



Hinde, Amber Rebecca (2024) *The rhetoric of food reform in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain*. PhD thesis.

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**The Rhetoric of Food Reform in Late Nineteenth
and Early Twentieth Century Britain**

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‘The way we speak and what we eat is not based on individual choice only, but also on the society we live in and the place in society we occupy or wish to occupy. Both food and language have an intricate connection to power.’ (Gerhardt, 2013: 4)

Abstract

In this thesis, I explore the rhetoric of food reform in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain, considering the construction of the writer-reader relationship in historical texts on diet. Taking a case study approach, I analyse texts written by two prominent food reformers and entrepreneurs from this time period—Thomas Richard Allinson (1858-1918) and Eustace Hamilton Miles (1868-1948). Adopting a multi-theoretical analysis framework to examine historical texts, the approach in this study is informed by CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) in its analysis of texts rooted in historical context. This study found that Allinson and Miles drew on a range of writer- and reader-oriented rhetorical strategies to legitimise their claims surrounding health and diet. These rhetorical strategies contribute to four interrelated themes, which exist at the intersection of the historical context and the texts; these themes are: moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help. The fast-changing environment beginning in the late nineteenth century and extending into the early twentieth century fuelled a multitude of moralised discourses, such as the rhetoric of purity (O’Hagan, 2020) and the idealisation of the simple life (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010); this presented a commercial opportunity for food reformers such as Allinson and Miles, who both sold their own branded health foods. Both individuals also drew on a variety of rhetorical strategies to claim authority, including role model and expert authority (van Leeuwen, 2007; 2017). Allinson and Miles rhetorically constructed their identities by negotiating nuanced relationships with the establishment and other mainstream groups, such as orthodox doctors and the Vegetarian Society. Bound up with these carefully negotiated relationships, Allinson and Miles contributed to self-help discourses, encouraging individuals to exercise agency in terms of their health. This research makes an original contribution by producing a linguistically informed history of food reform, emphasising the value of conducting individual case studies during a time period when identity was becoming an increasingly powerful rhetorical tool. Importantly, this thesis provides historical context on issues which remain prominent today, such as alternative medicine, the relationship between food and health, and the construction of expertise in diet discourses.

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Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to extend my gratitude to my fantastic supervisors—Marc, Tom, and James—for their thoughtful conversations, good humour, and encouragement over the past few years. Marc’s brilliance as a teacher encouraged me to approach him with my initial ideas, which he embraced wholeheartedly—thank you for supporting me from day one. Tom joined the team at the beginning of my second year, and I am endlessly grateful that he was willing to hit the ground running with the project, bringing a wealth of expertise and enthusiasm. James also kindly joined the team during the latter stages of the project, and his thoughtful advice, feedback, and genuine interest in the topic have been a great asset to my research.

With thanks also to Cathy, who has been my longest standing academic supporter and who supervised this thesis in its first year, prior to her well-deserved retirement. Cathy truly shaped the scholar I am today with her perceptive approach to research and writing, as well as her endless encouragement. Thank you for championing me in everything I do, personal and professional.

Thank you to my wonderful colleagues in Student Learning Development, for their unwavering support in completing this thesis. Special thanks go to Mona, who not only provided invaluable feedback on the historical aspects of this thesis, but has also been my greatest cheerleader and repeatedly offered a sympathetic ear over coffee and cake. Thanks to Elina and Andrew, who have done everything in their power to enable me to finish this thesis alongside transitioning into my job, as well as mentored me professionally. Thanks also to Jennifer, who has been a wonderfully supportive person to share my office with during the final stages of this thesis.

Thank you to my incredible partner, Nathan, who learned more than his fair share of facts about old, dead vegetarians. He believed I could finish this thesis when I was adamant I could not, and for his unrelenting faith I am eternally grateful. With thanks also to my lovely Mum, who was an excellent reader for my introductory chapter, and who has championed me every single day. Thank you to the rest of my supportive family, who enjoyed many strange dinner table conversations and continually gasped at the number of words I had left to write. Thank you to Susie, who has believed in me since we first met as bright-eyed freshers, and who has been my most valued friend for the past 9 years. Thanks also to Meeko,

who became a valuable furry companion during the first year of this thesis and has grown alongside it.

Finally, it has been a great privilege to research this topic with generous funding and support from the Carnegie Trust of the Universities of Scotland. With special thanks to both Patricia and Sarah, who made the Trust feel like family and expressed genuine care from the outset. The completion of this thesis was made possible by the sensitive and kind approach of the Trust, particularly during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Amber Hinde

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Food is the physiological basis of man's existence; without it his being is limited in time and the survival of his species an impossibility. But food has also greater significance in society than its physiological function. It is essentially an expression of a society's culture and may play many roles other than physiological in terms of both personal and group relationships. (Oddy & Miller, 1976: 7)

1.1 General Introduction

The promotion of lifestyle changes, particularly in relation to diet, has a long, complex, and highly rhetorical history. In *Culinary Linguistics*, Gerhardt (2013: 4) argues that '[b]oth food and language are used to maintain and create human relationships,' further noting, '[s]ince both do more than cater for bare necessities, they represent perfect sites for social studies.' This builds on the above epigraph, with Oddy and Miller (1976: 7) emphasising that food, in its centrality to human life, is inherently cultural and social. In this thesis, I analyse the rhetorical strategies used by two prominent food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, examining the writer- and reader-oriented strategies they employed to market their lifestyle ideas and health food products to readers. Food reform, which is underpinned by preventative medical ideas, saw a variety of movements and individuals attempt to alter the public's relationship with food, responding to factors such as poor health and low food quality.

For this research, I use two case studies of texts to better understand how key food reformers claimed authority in a burgeoning wellness market, exploring how they rhetorically constructed a writer-reader relationship in this context by drawing on social discourses of the time and negotiating the persuasive potential of their individual identities.¹ Through undertaking such an inquiry, this thesis contributes to the growing body of research into the historical origins of food discourses. It is important to gain a clearer sense of how powerful individuals in the Edwardian health food market framed their advice, considering how they sold both their ideas and products to readers, and providing historical context for the rhetorical strategies employed in today's saturated health food market. There is an inherent paradox in the promotion of self-directed, natural, healthy living and the highly persuasive

¹ In this thesis, I take a social view of discourse, foregrounding the 'interaction [...] between writer and reader [...] as well as the situational context of language use' (Fairclough, 1992: 3).

commercial potential of health and wellness, and this thesis analyses the ways by which food reformers rhetorically negotiated this paradox in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The two individuals identified for this study are Thomas Richard Allinson (1858-1918) and Eustace Hamilton Miles (1868-1948), providing two rich examples of how entrepreneurial food reformers interacted with their social and discursive environment to advance their ideas surrounding health and diet. Both of these prominent individuals engaged in food reform discourses by advocating a preventative regimen, including a vegetarian diet of simple foods, and fuelled self-help ideology by encouraging readers to exercise agency in health matters. With the diet-health link being entrenched in preventative medical ideas, this forms a fascinating site for linguistic analysis; persuasive strategies are essential to encourage individuals to make lifestyle changes and such strategies are bound up with the commercial value of health and diet texts. On language and persuasion, Mulholland (1994: xviii) argues:

Language is influential because of the many powers it has: it can represent any single thing in many different ways; it can vary the mental representations of matters in the world to suit people's beliefs; it can mention or omit things, or repeat them till they are accepted as normal (and perhaps true); and hence can construct matters in a way which suits the user's purposes. Many of the most influential aspects of life—people's beliefs, ideologies, assumptions, and values—depend for their construction and maintenance on language.

The above extract draws attention to the vast possibilities presented by language, with users making highly rhetorical choices when choosing how to represent an aspect of society. In relation to food reform, this thesis demonstrates that the surrounding discourses were entrenched with values and ideology, making this a rich source of persuasive tactics. When persuading individuals, who may already feel sufficiently healthy, to make lifestyle changes, a high degree of rhetorical prowess is needed to tap into the concerns of the audience and construct credibility in a marketplace of competing voices. Lifestyle discourses, including those relating to food reform, rely on the persuasive function of language, requiring both the 'delegitimation of existing practices' and the 'legitimation of the proposed changes' (van Leeuwen, 2017: 219); legitimation is taken up further in Section 3.4. Through analysing the persuasion of food reformers, this study contributes a rhetorical perspective on the history of diet discourses, foregrounding the importance of examining personal brands. Moreover, prevention has generally received less attention in scholarship, when compared to the history

of curative medicine. Though recent years have seen more scholarship emerge in this area, there is still a lack of linguistic research. Alongside this, focus on historical linguistic analysis has tended to neglect Late Modern English, with Jones (1989: 279) describing the nineteenth century as one of the 'Cinderellas' of historical linguistics. There is a wealth of under-researched alternative health publications held in British libraries and archives, particularly those relating to diet. Researching these texts can provide historical context for present day dietary discourses. Shapin (2007: 175) argues:

Dietetics is now, and always has been, an expert practice that has the possibility of uniquely tight engagement with quotidian life, lay knowledge, and the texture of morality [...] If you are lucky, you get to eat three times a day, seven days a week, so there are at least twenty-one occasions per week when the fork approaches the mouth. Each one of these is a possible occasion for the intercalation of expert knowledge between fork and mouth.

Whilst the above extract does not capture the nuance and varying approaches to diet, it points to the prominence of food in daily life, highlighting the opportunities at which persuasion can take place. As an everyday practice, eating is a fascinating site for a socially situated linguistic analysis. Conducting a study of the rhetoric of food reform is much more than simply exploring language in connection to food; because food is invested with social and cultural meanings, exploring its historical rhetorical negotiation can deepen understanding of social issues surrounding diet.

1.2 Introduction to Historical Context

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were characterised by a number of changes which are of primary importance for contextualising this research, relating broadly to both health and discursive practices. This section briefly introduces some of the key elements of the historical context for this thesis, which are discussed in further detail in Chapter 2. The time period during which Allinson and Miles were actively engaging in food reform activities was characterised by the remnants of the Victorian era, as well as the dawn of the Edwardian era and a rapidly modernising Britain. Health was of central concern in the Victorian era and Haley (1978: 3) writes, '[i]n the name of Health, Victorians flocked to the seaside, tramped about in the Alps or Cotswolds, dieted, took pills, sweated themselves in Turkish baths, adopted this "system" of medicine or that.' Bridging the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries was the notion of *mens sana in corpore sano*: ‘[t]otal health or wholeness—*mens sana in corpore sano*—was a dominant concept for the Victorians, as important in shaping thought about human growth and conduct as nature was to the Romantics’ (Haley, 1978: 4).² This idea of ‘total health’ underpins the ideology of food reformers, who believed strongly in the preventative and restorative power of food in terms of both physical and mental health; *mens sana in corpore sano* is therefore a prominent ideological factor underpinning this thesis, and is expanded on in Section 2.2.

The Victorian era was shaped by a number of factors which threatened the ideal of mind-body wholeness, such as widespread food adulteration (Collins, 1993; O’Hagan, 2020; Page, 2023).³ The food adulteration scandal heightened anxieties surrounding food quality, particularly in relation to core foodstuffs such as bread (Page, 2023), leading to the prolific use of purity as a rhetorical device by food companies in the second half of the nineteenth century (O’Hagan, 2020). Though the adulteration scandal was first publicised in 1820 by the chemist Frederick Accum, the mid-nineteenth century *Lancet* articles written by physician and chemist Hassall conveyed the issue to a ‘wider audience,’ thereby exacerbating concerns (French & Phillips, 2000: 33). As a result, the anxieties surrounding food quality and health became highly commercialised in the late nineteenth century, with food companies capitalising on public concern; this is expanded on in Section 2.4. In this regard, trust became a valuable commodity in the late Victorian and early Edwardian health food market; this was an important factor in terms of legitimising claims about health and diet.

Moreover, it is critical to account for the changing relationships which were taking place at this time, such as the increasing distance between food producers and food consumers (Burnett, 1979). Relationships were also evolving in the medical sphere as patient agency diminished due to the ‘professionalization of medicine’ and scientific advancement (Patton, 2012: 112). Alongside these developments, shifts in the writer-reader relationship have also been documented by social historians as being apparent in the correspondence columns of newspapers (Jackson, 2000; Patton, 2012). The growing importance of the interpersonal coincided with the rapid proliferation of the press, which resulted in wider audiences

² This Latin phrase translates to ‘a healthy mind in a healthy body’ and relates to notions of holistic health, including both physical and mental health.

³ In the nineteenth century, food adulteration was defined in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as ‘the act of debasing a pure or genuine commodity for pecuniary profit by adding to it an inferior or spurious article, or by taking from it one or more of its constituents in order to increase the bulk or weight of the article, to improve its appearance, to give it a false strength, or to rob it of its most valuable constituent’ (quoted in Collins, 1993: 95).

consuming a great variety of publications (King *et al.*, 2016). These changes in print culture had a direct bearing on the dissemination of alternative health advice at this time, and this is taken up further in Section 2.6. Key developments relating to print culture included rising literacy levels, advancements in technology, and the removal of ‘taxes on knowledge’ (King *et al.*, 2016: 1); these developments are further discussed in Section 2.6. It is noted that these advancements led to individuals becoming part of communities clustered around shared ideas and interests (Jackson, 2000; King *et al.*, 2016), and this has a particular relevance to the textual activities of food reformers, who looked to generate a sense of community around shared values relating to diet and health. Analysing the writer-reader relationship from a linguistic perspective can contribute a deeper understanding, building on historical research, of how these communities were rhetorically constructed in written texts.

