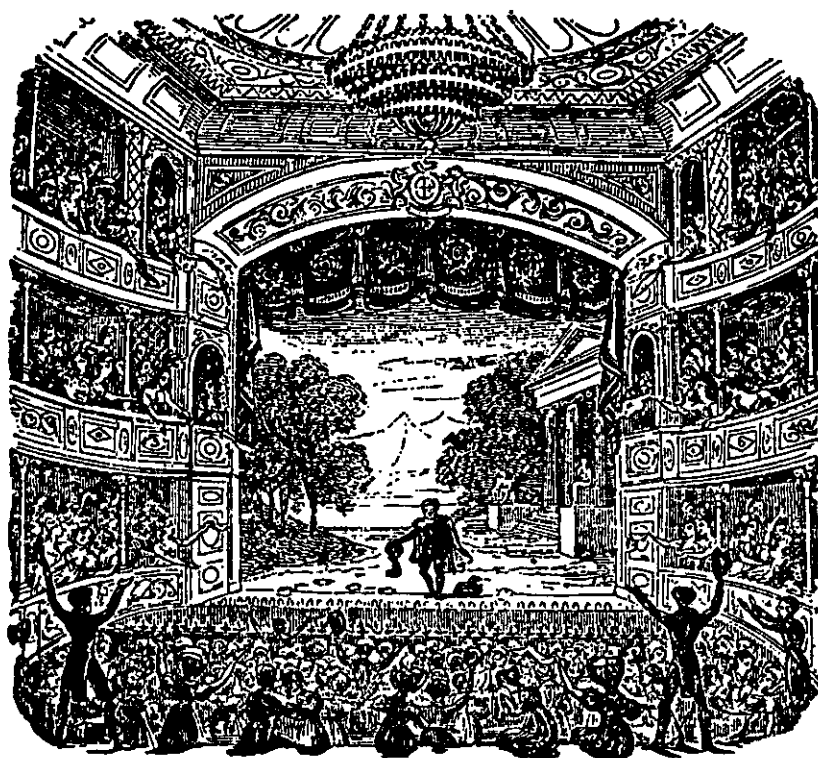


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HELEN TAYLOR BECOMES MISS TREVOR, ACTRESS

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Claire Morris Stern (d. 2016) always maintained a passion for learning, for advocacy for women's issues and for the environment. Unable to go to college after finishing high school at 16, she earned her Bachelors in Women's Studies from New York University when she was 65 and her Masters when she was 75.

As part of her Master's programme, she wrote her thesis on John Stuart Mill and became fascinated by the world of his step-daughter, Helen Taylor, whose own life involved feminist activism of various kinds. Claire travelled to England to visit the Taylor-Mill archives at the London School of Economics, spent time at the Folger Shakespeare Library where she discovered Helen Taylor's early diaries and joined a group of women biographers of women in New York City. She found great joy and sustenance in this adventure in scholarship. "Helen keeps me going", she used to say. Claire died on 3 May 2016 at the age of 94.

Helen Taylor was born in Shoreditch, London on 27 July 1831, the third child and only daughter of Harriet and John Taylor, a wholesale druggist. Her mother was a member of William Fox's Unitarian political and social reforming circle, where she had met and fallen in love with the economic philosopher John Stuart Mill in 1830. Mill and Harriet Taylor shared an interest in feminism and reform politics and Harriet left her husband for Mill, though the relationship remained discreet. John Taylor sanctioned an arrangement where Helen and her mother lived alone in Walton, Surrey, with Mill a regular visitor. Harriet and Mill withdrew socially and thus, to avoid the constant interest of acquaintances in their living arrangements, often journeyed in Europe. Relations with Helen's biological father remained good

and Helen's adolescent diary records happy visits from her father and paternal grandmother.² When John Taylor was dying, in 1849, Helen and her mother nursed him and Harriet's letters to Mill during this time show genuine affection for her husband.³ In 1851, two years after her husband's death, and twenty years after first meeting, Harriet and Mill married.

This article will examine Helen Taylor's life as a novice actress between 1856 and 1858 when she was in her mid-twenties. Christopher Kent's 1977 article takes up this same topic, but does not emphasize in detail how Helen Taylor's early life led her to follow an acting career nor the historical circumstances which opened up more acting opportunities for women and non-theatre-connected actors in the 1850s. The authors of the current article also differ from Kent in their assessment of her actions in not returning to the theatre after her mother's death. Helen Taylor became more than Mill's secretary, as claimed by Kent, taking on an important role in focusing her step-father to finish the essay *On the Subjection of Women* and his involvement in the parliamentary support of women's suffrage. This study also proposes that Helen Taylor's work in the theatre was a preparation for her later performance in public work, not only as an advocate of woman suffrage, but also in terms of her work for the London School Board, her part in founding the Social Democratic Federation in 1881, her advocacy of land reform in Ireland, and her attempt to become a candidate for parliament in 1885 before women had achieved the vote.⁴ The authors will emphasise Helen Taylor's comments on her experiences as an actress as an example of a young lady with a sheltered, privileged upbringing learning about the world and the lives lived by people who were a pay packet away from hunger and homelessness, a world she strove so hard to change in later life.

Helen had a privileged intellectual development as the constant companion of her feminist mother, who wrote a number of influential essays. The most well-known of these is *The Enfranchisement of Women*, published in 1851. In this work Harriet called for equality for women in employment opportunity, education and the law. She argued that women's subordination was not innate but rather a result of society's expectations of what it was to be born male or female. She believed, therefore, in what many have taken to be a more modern theory, that gender is socially constructed. Harriet worked closely with Mill in his political writings and he based his *Subjugation of Women* on his wife's earlier work. Harriet has been credited with radicalising Mill with her socialist feminism (Robson and Robson).⁵

Helen may have been raised in an intellectual environment but it appears to have been fairly isolated. Her diaries, held in the Mill Taylor Collection of

the London School of Economics and at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC, show that her only close friend was one of her brothers, Algernon, to whom she remained devoted. Her elder brother, Herbert, seems to have been estranged from his mother and siblings quite early on. Helen recorded later in life that she felt he had behaved badly to Harriet in some unexplained manner and that she could not forgive him for this.⁶ Helen lived constantly at her mother's side and the letters between them in the Mill Taylor archive show a co-dependent great affection though Harriet could be extremely critical and demanding. Helen confided to her friend Lady Amberley that her mother had been "a severe critic" of Helen's own writings.⁷ Helen's niece, Mary Taylor, wrote of Helen's abiding resentment that she had never been sent to school:

