of his biographers as a trip to the heart of darkness. Leverhulme never recovered from an illness he developed during this final voyage. He died within three months of his return to England, on May 11th 1925. To suggest that Leverhulme's trip to West Africa was a journey to the heart of darkness or that his death was also journey to the heart of darkness is to miss the point. Leverhulme, the provider of Sunlight, began his trip to the heart of darkness in 1888 when he established Port Sunlight. Heart of Darkness is the title of a short

novel by Joseph Conrad written in 1899. It is the story of the dissolution of a man, Kurtz, an ivory trader, and the story of the dissolution of the system of shameless exploitation imposed on Africa. This system was not unknown to Leverhulme as was noted earlier, in Chapter Five. Indeed he received an award from Queen Victoria's 'Uncle Leopold' for his work in The Congo..

Leverhulme, from the published accounts of his life and his published speeches, is strikingly similar to Kurtz the ivory trader, who is described by his colleagues as "an emissary of pity, and science, and progress, and the devil knows what else" (Conrad 1960, p.29). Kurtz's mission was to develop "higher intelligence, wide sympathies and a singleness of purpose" as a result of the cause intrusted to him by Europe. As Port Sunlight was understood, and still is in some circles, to be the product of an enlightened industrialist, Kurtz saw that each ivory station on the Congo River "should be like a beacon on the road towards better things, a centre for trade of course, but also for humanising, improving, instructing" (Conrad 1960, p.38). Leverhulme, as was noted in Chapter Five, was welcomed to The Congo because of the respect which would accompany him and his enterprise. He was said to be furious with his plantation managers on learning that the housing for the plantation workers at Leverage was based on traditional 'coolie-style' sheds. Like Kurtz in Conrad's novel, Leverhulme believed in 'constructive imperialism'. However, Kurtz had become an embarrassment to his company and it was the task of the narrator of the novel, Marlow, to rein him in. Kurtz had begun to believe his own rhetoric which, Marlow informs the reader,

began with the argument that we whites, from the point of view of development we have arrived at, 'must necessarily appear to them (savages) in the nature of supernatural beings - we approach them with the might as of a deity; and so on, and so on. 'By the simple exercise of our will we can exert a power for good practically unbounded.' (Conrad 1960, p.60)

Kurtz became a god-like figure to the 'savages' dispensing justice by killing the brutes among them. It was for this that he was sanctioned by his trading company, despite being one of its best agents. The 'Heart of Darkness' of the title can be read as the physical location of the novel, at the heart of the 'dark continent', or it can be

read as what lies at the heart of humanity and enlightened human enterprise.

In England, upstream on the River Mersey and opposite the city of Liverpool, lies Port Sunlight, the product of an enlightened philanthropic philosophy, where Leverhulme was faced with difficulties he did not expect to find, as may be witnessed by the accounts given by Toynbee in Chapter Five. Port Sunlight is a show-piece industrial village in the annals of English town planning. Its name exudes brightness, freshness, purity and order. But at its heart lay the impenetrable darkness of human nature which, after Kundera, prefers the excitement attendant on life outside Paradise. It was no Port Moonshine, as Northcliffe's papers suggested. But there may have been more of the 'Nightgloom' which Gombrich hinted at in his Leverhulme Memorial Lecture.

As an entrepreneur, as a personification of power - a singularity through whom the relations of forces pass, Leverhulme achieved all that was necessary for him to achieve. He was subject and subjected. He was a heroic figure who did all he could do to herald the urban industrial economy. He shared the determination of Shaw's character Andrew Undershaft, in the play Major Barbara, "to go to any length to raise himself from the foul trough of poverty, and to save others from it" (Ward 1958, p.156). Like Undershaft, Leverhulme had little time for the charity dispensed by religious bodies, especially the Church of Rome and the Anglican Church which, he held, were corrupt and self-serving. Although Undershaft was an arms manufacturer he believed, as Leverhulme did, that it was through industry and the wealth generated there from, that society as a whole would benefit. Thus the enemy, poverty, would be defeated, "an evil that comes from human injustice, not from supernatural injustice" (Ward 1958, p.152).