These historical conditions, taken together, worked to provide a suitable foundation for the life reform movement which swept Britain at this time; the life reform movement is taken up in more detail in Section 2.3. Life reformers ‘believed that a healthier, fitter, and more beautiful body was within reach of anybody who observed a hygienic regimen’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 2). Alongside the discourses of self-help which were implicit in life reform and the principles of *mens sana in corpore sano*, Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 2) also highlights the underlying counterculture ideology: ‘[life reform] provided an alternative or supplement to conventional scientific medicine, which despite important breakthroughs remained relatively powerless in the face of many illnesses.’ In framing this movement, it is useful to think about *kairos*; this term relates to the suitability of the language used to the context of the time (Kinneavy, 1986: 84), making arguments at the ‘right moment’ (Reeves, 2019: 418). The ideas underpinning *kairos* are of central importance in this thesis, which examines language situated in historical context. In terms of life reform, arguments could be made which spoke to key concerns of the time, such as food quality and physical health. As such, a CDA approach which combines linguistic analysis with historical context is insightful for analysing the ways by which individuals capitalised on the ‘right moment’ in their rhetoric.

One far-reaching aspect of life reform, and more specifically food reform, at the turn of the century was vegetarianism. Alongside the Vegetarian Society, which was established in 1847, abstention from meat was advocated by a wide range of individuals and groups, with

a wealth of surviving evidence of their richly discursive activities.⁴ In *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, Gregory (2007: 1) argues for the cultural importance of vegetarianism at this time, writing, ‘[a] seemingly marginal phenomenon, vegetarianism actually involved much that was of concern to the culture of Victorian Britain.’ This builds on the arguments made by Oddy and Miller (1976) and Gerhardt (2013) concerning the interrelatedness of food and society. This in turn points to the value of analysing discourses of food reform, particularly in historical contexts, given the inherent sociocultural nature of these discourses. As introduced in Section 1.1, Allinson and Miles were two leading food reformers who promoted a meat-free diet in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Importantly, these individuals advocated a vegetarian diet using arguments rooted in *health* ideas, thereby making their texts valuable case studies for this thesis, which considers persuasion at the intersection of diet and health. At this time, there were a variety of other arguments for vegetarianism, as still exist today—these included religion and animal welfare (Hanganu-Bresch & Kondrlik, 2021). Based on the historical context on diet and health, including the rhetorical complexities of preventative medicine, I focus on health-related arguments for meat avoidance and wider food reform within this thesis.

Furthermore, running alongside (and in many ways overlapping with) the food reform movement was the physical culture movement. Stemming from concerns surrounding physical deterioration, physical culturalists ‘established themselves as modern male beauty icons at the turn of the century’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 19). *Managing the Body* examines the ‘activities and writings’ of life reformers and physical culturalists from the 1880s to the 1930s, which were underpinned by the principles of *mens sana in corpore sano* (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 1). This monograph provides valuable context for the present study, with my texts clustering within the same date-range. On these movements, (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 2) writes:

Physical culture and life reform were affordable and accessible. Manuals, magazines, and correspondence courses were most popular among the lower-middle and more prosperous sections of the working class. Much of this material was initially aimed at men, but from the early twentieth century the appeal was extended to women who increasingly embraced physical culture.

⁴ For the purposes of this thesis, the Vegetarian Society and other major vegetarian groups (such as the London Vegetarian Society) are referred to under the label ‘mainstream vegetarianism.’ This is an important distinction, particularly in relation to Miles’s rhetoric, which is constructed against larger vegetarian groups.

As such, these movements, which arose from prominent concerns at the time, were intimately connected to the developing discursive landscape. This points to the rich textual evidence which survives from this period, with Allinson and Miles being prolific contributors to life reform and physical culture discourses.

Furthermore, the time period examined within this thesis is one of significant advances in science and medicine. Scholars (Horrocks, 1997; O'Hagan, 2021a; 2021b; Oddy & Miller, 1976) note the rising authority of science during this time, which had a substantial bearing on health discourses. With the progression and rising authority of science, the marketing of health foods was increasingly rooted in scientific discovery, including the incorporation of scientific discourses into food branding and marketing; this is important for the authors' construction of authority in the later analyses (Chapters 4 and 5). Horrocks (1997: 54) discusses the fact that the Edwardian era saw in-house scientists become normalised for major food companies. Advances in science were accompanied by the professionalisation of medicine, such as the creation of the General Medical Council (GMC), which was established by the Medical Act of 1858; this saw the orthodox medical community become increasingly regulated under the observation of an 'ethico-legal watchdog' (Porter, 1997: 355). Moreover, Haley (1978: 5) points out that in the first half of the nineteenth century '[s]trides were being made not only in medical anatomy and physiology but also in pharmacology,' meaning that heightened understanding of how the body works was developing alongside new discoveries of how to treat the body through the use of drugs. This coincided with the rise of alternative wellness gurus who resisted the application of orthodox treatments, instead preferring natural and holistic methods (Bae, 2022; Brown, 1991).

This brief account of some of the major features of the zeitgeist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries points to the fact that the rhetoric of food reform sat at the intersection of a multitude of changing relationships and social advancement. Setting the historical context is a crucial component of this study and is prominent throughout all chapters to combine historical understandings with socially situated textual evidence. This introduction to the zeitgeist begins to characterise the importance of the four interrelated themes underpinning this research: moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help. As indicated at the outset of the current section, the historical context for this thesis is taken up further, and in more detail, in Chapter 2.

1.3 Introduction to Authors

As established in Section 1.1, this thesis undertakes a case study approach to texts written by two prominent food reformers—Thomas Allinson and Eustace Miles—owing to the rhetorical nature of establishing their personal brands, their overlapping health ideas, and their prolific writings. The following subsections provide brief introductions to these individuals and point to some existing studies, situating the thesis in terms of work that has already been done on these figures. Fuller accounts of the two authors are provided in Sections 2.7 and 2.8, preceding the linguistic analysis of their written works in Chapters 4 and 5.

1.3.1 Thomas Allinson

Thomas Richard Allinson (1858-1918) was a controversial and outspoken medical doctor, driven by a natural approach to treatment, who primarily disseminated his ideas to the public through his medical column for the *Weekly Times and Echo*. In 1892, he was struck off the Medical Register for self-advertisement and insulting his fellow doctors in the press, after which he formally distanced himself from his professional colleagues by using ‘Ex-L.R.C.P.’ after his name (Scott, 1999; 2010).⁵ Allinson’s controversial history was not isolated to his removal from the Medical Register, but he also garnered opposition by publishing materials such as *How to Avoid Vaccination* and *A Book for Married Women*. Alongside his removal from the Medical Register, Scott (2010: 134-5) points out that he had ‘fallen foul’ of the then President of the Vegetarian Society, Arnold Hills, due to Allinson’s controversial views on birth control and artificial contraception. In consequence, Hills made it clear to Allinson that he was no longer welcome, formally removing him from the Vegetarian Society in 1891. Despite being cast out of the orthodox medical and mainstream vegetarian communities, Allinson was successful within the alternative health market, running a busy medical practice in London and launching his Natural Food Company.⁶ On Allinson’s success, medical historian Brown (1991: 5) writes that ‘his speedy progress westwards through London would have done credit to any orthodox and ambitious young doctor.’ Brown (1991: 5) further highlights that ‘Allinson also drew attention to himself by letters to the medical press.’ This points to both Allinson’s success as an alternative medical doctor, as well as his self-advertisement. These features of Allinson’s identity make him an

⁵ L.R.C.P. stands for Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians.

⁶ Allinson’s removal from the Medical Register did not mean he could not practice as a doctor.

intriguing case study in terms of the rhetoric of food reform, prompting questions surrounding how he established legitimacy outside of the mainstream medical community. Moreover, his legacy survives today in the recognisable brand name of Allinson's Bread, which stems from his promotion of pure wholemeal bread as an essential and health-giving article of diet.

Underpinning Allinson's activities and writings was his system of hygienic medicine, which condemned the use of drugs and surgery, favoured natural approaches to healing, and viewed the body as a whole, rather than focusing on isolated instances of ill health; for example, an ailment of the stomach would indicate something fundamentally wrong with the system as a whole, rather than an isolated stomach problem. Bae (2022: 11) writes that 'Allinson placed more weight on the moral responsibility of the individual for their health,' relating to self-help discourses, and Bae (2022: 11) further explains that 'Allinson was closer to the prototype of naturopathy given his strong inclination towards medical individualism, which is also closely connected with modern medical consumerism.' Medical individualism sees doctors foreground patient agency and choice, which became integral to Allinson's rhetoric. Bae (2022: 11) highlights the fact that this was deeply interconnected with medical consumerism, which characterises people as consumers with the ability to make informed choices regarding their own health. In empowering individuals to make health decisions, both medical individualism and medical consumerism relate more broadly to self-help discourses, which are highly rhetorical and have a long history.

Allinson has been considered by a handful of scholars to date (Bae, 2022; Brown, 1988; 1991; Pepper; 1992; Scott, 1999; 2010). However, his work has thus far only been approached from a historical perspective, covering important factors such as his system of hygienic medicine and separation from the mainstream medical community. Whilst these insights provide valuable context for this research, Allinson's rhetoric has not yet been explored; this is the first study to analyse Allinson's writings from a linguistic perspective. Doing so builds on the findings of scholars such as Bae (2022: 21), who emphasises that hygienic medicine is 'worth investigating.' Bae (2022: 21), in accordance with Brown (1991), finds that Allinson had 'outstanding entrepreneurial success,' and my study contributes a linguistic perspective to how this manifests in his rhetorical construction of identity across his writings. Allinson's status as a controversial figure within the alternative health market warrants a focused analysis of the ways by which he rhetorically negotiated his identity and created a community of followers around his system of hygienic medicine.

1.3.2 Eustace Miles

Eustace Hamilton Miles (1868-1948) was first and foremost a champion real tennis player, known to the public as a sports celebrity and famed for achievements which included an Olympic medal.⁷ In terms of his activities as a food reformer, he ran a popular vegetarian restaurant on Chandos Street in London—the Eustace Miles Restaurant, or the ‘Eustace Miles’ for short—in which he served nutritious meatless meals, lectured on health topics, and sold books and recipes. Miles also contributed to the Edwardian health food market with his protein product ‘Emprote,’ which he sold in various forms (such as Emprote biscuits) and used creatively in the dishes served at his restaurant. Richardson (2021: 137) writes, ‘[h]ailed in 1907 as the “Nut King, the Bean Emperor and the Milk Kahn,” Miles was the most famous vegetarian in Edwardian London.’ Promoting preventative health measures, Miles outlined his health ideas as relating to what he termed ‘self-health,’ with self-help being core to his approach. In promoting his self-help principles, which were intertwined with food reform ideas, Miles worked closely alongside his wife Hallie Killick:

Husband and wife reiterated the beliefs of the food reform movement of the period, which crusaded against wastefulness, indigestibility, and general harmfulness to health of the traditionally heavy, rich meat diet of the Edwardian upper and middle classes and of their counterparts elsewhere in the western world. (Allen, 2014: 2)

Miles strongly objected to using the word ‘vegetarian’ to describe his dietary preferences, despite the fact that the diet he promoted technically aligned with this label. Miles’s celebrity status as an athlete, alongside his scathing rejection of mainstream vegetarianism, makes him a particularly valuable case study for this thesis, enabling an analysis of how this distance was achieved rhetorically, and how this contributed more broadly to Miles’s construction of identity.

Existing work on Miles includes O’Hagan’s (2021a) examination of Emprote marketing, Richardson’s (2019; 2022) sociohistorical work on Miles’s diet and restaurant,⁸ Heffernan’s (2022) study on physical culture supplements in early twentieth century Britain, and Zweiniger-Bargielowska’s (2010) examination of Miles in terms of life reform and the

⁷ Real tennis preceded modern lawn tennis and is sometimes referred to as royal tennis; real tennis is distinguishable from modern lawn tennis by its different rules and points scoring system.

⁸ Richardson’s research outputs on Miles stem from a wider research project—‘The First Health Food Empire: Eustace Miles and Life Reform, 1900-1930’—undertaken at the University of Strathclyde.

physical culture movement. Though largely sociohistorical in nature, as with the work on Allinson, O'Hagan's (2021a: 18) work showcases the value of taking a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to historical food discourses, concluding that a 'range of strategies' were used to market healthy lifestyles to the public. However, O'Hagan's (2021a) study focuses primarily on advertisements by adopting a multimodal CDA approach, whereas my study conducts in-depth rhetorical analysis of a wider range of Miles's publications, therefore building on this existing work. Analysing this wider range of texts written by Miles enables this thesis to focus on the construction of the writer-reader relationship, and the ways by which Miles built this relationship across different texts and genres. Until now, Miles's rich body of written works have been neglected from a linguistic perspective. My research therefore contributes a novel linguistic analysis of some of Miles's key written works, extending the work of existing scholars and developing new knowledge regarding Miles's rhetorical negotiation of the writer-reader relationship.

1.4 Situating the Study

Having briefly begun to situate the research in relation to the wider literature in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, the current section further contextualises this thesis in terms of existing research, demonstrating that my research occupies a valuable niche between sociohistorical and linguistic research. There exists a growing body of work which questions the historical roots of diet and health issues which remain prominent in our society today. O'Hagan (2021a: 2) refers to this literature as 'transhistorical,' being 'concerned with explaining and situating apparently "new" phenomena within a longer trajectory of practice and use.' Gregory (2007: 4) undertakes such an endeavour in *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, in which he argues:

In an age worried about overpopulation, environmental catastrophe, and the ethics and health risks of industrialized food production, vegetarianism has acquired an acknowledged relevance in western discourse [...] But concern to reform lifestyle is not a recent or "post-modern" development: for critics have shown that these movements descend from or reiterate nineteenth-century concerns.

In a similar fashion, a recent project—'Diseases of Modern Life'—undertaken at the University of Oxford (2014-2019), 'explored the medical, literary and cultural responses in the Victorian age to the perceived problems of stress and overwork, anticipating many of the preoccupations of our own era' (*Diseases of Modern Life*, 2014). My project joins this

expanding body of research which considers hyper modernised issues in historical context, providing a linguistic perspective on historical issues which remain prominent today.