She often complained that in her childhood she had been too much tied to her mother's side. She had wished to go to school, that she might be prepared for taking an active part in life, but her wishes were not granted. Her mother was somewhat strict, and this made her sometimes say that she had been hard, yet most of her recollections were full of affectionate admiration.⁸

Mary felt that it was for convention's sake that Helen had not been sent to school; her constant presence as her mother's companion safeguarded Harriet's reputation when Mill visited them during the years before they were able to marry. Kent, in his study, laid great emphasis on Harriet's selfish demands on her daughter and undoubtedly she was an overbearing mother but it must be remembered she had seen the social ostracism of her friends Charles Fox and Eliza Flower. These two leading Unitarians had scandalised polite society by having an affair which resulted in Fox leaving his wife for Eliza. Many former friends and colleagues had shunned them and Harriet was mindful that her relationship with the leading political economist of the day, John Stuart Mill, could lead to his downfall (Gleadle). Thus Helen was self-educated, like many politically active women born in the early Victorian era. Schooling for upper-middle class girls in this period emphasised languages, geography and some history but was not as disciplined as schooling for boys (Gorham). At home, Helen was allowed to read anything she wanted to. She would read all the books on the bookshelf. She read George Berkeley at the age of eleven and Mill's *Logic* when she was fourteen. She was never taught to believe anything but expected to judge for herself.⁹ The Unitarian belief that education should involve a process of rational enquiry would seem to have been at the heart of Helen's intellectual training.

Helen's adolescent diaries show her to have been a sensitive, intellectual adolescent, with a mind open to beauty and spirituality (Robson). This aspect of Helen's life is not remarked on by Kent but it shows an artistic temperament and throws valuable light on to her motivation in becoming an actress. The most striking aspect of her diaries is the religious freedom she was given. This applied to all the Taylors: her mother and Algernon often attending mass. Unitarians were against organised religion but Helen and her family were greatly attracted to Catholicism for the beauty of the liturgy: the ceremony and music (Taylor, Diaries File 44) Helen and Algernon often performed mass at home for themselves and had an altar which they decorated at Christmas.¹⁰ In this can be seen her early attraction to theatre for it was the spectacle of the mass which attracted her interest as she rated each church visit for its singing and the beauty of its liturgy, that is she considered it as a performance.

Plays, playwrights, and women's theatre roles had been Helen's special interest since early childhood. In the aforementioned diaries, which she kept intermittently from aged eleven to nineteen, she wrote that she loved to read plays and to act out the roles she memorized. When she was eleven, she chose to translate a play into Italian as a self-assignment for her Italian class given by a private tutor.¹¹ That same year she wrote a play called *The Traitor Guest* which she, Algernon (called Hadji) and two young friends acted out for a family audience.¹² Two sets of grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins constituted their audience during those early years. Putting on plays was a common form of family entertainment for the educated classes of Victorian Britain. Helen in her teenage years committed many plays to memory. Aged nineteen she recorded her attempt to "learn by rote" the complete text of Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the same year learnt various other Shakespearean roles.¹³ This was in preparation for her dream of becoming an actress: "I hope everything that I learn will make me more capable and worthy of acting well".¹⁴

Helen had been seriously preparing for a life in the theatre since she put on childhood performances of the Catholic mass at home. When visiting London, she would see plays at Drury Lane and Sadler's Wells and she continued to long to appear on the public stage into her twenties, as her vision of a career.¹⁵ This dream was initially opposed by her mother. It was not the performance on stage that troubled Harriet as much as the thought of her daughter living and working with women of questionable morals (Jacobs). Kent sees Harriet's views as snobbery, not wanting Helen to mix with lower-class women, but he disregarded contemporary attitudes to the profession (46, 50). Middle- and upper-class families whose daughters embarked on a theatrical career often hid the fact from friends and relations

as society had long regarded theatres as the haunt of prostitutes and indeed in some theatres this was certainly true.¹⁶ Harriet would have been aware of these attitudes among her family and friends. Two decades of society gossip about the exact nature of Mrs Taylor's relationship with John Stuart Mill made Harriet loathe to draw attention to herself or her family. Harriet had spent half her life trying to avoid society gossiping about her living arrangements, which was not easy when Mill was the foremost political philosopher of his time. She must have been more worried than many a mother about the approbation of acquaintances and family when Helen became determined to become an actress.

In the 1850s, polite society still regarded the profession as unrespectable. This view was slow to change as the century progressed. A neighbour of Samuel Phelps, the manager of Sadler's Wells Theatre, objected to Phelps's daughter being admitted to the same school as his own three children because her father was an actor (Booth 101). Attitudes to actresses were, however, changing by the late 1850s as Helen's plans for a theatrical career took shape. The *English Women's Journal* in January 1859, just after Helen's acting career had ended, described the difficulties of the stage as a career for women but regarded it as an acceptable option for middle- and upper-class girls wanting independence. The profession paid little, the article warned, unless you played a lead, and although in some theatres any hint of the immorality would result in dismissal, in other theatres, the periodical noted, "vice is rife".

Helen and Hadji had admired the well-regarded and famous actress Fanny Stirling in her performances in a number of plays, especially Shakespearean plays.¹⁷ Helen may have read in a newspaper or theatre journal that, because of a problem with her eyes, Mrs Stirling had to reduce the number of her performances and had begun offering her assistance to aspiring actresses. Hoping Mrs Stirling would be interested in helping her, Helen wrote to her asking for training for the work she yearned for (Hayek 252). They conferred about the need to project to the back of the audience, as well as the art of making stage entrances and exits, and other necessary skills. Mrs Stirling accepted Helen as her student, but they both had to wait for Harriet's approval. The relationship grew personal as well (in fact, Stirling became Helen Taylor's friend for life), and gradually came to include Harriet Taylor Mill. When a final agreement was reached it included not only Helen's training but also Mrs Stirling's responsibility for negotiating with the managers of provincial theatres to give her protégé opportunities to perform.¹⁸ There is no doubt that Mrs Stirling played a major role in obtaining Harriet's agreement for Helen to enter the theatrical profession. Warm affectionate letters were

exchanged between the actress and Harriet and Harriet trusted her daughter to Mrs Stirling's care when she travelled abroad (File 54).