Leverhulme, it was noted in Chapter Five, wanted to provide everything for his employees. He succeeded in providing employment, soap, housing for some (nine hundred houses were completed at Port Sunlight) and propagated an awareness and an understanding of Nature. His success as an entrepreneur was not simply his

organisational skill as an industrial capitalist but also lay in his securing the subjectivity of the millions of workers employed by Lever Brothers and, latterly, Unilever in the one hundred plus years of their existence in addition to the consumers of his products and of the philosophies he espoused. But, as has been said earlier he too was subject to philosophies, economic requirements and legislation. Leverhulme shaped the management of the household (which he continues to do) through providing the means whereby personal and domestic hygiene are achieved, ironically combining both senses of the word manager to which Mant (1977) alerts us. He was the perfect conduit through whom the economic requirements of the day were met. However, in fostering a particular understanding of Nature, which included humanity's domination and exploitation of the natural world, the orderliness and organisation which Leverhulme achieved masked a disorderliness in human nature which successive generations continue to attempt to unmask.

Postscript

This dissertation shows that entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship are phenomena which require a much broader approach if their relevance and importance is to be understood. Rather than being viewed as autonomous agents of production, entrepreneurs, viewed in a Foucauldian light, may be better understood as heralds of the requirements of the economy. They embody values and beliefs and a required elan not to satisfy their wants but rather to provide the necessities for a vital economy.

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Appendix One: Leverhulme Chronology

William Hesketh Lever, First Viscount Leverhulme of the Western Isles
19th September 1851 - 7th May 1925

1851: 19th September, William Hesketh Lever born at 16 Wood Street, Bolton, the elder son of James Lever, grocer, and Mrs Lever, who had a family of eight daughters and two sons.

- Educated at private schools and at the Church Institute, Bolton, leaving at sixteen years of age in 1867.

1867: Entered his father's wholesale grocery business, Bolton.

1870: At the age of nineteen he became a commercial traveller for his father's business, Lever and Co.

1872: taken into partnership in his father's business at a salary of £800 per annum.

1874: married Elizabeth Hulme. Lever and Company become established in Wigan as well as in Bolton and William Lever was solely responsible for the management of the new branch.

1884: William Lever decided to specialise in the selling of soap under his own distinctive trademarks, and Sunlight soap was made by various manufacturers.

- Paid his first visit to the United States of America, and went there again in late 1888.

1886: Started manufacture of Sunlight Soap at a soap works in Warrington bought the previous year with his brother.

1888: March 3rd, Port Sunlight inaugurated. The ceremony of cutting the first sod was performed by Mrs Lever.

- March 25th, a son, William born.
- Removed to Thornton Manor, Thornton Hough.
- Sydney Office of opened.
- Montreal and Brussels offices opened.

1889: June 29th, First boiling of soap at Port Sunlight.

1890: Toronto office opened.

1892, 1894, 1895: Stood as Liberal parliamentary candidate in Birkenhead. The Conservative candidate was returned on each occasion but with very small majorities in 1894 and 1895. Later Lever became Chairman of the Liberal Association for the Wirral division of Cheshire.

1892: September to March 1893 - undertook an around the world voyage.

1894: April 9th, first sale of Lifebouy Soap.

- June 21st, Lever Brothers incorporated as a limited liability company with a capital of £1.5 million.
- Oil mill at Vicksburg, USA, opened November 13th.

1895: April 24th, New York office opened.

- July 2nd, opening of docks at Port Sunlight

- December 27th, First sod cut at Balmain works, New South Wales.

1897: April, erection of Oil and Cake Mill at Port Sunlight.

- May 26th, death of his brother and partner, James Darcy Lever.
- July 31st, new works begun at Olten, Switzerland.
- October 12th, toilet soap first manufactured at Port Sunlight.

1898: January 6th, works acquired and operated at Boston, Mass.

- March 21st, first sale of toilet soap.
- October 12th, new soap works opened at Olten Switzerland.

1899: November 14th, suggestion bureau, Works Organization Councils and Committees formed.

1900: January, first sale of Lux.

- March 6th, first manufacture at Mannheim, Germany.
- October 14th, Sydney works opened.
- October 19th, Toronto works opened.
- October 27th, dry soapery opened at Port Sunlight.
- New Dublin office opened.

1902: June 4th, William Hesketh Lever Lodge F.M. consecrated.

- November 10th, made a Freeman of the town of Bolton.
- Opening of Hall i' the' Wood Museum near Bolton.
- Art Exhibition at Hulme Hall, Port Sunlight to celebrate the Coronation.

1904-1905: Leverhulme buys first James Orrock collection of paintings, porcelain and furniture.

1905: Leverhulme buys Tweedmouth collection of Wedgwood pottery.