Furthermore, a number of scholars have approached the language of health and diet in a late twentieth and twenty-first century context, such as Crowe's (2021: 189) recent study of actress Gwyneth Paltrow's wellness company Goop, in which she examines how language is used to frame 'clean eating' as an effective remedy for the harmful effects of the 'modern world.'⁹ This holds a remarkably similar sentiment to the life reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, who saw modernity as a threat to mental and physical wellbeing (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010). Similarly, Shapin (2007: 181) has explored the language used in relation to the Atkins diet, asking questions about credibility, such as: 'what are the grounds of dietetic credibility? Why did Atkins, and many others of the low-carb popular writers, do so well in the public credibility market, while academic expertise is struggling to make its voices heard?'¹⁰ Shapin (2007) concludes that credibility in the sphere of diet and medicine is highly dynamic, with legitimacy transcending simple credentials and often relying on other factors such as personal experience. This is highly relevant to my research in its questioning of the roots of legitimacy when it comes to diet and healthy lifestyle promotion. Crowe (2021: 187) asks similar questions about Paltrow's credibility, noting that '[t]he public's declining trust in health advice from traditional outlets has long been noted by scholars. But what makes alternative sources for health information appear more trustworthy to some audiences?' What this existing research shows is that personal identity is prevalent in dietary discourses, with both Atkins and Paltrow placing their identities and experiences at the heart of their rhetorical enterprises; this points to the importance of individual case studies when exploring the rhetoric of food reform. I argue for the value of analysing such individual case studies in historical context, using linguistic analysis to enrich understanding of sociohistorical issues. Moreover, Crowe's (2021: 189) study also finds that 'Paltrow regularly promotes cleanses and asks readers to embrace clean eating as a means of not just losing weight and increasing energy, but of eliminating acne, treating Lyme disease, improving gut health, and more.' This is particularly striking in its resonance with historical food reform discourses, given the focus on specific ailments, with the use of certain foods being characterised in both preventative and curative terms. The core

⁹ Goop is a modern alternative health and wellness company founded by actress Gwyneth Paltrow. The website describes Goop as wellness pioneers who 'operate from a place of curiosity and nonjudgment' (Goop, 2023). Paltrow is considered a controversial figure, accused of giving pseudoscientific advice to followers.

¹⁰ The Atkins Diet is a low-carbohydrate diet, aimed at weight loss, which was developed in the second half of the twentieth century by a cardiologist named Robert C. Atkins. See <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/medicine-and-dentistry/atkins-diet>

of the argument, in Paltrow's case, is that food is medicine (Crowe, 2021). Furthermore, recognising the legitimisation strategies involved in proposing dietary changes, de Boer and Aiking (2021: 2) argue, '[t]o realize this change, it will be necessary to apply well-chosen persuasive strategies to *de-legitimize* existing practices and to *legitimize* the proposed changes in public communication as well as in everyday interaction' [italics in original]. Their study draws attention to the highly rhetorical nature of diet discourses, citing the persuasive function of legitimisation; this is a core consideration of the current study.

Moreover, one of the most recent and insightful contributions to this field of diet discourses is Hanganu-Bresch's (2023) edited collection—*The Rhetorical Construction of Vegetarianism*. The variety of chapters included within this collection showcases the rhetorical complexities of vegetarianism, ranging from ecological rhetoric (Gruber, 2023) to agency and rhetorical citizenship (Hammontree, 2023). The possibility for vegetarianism to be rhetorically constructed in different ways makes it a rich site of persuasion, and historical texts can provide valuable evidence of the writer-reader relationship. Furthermore, Wilson *et al.* (2004) examine discussions of health in relation to vegetarianism by rhetorically analysing internet discussions on these topics. The authors are interested in how health is used rhetorically to legitimise an individual's choice to be vegetarian, and they find that arguments relating to health are considered more valuable than, for example, ethical arguments. Whilst Wilson *et al.*'s (2004) article looks at examples from twenty-first century internet discussions, health-related arguments for vegetarianism were prolific in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with health similarly functioning as a rhetorical 'commonplace' (Billig, 1991). In *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture*, Haley (1978: 3) argues that '[n]o topic more occupied the Victorian mind than Health,' emphasising its cultural importance. Whilst I find Wilson *et al.*'s (2004) study insightful, I aim to gain more historical context on the issues they raise by analysing how diet advice was legitimised in terms of health in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The work of scholars operating within the present-day context is revisited and further developed in Section 7.4, contextualising the findings of the current study in terms of modern diet discourses.

Furthermore, in the introduction to a special issue of the journal *Rhetoric of Health & Medicine* on 'The Rhetoric of Food as Medicine,' Hanganu-Bresch (2021: 119) poses some important questions, which are of great relevance to the current study:

In a society obsessed with health, longevity, and youth, and organized around healthist assumptions about our role as conscious consumers; what are the discursive practices

developed by experts and consumers surrounding the connection between food and health? Who do we listen to, and what are the stories we tell ourselves when we profess to “eat healthy?”

This raises pertinent issues relating to identity and persuasion, particularly the rhetorical nature of negotiating expertise and legitimacy. In this regard, Hartelius (2010: 3) argues, ‘[t]he idea that expertise is up for grabs should alert us to the concept’s fundamental rhetoricity.’ The two intersecting themes highlighted by Hanganu-Bresch (2021: 111), in relation to the rhetoric of food as medicine, are ‘the belief that food is a tool for preventing or even curing disease, and the belief that we are each responsible for our own health.’ These themes relate broadly to preventative medicine and self-help discourses, which have a long history. My research works to characterise these themes by analysing historical texts by two key food reformers.

Moreover, Kondrlik (2023: 79) has recently demonstrated some of the parallels between nineteenth century and contemporary discourses of vegetarianism by analysing writings published by the Vegetarian Society (past and present), finding that ‘many contemporary vegetarians and vegans retain Victorian vegetarians’ idea of the connection between an individual’s diet and their ability to contribute to society.’ Kondrlik (2023: 92) also finds an ongoing trend of the Vegetarian Society ‘expounding on the advantages of vegetarianism’ which have their roots in historical discourses. However, where Kondrlik (2023) explores the written work of the mainstream Vegetarian Society in Britain, my research focuses on the contributions of key individuals to the discursive landscape of alternative health, foregrounding the importance of personal identity in persuasion. In doing so, I build on the work of Kondrlik (2023) by adding a new perspective to the existing findings that past and present vegetarian rhetoric has similarities. Thus far, individuals on the fringes of major movements, such as Allinson and Miles, have remained under-researched when compared to larger societies. My research stresses the importance of individual voices, and therefore identities, in the health marketplace of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At present, there is a gap in research regarding how individual food reformers rhetorically constructed identities across their different publications. My research operates within this gap by building on the work of social historians and modern linguistic approaches, following the example of O’Hagan (2020; 2021a; 2021b) who has illustrated the potential of such work for drawing vital connections between historical context and linguistic features.

1.5 Research Aims, Objectives, and Questions

This thesis aims to identify and evaluate rhetorical strategies adopted by food reformers to make arguments about healthy lifestyles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in conducting a deeply contextualised analysis, this research aims to contribute an original and insightful linguistically informed history of two prominent food reformers. In this capacity, this thesis also aims to provide a linguistic perspective on historical discourses which remain relevant today, making an important contribution to the transhistorical understanding of these discourses. Furthermore, this thesis has three main objectives, corresponding with the three main analysis chapters:

- O1. To identify the rhetorical strategies used by Thomas Allinson to legitimise his claims about health and diet (Chapter 4).
- O2. To identify the rhetorical strategies used by Eustace Miles to legitimise his claims about health and diet (Chapter 5).
- O3. To place the two case studies into their wider discursive context through thematic analysis (Chapter 6).

In line with the above mentioned aims and objectives, this thesis is driven by the following over-arching research question: How do Allinson and Miles use rhetorical strategies to legitimise their claims about diet and promote lifestyle changes? In order to address this research question, with consideration for both the historical context and the texts for analysis, four sub-questions are identified below, relating to four interrelated themes:

- RQ1. How do Allinson and Miles draw on discourses of moral value to legitimise their alternative approaches to health and diet?¹¹
- RQ2. How do Allinson and Miles draw on different manifestations of authority in order to legitimise their claims about health and diet?
- RQ3. How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically negotiate their relationships with the establishment and mainstream groups?
- RQ4. How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically construct notions of self-help within their texts?

¹¹ Within this thesis, discourses of moral value, or moral values, refer to the rhetorical use of positive and/or negative values which are connected to wider socially significant discourses, such as healthy living and food quality.

1.6 General Introduction to the Texts and Analysis Framework

This section briefly introduces the texts and analysis framework for the study, which are accounted for in finer detail in Chapter 3. Allinson's and Miles's prominence as food reformers at the turn of the century saw them publish widely, across a variety of genres. Both individuals published a number of monographs, as well as regular weekly and monthly publications. This makes them particularly valuable case studies for linguistic analysis, given the scope of their published works. Allinson's and Miles's surviving written works are held across multiple British libraries and archives, both physical and digital, highlighting the extent of their written activities and suitability for historical linguistic research. The University of Edinburgh's Centre for Research Collections (CRC) holds an extensive collection of Allinson's personal papers. Furthermore, the British Library, the Wellcome Library, and the digital UK Medical Heritage Library (UKMHL) were consulted for texts. For each individual, three major examples were taken from their written works for close linguistic analysis, with one example for each author being one of their regular publications. Additional texts were chosen based on topic and prominence, with the focus of this thesis on food reform and the themes underpinning the research questions (RQ1-RQ4, Section 1.5) driving the selection of texts.

The analysis framework applied to the texts adopts a 'multi-theoretical approach' (Jeffries, 2000), aligning with Mulholland's (1994) approach by drawing on a variety of relevant theories from across language and communication studies. On this type of approach, Jeffries (2000: 8) argues:

I would like to claim to be a floating voter as regards linguistic theory. But I would like to reclaim the term as a positive rather than a negative one. Often I do not want to "buy" the whole package offered by a theory, but will search it for useful insights and interesting leads.

Aligning with the above, I act as a 'floating voter' with regards to my theoretical approach to the texts. I argue that this is necessitated by the context, with the prevalence of certain features making certain aspects of individual theories insightful for analysis, which I have divided into writer- and reader-oriented strategies, enabling an examination of the complex construction of the writer-reader relationship. As Jeffries (2000) argues, no one theory can account for all of the intricacies of communication, and it is in fact profitable to draw on

individual aspects of a multitude of theories and approaches in order to answer questions about language. In this sense, Jeffries (2000) aligns with Mulholland (1994: xvii), who contends that one ‘aspect of persuasion which is often ignored by analysts, is the fact that not one but many tactics can be employed at a time to achieve influence [...] in many cases the use of multiple tactics can be more successful than using just one.’ Furthermore, in relation to the ‘vast array of rhetorical strategies’ (Hanganu-Bresch, 2023: 4) adopted by meat-free advocates, Hanganu-Bresch (2023: 11) attributes a ‘polyphonic or chameleonic rhetoric,’ which highlights the ‘non-monolithic’ nature of the arguments. This provides further justification for the theoretical eclecticism preferred by Jeffries (2000), which enables a deeper understanding of the variety of strategies at work. Moreover, the multi-theoretical approach adopted for this research is informed by the historical background; for example, concerns around food adulteration and purity meant that moral evaluation (van Leeuwen, 2007; 2017) was a key linguistic feature to consider, and the shifting discursive landscape towards the interpersonal prompted an analysis of engagement strategies (Hyland, 2019) by the two authors. These are some brief illustrative examples of how the approach is informed by the historical context, and this is further developed and explained in-depth in Chapter 3.

Within this introductory chapter, it is also important to introduce the significance of ideological factors in relation to food reform, and the power of linguistic analysis to deepen understanding. Hunston and Thompson (2000: 8) argue:

Ideologies do not exist in silence, but neither are they usually expressed overtly. They are built up and transmitted through texts, and it is in texts that their nature is revealed. It has become commonplace to examine texts in order to lay bare the ideologies that have inspired them [...] Because ideologies are essentially sets of values - what counts as good or bad, what should or should not happen, what counts as true or untrue - evaluation is a key linguistic concept in their study.

The above extract highlights that ideology is rooted in values, and that these values can be analysed linguistically in order to reconstruct the underlying ideological structures. In terms of historical factors, I contend that the multi-faceted nature of health and diet discourses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries requires both theoretical eclecticism and a firm understanding of context.

In the broadest sense, this thesis constructs an analysis framework rooted in the core principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), seeing language as a ‘form of “social practice”’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258) and drawing on a variety of theories to elucidate this in the context of historic discourses of food reform. This thesis is critical in its foregrounding of powerful individuals in the Edwardian health food market, as Wodak (2001: 12) asserts, ‘[f]or CDA, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use powerful people make of it.’ Analysing the rhetoric of prominent food reformers can contextualise historical discourses which remain prolific in today’s burgeoning health and wellness market. One of the core theoretical underpinnings of this research is legitimisation (van Leeuwen, 2007; 2017); this involves ‘analysing the way discourses construct legitimisation for social practices’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 91), and is therefore valuable in a study of how food reformers justified and supported their claims about health and diet. Moreover, it is argued that ‘[l]egitimation may be a complex, ongoing discursive practice involving a set of interrelated discourses’ (van Dijk, 1998: 255). This highlights the value of analysing a variety of texts within individual case studies, including both serial and standalone texts, and thereby gaining a sense of how the authors legitimised their claims across different publications. Alongside analysing legitimisation strategies, I also examine the authors’ use of metadiscourse features (Hyland, 2019). It is argued that ‘metadiscourse embodies the idea that communication is more than just the exchange of information, goods or services, but also involves personalities, attitudes and assumptions of those who are communicating’ (Hyland, 2019: 3). As such, analysing metadiscourse features enables a deeper understanding of the rhetorical construction of identity in texts, as well as enabling insightful conclusions to be drawn about the writer-reader relationship:

Writers seek to offer a credible representation of themselves and their work by claiming solidarity with readers, evaluating their material and acknowledging alternative views, so that controlling the level of personality in a text becomes central to building a convincing argument. (Hyland, 2005: 173)

Alongside legitimisation strategies (van Leeuwen, 2007; 2017) and metadiscourse features (Hyland, 2002; 2005; 2019), I draw on some overlapping theoretical concepts from work on ideology (van Dijk, 1998), evaluation (Hunston & Thomson, 2000), and politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), with all theoretical choices driven by the needs of the research questions. As mentioned above, I build the analysis framework around two organisational categories—writer-oriented strategies and reader-oriented strategies. These overlapping categories of rhetorical strategies enable analysis of the writer-reader relationship,

considering how the authors used persuasive tactics in terms of their own identities, alongside how they related to readers in the text. Based on the historical context, these are highly relevant features of the discursive landscape at the time, with existing evidence that Allinson and Miles created personal brands in a busy health marketplace (see further Sections 2.7.4 and 2.8.3). At present, there is a gap in knowledge regarding how these personal brands were rhetorically constructed in the authors' extensive collections of written texts, therefore providing a strong rationale for the aims of this thesis.