Helen would be joining approximately 400 actresses in England and Wales, a growing number of whom, not being from theatre families, were striking out on their own.¹⁹ Helen's desire to leave home for possible success as an actress accorded with various changes taking place in the theatre world. Early in the Victorian period most actors and actresses came from theatrical families. Drury Lane Theatre, Covent Garden and the provincial Theatre Royals, the latter created by Royal licence or a licence issued by the Lord Chancellor, held a monopoly on the staging of the spoken word on stage (Booth 16, 99, 101). The abolition of these privileges by the Theatre Regulation Act of 1843 led to the creation of many new theatres in the growing provincial cities of Great Britain. British theatre families could no longer accommodate the increased demand. New theatre managers were seeking novice actors to fulfil the performance schedules that they planned for their audiences. Thus opportunities for women to gain independence through the profession grew as the number of theatres burgeoned. The expansion and growth of the country's railway system created new opportunities for performers and audiences as theatrical companies could travel more easily between venues and suburban dwellers could more easily go up to town to view a show (Booth 3).

Harriet Taylor Mill's initial response to her daughter's request for financial and parental support to pursue a career as an actress had been unequivocal opposition. Perhaps Harriet's vehement negative response was magnified by the vision of not having her beloved daughter as her constant companion and carer. Helen, however, was not to be put off so easily. Following a satisfactory meeting with Mrs Stirling, Harriet came to an agreement with her daughter. She would pay for training, for Helen's housing, and also some portion of the cost of a seamstress who would alter Helen's own wardrobe for her acting roles. Helen was to be billed as "Miss Trevor". Harriet wished to keep her strait-laced, disapproving family from learning that her daughter was going on the stage (Jacobs). It was now the autumn of 1856 and four years had passed since Helen first asked her mother to consent to her plans and provide the financial support necessary for her to achieve her goal of becoming an actress (Hayek 252). Her mother gave her an initial payment of twenty pounds to pay for her lodgings, clothes and a servant.²⁰ Her first assignment in Newcastle upon Tyne had been arranged by Mrs Stirling, and she was to be accompanied there by Hadji, who was also to remain there with her. Neither was especially pleased with this

arrangement, but they agreed to Harriet's insistence that Helen should not travel or live alone. On 21 November 1856, aged twenty-five, Helen set off from home in London to begin her stage career.

Finding lodgings in Newcastle was the first matter to be attended to. There had to be rooms suitable for two persons who required privacy, with sufficient space and furnishings for Helen to practice her roles. She followed up the leads she was given at the stage door and made her own inquiries "at shops in the town".²¹ In the daily letter she promised to send her mother, Helen wrote that she had secured a place of decent comfort at 34 Blackett Street, three streets away from the Theatre Royal. Their next task was to find the post office and ask for the mail service schedule.²² Helen was to number the letters she wrote her mother to ensure that queries requiring responses would be kept on track. Harriet thought this an excellent plan as "otherwise there is no referring to a back letter without opening it."²³ A careful plan was needed since the letters were actually being sent to John Stuart Mill at his office in India House, perhaps to help Harriet keep Helen's activities secret from the servants. Numbering letters, however, was not uncommon in the nineteenth century and Helen and Harriet were following social custom in this.

With preliminary matters attended to, Helen went to the Theatre Royal eager to meet the manager, Sydney Davis. His daughter, Miss Davis, responsible for business management, reported that her father was ill and could not see her. She informed Miss Trevor that agreeing to her request to practice in the empty theatre was not possible. A travelling opera company was already booked to perform Vincenzo Bellini's *La Sonnambula*, to be followed immediately by *Dred*, a dramatization of Harriet Beecher Stowe's book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, published earlier that year. Knowing that theatre managers booked all forms of entertainment – farce, pantomime, melodrama, and serious plays, sometimes on the same playbill – Helen was not surprised, but she was annoyed with any delay. Impatient, Helen asked if she could go to nearby Sunderland where Alfred Davis was managing the Lyceum for his father. Instead, she was offered a part in *Dred*, but she turned it down because, as she wrote to her mother, she did not want to act in a melodrama.²⁴ Later letters reveal that she had a distinct dislike for this play though do not reveal why. Perhaps she was reacting to her mother's advice that she must accept only the "best parts", such as Juliet in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* or Lady Macbeth, which were also Helen's most cherished roles.²⁵

A week later Helen acknowledged to her mother that she had come to realize that any and all parts would give her the experience she so eagerly sought. Her meeting with Alfred Davis, which did soon take place, changed

her outlook even further. She had grown in confidence in the short time away from home and now felt she could counter her mother's opinion on the subject of suitable parts. She wrote, "It is surely only with an audience that one can learn what will touch and impress an audience. It seems to me that practice is what I want, that any parts will do to give me knowledge of the stage which I absolutely need to be capable of carrying out at all my own ideas in the great parts".²⁶ It would be this experience which would make her a formidable and popular public orator in the 1880s. Such would be the clamour to hear her speak on land reform, education and Ireland that organisers would book larger rooms than normal to accommodate her audience.²⁷

When Sydney Davis recovered from his illness, he met with Miss Trevor to confer on possible parts for her. He had in hand the list of roles Helen had memorized, sent to him by Mrs Stirling with the recommendation that he give Helen a try-out. He agreed to Helen's expressed wish for a chance to audition for the part of Lady Macbeth so that he could determine her acting strength - although he cautioned her that he already had two actresses who were novices and did not need another. At the same time, Helen was appraising him, writing that she was surprised by his "gentlemanly person, a tall large-made good looking man", with an appearance and manner that encouraged her to listen carefully to what he had to say. Davis, confirmed in his opinion that she was not yet ready for such a strong role, suggested - perhaps as a gesture of encouragement - that she might demonstrate her skill by playing Mariana, a less tragic character, in a Sheridan Knowles's play, *The Wrecker's Daughter*.²⁸ It was the role she would play some weeks later in Doncaster.