1906: February 26th, elected M.P. for Wirral.

1907: Successful libel actions against the Daily Mail and Allied newspapers and others. The total damages awarded amounted to £91,000

1910: Gift to the University of Liverpool, amounting in value to over £100,000 of which £91,000 represented the damages awarded in the newspaper libel actions of 1907.

1910-1911: Leverhulme buys second James Orrock collection.

1911: Granted a concession by the Belgian Government for the establishment of a palm oil industry in the Belgian Congo.

- June 20th, William Hesketh Lever made a Baronet.

1912: Purchase of a twenty-eight year lease of Stafford House (renamed Lancaster House) from the Duke of Sutherland, and offered the following year to the nation, an offer accepted by Prime Minister Asquith on behalf of the Government.

1912-1913: Leverhulme buys third James Orrock collection.

1913: July 24th, death of his wife, Lady Lever.

- Leverhulme buys Richard Bennett Collection of Oriental Porcelain and major Victorian pictures from the McCulloch Collection.

1914: March 25th, visit to Port Sunlight by King George V and Queen Mary to lay the foundation stone of the Lady Lever Art Gallery.

1915: July 1st, birth of grandson Philip William Bryce Lever - the present Viscount Leverhulme.

1917: April 15th, Staff training college at Port Sunlight opened.

1917: June 4th, Sir William Hesketh Lever made Baron Leverhulme of Bolton-Le-Moors.

- Buys antique sculpture from Thomas Hopes collection at Deepdene Sales.

1917-18: Served as High Sheriff of his native county, Lancashire.

1917-19: Purchase of the island of Harris and Lewis in the Western Isles.

1919: served as Mayor of Bolton

1922: November 11th, Baron Leverhulme created Viscount Leverhulme of The Western Isles.

- December 16th, Princess Beatrice opens the Lady Lever Art Gallery.

1923-24: Fifth and last journey around the world.

1924: Presented with the Messel Memorial Medal (awarded biennially to eminent men distinguished either in chemical science or in the chemical industry) at the annual meeting of the Society of Chemical Industries. At this meeting he delivered a lecture on "Science, Religion and Workshop".

- March 10th, The West African Soap Co., Apapa, West Africa, started manufacture.
- April 7th, Fratelli Lever, Milan, started manufacture.
- July 12th, factory acquired in Tasmania.
- August 12th, Sunlight soap and Rinso first made in Norway.
- August 20th, Danish factory at Glostrup opened.
- September 29, Lux first made in Austria.

1925: January, Shanghai works began soap making.

- March 15th, returned from a six months visit to West Africa.

May, 7th, died at his residence, The Hill, Hampstead, in his seventy-fourth year.

1925-1926: Sales of those parts of Lever's collections not given by him to the Lady Lever Art Gallery. Other properties disposed of including The Bungalow and Rivington Hall.

Appendix Two

On Soap and Saponides

In the soap and detergents industry there are two major players : the Cincinnati, Ohio, based Proctor and Gamble and Lever Brothers, United Kingdom based half of Unilever. Both were established in the last century, Proctor and Gamble in 1837 and Lever Brothers in 1884. Both owe their fame to the introduction of packaged bars of household soap. For Proctor and Gamble this was Ivory Soap introduced in 1878. Lever Brothers launched their Sunlight Soap in 1884. Both were backed by the first instances of major marketing and advertisement efforts. The founders' belief in long-term planning and dedication to serving the customer have endured and still guide Proctor and Gamble (Freeman 1987). Lever Brothers operational philosophy is characterised by its willingness to listen to customers (it started a free-phone advice line in 1993), its careful exploration of product options and a commitment to launching human-oriented rather than technological products. Lever Brothers is said to have a commitment to the *subjective psychological* appeal of its brands (Redmond 1988)

What does soap do? Given the taken for granted use of soap this is not a question which we commonly ask. Yet soap has not always been a necessity. Indeed it was once a luxury, out of reach of the hoi-polloi. It is not a necessity in the sense that food is a necessity - we could, and many do, live without soap. Why is it that something which was generally unavailable and prohibitively expensive for the majority of the population one hundred and fifty years ago is now considered a "consumer basic", in the marketeers jargon? For the marketeers one thing that soap must do is sell!