1.7 Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured to allow for a linguistically informed history of food reform, in line with the aims of the study (Section 1.5). Given the sociohistorical nature of this research, necessitating a deeply contextualised analysis, Chapter 2 examines the historical background relevant to the scope of the research. This background chapter considers key features of the zeitgeist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such as the life reform movement, food adulteration, and vegetarianism, as well as the personal backgrounds of the two authors. The historical factors accounted for within Chapter 2 are integral to the contextually rooted analysis undertaken within the case study chapters (Chapters 4 and 5). Alongside the context surrounding health and diet at the turn of the century, Chapter 2 also examines key discursive developments, providing an overview of the textual environment in which Allinson and Miles were publishing their works. Furthermore, these contextual factors largely inform the rationale for the theoretical choices outlined in Chapter 3; this chapter discusses the text selection process, detailing the sampling approach where relevant, and justifying the inclusion of specific texts for analysis. Chapter 3 also covers the theoretical underpinnings of the analysis framework adopted, outlining the multi-theoretical approach in more depth. As has been suggested, Chapters 2 and 3 are interrelated in the sense that key features of the historical context have informed the design of the analysis framework.

The analysis of Allinson's and Miles's texts is divided into three central chapters, composed of two detailed case study chapters and one thematic analysis chapter; these chapters correspond with Objectives 1, 2, and 3, respectively (see further Section 1.5). The inclusion of case studies is a significant feature of this thesis, rooted in the argument that individual identities were important in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapters 4 and 5 then analyse the writings of Allinson and Miles individually, rooting this analysis in the context provided in the biographies of each author in Sections 2.7 and 2.8. Both Chapters 4

and 5 adopt the same structure, with analysis broken down into three major text examples for each author. Within each text example, the discourse is analysed in terms of writer- and reader-oriented strategies, focusing on the construction of the writer-reader relationship by each author. Following the individual case study chapters, Chapter 6 is organised thematically, drawing on the key discursive themes underpinning the research questions (RQ1-4, see further Section 1.5); in focusing on the relationship between the texts and the wider social context, Chapter 6 is written in the spirit of Fairclough's (1989) third dimension—explanation. As mentioned above, this thesis structure aligns with the research aims by enabling a linguistically informed history. After an initial overview of the zeitgeist and personal backgrounds of the authors, the detailed case studies allow for an informed thematic analysis in Chapter 6, drawing on key findings from the case studies and supplementing the analysis with additional materials. Chapter 6 is structured around the four sub-research questions, which relate to some of the major themes which emerge in the historical context and are significant within the texts. In brief, these themes are: moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help. Finally, concluding the thesis, Chapter 7 summarises the key findings and highlights the original contribution of the research, evaluating its significance. The concluding chapter also considers the modern relevance of the research, contextualising the findings in terms of the existing literature on modern dietary discourses and aligning with the thesis aims.

1.8 Summary

Overall, this thesis presents an examination of the rhetoric of two key food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, providing a linguistic perspective on historical diet discourses which remain relevant today. Both Allinson and Miles were well-known food reformers and entrepreneurs with established personal brands; this thesis contributes valuable insight regarding how these personal brands were rhetorically constructed. I apply a multi-theoretical approach to a rich collection of texts, generating informed conclusions about the rhetoric of food reform which are firmly rooted in historical context, building on the existing work of social historians. In this thesis, I place great emphasis on the importance of the case study approach for an exploration of the rhetorical construction of identity in late nineteenth and early twentieth century food reform discourses. The original contribution of this thesis lies in its multi-theoretical linguistic approach to rich historical texts, adopting an understanding of both the historical context and the importance of individual identities within the late nineteenth and early twentieth century health marketplace.

Chapter 2 - Historical Background

2.1 Chapter Introduction

Driven by the aim of this thesis to conduct a deeply contextualised analysis (see Section 1.5), this chapter examines the historical factors which shaped the texts produced by Allinson and Miles, and therefore the persuasive strategies adopted. Examining the relevant historical context is essential for addressing the research questions (RQ1-4, Section 1.5), which deal with contextually rooted themes. The analytical framework adopted for this research is underpinned by the principles of a CDA approach, which necessitates an understanding of the social and cultural factors which may have influenced the language used (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258) (see Section 3.4). As such, this chapter examines key developments in both health and discursive practices during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the personal backgrounds of the two authors. Embedding the analysis in historical context aligns with O'Hagan's (2020: 8) approach, which she argues produces rich conclusions by combining discourse analysis with awareness of key historical factors. On this basis, the purpose of the current chapter is to provide such historical awareness in order to support detailed, socially situated analyses.

The Victorian fascination with health (Haley, 1978), in combination with key factors such as food adulteration and New Journalism, made the turn of the century a 'kairotic opportunity' (Reeves, 2019: 418) for wellness gurus such as Allinson and Miles to market lifestyle changes to the public. The term *kairos* is highly relevant to this analysis in terms of providing an overview of the social conditions of the time, as it relates to 'the appropriateness of the discourse to the particular circumstances of the time, place, speaker, and audience involved' (Kinneavy, 1986: 84). The core principle of *kairos* underpins modern theories of discourse analysis through its focus on the impact of contextual factors on the rhetorical strategies used. Life reformers such as Allinson and Miles were faced with a public haunted by the widespread disease of the Victorian era, anxious about potential poisons added to their foods, and empowered with heightened ability to make dietary choices. These are all factors which are central to Allinson's and Miles's rhetorical construction of identity.

The overview of the key elements of the zeitgeist in Sections 2.2-2.6 provides a suitable foundation for the respective biographies of Allinson and Miles within Sections 2.7 and 2.8, which provide an in-depth account of the individuals' personal backgrounds. Furthermore,

key historical factors are revisited in Chapter 6, which places the analysis of Allinson's and Miles's rhetoric in wider context. Within the current chapter, Section 2.2 provides a general overview of the zeitgeist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Section 2.3 then introduces the umbrella term 'life reform' (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 1), which captures a wide range of movements, including food reform. Section 2.4 provides an account of food adulteration in the nineteenth century, and the lasting impact of concerns surrounding food quality; this is a crucial aspect of the historical context to cover in advance of analysing moral evaluation strategies. Sections 2.5 then examines vegetarianism at the turn of the century, again providing essential context for the forthcoming case studies by covering topics such as the vegetarian restaurant. Furthermore, Section 2.6 accounts for some of the key discursive developments during this time, which had a bearing on the rhetorical activities of food reformers. Following this, Sections 2.7 and 2.8 detail relevant aspects of the authors' personal backgrounds by means of individual biographies. These sections, taken together, provide a contextual foundation on which to base the analyses, as well as illustrate some of the key themes for food reformers at this time.

2.2 *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano*: Introducing the Zeitgeist

Much of the discourse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was either directly about, or at least related to, health. Haley (1978: 3) writes that '[n]o topic more occupied the Victorian mind than Health,' adding that 'nothing occupies a nation's mind with the subject of health like a general contagion' (1978: 6). The early nineteenth century witnessed several waves of contagious disease, including cholera, smallpox, and influenza; these bouts of disease 'had a special way of intensifying anxiety' surrounding health in the early Victorian era (Haley, 1978: 11). These anxieties about disease prefaced discussions of health and wellbeing becoming central in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Haley (1978: 5-6) writes that '[t]he constant threat of illness in the Victorian home made people conscious of their bodies, anxious to know how their bodies worked, and prepared to see a moral significance in the laws of life.' Principles of health metaphorically inspired by the goddess Hygeia were important for the Victorians, and Haley (1978: 3) explains that they 'sought out her laws, and disciplined themselves to obey them,' manifesting a 'Victorian self-help ideology' which underpinned discussions of health at the turn of the twentieth century (O'Hagan, 2021a: 10). The health-consciousness of the Victorians laid important foundations for food reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with food reformers capitalising on widespread concerns relating to health and wellbeing. However,

food reformers were not the only group to commercialise upon these anxieties, with the nineteenth century witnessing heightened quackery; examples include Snook's Family Pill, Parr's Life Pill, and Morison's Gamboge Pill, which was described as a 'Universal Medicine' (Haley, 1978: 14). This is important to note, as authority and credibility became valued and contested commodities in a medical marketplace of increasingly dubious and conflicting voices, with scientific and alternative approaches progressively distanced from one another.

Prior to the discovery that bacteria caused diseases, miasma theory—which posited that bad air could cause disease—led to health concerns among the public, particularly during 'the "Great Stink" of 1858 and 1859,' which saw the River Thames 'become so polluted with waste as to be almost unbearable during the summer months' (Haley, 1978: 10). In 1861, Pasteur's Germ Theory created a new kind of anxiety about health, one which turned to the sanitary conditions of the home; Pasteur demonstrated the role of bacteria in the spoiling of food and development of illness (Schwartz, 2001: 598). The intensification of health anxieties in the early-mid nineteenth century paved the way for discussions surrounding health to take centre-stage during the latter half of the century and into the Edwardian era. This was amplified by the reports of Booth and Rowntree at the end of the nineteenth century, which found a large percentage of London and York living in dire poverty, and this widespread poverty had a severe impact on public health. This link between health and poverty saw food reformers like Allinson and Miles stress the economy associated with their recommendations. Furthermore, the effects of industrial capitalism and modernity saw a rise in sedentary occupations and the expansion of the middle classes (Richardson, 2021; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010). The indulgence of the Edwardian lifestyle led to new health concerns among those who could afford it, such as obesity and diabetes. Alongside such adverse effects, however, the late nineteenth century also 'saw industrial employment becoming more plentiful, more regular and more remunerative, with wages advancing more rapidly than prices, and, consequently, marked increases in the standard of comfort of the worker' (Burnett, 1979: 182). The rising comfort of the working classes, coupled with 'increases in literacy rates' (King *et al.*, 2016: 1) at the turn of the century, meant that not only did people have greater power to make choices for their health, such as choosing which foods to eat, but also that they could access a wider range of popularised health information as a result of the removal of taxes on knowledge and the proliferation of mass media.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw *mens sana in corpore sano* become a central concept in discussions of health (Haley, 1978: 4). Influenced by Graeco-Roman

ideals, this meant a consideration of mind-body wholeness, with the dual importance of both health and happiness. As mentioned above, the turn of the century witnessed ‘the emergence of modern sedentary lifestyles’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 1), and this coincided with the rise of a visual culture, which saw ideal bodies appear in the media, and exaggerated the poor fitness of much of the nation in the early Edwardian era. Advances in technology meant that many occupations required less physical exertion (Richardson, 2021). Despite the rising comfort of the worker in terms of wages, Haley (1978: 12) explains that ‘[i]n many places of work, ten to twelve hours a day standing or sitting in one spot, often in an unnatural position, damaged the spine, the digestion, and the circulation.’ Furthermore, the indulgent lifestyles of some middle- and upper-class Edwardians, along with the heightened food choice available to the working class, contributed to concerns for the body; as Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 9) argues, the ‘advent of abundance conflicted with an aesthetic vision of the modern body beautiful.’ This tension between the ideal body, the reality of sedentary work, and evolving dietary habits led to heightened concerns for the health and efficiency of the nation.

Concerns for the health of the nation were amplified during the Boer War of 1899-1902, when there were significant rejection rates of army recruits who did not meet the fitness requirements (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 62). These revelations, laid out in a report published by the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration, ignited efforts to safeguard the health of the nation and, on a larger scale, the empire. Morgan (2002: 8) argues that ‘the Boer War was a seminal and crucial period in the evolution of the British press. It launched a new phase in Britain’s self-definition and self-image.’ Moreover, in 1918, Lloyd George stated that over one million men had been rejected for military service during WWI, which revitalised the concerns surrounding racial fitness which were voiced during the Boer War. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 62) points out that ‘[m]ilitary recruitment statistics were represented as a barometer of racial fitness and attention focused on the male body which became a symbol of national strength.’ In a 1918 speech, Lloyd George famously claimed that ‘you cannot maintain an A1 Empire with a C3 nation’ (*The Times*, 1918: 8b), turning military categories into a metaphor for the strength of the nation. This demonstrates the cultural value attached to physical strength and fitness at this time, being largely framed in terms of the strength of the nation. These contrasting categories held individuals responsible for their own health and fitness, couching these aspects of life in terms of national duty: ‘[t]he virtuous habits of the healthy and fit A 1 citizen were juxtaposed with the C 3 anti-citizen whose undisciplined lifestyle was attributed to ignorance and lack of self-control and held responsible for racial deterioration’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010:

10). This is vital context for the forthcoming analysis, as it highlights the wider importance of self-help ideology at this time, pointing to the growing anxieties surrounding the health of the nation.