Discouraged by Sydney Davis's failure to give her a definite assignment for another two weeks, Helen eagerly accepted the offer made by his son, Alfred. She would "quite decidedly" play the lead role in *The Tragedy of Jane Shore*. Helen knew this ever-popular eighteenth-century play, written by Nicholas Rowe, a British actor and playwright, which tells the tragedy of an attractive woman, the wife of a goldsmith, who became the mistress of King Edward IV. Harriet Taylor Mill's opinion on this development - which provides an insight into her thinking about the theatre as well as Helen's acting at this early stage - was that "Jane Shore was a very bad part for a debut because it is wearisome & monotonous & the interest too personal. Lady Macbeth is far more suitable because the interest is in facts, not in mere personal sorrows".²⁹

Helen and Hadji were now in Mrs Christian Milne's Lodging House in Sunderland, where she had to study the script to prepare for her debut on 15 December, 1856. Preparing her costume presented her with only one question: What colour should the stockings be, white or black? Her black

velvet dress and black silk shoes would be fine, she wrote to her mother.³⁰ Harriet replied, "Stockings should always be white except when mourning is intended", and she suggested white satin shoes.³¹ As Helen became more experienced with her stage career, she would demonstrate stronger, more confident opinions about how a character should be costumed.

Helen believed her performance went well, in spite of a less than splendid delivery of her last speech. She was welcomed by the audience at her first appearance, according to the manager, because she looked so well. She received the approbation of the other actors who admired her costume and jewellery and were impressed that she was not nervous in her first performance.³² From her point of view, there was no reason to be nervous. She knew her lines and she knew the play. Hadji gave their mother a balanced critique. He complimented several of Helen's speeches and her "silent expression of feeling", as well as "her acting of the last act, when fainting & dying, excellent". But, he concluded, she needed practice to modulate her voice and improve her gestures. Of the whole performance, he assured Harriet, "it appeared to me very successful & to be of great promise".³³ It is interesting to note that a young Henry Irving appeared in this performance with Helen (Kent 47). A few days after seeing his sister in this performance Hadji returned to London, despite having promised his mother to remain. Helen would have preferred him to stay but consoled herself that his mother had "always let him go his own way". He undoubtedly was bored, resorting to sightseeing in Durham during the day whilst Helen was preoccupied with the theatre.³⁴

Alfred Davis encouraged Miss Trevor: "You have nerve enough for anything. Nothing puts you out".³⁵ In spite of his appreciation of her personality he offered her only one more part, the role of Bianca. Helen did not identify to her mother which play that includes a Bianca was meant, nor did she comment on the quality of her performance. Helen was disappointed that this first engagement was not working out according to Mrs Stirling's agreement with Davis: that Miss Trevor was to be given frequent opportunities for experience in exchange for no salary. Helen urged Mrs Stirling to make a different arrangement after the Christmas holidays, which she was planning to spend with her mother.³⁶

The family holiday in Brighton over, Helen travelled to Doncaster, supplied with several books in French and copies of her favourite periodicals. But this time she went without her brother. On 1 January 1857 she was settled at 8 Scott Lane, ready to report to Mr Chester, the manager of

the Theatre Royal, and Mr Courtenay, co-manager and actor. Her first assignment was a part in the melodrama, *Memoirs of the Devil* (written D***L in the prompt book for the London production). The play, written for the English stage by James Barber, is also known as *The Mystic Bell of Ronquerolles*, which refers to the bell in the Castle of Baroness de Ronquerolles that, when rung in the third act, summons a representative of the devil. Helen did not identify which of the four female roles she played, but described the actual performance as bordering on the absurd.³⁷

After the second rehearsal, four of the actors had still got to learn their parts from the book (the only book, which had to be cut up and a leaf or two given to each at a time) and none, not even those who had got it copied out, knew it perfectly. "It was like acting a play on the Italian popular plan," as Helen described it, "the situations and plot being agreed upon, every one talked at random; and thus those who knew their part (myself that is to say and one other actress, and during the first act two men) were unable to speak them because the others talked at random, omitting important parts, reversing the order of events, leaving nothing for others to say". The actors invented their lines and entered and exited the stage without concern for the next actor's lines, rendering Helen unable to deliver the "tragic speeches" that were meant to show off her talent for strong parts. Perhaps the audience appreciated the actors' dilemma because they showed their approval, or sympathy, with such enthusiasm that the actors Mr and Mrs Courtenay and Miss Trevor went out for their curtain call and heard all the "uproar the little house could make".³⁸ In spite of her good humour about the actors' performances, Helen observed that the confusion must have been the "consequence of bad management".³⁹ Perhaps it was this quality of seeing the humour in what might have a colossal failure that made Helen give consideration in the next few months to Davis's suggestion that she should try out for comedy, and not limit herself to tragedy.⁴⁰

The following week Helen was to play the long-desired role of Juliet to Mrs Courtenay's Romeo. On 7 January 1857 she wrote to her mother how she had been "absorbed in Juliet" from 8.30 in the morning until 6 pm with only half an hour break for dinner (Taylor, Correspondence File 52, no. 67). The play was presented on Friday January 9 with a few "absurdities" as she called them in her letter to Harriet. Critical of her performance, in part because her voice was hoarse due to a lingering illness, she had other difficulties to overcome: Romeo was at least a head shorter than Juliet, a difference that made the final death scene, when Romeo drinks the lethal poison, a serious problem. Not having marked out the stage beforehand,

Romeo fell just where the curtain would come down. Juliet, seeing her dead lover lying in line with the curtain, raised herself up high, then after stabbing herself tried to fall upstage of Romeo. As the curtain came down on Romeo, she had no alternative but to move herself amid a "roar of laughter" from the audience. Embarrassed and angry, Mrs Courtenay blamed Helen for the disaster, but the other players assured Miss Trevor that Mrs Courtenay had misjudged her place on the stage. Helen did not blame Mrs Courtenay, but believed the fault was the manager Mr Chester's lack of orderly rehearsals.