A review of literature on soap over the past ten years leaves one with little doubt that the major concern of those who write on the subject is how to sell it. Other areas reported on include market trends, technological developments in the industry, and competition between the two major players in saponide manufacture - Lever

Brothers and Proctor and Gamble. There appears to be little academic interest in the subject of soap. Almost exclusively the publications which publish on soap are those published by professional bodies, trade papers and management and marketing publications. The content of these articles is largely practical reporting. They don't really come up with any insights or new understandings on the role of soap in advanced industrial society. Perhaps like many a topic of applied academic interest, the articles are of little interest other than to the professionals to whom they are addressed. The idea that soap may have a value other than a use value or an exchange value, for example a symbolic value, is not one that is explored. Yet there is a sub-text to some of these articles on the marketing of soap and saponides which suggests that rather than *needing* a cleaning agent consumers are *sold* it. They are persuaded to buy the product on the basis of the claims made for it in advertising and on the packaging which surrounds the product.

What is of particular interest in surveying the journal literature on soap in relation to this thesis is the situation of soap in the wider social fabric. What is meant here is that a bar of soap, a box of detergent, a bottle of washing-up liquid isn't simply produced in a vacuum. There is, for example, an enormous amount of expertise surrounding the development of a product, the manufacture, the marketing, and the selling of such "consumer basics". Below are listed categories into which publications on soap fall:

- Soap and Culture
- Soap and Environment
- Soap and Economy
- Soap and Legislation
- Soap and Technology
- Soap and Cultural Differences
- Soap and Fragmentation
- Soap Brand Names

It is perhaps difficult for the consumer of a bar of soap, a cleansing bar, shower-gel or whatever to think of that product other than in terms of its function - that is in

the removal of dirt, animal oils and the like from skin, clothes, household fabrics or whatever. Yet when one considers the above list of topic areas related to the soap and saponide industry, some of which are elaborated on below by way of explication, one becomes aware that something so commonplace as a bar of soap embodies a myriad of meanings. The purpose of what follows is to make the reader aware of these meanings.

Soap and Culture

In the articles reviewed here, there is probably a greater tendency to refer to soap opera than there is to the soap as a product. Soap takes second place to that phenomenon which the soap manufacturers spawned, the soap opera. Soap operas date from the 1930's and their introduction marked an important stage in the evolution of a mass consumer society in the United States. Day-time radio serials were programmed to appeal to American housewives who were the likely purchasers of most household products. It was usual for storylines to be adjusted to meet the selling needs of sponsors. Soap-opera characters were frequently used as effective product spokespersons (Lavin 1995). Proctor and Gamble's first soap-opera was *Oxydol's Own Ma Perkins* broadcast in 1933, publicising the benefits of their first soap- powder Oxydol (Mintel 1995). In the early 1950's Proctor and Gamble created a niche in made-for-television soap operas. Proctor and Gamble became the biggest daytime programme supplier and advertiser in daytime television and commanded cost efficiencies of as much as 75% over its competitors (Walley 1987).

More recently, as Hoggan (1990) reports, Unilever launched a pan-European soap called "Riviera" in an attempt to maximise the companies leverage across European markets, providing favourable corporate publicity and cheaper advertising targeted at the up-market woman "Riviera" was designed to attract. This was Europe's first sponsored 'soap'. Dignam (1995) informs us that Unilever announced it was getting into the programme-making business, setting up a dedicated unit to look at

opportunities to produce programmes - dubbed Unilever Street - for the U.K. market.

So successful have the marketers been that for western populations shopping is now identified as a leisure activity. Families and others have outings to supermarkets, garden-centres, D.I.Y stores on weekends and public holidays. This has become particularly noticeable in the U.K. in recent years with the relaxation of restraints on "Sunday opening". Not so in Germany. So ingrained is consumerism upon the poor Germans' psyche that, being unable to shop after two o'clock on Saturday afternoon until Monday morning, they are offered a new soap-opera called "Open on Sunday" set in a fictitious mall in Hamburg called Neumarkt Center. The programme indulges a shopper's fantasy by being open on a Sunday (Mussey 1995). The debt owed to soap-opera sponsors even extends to journalism, according to Van Warner (1995). He argues that the sound-bite, soap-opera mentality audiences have either evolved or have been conditioned into accepting accounts for the predominance of tabloid, supermarket journalism which was based on entertainment and which has come to replace serious journalism that sought to inform and analyse.