Though prevention has a long history, the 1900s have been referred to as the century of preventative medicine by contemporaries (Haley, 1978: 17). During this time ‘public health officials developed a distinctive ethos of preventative medicine which embraced a holistic notion of health’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 22). In particular, Charles Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of Health, believed in the promotion and advancement of positive health, not just the mere absence of disease (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 155). Newman’s health philosophy was holistic in that he considered a range of measures, from maternal and infant welfare to food safety and industrial hygiene (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 155), in order to safeguard the nation from preventable illness and death. Newman blamed poor health on ‘lack of knowledge’ and saw preventative measures as the solution to an ignorant, unhealthy nation (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 152).

One significant and far-reaching aspect of the turn of the century culture of prevention was diet. Gregory (2007: 3) argues that ‘a study of diet is a study of Victorian culture,’ aligning with Oddy and Miller’s (1976: 7) argument that food and diet are intertwined with greater cultural and societal concerns and had a significant impact on the lives of the public. This can be seen through the early nineteenth century anxieties, particularly surrounding health, arising from widescale food adulteration in Britain. Additionally, Waddington (2011: 61) notes that ‘[i]deas of taste and notions of what is good and bad to eat are culturally determined, but in the nineteenth century they were also beginning to be shaped by medical ideas.’ Furthermore, Porter (1997: 396) writes that ‘[t]he nineteenth century brought medicine face to face with commercial society.’ Though the food-medicine link did not originate in the Victorian era, it certainly gained prominence, and this is something which food reformers capitalised on. In fact, even major food brands which did not necessarily sell healthy food began to market their foods in terms of health (Collins, 1993: 108).

Furthermore, another central feature of the zeitgeist was the prevalence of alternative approaches to medicine, of which diet-based methods were popular. Alongside Brown (1991), Stiles and Swenson (2021: 36) acknowledge that such alternative approaches were characterised by ‘a generally adversarial relationship to mainstream medicine,’ highlighting that, ‘unorthodox medicine regimens and their practitioners asserted individual patient

choice in opposition to hegemonic systems of authority.’ Expanding on this notion of alternative medicine and agency, they write:

[...] unorthodox healers valorized patient choice. Their holistic methods treated the patient as a unique person, not a set of statistics. They spent more time listening to their patients and advertised their remedies as gentle and natural. Heterodox practitioners claimed to stimulate the body’s natural healing powers, known as the *vis medicatrix naturae*, thereby avoiding aggressive medical intervention. (Stiles & Swenson, 2021: 36)

Two important themes are raised in the above extract, the first of which is self-help; this is captured by the notion of encouraging patient agency and taking an individualised approach to treating health conditions. Bound up with the theme of self-help, the second theme present in the above extract is counterculture, indicated by the dichotomy between natural healing and invasive orthodox treatment. These two themes—self-help and counterculture—are interrelated in that, by encouraging individual agency, alternative health practitioners fuelled the resistance to mainstream medicine, which increasingly saw patients as ‘a set of statistics’ (Stiles & Swenson, 2021: 36). The above extract aligns with both Allinson’s system of hygienic medicine and Miles’s principles of self-health, which are taken up further in Sections 2.7.2 and 2.8.2, respectively.

2.3 Life Reform

In response to health and wellbeing issues arising in the first half of the nineteenth century, such as food adulteration and uncertain attitudes towards modern lifestyles, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed several movements emerge which can be generally referred to as ‘life reform.’ Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 2) refers to life reform ‘as a shorthand for a wide range of practices including vegetarianism, fasting, reducing or high-fibre diets, care of the skin, sun- and air-bathing, nudism, breathing and sex reform.’ These practices were inspired by the ‘total health’ implicit in *mens sana in corpore sano*—a healthy mind in a healthy body (Haley, 1978: 4). Life reformers advocated returning to a ‘more natural’ state of living, and believed the effects of industrial capitalism were detrimental to the health of the nation (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 2). Many life reformers advocated hygienic regimens, and Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 2) writes:

Indeed, the remedial potential of a regimen was an important focus of the movement. Many activists related their personal story of physical transformation from a sickly childhood or chronic disease in middle age to health and beauty as proof of the success of their respective system.

The separation between alternative and conventional approaches to health raises many rhetorical questions which have thus far remained under-researched. It is also notable that life reformers are characterised as drawing on personal experiences to prove the efficacy of their claims; this is further explored in relation to the case studies for this thesis. Moreover, operating alongside life reform was the physical culture movement, which arose amidst concerns about physical deterioration and the changing lifestyles of Edwardians. The British physical culture movement was influenced by European activities, such as Swedish gymnastics, and was ‘concurrent with the rise of competitive sports’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 36). Those involved in life reform and physical culture seized upon ‘commercial opportunities’ within ‘a dynamic modern mass consumer market,’ for example through manuals, health foods, vegetarian restaurants, and gyms (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 20); this points to the wealth of source material available for rhetorical analysis. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2006: 598) also asserts that ‘[p]romoters of physical culture aspired to transcend the purely commercial and the movement emerged in response to the physical implications of modern urban lifestyles coupled with anxieties about racial fitness.’ Though perhaps aiming to rise above the commercial nature of their practices, the relationship between life reform and the Edwardian health food market is strong, with many life reformers marketing products within this context.

Life reform at the turn of the century was also characterised by fad diets (diets promoted without evidence-based health benefits). One key motivation to adopt ‘*fin-de-siècle* dietary fads’ was reducing culture, or weight-loss, which ‘aimed to improve health and foster longevity’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 52). Whilst some vegetarian reformers adopted an extreme version of the diet, thus being closer to a fad than a healthy diet, Horace Fletcher ignited one of the most extreme fads of the Edwardian era, with success largely owing to scientific support; it is noted that ‘[i]n January 1904, the editors of *The Lancet* took the unusual step of endorsing a dietetic fad’ (Barnett, 1997: 6). Historical accounts provide testament to the powerful authority of science in terms of diet fads, with Fletcherism being an illustrative example of this:

Various factors contributed to the vitality of Fletcherism, only a few of which can be considered here. In Britain, defence in time of war played a part, and concern about national degeneration was also important. However, support by the scientific and medical communities was the essential element in Fletcherism's success, the avenue by which it spread beyond Fletcher's immediate circle, and the reason it first took root in Britain. Fletcher appreciated the potential of scientific and medical support from the start. (Barnett, 1997: 9)

The above extract emphasises the power of science and medicine in marketing lifestyle ideas to the public. Moreover, Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 58) explains that Fletcherism, or the 'chew-chew' diet, was born in 1898 after Fletcher was refused life insurance 'due to his excessive weight.' The fad involved 'super-mastication,' chewing food for up to seven minutes (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 58). In 1913, Fletcher (1913: *Preface*) published a book titled *What it is, or How I Became Young at Sixty*, in which he promoted his habitual method of 'super-mastication,' rooting it in his own personal success story and highlighting scientific endorsement of his method; he argued, '*[d]oing the right thing in securing right nutrition is easier than not if you only know how*' [italics in original]. In highlighting his own story, Fletcher is an illustrative example of what Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 2) has argued above, using his own experience to prove the efficacy of his advice. In this sense, Fletcher constructed himself as a role model, and this is a theme which is prominent in the two case studies for this thesis. Barnett (1997: 8) stresses that the impact of science on diet promotion extended beyond Fletcher, arguing:

Dietetics became a conversation piece in the early years of the century as news spread about laboratory discoveries in physiology and nutritional chemistry that were overturning time-honoured maxims. Fletcherism was only one of the faddist systems that surfaced during this period, and it was not even the only crank system concerned with reducing the amount of food eaten, as it shared some characteristics with the "fasting" and "no breakfast" fads.

Alongside Fletcher, William Banting 'became Britain's most prominent slimmer,' by promoting a low-carbohydrate diet which saw "'banting" and "to bant" becom[e] synonyms for reducing' (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 52). It is noted that:

Banting and his dieting phenomenon transformed the English cultural consciousness of fatness, and created a Victorian cultural craze that valorized slimness as a marker

of privilege and prestige by drawing on the escalating regularization of medicine and the conventions of medical discourse that were increasingly popular among readers. (Miller, 2014: ii)

Miller (2014: 43) also notes the impact that Banting's *Letter on Corpulence Addressed to the Public* had on public perceptions of obesity, creating 'widespread zeal.' Within this publication, Banting (1865: 1) joined the trend of marketing lifestyle changes using personal success stories, arguing:

Of all the parasites that affect humanity I do not know of, nor can I imagine, any more distressing than that of Obesity, and, having emerged from a very long probation in this affliction, I am desirous of circulating my humble knowledge and experience for the benefit of other sufferers, with an earnest hope that it may lead to the same comfort and happiness I now feel under the extraordinary change—which might almost be termed miraculous had it not been accomplished by the most simple common-sense means.

Miller (2014: 43) explains that the text was part of a wave of 'fringe health discourses to challenge increasingly regulated medical professionals.' It is therefore important to consider the rhetorical construction of relations with the establishment when analysing texts written by life reformers, as is considered later in this thesis in relation to Allinson and Miles. What the examples of Fletcher and Banting point to is the range of types of authority drawn on by diet activists during this era, with a mixture of role model and expert authority being suggested by the examples; authority is analysed throughout Chapters 4 and 5 and is taken up thematically in Section 6.3. Essentially, reducing (weight loss) culture was prominent at the turn of the century, operating alongside food reform and tying together concerns about bodily functions such as digestion, overall health, and anxieties about the ideal body, particularly regarding masculinity.

2.4 Food Adulteration and the Pure Food Movement

Analysing dietary discourses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries requires a firm understanding of key concerns surrounding food purchase and consumption at this time, enabling a deeper understanding of the socially significant values attached to food. Burnett (1979: 99) argues, '[i]n any discussion of changes in the standard of diet in the nineteenth century, it is quite essential to look at the quality as well as the quantity of food which the

English people consumed.’ This notion of the quality of food was central to food discourses at this time, largely stemming from food adulteration practices, and from a rhetorical perspective this issue has a direct relationship with key discourse features such as the construction of authority and portrayal of trust. As such, in order to analyse the discourses and values adopted in the rhetoric of food reformers, it is essential to appropriately contextualise concerns surrounding food adulteration. In 1820, this widespread issue was laid out by Frederick Accum’s *Treatise on Adulteration of Food and Culinary Poisons*, which ‘made food reform an immediate and urgent issue’ (Collins, 1993: 96). Page (2023: 152) writes:

In his 1820 *Treatise on Adulteration*, Frederick Accum described the addition of alum [a chemical compound] to bread as one of the most common food “sophistications,” and of all the samples examined by the *Lancet*’s Sanitary Commission in the 1850s, not a single one was free of alum.

Discussing the impact of Accum’s revelations, Burnett (1979: 104) quotes the *Literary Gazette*, demonstrating the concerns surrounding food quality at this time:

“Does anything pure or unpoisoned come to our tables, except butchers’ meat?” asked the *Literary Gazette* after reading Accum. “We must answer, hardly anything... Bread turns out to be a crutch to help us onwards to the grave, instead of the staff of life; in porter there is no support, in cordials no consolation, in almost everything poison, and in scarcely any medicine cure.”

The above extract highlights a multitude of key contextual factors relating to food adulteration, namely the potential for purity to be used as rhetorical currency, the importance of bread in the British diet, and the food-medicine link which was gaining increasing prominence in dietary discourses. Following Accum’s revelations, the mid-century investigations by Hassall and Lethanby had significant influence and ‘really highlighted just how widespread the practice of adulteration was’ (O’Hagan, 2020: 2).

For the purposes of this study, it is essential to contextualise the historical factors surrounding bread consumption, given the fact that wholemeal bread was at the centre of Allinson’s rhetorical agenda. Fouser (2021: 37) explains that the Victorian era saw the ‘colour line’ between the white and brown loaf become ‘a battleground for bread.’ Bread and flour made up a large portion of working-class diet and were ‘the most adulterated

foodstuffs' (Collins, 1993: 97); alum was used to whiten loaves and 'meet the obsessive public demand for white bread' (Collins, 1993: 97). Page (2023: 152) highlights the fact that the white loaf was 'imbued with great symbolic and cultural value' and that it grew to become 'a "necessary luxury" alongside tea and sugar.' In the middle of the nineteenth century brown bread was 'virtually extinct in Britain,' but it experienced a resurgence in the health food market at the end of the century (Collins, 1976: 29), marketed into the twentieth century by brands such as Allinson and Hovis (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010). The early twentieth century also saw the *Daily Mail* run their 'standard bread campaign' (Weatherall, 1995: 183), which argued for 'a legal standard for the purity of bread' (1995: 183). Like Gregory (2007), O'Hagan (2020) discusses the history of food adulteration, and the subsequent influx of a rhetoric of purity, with advertisers and food companies capitalising on the nation's concerns about the quality of foodstuffs. This is an example of what Reeves (2019: 418) calls a 'kairotic opportunity,' and in this thesis I explore the ways by which food reformers used rhetorical strategies as a result of this opportune moment. O'Hagan (2020: 8) also discusses the modern notion of the 'conscious consumer' in relation to the climate crisis, with food companies now trying to respond to new demands. She argues that rather than being a replacement for Victorian and Edwardian notions of purity, modern ideas build on historical notions. Purity is a multi-faceted rhetorical device, adapting to a multitude of consumer demands at different points in history. This points to the fact that our current discourses surrounding diet and nutrition can be informed by historical discourses on the same topics; the modern relevance of this thesis is taken up further in Section 7.4.