Kent's account of this episode focussed on the hostility of Mrs Courtney to the new actress Helen in trying to upstage her by "devising a new way of dying" but Helen in her letter home saw it in the wider context of bad theatre management (Kent 49). She was intellectually analysing the experience, an ability which would serve her well in her future public life in the London School Board Council debates and on public speaking engagements promoting political and reform. In her letter to Harriet, Helen recalled that the playwright's wife, Mrs Sheridan Knowles, had expressed reservations about the "way they do things in the country". In her conversations with other actors she learned the problem was worse here than in other theatres; no one felt able to strive for perfection because the stage manager did not insist on rehearsals. In spite of that disaster on stage and dissatisfaction with her own performance, Helen reassured Harriet that she had learned something "from the mere going on the stage every night".⁴¹

Chester was planning to close the Doncaster theatre on 19 January and transfer the productions to Derby. Helen expressed to her mother the hope that she would obtain an engagement with a Mr Glover at his theatre in Glasgow arranged by Mrs Stirling rather than staying in this, in her experience, less-than-satisfactory theatrical group where "Mrs Courtenay seems to take it as a personal affront if anyone else plays a principal part".⁴² By 14 January, however, Helen was able to report good news to her mother. Mrs Stirling had obtained a position in Mr Glover's Glasgow theatre for her.⁴³ Helen considered going with her present company to Derby but felt that it would not advance her career. She was playing two parts a night in Doncaster for no salary and very little chance of a further opportunity to play a leading part due to competition with two other novice actresses. The decision was made for her when Chester returned from a trip to Derby to announce that his application for a theatre licence there had been refused. This left the Doncaster company without employment and Chester offered Helen one week's salary in compensation. She refused to take his money fearing that others in the company who needed the money more would lose

out. She decided to try her luck in Glasgow, leaving Doncaster with little in the way of valuable experience. "The practice I get here is worth little from the utter confusion that the stage is always in."⁴⁴

Mrs Stirling had negotiated employment for Helen at the Theatre Royal in Glasgow. Helen must have been thrilled to learn that Mrs Stirling had obtained an agreement that Helen would be paid a guinea a week for the engagement. "Your salary begins from the time you announce yourself in the theatre and ready to act - after that time it is their fault if you are not acting - your time is at their disposal and the money is yours".⁴⁵ Helen was now a professional actress. So after less than a month in Doncaster, Helen travelled to Glasgow towards the end of January, 1857 to try her luck there. Mrs Stirling, who had contacted Glover telling him Helen would arrive on Thursday so he would have some role for her on the Monday, wished her good luck "and now goodbye to Doncaster and poverty. I hope for something a little brighter".⁴⁶

Helen took lodgings with Mrs Glover, at 437 Parliamentary Road, Glasgow, paying eight shillings a week "including gas and fire".⁴⁷ She reported to her mother that the Glovers, who were actors themselves, were very pleasant. There was an extended family: a twenty-five year old son and a number of nieces who included a fellow actress, Fanny Bland.⁴⁸ Glover was a "short, dark, plain" man, with "a gruff voice, a fine actor". Mrs Glover was remarkably pretty, tall, but shorter than Helen, "bright eyes, hair slightly grey". Also there was a Miss Keeley, a member of a famous acting family, short and fat like her parents, "but pretty, charming, with a good singing voice, who does well in all her roles". In fact, she writes, there is an "immense crowd of actors and actresses here".⁴⁹ Mrs Glover welcomed Helen, invited her to dine with them, taking an interest in her lodgings, and in her costume needs. Helen seemed to resist these kind attentions, but gave no explicit reason.⁵⁰

Helen found the theatre large and handsome and seemingly well managed. "Things go more smoothly than now in most London theatres. I shall have much to interest me in observing the management of a well-managed theatre behind the scenes".⁵¹ She was chosen to play Helena in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and a few small parts. At short notice, she replaced another actress who had become ill, and played Lady Capulet in *Romeo and Juliet*. Glover was relieved that she volunteered, although she had to reassure herself that her cues would be easy, just following Juliet. She was given a part in a "spectacle", with no details given to Harriet, but that she was assured that the performance would go on for some time.⁵²

This engagement was proving quite satisfactory. Each Saturday she was paid the guinea promised in the agreement made by Mrs Stirling. This was a fairly standard wage for a novice actor.⁵³ Helen wrote that she was watching and learning "to acquire stage gestures and attitudes in which I am so wretchedly deficient". And in the crowded dressing room she observed various ways to apply makeup - "there seem to be so many" - but in spite of these new choices she adhered to Mrs Stirling's instructions on this skill.⁵⁴

Learning the business of becoming an actress, encouraged by the theatre people, and responding to the pleasant ambience of the city gave Helen a short period of happiness. Her sense of humour, rare for this woman of serious disposition, led her to write to Harriet that she wanted to buy something for her "darling Mama", a shawl or perhaps a Glasgow-worked muslin. "I could not bring you any coals from Newcastle or racehorses from Doncaster but here I might find something".⁵⁵ She seemed to have reached a new plateau of comfort and understanding of her preferences so that she wanted to "write, to work, read, learn, act, eat, sleep, go out and all these things are too much for one day".⁵⁶

During the following week, despite a bad cold and severe headaches, she continued to act in several unidentified roles, including two "trashy parts" in which she did "well enough".⁵⁷ These were performed in a theatre in Paisley, about seven miles from Glasgow, in a "tiny, wretchedly uncomfortable and inconvenient" theatre.⁵⁸ Busy with rehearsals and performances, sounding somewhat more professional, Helen's language in her letters to Harriet became less effusive, more direct to the point, but always expressing concern for her mother's health, and privacy. Her mother agreed to visit and questions of how Harriet would travel and where she would stay were resolved by Mill's own illness. He was advised to take a few days away from his desk at India House to rest his eyes to relieve his headaches. Instead of rest he agreed to use his free time to accompany Harriet as far as Edinburgh, and then return to London. She would continue to Glasgow, arriving on 17 February.⁵⁹ Within a few weeks, both mother and daughter became so ill that both had to return to London (Hayek 253-54). Mrs Stirling wrote in sympathy: "I grieve over your illness and consequent giving up of what I hoped would in a short time have been the making of a position for you. However, after seeing and hearing how your health and that of your dear mother progresses we will see what is to be done".⁶⁰ With a break in their letters, we know only that Helen left her work in Glasgow, and returned to Blackheath with her mother to recuperate.