Soap-operas, then, may be understood as one way which the soap manufacturers occupy the minds of consumers. From the 1960's until the early nineties soap-operas were largely production vehicles which commercial television broadcast to attract the advertising millions of the advertisers, in the United Kingdom Unilever and Proctor and Gamble are the largest television advertisers in terms of millions spent. New broadcasting technology, for example satellite and digital broadcasting may lead to the reintroduction of the bespoke soap-opera, such as Unilever Street, as the number of channels expected to be on air will allow precision targeting of audiences.

Soap and The Environment

In the marketing of his early products, Leverhulme was at pains to stress the purity

of his product, Sunlight soap. It was above suspicion regarding its content. Then as now, the consumer was prey to those who wished to make a quick killing in the market place and soap, like foodstuffs, were often padded out with impurities. That Sunlight was pure, in the sense that it contained no fillers, and that the brand name was associated with freshness and cleanliness, together with a massive advertising campaign, lead to it being the market leader in household soaps. However, then as now, the problem of household waste was a cause for concern. Roach (1991) gives the following account of the need for changes. She writes:

As the world becomes more aware of the need to protect the environment, **responsible** manufacturers in the drug and cosmetic industry must focus their attention on products that are safe for the consumer and in their lasting effect on the environment... Accelerating developments are waste disposal problems and concern over depletion of natural resources. ... Lever Brothers (has) positioned (its) products for the green movement. The challenge is to educate and supply underdeveloped nations with environmentally safe technology and to persuade major industrial countries to cooperate in finding solutions to practices that threaten future generations. (Roach 1991, emphasis added)

This may come as a surprise to the politically sensitive reader, for is it not almost a rule of thumb that transnational corporations extract value from the technology of the advanced markets by hawking obsolete production lines to the Third World to manufacture obsolete products in sometimes dangerous ways? What Roach is really hawking in this article is the concern that companies such as Lever Brothers have for their own clean image.

Latterly the greenness of detergents and soaps have been employed to market products. One of the principle developments in the 1980's was the removal of phosphates from detergents and their replacement by other technologies. Proctor and Gamble stole the lead on Lever Brothers with the introduction of Ariel Ultra in 1989. One of the remarkable features of this launch was that it wasn't the consumer demand which lead to the introduction of Ariel Ultra; it was Proctor and Gamble's wish to extend further into Europe. Thus to create the market for the product, Proctor and Gamble had to "educate" the public about the environmental benefit associated with their product. Just six months after its launch, public awareness of the problems linked to phosphates and bleaches was far higher than it was before

the launch. Thus, according to Levy (1989), Proctor and Gamble managed to keep its trade peers and retail customers happy while stealing a market lead.

Lever Brothers have employed other tactics. For example in United States in autumn 1995 in a cross-category promotion that links several of its brands with national parks and in particular the National Park Foundation, a free 1996 national parks calendar was sent to consumers who sent in four proofs-of-purchase from any four brands (Weisz 1995). Despite their willingness to maintain their market share and to increase it wherever possible, companies in the United States seeking to exploit growing environmental concerns through so-called “green marketing” are under the scrutiny of federal regulators and the states who fear that consumers may once again be deceived. Landler (1991) reported that one group of companies petitioned the Federal Trade Commission to adopt its guidelines detailing when companies can use terms such as “recyclable” and “earth-friendly”. Some companies, such as Lever Brothers, are cautious about making even legitimate claims for fear of prompting federal or state investigations, which may attract adverse publicity and result in a fall of their market share. Mud sticks!

Attempting an interactive approach to attract consumers, Lever Brothers in 1990 announced that it would use ten million pounds of recycled plastic annually in packaging liquid laundry products. The company planned to ask consumers to help by recycling plastic bottles. In an interview with Advertising Age, David Webb, president and chief executive, said that in Lever’s overall strategy, the environment is probably the top priority piece of Lever’s activity and they are geared to play a part. Webb suggested that environmental issues are an area where the responsibility is very much on the market leaders, who have means to make changes that have impact. Consumers should be free to choose a product or a container because it does the job they want and because they like the way it is presented, not because it is environmentally friendly. Webb thinks federal authorities are being sensibly cautious about government regulations and hopes that self-regulation by responsible industry will set the pattern (Freeman 1990). Proctor

and Gamble also began to use recycled plastic in some of its bottles, 25% of the make up of bottles of four of its lines are now made from recycled high-density polyethylene plastic derived from milk, soda and water bottles. However the strategies adopted by both producers differed. Lever Brothers conducted an advertising campaign to inform the public, whereas Proctor and Gamble labelled this information onto the bottles. Rather acerbically, The Economist in 1993 made the following comment:

From environmentalism's origins as a force in marketing, the companies that make detergents have had to cope with green minded consumers. No other industry has such a long history of coming up with environmentally-friendly selling points that are profit-friendly as well.