Importantly, 'even when the public became aware of the existence of adulteration, and were financially able to exercise a choice, some continued to prefer the impure to the genuine' (Burnett, 1979: 116). Due to the fact that the public had become so accustomed to consuming impure foods, the pure and natural option was not always immediately appealing to the working class; this was not only due to flavour, but also economic reasons. The working class could not afford the vast variety of food choice that wealthier individuals could, and even then, some were 'very ill-supplied with cooking equipment,' with a small oven costing 30s in 1882 (Burnett, 1979: 185) and fuel being very expensive; these expenses could not be met by poorer families' weekly budget. Food reformers in the middle of the nineteenth century often struggled to convince individuals that the pure and natural option was the best one; for example, co-operative societies 'experienced such difficulty selling uncoloured teas that at least one was obliged to employ a lecturer to tell people what good tea should look like' (Burnett, 1979: 116). It was not until the 1875 Sale of Food and Drugs Act that adulteration was suitably addressed from the top-down in Britain. The act was a 'legislative

milestone’ as it ‘made the appointment of public analysts compulsory to detect food adulteration and develop reliable examination methods, and provided legislation to charge anybody who illegally adulterated food’; it also resulted in the ‘development of a code of practice in commercial relationships, with food companies now trading on their reputation for honesty, integrity, and quality’ (O’Hagan, 2020: 2). As such, the 1875 Act had a significant impact on the subsequent marketing of foods to the public, making it a key consideration when analysing the rhetoric of food reform. However, it is important to note that though legislative measures such as the 1875 Act ‘had progressively eradicated the use of alum [...] the search for processes to artificially whiten flour picked up in the 1880s and 1890s, moving upstream in the wheat-flour-bread chain, from the baking to the milling trade’ (Page, 2023: 152). Discussing the practice of bleaching flour to meet public demand for white bread, Page (2023: 153) argues:

Far from being reducible to a matter of “universal” color preferences, the development of these new bleaching processes should be seen against the backdrop of technological, economic, and ecological transformations in the British food system.

The above extract points to the link between adulteration concerns and technological advances. This is particularly relevant to Allinson’s rhetoric, which not only adopted values relating to purity as a result of food adulteration, but also related to the ‘back to nature’ arguments of life reformers, which opposed industrial advances (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010). Allinson’s stringent opposition to the white loaf was by no means unique at the time, with many bakers ‘arguing that bleaching allowed unscrupulous millers to “hide” lower-quality flour’ (Page, 2023: 154). Alongside bakers, the bleaching process was also condemned by medical professionals, with a 1904 article by the *Lancet* highlighting bleaching as ‘a threat to the “purity of bread”’ (Page, 2023: 154). The *Lancet* article also made direct links between food and health, emphasising the poor physical health of the nation:

The question of physical deterioration looms largely just now and none can doubt that where physical deterioration exists food must be an important factor [...] Surely this tampering with our great staple article of diet should be prevented once and for all. It is intolerable that the people should be at the mercy of unscrupulous traders in regard to the quality of their daily bread [...] Let the public demand an honest label or description, let them realise that in bleached flour or flour deprived of its vital nutritive qualities their chances of repairing body waste are diminished, and we imagine that

there would soon be an end to the impoverisher. And what a much better article is the old-fashioned loaf made from stone-crushed flour than the modern unnatural snow-white bread, a quality, perhaps, as much due to chemicals as to the steam roller-milling process. (1904: 1436)

Alongside the statement of importance surrounding bread at this time, several aspects of the above extract point to important elements of the discourses surrounding food and purity. Firstly, the extract highlights the notion of trust which was prevalent during this period; this was an important consideration for any individual attempting to market health foods at this time. Secondly, the extract points to the conceptualisation of food as medicine, with health being a significant feature of food marketing at this time. The third aspect of the above extract which is of relevance within this thesis is the reference to the ‘old-fashioned loaf’ and its contrast to what is labelled by the *Lancet* as ‘modern unnatural snow-white bread.’ This relates to the ‘pastoral idyll’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 8) championed by life reformers and others who resisted the negative impact of industrialisation. The dichotomy between the artificial and the natural is core to the rhetoric of food reformers. Moreover, O’Hagan (2020: 4) notes:

The link between “pure” food and a strong body was accentuated in John Ruskin’s *Sesame and Lilies*, one of the most popular conduct books of the Victorian age, as well as the *Girl’s Own Journal* and *Boy’s Own Journal*, despite the fact that the scientific classification of a food as “pure” had nothing to do with its strength-giving ability.

The above extract emphasises the cultural value of purity at this time, as well as the association between purity and physical strength. Numerous scholars highlight the impact of industrialisation on relationships between food producers and buyers (Burnett, 1979; Collins, 1993). These changes were intertwined with discussions surrounding food quality; Burnett (1979: 110) argues, ‘[i]n these new, impersonal conditions, the old local relationships and sanctions, which had done much to maintain high quality, largely broke down.’ Due to these changes, issues of trust and credibility became highly rhetorical. O’Hagan (2020: 3) discusses the use of purity as a rhetorical device in terms of marketing and commercial interests, arguing:

While Spiekermann (2011: 24) claims that the use of “pure” on packaging demonstrated a growing commitment of food companies towards nutrient-based thinking and consumer familiarisation with the concept of healthy eating, its sudden

widespread usage also provides one of the first examples of a food buzzword and how it could be employed to sell more products. In many cases, the food was not closely associated with following a well-balanced diet (e.g. chocolate), yet it was “pure” in the sense of being unadulterated, which people mistook for healthy.

This provides an example of how contemporary concerns were drawn into the rhetorical marketing of foods. The above extract also points to the interrelated nature of purity and health in the minds of the public, which was then taken up by food companies. The use of buzzwords to sell products is by no means a new phenomenon, with modern examples including words such as ‘clean’ and ‘eco-friendly’ (O’Hagan, 2020: 1); see further Chapter 7.

Furthermore, the advent of branded foods in Britain overlapped with the adulteration scandal, and many brands came to signify purity, quality, and trust. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 32) discusses the ‘host of branded health foods’ which helped to establish food reform as a ‘personal lifestyle’ in the Edwardian era, citing ‘Allinson Wholemeal Bread,’ ‘Emprote (Eustace Miles Proteid Food),’ and ‘Grape Nuts’ as examples. Covering the context surrounding the rise of branded foods in Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century is important given that Allinson and Miles had their own health food brands within this rapidly changing society. Relationships between consumers and food suppliers changed with the fast-paced environment of industrialisation and urbanisation in twentieth century Britain, making assurance of quality vital. At the beginning of the nineteenth century most food was still produced locally, and individuals maintained personal relationships with suppliers; Burnett (1979: 110) points out that ‘as capitalism and specialization advanced’ consumers became ‘further and further removed from the ultimate food-producers.’ The impersonality of the new dynamic between consumers and producers meant that trust and quality were often downgraded for profit. Branded foods ‘evolved in response to the anarchy of the marketplace with its multiplicity of products of unknown origin and doubtful quality’ (Collins, 1993: 108). It is further noted that ‘[a] known brand offered the assurance of consistent quality from a trusted source, and was a substitute for the personal relationship between buyer and seller’ (Collins, 1993: 108). With consumers increasingly removed from the foods they purchased, and evidence of quality not being directly observable on a small-scale, large food companies directed their attention towards convincing the public that they could trust the integrity of their brand. The case studies analysed within this thesis demonstrate that the rhetorical identity of brand-names, particularly when named after the proprietor, could also be established in other print formats, strengthening the overall brand

messaging. Individual identities play a significant role in marketing lifestyle products, as van Leeuwen (2007: 95) has argued with respect to role model authority. Hence, more research is needed to understand the identity-work at play behind these health food brands; this thesis aims to provide a deeper understanding of the rhetorical construction of identity by two key food reformers.

The pure food movement, including the advent of branded foods, also coincided with the rising authority of science in food marketing. O'Hagan (2021b: 1) refers to the late nineteenth century as 'a period when scientific discoveries were occurring at a rapid rate and coinciding with the birth of modern advertising and mass consumerism.' In a sociohistorical study of protein-enhanced foods, O'Hagan (2021a: 4) considers Plasmon and Emprote as examples of brands who were 'able to create associations between their product, the credibility of science and a particular concept of healthy living and masculinity, thereby influencing consumers to purchase their products.' O'Hagan (2021a: 9) discusses the use of scientific rationality to capitalise on contemporary concerns surrounding food and health, pointing out that in the twentieth century, the use of scientific marketing was quite novel. This development relates back to understandings of the body gaining complexity in the nineteenth century; Haley (1978: 4) notes that '[i]mportant work was thus being done in physiological systems, particularly the digestive, respiratory, and neural, leading more and more to a concept of the whole physiological man.' Significant advances were also made in pharmacology, including drugs such as morphine and quinine (Haley, 1978). In general, the nineteenth century was a 'notable period in the identification, classification, and description of diseases' (Haley, 1978: 5). There was an increasing body of scientific literature, in fields such as nutrition and chemistry, which food reformers could draw on to bolster their claims, using the growing authority of science in these areas to portray credibility and trust. This was significant for life reformers and health food advertisers: '[t]he introduction of scientific discourse into advertising was innovative and novel, creating an artificial demand for products on the basis that trusting consumers thought that they would improve their lives' (O'Hagan, 2021b: 3). It is also important to draw connections between this rise in scientific advertising, which in terms of food reform often meant nutrition science, and arguments relating to health and national duty at the turn of the century (O'Hagan, 2021b: 3). It is noted that 'scientific discourse in advertising' was becoming more common from the 1880s onwards, coinciding with the earliest texts analysed in the current study (O'Hagan, 2021b: 3). As such, discussion of the rhetorical use of scientific authority is central to the upcoming analysis.

2.5 Vegetarianism and the Status of Meat

One of the most widespread life reform movements at the turn of the century was the vegetarian movement (Forward, 1898), which was part of a wider push for food reform ‘concerned with teaching the working classes about food values, economic recipes and substitutes at times of economic hardship’ (Gregory, 2007: 2). The vegetarian movement was by no means a new affair. Famous meat abstainer Percy Bysshe Shelley saw the diet popularised in both *Queen Mab* and *Vindication of Natural Diet*, which had ‘enormous influence’ throughout the nineteenth century (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 29). Vegetarianism was identified with ‘self-control and economy’ (Gregory, 2007: 37) as well as morality and ethics. It was not until 1847 that the Vegetarian Society was founded in Britain, though this did not represent the entirety of the vegetarian movement. As has been described in Section 2.4, the adulteration and impure food scandals of much of the nineteenth century generated a greater demand for pure and genuine food, which the Vegetarian Movement capitalised on by promising a natural diet, better health, and increased longevity. The wider food reform movement which gained traction at the end of the nineteenth century arguably provided a ‘sympathetic audience’ for the vegetarians (Gregory, 2007: 2). This audience could also have been influenced towards the vegetarian cause by the anxieties surrounding meat at the end of the nineteenth century; Waddington (2011: 51) notes that ‘[a]larm about the health risks from diseased meat had been growing since the 1850s as deficiencies in the diets of the poor and then the “evils” of the urban meat trade were highlighted by sanitarians and social commentators.’ However, Waddington (2011: 55) also points out that ‘meat had a special place in British diets’ which held ‘symbolic value’ and ‘helped define status.’ Therefore, although concerns about diseased meat may have caused some individuals to become more receptive to vegetarian ideas, the vegetarian movement faced the difficulty of convincing a public who favoured meat as a symbol of national strength and power that the ‘absence of meat from a diet’ was not a ‘form of deprivation’ (Waddington, 2011: 55). On this basis, vegetarians were often satirised at this time, and Richardson (2021: 133-4) argues that ‘the eccentric flesh-avoider became a stock character of Victorian popular culture.’ Figure 1 illustrates the satire surrounding vegetarians in the mid-nineteenth century, with human-vegetable hybrid figures being shown. This is important for the upcoming analysis, with popular perceptions of vegetarianism influencing the rhetoric used by Allinson and Miles. In particular, Miles constructs his identity largely through delegitimation of mainstream vegetarianism, resisting stereotypes and misconceptions (see further Section 5.2).



Figure 1: Grand Show of Prize Vegetarians cartoon, Punch, or the London Charivari, (Leech, 1852: 6)

Popularising the vegetarian diet, a number of vegetarian restaurants were opened, and Richardson (2021: 134) argues, ‘[v]egetarianism was big business in late Victorian Britain and nowhere was this more apparent than in the growing number of meat-free eateries.’ Regarding these vegetarian restaurants, Richardson (2021: 134) further writes, ‘[c]lustered around Farringdon, Cheapside, and Soho, with names that evoked the natural world like The Apple Tree and The Garden, they held out the promise of a wholesome meal in the heart of the bustling metropolis.’ Considering the name examples cited here, conjuring ‘the natural,’ it is intriguing that Miles used his own name for the title of his successful vegetarian restaurant, pointing to the importance of his own identity; see further Section 6.3. As argued by Richardson (2021: 150), Miles’s restaurant was embedded in the principles of food reform:

Venues like the Eustace Miles Restaurant contributed to a broader dietary reform movement, which was propelled by the rise of nutritional science and facilitated by a growing consumer market for health-related products. Speaking to a collective unease at a rapidly urbanizing and modernizing world, vegetarianism was grounded in a vision of the Edenic and the natural.

These themes also align with Zweiniger-Bargielowska's (2010: 8) account of life reformers' resistance to the modern: '[a]ttitudes to modernity were highly ambivalent and anti-modern sentiment found expression in a neo-romantic celebration of the pastoral idyll.' These accounts by social historians suggest that, in terms of contextually rooted values, romanticisation of the past was important in the rhetoric of life reformers. As mentioned in Section 2.2, one of the key features of the zeitgeist was the rise in sedentary lifestyles, rooted in the growing number of desk jobs. Richardson (2021: 142) refers to 'a broad consensus concerning the rise of digestive distress in white-collar occupations.' Vegetarians, and particularly vegetarian restaurants, capitalised on this kind of occupational health concern, seeing themselves as a natural remedy for the negative impact of modern lifestyles. On the diet of the 'urban worker' at this time, it is noted that they were '[f]orced to dine on commercially produced meals, quickly and at strange hours of the day, the urban worker's harassed stomach became a site of medical intercession and cultural fascination' (Richardson, 2021: 143). Assael (2018: 123) argues:

In the case of temperance and vegetarian establishments, the restaurant was actively presented (by both proprietors and their allies in the wider reform movements) as a model modern urban space, in which not merely hygiene, but rational moral purity, could be ensured.