For the next eighteen months Helen's theatrical ambitions were put on hold, almost certainly due to Harriet's precarious health. During the months

at home, Helen renewed her friendship with young Fanny, the daughter of Mrs Stirling, who had been in Italy studying voice. They attended the theatre together, cared for Mrs Stirling, whose eye problems had become severe, and began to sort out clothes for costumes that Helen hoped to use in her next engagement.⁶¹ Despite her physical discomfort, Mrs Stirling took the time to make arrangements with Mrs Pollock, the theatre manager in Aberdeen, agreeing that Helen would not be paid, as she had been in Glasgow, but that she would be given every opportunity to work.

Meanwhile, Mill's retirement from India House provided the time, and his pension the money, to travel in the more generally favourable climate of France in search of improved health for Harriet. Several letters between Mrs Stirling and Harriet, emotional, kind, and understanding, concentrated on issues related to Helen - should she stay with Mrs Stirling, or, she asks Harriet, was there a dear friend or relative who might accompany Helen to Aberdeen as soon as possible. All this discussion was devoted to the tentative plan to allow the Mills the opportunity to leave as soon as Harriet felt ready to travel. Mrs Stirling assured Harriet she would care for Helen with even more devotion than for her own child.⁶² So it was arranged. The Mills had already started out on their journey when Helen was able to report in a letter to her mother the details of the final agreement. She was to act in a small theatre in Greenock.⁶³

Before Harriet and John Stuart Mill left for France, her mother instructed Helen to read the newspapers every day, paying careful attention to any articles that might report on Mill's retirement and perhaps include some mention of their travel plans. Even though they were now legally married Harriet feared society discovering they were travelling together. It was customary for newspapers in the nineteenth century to carry such information.⁶⁴ Helen did have an article to send her mother, thanks to Mrs Stirling. It appeared in the *Illustrated News of the World*, 17 October 1858:

We learn with regret that in the course of last week Mr John Stuart Mill retired from the examiner-ship at the India House, which he has held for so many years with such great benefit to the public service; as did his father (the late Mr James Mill) before him. We understand that it is his intention to seek an improvement in his health by setting down for the winter in a warmer climate. He retires from the public service with the affection and respect not only of the officials of that great department with which he has been so intimately connected, but of every one, high or low, rich or poor, who has been brought into contact with him.

Following her mother's instructions, Helen continued to read the newspapers daily, reporting to her mother on 19 October 1858 that she had found no more press news about Mill's retirement or their trip.⁶⁵ Helen's daily letters to her mother, written from Mrs Stirling's home, assured Harriet that she felt well and was busy going through her clothes to determine which might be appropriate for the characters she hoped to play in Aberdeen. There would be no salary but Helen hoped that obtaining "good parts" would compensate.⁶⁶ Helen repeated this lack of salary in letters to her mother, perhaps mindful it might indicate a lack of advancement and fearing maternal disapproval. Expressing her disappointment to learn that their visit to Paris had not been pleasant, she closed the letter with "adieu my precious most precious Mama".⁶⁷ In another letter she wrote, "I sleep with your dear letters under my pillow as a talisman to keep me safe and happy".⁶⁸ In these same letters, Helen asked about the specific symptoms of ill health that Harriet was reporting. Helen assured her mother that if she were needed to care for her, she hoped the call would occur while she was still in London, for then she could reach her mother more quickly.⁶⁹

When Helen left London for Scotland, she travelled first class to Carlisle where she stayed overnight, reaching Aberdeen on 20 October. Her lodgings were good, the landlady was pleasant and most of the actresses were friendly.⁷⁰ She signed off this early letter with "adieu my dearest, sweetest, most precious mamma". The expressions of continued concern for Harriet's health, expressed while Helen was also engaged in making plans for her first performance in Aberdeen, suggest an intense emotional conflict between her desire to continue her career as an actress and her lifelong sense of responsibility to care for her mother.

Helen assured her mother that she felt unusually well and strong, and that she had taken lodgings at Mrs King's, 36 Union Street. In her letter of 25 October 1858 she wrote that "they are all so kind and helpful here that I am quite comfortable alone". She was happy to report that Mrs Pollock sent her a needlewoman who did all the work Helen required, and either Mrs Pollock or her landlady's son walked her home at night. Her rooms were "very clean, airy, light cheerful". She added, "I seem to have got more into the thick of the people than I ever did before". Even the city sounds pleased her. Helen commented that the "shuffling of feet and hum of voices reminded her of France", making a connection to the country her mother was travelling in. "In fact everything here is more like France than England," although she had had some difficulty in understanding their "broad scotch".⁷¹ Helen was now an independent woman who had grown in confidence since her first foray into the theatre two

years earlier when her letters had been unsure of herself and she had depended on the company of her brother for emotional support.

After the detailed description of her surroundings, Helen reported on her work. She started to perform in mid-October, 1858. It seemed to be going quite well, becoming perhaps the most successful phase of her acting career to date, thanks to the support she was given by the manager of the theatre, Jessie Pollock. Helen played the Queen in the *Heart of Midlothian*, also known as *The Lily of St. Leonard's*, a melodramatic romance in three acts. This was Thomas J. Dibdin's adaptation of the novel by Walter Scott published in 1818. Helen wrote that her performance was well received, though she continued to criticize her own acting, fearing her voice was still not strong enough for projecting to the entire audience. She seemed pleased, however, that the audience applauded both her one good speech and when she "went off the stage".⁷² She was chosen to play Servia in the Sheridan Knowles' play *Virginus*, acclaimed by his critics as his best. It presented the portrait of a father whose devotion did not prevent him from destroying his son's life. She was next scheduled to play Lady Capulet, a role she had perfected in her previous engagements, but she still longed to play Lady Macbeth.