Despite the hype, however, independent market researchers suggest that "(there) is, in any case, little evidence to suggest that the consumer (is) quite as concerned as the green lobby would like to believe (Mintel 1995, p.5).

Soap and Fragmentation

By fragmentation is meant that through technological development which is lead by the producers need to maintain overall market share, ideally increase it, to extract greater surplus profit to keep the shareholders happy, new products are researched and developed. Whereas once the consumer was offered a fairly stark choice of one or perhaps two brands of general purpose soap, today the choice may well be seen as limitless not just in the type of soap one may buy but in that various other forms of cleansing agent have appeared which compete with soap in its function. In the toilet soap sector, a market worth an estimated two billion dollars in the United States alone, two major developments have taken place in the last few years: toilet bars have been developed which are "soap" (phosphate) free. The idea behind the marketing of these products is that they are kinder to the skin and to the environment. Likewise the toilet bar, faces competition from the body -wash - a fast-growing sector worth two-hundred and seventy-six million dollars in the United States, a liquid soap mainly for use in the shower which also have the merits of being kinder to the skin and to the environment. How kind we will only know when the next generation of products tells us of the dangers of this generation.

These products themselves are under further threat from developments elsewhere such as the scrubs, the body scrub and the facial scrub - pate like substances with a natural abrasive, such as shredded seaweed or pieces of walnut. And these are further fragmented into those for male consumers and female consumers, and further still to meet the alleged requirements of different skin types black, white, Chinese etc. Gone are the days when the consumer put her simple trust in a bar of Lifebouy, Palmolive or Ivory.

So this process of fragmentation, of breaking down and researching the functions of soap has led to a whole new array of products which challenge the monolithic status of soap. But the process continues by fragmenting the body into zones which themselves have become foci of attention for the research and development people and the marketeers. Thus, as mentioned above the differentiation between body and face. The body is the site of all sorts of horrors, offensive to "civilised" sensibilities. Not least is what used to be termed in television advertisements B.O. or body odour now frequently termed "malodour". Thus products have been developed to colonize these sites, to mask the body odour, to retard its development and to hide the accompanying dampness. Again these products are segmented into the male and the female market, the female market having the additional category of feminine hygiene for which dedicated deodorants, such as Femfresh, have been produced.

Not only is there the attempt to mask dampness there are products specifically designed to add moisture to the precious packaging material which is skin. Sunscreens have been developed to protect the skin from the damage which too much exposure to sunlight may cause. This has become a selling point in the past decade, a problem exacerbated by the depletion of the ozone layer, partially caused, we are assured by the CFC propellants used in some of the products mentioned above. Thus the problems caused by obsolete versions of certain products themselves become selling points for the new generation of product.

The male market seems to be a particularly difficult one to develop. For example, The Body Shop has recently dropped its "Mostly Men" range, advising the consumer that men's hygiene needs are met within the companies other lines. This should not come as great surprise, bearing in mind that most advertising for consumer basics is aimed at women. Figures released by Lever Brothers last year suggest that in family households in the United Kingdom the washing of clothes is an activity carried out in the main by women. Again this may come as no surprise. The extent to which it is "women's work" may do so however - the statistics are that in less than one per cent of family households does the male partner carry out this chore. This is reinforced by the targeting of detergent advertisements to the not-so-bright housewife. The downside of this stereotyping maybe the general ignorance that men have of matters to do with personal and domestic hygiene, this in turn leading them to be uninterested in the products which are produced for the male market. It was estimated in 1991 that only 18% of the fine fragrances market of three-and-a-half billion dollars in the United States was constituted by men's products, a market in which it is notoriously difficult to sustain consumer interest in a particular brand for more than six months according to Drug and Cosmetic Industry. However it did report that there were signs of a male orientation of products such as antiperspirants, deodorants and 'sports' versions of sunscreens and moisturisers.

The demographic time-bomb, that is the increasing middle-aged and elderly population, too is giving rise to the development of skin-care products. For example Neutrogena Corporation has developed a liver-spot cream and moisturisers for elbows and eyes (Carson 1986).