Assael (2018: 145) also notes that vegetarian restaurants 'promoted their fare in terms of improving the physical, and even the moral, wellbeing of their patrons.' It is argued that vegetarian restaurants demonstrated an 'alignment of prescriptive moralizing and commercial opportunity' (Assael, 2018: 147), and on this Richardson (2021: 145) argues:

Vegetarian restaurants were required to reconcile moral imperatives with commercial concerns, to operate as businesses while fulfilling their role as health evangelists, a tricky negotiation that exposed the diet's increasingly close relationship to the marketplace.

When focusing on the health arguments engineered by vegetarians, it is easy to disregard the heavily commercialised activities taking place within this sphere. Far from being a purely philanthropic endeavour, the vegetarian diet was entangled with the health food marketplace and all its commercial activities. As Gregory (2007: 9) points out, vegetarians committed 'to the power of the printed word' and were 'prolific writers.' In *Fifty Years of Food Reform*, Forward (1898: 4) referred to vegetarians as engaging in 'organized propaganda' to remedy

the ‘habits of the people’ with ‘a simple and humane diet.’ Alongside Assael (2018), Richardson (2021: 142) also draws attention to the relationship between vegetarian restaurants and health concerns in the late nineteenth century: ‘[b]eginning in the 1880s, restaurant proprietors and vegetarian advocates foregrounded the specific health benefits that meat-free dining held for those employed in sedentary occupations.’ Richardson (2021: 145) further argues:

Marketing their fare in terms of its health benefits, rather than on the basis of taste or even affordability, canny proprietors capitalized on the pathologization of desk work as inherently damaging to emotional and mental wellbeing.

It has thus been demonstrated that vegetarian restaurants were more than simple eateries—they were invested with moral values and entangled with contemporary discourses surrounding urban lifestyles and the healthy body. In terms of the food served at these restaurants, it is noted that ‘[m]eat substitutes were also popular and vegetarian restaurants offered a dazzling array of patented alternatives’ (Richardson, 2021: 138). Given the popular perceptions of vegetarians at this time, often satirised, and the cultural value attached to meat, the ways by which these meat alternatives were marketed to the public was a highly rhetorical activity.

As has been highlighted above, Miles’s distancing from mainstream vegetarianism, refusing the label ‘vegetarian,’ was rooted in popular misconceptions of the vegetarian diet. Satirical representations of vegetarians tended to ridicule the individuals adopting the diet, rather than the individual articles of a vegetarian diet, as illustrated in Figure 1. However, the foods themselves were also held in low regard; in *Of Victorians and Vegetarians*, Gregory (2007: 19) points to the low status of fruit and vegetables in the British diet:

Vegetables were associated with certain classes: thus onions were the staple of the poorest, whose strong and uneducated stomachs required their stimulus; turnips were avoided except in dire circumstances. Garlic was obviously foreign. Lentils and pulses, treated today as vegetarian staples, were difficult to get and associated with animal foods. Rice was not commonly used. Fruits were associated with summer diarrhoea and imagined to be dangerous for children. Medical writers stressed the danger of parasites on raw vegetables.

The above extract highlights the implications of status in relation to vegetable consumption, with vegetables being associated with the poorer classes. This works alongside Waddington's (2011: 55) account of the status of meat in Britain which, unlike vegetables, held cultural value and a sense of national pride. With the links between meat and status being made apparent, it is argued that a large number of individuals viewed a meat-free diet in terms of deficiency and scarcity (Waddington, 2011: 55). This is necessary context for the upcoming analysis as, alongside the distaste for brown bread, the public preference for meat meant that artfully employed persuasive tactics needed to be used in order to alter public perception of these foods, in line with Allinson's and Miles's health ideas. Although both authors advocated a meat-free diet, the primary foodstuffs they promote are not vegetables—Allinson promotes wholemeal bread, whereas Miles stresses the importance of protein. In this regard, both individuals are introducing novel ways of considering a vegetarian diet and attempting to counter negative public perception, and this involves the need to legitimise new practices.

2.6 Key Discursive Developments

Having discussed the relevant elements of the zeitgeist in terms of health and diet, it is now necessary to turn to key discursive developments during this time period. The pursuits of life reformers, physical culturalists, and fad promoters benefited from the press gaining greater influence over public opinion during the second half of the nineteenth century, and this thesis is situated at the intersection of changes in terms of both health and textual environment. The extract below summarises some of the key developments in the nineteenth century:

Between 1855 and 1880, a series of events significantly increased working-class interest in the periodical. The removal of the taxes on knowledge was completed in 1861 when the paper tax was lifted; the education acts of 1870 and 1880 widened an already highly literate working class; and the extension of the franchise through the 1867 Reform Act further politicized the working classes. (Mutch, 2016: 332)

These important milestones, taken together, created a wider audience for life reformers to appeal to, with health information being increasingly accessible as a result of these nineteenth century changes. It is noted that by this time 'it was generally acknowledged that choice of reading matter marked membership not only in a national framework but also in overlapping sets of niche markets and interest groups' (King *et al.*, 2016: 2). This points to

the fact that reading was more than an individual activity, but rather it was part of a collective identity formation, presenting the opportunity for individuals to regularly engage in the textual environment of various groups, such as food reformers. This '[r]egularity of publication served to continuously present certain ideas to the reader, maintain a constant vision of the better life, and create a community of readers' (Mutch, 2016: 329). This notion of fostering community is central to the upcoming analysis, with some focus on the rhetorical strategies used by authors to foster such a community.

The Edwardian era gave the press a central role within the health market: '[j]ournalism and daily life were increasingly entwined due to improvements in printing technology; advances in methods of information gathering and dissemination; increases in literacy rates; and the elimination of the taxes on knowledge' (King *et al.*, 2016: 1). The seriality of journalism allowed an influx of new ideas to be presented to an increasingly literate and curious public in a form which appeared familiar, as Mussell (2009: 95) argues, periodicals 'cohered knowledge': '[i]n their telling of the new, periodicals accounted for new things, events, or phenomena by accommodating them within a world that had already been negotiated with their readers through repeated acts of telling, reading and buying.' Young (2015: 67) accounts for this in his analysis of Beatrice Lindsay and the Vegetarian Society's journal, finding that 'seriality also offered a way of conducting individuals on the path toward vegetarianism.' As a genre, the periodical was distinguished by both its miscellaneous nature and its seriality (Mussell, 2009; Young, 2015), which allowed publications to 'draw together heterogeneous disciplines and discourses within its pages, spatially juxtaposing, for example, nutritional science, moral philosophy, and domestic cookery' (Young, 2015: 67). This was not the case with books, which had 'greater prestige and possessed an aura of permanence that periodicals lacked' (Peterson, 2016: 79); periodicals and newspapers were able to continually adapt new information to the current context. Liggins (2014: 622) discusses the features of New Journalism which saw an eclectic mix of text-types being included within a singular journal, such as 'articles on suffrage and trade unions as well as "A Chat about Fritters."' Liggins (2014: 626) further argues that the strategies of New Journalism, juxtaposing serious with light-hearted content, could help to garner support for a cause by making it appealing to a wide readership. This kind of interdiscursivity and juxtaposition is further explored in terms of writer-oriented strategies in Chapters 4 and 5, considering how Allinson and Miles rhetorically drew on different discourses to make arguments about health and diet.

Periodicals and newspapers also had a significant impact on health discourses due to their participatory nature. Correspondence and advice sections became commonplace, such as in the *Girl's Own Paper*, where Patton (2012: 118) finds that 'readers insisted upon laying both their minor complaints and their most serious illnesses before the editor [...] rather than before a doctor or even, it seems, before their family members.' The *Girl's Own Paper* is just one example of how periodicals and newspapers shaped discussions surrounding health and influenced the changing relationship between doctors and patients. At a time when the professionalisation of medicine was resulting in patients possessing less agency within the doctor-patient relationship, anonymous editors and popular medical writers in the press allowed readers to be 'largely in control – to avoid, resist, or substitute for the medical orthodoxy of the day' (Patton, 2012: 127). Advice columns are even referred to as the 'late Victorian version of a chat room' (Patton, 2012: 126) Additionally, towards the end of the nineteenth century, signature became a common practice in periodicals; on this Peterson (2016: 81) explains:

By the end of the nineteenth century, writing for periodicals and signing one's work had become a standard feature of professional authorship. Signature enabled authors to accrue fame by means of their periodical columns, articles, reviews, and tales; in turn, it allowed periodicals to attract readers who admired these authors.

Hence, particularly through the participatory elements of periodicals, authors could construct a specific character, in line with their rhetorical aims. The rising value attached to signature was part of a wider movement towards the personal at the turn of the century and is bound up with questions surrounding identity and authority. This practice had wider significance outside of the periodical, with signature also relating to discussions surrounding food quality and authenticity at this time, as is shown in Allinson's example through his use of signature on his bread packaging. Jackson (2000) provides an illustrative example of the changing discursive landscape through a case study of George Newnes and *Tit-Bits*.¹² Jackson (2001: 1) writes, '[t]he personality and innovative flair of George Newnes [...] pervaded British journalism' during his lifetime. Running in parallel with arguments surrounding the changing landscape of food production and consumption, there were notable changes in the relationship between the editor(s)/author(s) and reader(s):

¹² George Newnes is described as 'one of the most influential British publishers of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods,' and published a wide variety of journals between 1881 and 1920 (Jackson, 2001: 1). *Tit-Bits* was a popular weekly paper published by Newnes.

Vast increases in circulation meant that it was actually impossible for a publisher or editor to “know” his audience in any real sense. But successful publishers like Newnes attempted to recreate the old communal relations of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain (Raymond Williams’s “knowable community”) within various “reading communities” with shared values and experiences, maintaining an interactive relationship with readers and manufacturing a community of interest, through editorials, correspondence columns, competitions and other features, in place of the organic neighbourhood in which rural people had enjoyed close personal involvement. (Jackson, 2000: 24)

The above extract highlights the ways by which figures like Newnes were able to transform aspects of their new reality to create a sense of community with large readerships, generating social rather than physical proximity. In this thesis, I show the ways by which this community-building sentiment also translated to authors’ work in other genres, including monographs. Jackson’s (2000) chapter is valuable in highlighting the intersection of identity and print culture at this time, and my research builds on this sociohistorical understanding by applying linguistic methods to new textual case studies. It is noted that ‘Newnes attracted a large circle of regular and loyal readers to this periodical by offering them entertainment, interaction, and creative participation,’ and that he adopted ‘a responsive editorial presence as the reader’s friend and guardian, patron and pastor, adviser and representative’ (Jackson, 2000: 12). Ultimately, Jackson (2000: 12) refers to this ‘inclusive style of journalism’ as being both ‘commercially motivated’ but also dealing with ‘the needs and preoccupations of readers in a way which bound them closer to the authority of the editor and led them into identification with a discursive community of so-called “Tit-Bitites.”’ It is seen that both Allinson and Miles also used in-group identifiers to create their respective reading communities, strategically orienting their texts towards the reader (see further Sections 4.3.4 and 5.3.4). The notion of an interactive relationship between writer and reader points to the importance of analysing the writer-reader relationship from a linguistic perspective, gaining a deeper understanding of the persuasive tactics employed within this relationship.

The power of the personal is also illustrated by Summers (2001: 266), who discusses the frequent use of biographies of notable individuals in the *Englishwoman’s Review*, and she argues that ‘by telling a story about someone who is implicitly or explicitly situated as an

ideal, the epideictic rhetor attempts to persuade us to subscribe and emulate that ideal.’¹³ It is noted that these ‘hortatory biographies’ (Summers, 2001: 268) were very typical of late nineteenth century women’s magazines, and they are also present in food reform periodicals, such as the *Vegetarian Messenger*, which featured biographies of famous vegetarians such as Percy Bysshe Shelley. Though this form seems to transcend subject boundaries within the periodical genre, being very common, Summers (2001) argues that this in itself could be used to the author’s rhetorical advantage. She argues that authors had to use ‘established discourse and values in their rhetoric’ (Summers, 2001: 269) in order to introduce new ideas and ideology in a persuasive way. This notion of introducing novel ideas using familiar conventions is a key characteristic of this time period and permeated the discourses produced by life reformers as they attempted to market lifestyle changes to the public. In *The Englishwoman’s Review*, Summers (2001) finds that the editors used epideictic rhetoric as a tool to fashion the ideal woman, which in this case replaced traditional notions with a more modern ideal in line with the goals of the women’s movement. Throughout her article, Summers (2001) notes the strategic use of values to construct a persuasive ideology. Although the biography is not unique to food reform periodicals, the way it is used strategically to introduce new ideas is what is most pertinent. This thesis considers how values and role model authority were drawn upon to situate health as an ideal, and lifestyle changes as the route to achieving such an ideal.

The regularity of publication associated with periodicals was a significant factor in the creation of community within a food reform context. Mussell (2009: 99) argues, ‘[t]he recurrence of departments from issue to issue allowed the complexities of the world to be organized and represented according to a structure that was known by readers.’ Examining the publications of Allinson and Miles, this ‘recurrence of departments’ is apparent. Allinson’s *Medical Essays* were originally *Weekly Times & Echo* articles, appearing regularly within the same recurring medical column, of which Allinson was the editor. Similarly, Miles’s regular publication, *Healthward Ho!*, featured recurring sections such as his ‘Health and Counsel Bureau,’ in which he responded to readers’ health questions. Therefore, it was not only familiar conventions which were used to introduce new ideas, but also the very structure of publications, offering readers regular and repeated forums in which to engage with new ideas.