Mrs Pollock was a thoughtful, professionally firm manager who also continued to act occasionally. She had been an accomplished actress in London, starting her career at the age of fifteen. Several years after her first husband, Corbet Ryder, the theatre manager, died, she married John Pollock, who was part of their acting company. When they left London, they settled in Aberdeen and took the lead in expanding theatre performances in other venues in Scotland (Maver 412).

After several weeks in Aberdeen, Helen's letter of 29 October 1858 to her mother enumerated her reasons for being so at ease. Mrs Pollock treated Helen with great care, allowing her plenty of time for studying her parts and working out her stage movements. Her landlady made her "very comfortable," and "buys everything for me so that I have nothing to do about provisioning and charges moderately for everything". A Miss Aiken, a major actress whom Helen had met previously, was now in Aberdeen "for a short time as a 'star'." Helen was pleased, perhaps proud, to write "she is very friendly to me at rehearsals". In this same letter Helen wrote that she had performed four times. "I get a very tolerable amount of applause, and approbation from Mrs Pollock, who says I have improved each time".⁷³ As part of an exchange between Harriet and Helen, comparing the audiences of London and Aberdeen, Helen wrote that one or three acts were common, rarely two, with the total performance time being one to two hours.⁷⁴

In the letter reporting her progress, Helen also expressed extreme anxiety about what she was learning of her mother's poor health and how it was interfering with the Mills' travel plans. To prepare for the possible call asking her to come to France, she made inquiries and learned that a telegraphed message sent from France could reach Aberdeen "in a few hours".⁷⁵ She also researched the train schedules and reported that two fast trains a day departed from Aberdeen, the quickest arriving in London in sixteen hours.⁷⁶ She continued to await the letter or telegram that would advise her if her mother really needed her. Helen had created a specific plan; if Harriet needed her daughter's attendance, she would travel to France to nurse her mother through this illness, and then return to Aberdeen to continue her acting career.

Meanwhile, the Mills were forced to stop in Avignon, staying at the Hotel de L'Europe: Harriet had now become too ill to travel. At Harriet's instruction, on 27 October, her stepfather wrote to Helen that she was not to break away from the work that was giving her so much pleasure. While this was a generous recognition of her daughter's desire to perform on the stage, it was a fateful decision. A few days later a telegram from Mill arrived, this one with the frightening news that Harriet was "not better" and urging Helen to come.⁷⁷ She reacted quickly. We don't know what she told Mrs Pollock or her landlady and friends. We just know that she left Aberdeen immediately, prepared to resume the role as her mother's carer.

Once she arrived in Avignon, she wrote to her brother Hadji, who was in Genoa, "My dear Hadji, I was stupefied by the blow; it is all over. I was too late too late too late".⁷⁸ Describing her stepfather's condition, she tried to explain how he was reacting to Harriet's death. "He cannot write; he suffers so dreadfully. I must try to take care of him now". Helen had found him sitting at his deceased wife's bedside where he had been all night, frozen in grief and disbelief.

The beloved daughter could not forgive herself for being too late to share her mother's last hours. Distraught with grief and guilt, she clung to the man who had loved Harriet with a passion as strong as her own filial devotion. Suddenly, her acting career had come to an end. Instead, Helen Taylor quickly assumed a new role as companion to John Stuart Mill, leaving behind the vocation she had fought so hard to embrace. Their love for Harriet, their mutual interest in ancient and early modern history, as well as their attention to contemporary politics would sustain them as they began to readjust their lives together. She would remain as his companion until his death in 1873, his dear "Lily", as he always called her.

Most importantly she would be his intellectual collaborator. Historians have recognised the close working relationship Mill formed with his step-daughter and that she wrote many of his letters. Sometimes he made changes to the drafts or added paragraphs, at other times he copied her drafts into his own hand. It has also been recognised that Mill wrote *The Subjugation of Women* in collaboration with Helen, basing it on her mother's earlier work *The Enfranchisement of Women* (Packe). In his *Autobiography* Mill asserts that it was Helen who suggested the essay and that she had written parts of it. "Surely", he wrote, referring to the death of Harriet and of Helen subsequently coming to live and work with him, "no one ever before was so fortunate after such a loss as mine, to draw another prize in the lottery of life" (223).

Helen brought to the intellectual collaboration with her step-father an insight that she had gained from her work in the theatre: a personal understanding of women and men who were dependent on their daily work for their income. In a letter to Harriet, she had commented that in addition to developing skills as an actress, she had an opportunity to learn about people new to her. In addition to struggling actors who lived financially precarious lives she had met owners and managers of housing rented by the actors, and owners/managers of theatres who expected to earn their own income from the performers they hired. For a privileged young lady who had led an extremely sheltered life constantly at home as the companion to an invalid mother, it must have been a revelation.

For Helen Taylor, the next fifteen years were a political learning experience. Helen played an important role supporting Mill when he successfully stood for Parliament in 1865. She organised, with fellow women suffragists, the petition he presented to Parliament for women's suffrage in 1867. From 1868, they lived most of the year in Avignon, when he lost his parliamentary seat in that year's General Election. After his death, in 1873, Helen sought out a more public role for herself in England, seeking political rights for women and supporting political and educational opportunities for the working-classes. She became one of the "foremost women of her time" (*Lancashire Evening Post*, 19 October 1886). She was elected to the London School Board three times in the period 1876-85 on which she championed the right of girls to have an equal education to boys, for the working-class to have an education which would allow them to advance in society and for women teachers to receive equal pay. In 1885 she courageously attempted to stand as a candidate for Parliament decades before women were given the vote. This constituency included Southwark, which she had represented on the London School Board and where she had won the respect of the working

class men and women who lived there. She also became a well renowned land campaigner calling for land nationalisation throughout Great Britain and Ireland and she was a vocal supporter of Home Rule for Ireland. She never returned to the theatre but the experience had proved an invaluable apprenticeship for her life of public speaking. Henry Hyndman, her colleague in the Social Democratic Federation which she co-founded in 1881, respected her talent in bringing new members into the organisation through her speaking skills. Hyndman recalled that:

She was an exceedingly good, logical speaker with a high, clear, penetrating voice that seemed to cleave the air and reach to the remotest corner of a large hall like the high notes of a violin. She always began very quietly, her tall frame as upright as possible, and apparently without any emotion whatever . . . By degrees that telling intonation of hers seemed to fill the air with its vibrations. (Hyndman 433-44)

Her acting apprenticeship had not been in vain. The voice that had struggled to carry a playwright's words to the back of the audience would throughout the 1880s and early 1890s fill packed halls as she championed women's and workers' rights. Miss Trevor had become Miss Helen Taylor, social and political campaigner – and tireless worker on behalf of the poor and oppressed.