Soap and Technology

The technological developments which take place in the soap and saponide industry do not occur in a vacuum. They may be the result of developments elsewhere in the global or national economy, for example the impact of the oil "crises" in the 1970's and 1980's which saw hikes in the cost of raw materials. Much as one may be

perplexed by the array of, say, detergents that are available on a supermarket shelf, or in a supermarket aisle, they owe their existence to the increasing diversification in the type of fabrics available, in the development of washing technology, in national preferences for a product, in environmental legislation. Other crucial factors in the development of detergents are the profit margins desired by the manufacturers, the cost of supermarket shelf-space, the handling qualities of the detergent in manufacture. Often when the consumer feels she is “caring for the environment” in buying a particular product, she is unwittingly falling prey to a hidden agenda of the manufacturer in its attempt to cut marketing and production overheads. For example both Unilever and Proctor and Gamble introduced two new powder products in 1994, Persil Power and Ariel Future. Both products were developed to improve performance while cutting energy consumption (a better wash at a lower temperature) and to achieve higher densities in powder products so that more detergent takes up the same amount of space on supermarket shelves (Milmo 1995).

“Sociological developments”, Cannon et al. (1987) tell us, account for the greatest change in the soap and detergent industry since synthetic surface-active agents began to replace soap in the aftermath of the Second World War. In other words convenience has become an important selling-point. Just as in the case of body-washes where the tendency is for the product to wash and moisturise in one, as also in two-in-one hair shampoos, so also in detergents where bleach, fabric softener and enzymes are added to the detergent to give what is sold as a multifunctional product.

Washing and Irony

In consulting this literature on soap one sees many ironies. Two in particular come to mind: one is the dysfunction of washing, or personal hygiene. In the opening sentence to this section on soap the question was asked, “What does soap do?”. Soap has as its principle role the removal of dirt, of matter out of place, as Douglas would have it. Hence its popular appeal in this country from the middle of the last century when the growth of industrial urban centres of population was particularly

marked as was industrial pollution, pollution of the environment and of bodies. But it also removes oils which occur naturally in the human body, oils which are necessary for the effective performance of the skin - the tissue which envelopes our bodies. The care and attention that has been given to personal hygiene over the recent past, for example the increased frequency with which people bathe, and particularly shower, has led to the identification of the damage this does to the skin. So, like arsonists with fire engines, the personal care products manufacturers supply the market with the antidote, the *moisturising* shower gel, the *moisturising* soap bar, the *moisturising* cleansing bar. Implicit in the messages that the consumers are being sent is one which begs the question - where do humans stand in the great chain of being. Are we a part of the natural world or are we apart from it? Recent developments in the soap industry would seem to secure our place in the natural world.

The other irony in the saponide industry is the confusion which the proliferation of brands has led to, especially in the laundry detergent market. In this sector, as in the personal wash sector, there is some confusion as to what the exact benefits of a product are. Just as toilet soap in aiding the removal of dirt, removes dermaprotectors, so workings of laundry detergents are not widely understood. It would be fair to say that consumers buy a detergent to aid in the laundering of their clothes and other household linens. How this is accomplished depends on where the consumer lives. Thus there are two main methods to enhance the marketability of laundry detergents - add enzymes to improve cleaning power or add more perfume to make clothes smell cleaner (Slutsker 1988). Most detergents produced in Japan and Europe have enzymes (proteins that remove stains by chemically breaking the bonds they form with fabrics) versus only about 50% in the United States. So in the United States if clothing *smells* good it is perceived to be clean. In Europe and Japan the consumer seems to prefer a technology which is said to remove dirt. In both arenas laundry detergents contain bleach, those that are dedicated for white material and those made specifically for colour. They also contain agents which make the fabric look brighter, light refractors. Thus dirt

which is not removed by the cleansing technology is prone to be disguised by bleach or by refractors - in others words not removed at all but hidden. This information is, of course, itself hidden from the consumer.

There is evidence to suggest that the consumer is bewildered by technological development in the detergent sector. Mintel (1995, pp. 3 & 35) reported that 60% of consumers confess to confusion with such a wide range of products to choose from. Further when in doubt, consumers are likely to exhibit brand loyalty. Mintel goes further than this. On the question of consumer confusion they write:

These findings imply that there is a strong likelihood that experimentation with new (laundry detergent) products is *not normal behaviour* ... (Mintel 1995, p.34).

The penny seems to have dropped with Proctor and Gamble. Atkinson (1996) reports that they have decided to embark on “the great soap simplification” whereby the number of products they market is reduced.