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Notes

- ¹ For an account of Harriet and Mill's relationship see Hayek.
- ² Helen's diaries, London School of Economics, Mill Taylor Collection (henceforth only file and no. given), file 44 and Diaries 1844, 1849-50, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D.C.
- ³ See Taylor, Correspondence file 7 and Hayek 81.
- ⁴ See Smith, *Feminism*, and Smith "Helen Taylor's Anti-imperialist Feminism".
- ⁵ See Robson and Robson.
- ⁶ Draft letter, Helen Taylor to Algernon Taylor, marked "1888 not sent", Taylor, Correspondence file 24, no. 109. The cause of the disagreement remains unknown though it could be speculated that he resented his mother leaving his father for Mill.
- ⁷ Helen Taylor to Lady Amberley, 11 September 1869, in Russell & Russell 2: 312.

- ⁸ Mary Taylor Introduction (Eliot xiii).
- ⁹ Helen Taylor to Lady Amberley, 20 February 1865, in Russell & Russell 1: 372.
- ¹⁰ Diary, 22 December 1845, "I have been decorating my altar with green and holly". Taylor, Diaries file 44.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.* 5 February 1842.
- ¹² *Ibid.* 1 November 1842.
- ¹³ Helen Taylor Diary, 7 January 1850, Folger Shakespeare Library, SB80 (6).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.* SB80 (4). 7 March 1850.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, SB80 (3) & (4), Diaries of 1849 and 1850.
- ¹⁶ For an account of the dubious moral status of Victorian actresses see Davis.
- ¹⁷ Helen Taylor to Fanny Stirling, letters 1856-1862, Taylor, Correspondence file 54, nos. 624-660.
- ¹⁸ Hayek 252.
- ¹⁹ The 1841 census listed 387 actresses in England and Wales and 987 actors in (Kent, "Image and Reality" 94).
- ²⁰ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 29 November 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no.17. See also Kent 46.
- ²¹ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 23 November 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no 6.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Harriet Taylor Mill to Helen Taylor, postmark 6 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 50, no. 23.
- ²⁴ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 29 November 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no.17.
- ²⁵ Harriet Taylor Mill to Helen Taylor, postmark 13 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no.41.
- ²⁶ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, postmark 13 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 27. 1.
- ²⁷ Herbert Mills of the Land Nationalisation Society to Helen Taylor re: forthcoming lecture in Kendal, 9 October 1890, Taylor, Correspondence file 18, no. 57. "We are able now to offer you a much larger hall which will be filled if you consent to visit us."
- ²⁸ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 25 November 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 10.
- ²⁹ Harriet Taylor Mill to Helen Taylor, 13 December 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 41
- ³⁰ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 27 November 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 13.
- ³¹ Harriet Taylor to Helen Taylor, postmark 6 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 27.
- ³² Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 9 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 34.
- ³³ Algernon Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 10 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51 no. 35.
- ³⁴ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 12 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no.40.

³⁵ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 10 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 36.

³⁶ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor, 14 December 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 43.

³⁷ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor, 4 January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no.60.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Harriet Taylor Mill to Helen Taylor, 13 December, 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 51, no. 39.

⁴¹ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 9 January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no.70.

⁴² Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no.72.

⁴³ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, January 1857. Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no.72.

⁴⁴ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill,? January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no.84.

⁴⁵ Fanny Stirling to Helen Taylor, 29 January 1857, Stirling file 54, no.17

⁴⁶ Fanny Stirling to Helen Taylor, 19 January 1857, Stirling file 54, no.16

⁴⁷ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 23 January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 93

⁴⁸ Kent, 1977, refers to Miss Bland being a relative of Dorothy Bland, William IV's mistress, 50.

⁴⁹ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 23 January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 93.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 23 January 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no 58.

⁵² Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 8 February 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 119.

⁵³ "Wages for the novice remained static until the end of the century at perhaps 15s or 1 pound a week" (Hoppen 392); this is confirmed by Davis (26).

⁵⁴ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 26 January, 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 97.

⁵⁵ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, postmark 26 January, 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 95.

⁵⁶ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, postmark 27 January, 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 98.

⁵⁷ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 4 & 6 February 1856, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no 114 & 116.

⁵⁸ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 8 February 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no. 119.

⁵⁹ Harriet Taylor to Helen Taylor, postmark 9 February 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file 52, no 118

⁶⁰ Fanny Stirling to Helen Taylor, 27 February, 1857, Stirling file 54, no.20.

- ⁶¹ Fanny Stirling to Harriet Taylor Mill, 16 October, 1858, Stirling file 54, no. 31
- ⁶² Fanny Stirling to Harriet Taylor Mill, 1 September, 1858, Stirling file 54, no.28.
- ⁶³ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 12 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.2.
- ⁶⁴ Harriet Taylor to Helen Taylor, postmark 12 October 1857, Taylor, Correspondence file, 53 no 1.
- ⁶⁵ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 19 October 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.14.
- ⁶⁶ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 14 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.7.
- ⁶⁷ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 16 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.10.
- ⁶⁸ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 17 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.11.
- ⁶⁹ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 16 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.10.
- ⁷⁰ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 19 October 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.14.
- ⁷¹ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, postmark 25 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.21.
- ⁷² Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 19 October 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.14.
- ⁷³ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, postmark 29 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no.27.
- ⁷⁴ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, postmark 25 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no. 21.
- ⁷⁵ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 26 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no .24.
- ⁷⁶ Helen Taylor to Harriet Taylor Mill, 27 October, 1858, Taylor, Correspondence file 53, no. 26.
- ⁷⁷ Helen Taylor to Algernon Taylor, dated "Avignon, Saturday morning," Taylor, Correspondence file 24, no 708.
- ⁷⁸ Algernon Taylor to Helen Taylor, undated, Taylor, Correspondence file 24, no.709.

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