¹³ In her classical rhetorical approach, Summers (2001: 263) defines epideictic rhetoric as ‘the persuasive use of praise or blame,’ noting that it ‘plays a central role in negotiating values.’

Furthermore, the proliferation of newspapers and periodicals also coincided with the advent of mass advertising. Though advertisements are excluded from the central analysis in Chapters 4 and 5, the developments in advertising are also important to consider when contextualising the discursive conditions of the time. Cook (1992: 29) asserts that advertisements are ‘parasitic upon their situation and other discourses,’ and this can certainly be examined in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For example, following the discovery of vitamins, pharmaceutical companies commercialised upon the situation in order to launch new marketing campaigns and ‘vitamins acquired a high profile in advertisements for a wide range of foods’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 185). Illustrating this development, Cadbury’s took the opportunity to market their chocolate as a ‘health food’ following the discovery that the chocolate already contained vitamin D (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 185). Hovis also depicted its products as health-foods, relating its advertising discourse to the discourse on physical culture (Collins, 1976: 30). Building on the detailed analysis of Allinson’s and Miles’s written texts in Chapters 4 and 5, some advertisements are drawn on to enrich the thematic analysis in Chapter 6.

2.7 Biography of Thomas R. Allinson

2.7.1 Section Overview

This section details relevant aspects of Allinson’s personal background, providing essential context for the later rhetorical analysis of his texts (see Chapter 4) and situating him within the wider zeitgeist described thus far within this chapter. Firstly, Allinson and his health philosophy are introduced. Secondly, Allinson’s case of ‘infamous conduct in a professional respect’ (Brahams, 1987: 3) is summarised, characterising his separation from the mainstream medical community. Thirdly, an overview of his Natural Food Company is provided, contextualising the commercial aspect of his work. Finally, Allinson’s writing and publishing activities are introduced, prefacing the textual analyses to follow. These critical aspects of his life are essential for an understanding of the rhetorical strategies he uses throughout his texts, and this section roots the later analyses in context.

2.7.2 Introduction to Thomas Allinson and his System of Hygienic Medicine

Thomas Allinson’s early medical career saw him study medicine in Edinburgh, earning the title of ‘Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons,’ or L.R.C.P., in 1879

(Pepper, 1992: 31). Though Allinson's surviving legacy is primarily associated with his wholemeal bread brand, this was only one aspect of his health philosophy and associated activities. After qualifying as a doctor, he was influenced by American naturopathy (natural treatment and prevention) and formed his own system based on the principles of 'hygienic medicine,' a holistic and natural approach to health (Bae, 2022: 10). Through this system, Allinson advocated prevention over cure and became an outspoken critic of orthodox medicine, with the core ideas of hygienic medicine underpinning 'his animosity towards the "drug" doctor' (Pepper, 1992: 31). It is argued that '[v]egetarianism seems to have been Allinson's crucial point of departure from orthodox medicine' (Brown, 1991: 57). Allinson's commitment to vegetarianism and, more generally, cure by dietetic principles, diverged from the orthodox approach by condemning the use of drugs and surgery. This affected Allinson's rhetoric as he attempted to delegitimise the orthodox approach in favour of his natural methods; delegitimation features prominently in his texts through negative evaluation of orthodox practices. Allinson's commitment to hygienic medicine and the 'laws of health' (Bae, 2022: 4)—lifestyle rules he believed individuals should follow to avoid ill health—underpinned his prolific writings, most notably his weekly medical column for the *Weekly Times and Echo*.

Allinson's medical ideas were inspired by American naturopaths such as Sylvester Graham; naturopathy is a 'system of medicine which avoids the use of drugs and the consumption of anything but natural foods' (Scott, 1999: 258). On naturopathy, Brown (1991: 50) writes:

Naturopathy, though it embraced many familiar and generally acceptable hygienic principles, differed radically from orthodox medicine in its concept of disease and the consequent requirements of therapy, notably in its condemnation of treatment with drugs. Its social and professional attitudes also differed substantially from those of medical orthodoxy.

Naturopaths differed in their relationships with patients through the belief that '[d]isease can only be radically cured by "natural" remedies' (Brown, 1988: 174). This difference in attitudes between orthodox and heterodox practitioners relates to the broader themes—moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help—which underpin the research questions for this thesis (RQ1-4, Section 1.5). It is noted that naturopaths in the early twentieth century shared core ideas and principles, which are summarised in the below extract:

Man in his natural state is healthy: disease results from disobedience to nature's laws. Disobedience may involve wrong eating by selecting unnatural (e.g., refined, preserved, or chemically contaminated) foods, including flesh, or simply by over-eating. Disobedience also involves wrong living, e.g., taking insufficient exercise or fresh air, or using stimulants and poisons such as alcohol, tea, coffee, and tobacco, or using allopathic [mainstream] drugs, sera, and vaccines. (Brown, 1988: 174)

The influence of American naturopathy led Allinson to develop his theory of hygienics: 'the science of maintaining health, rather than treating the immediate symptoms of disease' (Pepper, 1992: 31). Summarising Allinson's theory, Pepper (1992: 32) explains that Allinson believed 'disease should never be treated in isolation because it was a local manifestation of a far more dangerous general disharmony within the body. Such disharmony arose in response to the "neglect of natural laws."' Allinson's animosity towards orthodox doctors was fuelled by this idea that treating instances of ill health with drugs and surgery neglected the larger issue of the body being in a general state of disorder. On this basis, Allinson encouraged individuals to keep their system healthy by committing to preventative health measures, such as avoiding meat and stimulants. In this way, Allinson believed that individuals could avoid unnecessary drugs and surgery and stave off disease. Given Allinson's unorthodox views, it is important to consider the ways by which he positioned himself in his writings, exploring his construction of personal authority against mainstream medicine. Analysing writer-oriented strategies within his texts enables a deeper understanding of how Allinson constructed an identity as a credible authority on diet.

Furthermore, hygienic medicine formed the basis for Allinson's private medical practice in London, which he opened in 1885 (Bae, 2022). His ideas similarly underpinned the launch of his Hygienic Hospital in 1890, made possible by contributions from the community of readers of the *Weekly Times and Echo* (Scott, 2010: 259). Allinson's hygienic approach was rooted in individualism, encouraging patients to exercise agency over their own health; the foregrounding of individualism in Allinson's writings points to the importance of reader-oriented strategies in empowering readers to take charge of their own health. With his views on medical individualism, Allinson was a key proponent of self-help discourses which remain popular today, as is further explored in Section 6.5. In *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, he argued:

Therefore it behoves all persons who would be well, to carefully study the conditions of health for themselves. It needs no special intelligence to understand these laws;

anyone who can read and think and observe, will soon lay down for himself a code of laws regarding health; by following which he will keep in a good state of health, avoid much suffering, and live to a ripe old age. (Allinson, 1904a: 26)

This extract emphasises the importance of self-help and, in Allinson's view, following the 'laws of health' would enable individuals to have greater power over their lives; he placed the onus on the public to make correct choices and ensure their own longevity. His views on individual responsibility were so strong that he even argued that 'a man who dies under seventy is morally guilty of suicide' (Pepper, 1992: 35), which both Pepper (1992: 35) and Scott (1999: 261) highlight as 'ironic' given Allinson's own death of tuberculosis aged only 60.

Furthermore, wholemeal bread was at the centre of Allinson's (1905a: 32) dietary philosophy; he argued that white bread was 'deficient in mineral matter,' and that 'in consequence, our teeth decay early, our children often suffer from rickets, and we are not satisfied with our food.' In his promotion of wholemeal bread, Allinson (1889: 5-6) stressed the importance of adding nothing and taking nothing away, producing quality bread from the whole of the wheat. Alongside Allinson's advocacy of wholemeal bread, he was a vegetarian, teetotaler, and non-smoker. He advised his readers to consume simple and natural foods 'at a time when opportunities for a more varied diet were widening for all sections of the population' (Pepper, 1992: 34); this points to the potential for moralised discourses to be employed. As is explored further in Chapter 4, Allinson (1900: 32) often drew on his own experience as evidence within his writings on diet, as in the following example:

More than seven and a half years have now passed since I ate any fish, flesh, or fowl, and I think my experience may be of use in helping my readers on to health. I was not ill, nor in low condition, when I began my present diet, and have kept in good health ever since. The low, miserable feelings I used to suffer from have left me, and I find that my diet gives me more energy and more vitality in body and mind. I find I can do a great deal more mental work on it than on a mixed diet, and as for bodily powers, I have walked twenty-four miles in the day besides doing my ordinary work. So far it has suited me well.

Allinson not only draws on expert authority rooted in his medical background, but also role model authority through accounting for his own personal experiences. The above extract

speaks to the individualist approach advocated by Allinson; he spoke from experience and encouraged others to test the diet for themselves. The above extract also emphasises the zeitgeist sentiment of *mens sana in corpore sano*, which encompassed his approach to healthy living, ensuring both bodily health and mental happiness; see further Section 2.2. Medical holism was a central aspect of hygienic medicine from the mid-nineteenth century (Bae, 2022). Moreover, although Allinson did not possess the sporting fame of Miles, he was still conscious of the need to prove his physical endurance on a meat-free diet, challenging popular perceptions about vegetarianism and fitness (Whorton, 1981). In the same regard, Allinson carried out various publicity stunts to prove the efficacy of his dietary advice, and the strength of character and physical stamina resulting from such a diet. For example, he went one month consuming only wholemeal bread and water; an article from *The Vegetarian* in 1904 spoke of Allinson:

And one of the most helpful aids in his drugless system of treatment is Wholemeal Bread. That is bread made from the entire wheat freshly ground. This makes perfect food, which the Doctor has proved by living upon it for a month and taking nothing else, except water. (*Allinson Papers, MS3186*)

This was not the only time Allinson engaged in a publicity stunt to demonstrate the efficacy of his advice. A poster advertising a meeting of the Natural Living Society in North London stated that ‘[a]n address will be delivered by Dr. T. R. Allinson, L.R.C.P. who will appear in the costume in which he walked from Edinburgh to London (426 miles)’ (*Allinson Papers, MS3186*). These instances are examples of the lengths Allinson went to in order to personally prove the efficiency and strength resulting from the diet he recommended, adopting the ‘vegetarian’s zeal for vindication’ (Whorton, 1981: 63). Given his eccentric public efforts to promote his hygienic approach, Allinson’s rhetorical construction of a persuasive writer-reader relationship is a fascinating site for linguistic analysis.

Allinson believed disease to be a ‘curative process’ (Bae, 2022: 10), urging the public to obey certain ‘natural laws’ of health in order to maintain a healthy body and mind. The mass literacy afforded by the period meant that a wider range of individuals were able to access health information, and Allinson took this opportunity to encourage these readers to become knowledge-seekers and decision-makers regarding their own health. In an essay written for the *Weekly Times and Echo*, Allinson (1904b: 8) argued that ‘[t]he doctor of the present day is paid for treating persons who are diseased; the doctor of the future will be State kept, and his duty will be to keep people well, rather than to let them become diseased and then treat

them.’ This demonstrates Allinson’s commitment to prevention over cure, which was in the spirit of the increasing awareness of preventative medicine present within the dominant health discourses of the time, with growing attention being paid to the poor health of the nation. Pepper (1992: 31) notes that ‘Allinson spent his lifetime promoting a regimen of preventative measures which he believed would maintain health and obviate any need for drugs or surgery.’ Allinson’s health philosophy led him to become an outspoken opponent of vaccination, in particular, the vaccination for smallpox. Until 1909, smallpox vaccination was compulsory, and Allinson (1905a: 94) referred to this as a ‘doctrine of filth,’ arguing that living according to hygienic laws was enough to prevent disease and premature death. He even argued that ‘the decrease in the death rate from small-pox is due to improved sanitation, and to better and purer food, and less bad habits’ (Allinson, 1905a: 95). Allinson’s views on vaccination were by no means the only controversial aspect of his life as a doctor, but rather one component of his multi-faceted contentious character.

2.7.3 Infamous Professional Conduct

In 1892, Allinson was struck off the Medical Register for ‘infamous conduct in a professional respect’ (Brahams, 1987: 3), and this had a bearing on Allinson’s rhetorical construction of identity within his written works. This decision by the General Medical Council contributed to Allinson’s complex relationship with his professional medical colleagues; on one hand, Allinson wished to signal his traditional medical training by using the credentials he had earned in Edinburgh (L.R.C.P.), and on the other hand, Allinson’s divergence in beliefs from his mainstream counterparts saw him condemn orthodox practices in his writings. From this perspective, it is necessary to examine the ways by which Allinson rhetorically balanced his relationship with the establishment throughout his texts, claiming authority through medical knowledge whilst simultaneously distancing himself from his orthodox colleagues. It is noted that Allinson’s case provided the most famous definition of ‘infamous conduct in a professional respect’ (Brahams, 1987: 4), with the case of *Allinson v General Council of Medical Education and Registration* stating:

“If it is shewn that a medical man, in pursuit of his profession, has done something with regard to it which would be reasonably regarded as disgraceful or dishonourable by his professional brethren of good repute and competency,” then it is open to the General Medical Council to say that he has been guilty of “infamous conduct in a professional respect.” (1894: 763)

He insulted his medical colleagues and their practices in the press, and advertised to readers to seek his own advice, which the GMC believed to be discouraging ‘the public from consulting medical men’ (*Allinson v GMC*, 1894: 763). It is noted that Allinson ‘rarely lost an opportunity of depreciating all other members of the medical profession by calling them “drug doctors,” and almost charging them with murder’ (*Lancet*, 1892: 1264). However, being removed from the Medical Register ‘did not mean Allinson could not practise medicine, only that he could not sign birth and death certificates or hold public office, and that the collection of his fees could not be enforced by the courts’ (Scott, 1999: 259-60). Importantly, he was also unable to prescribe after being removed from the Medical Register; though this was not as limiting for Allinson given his preference for natural remedies for his patients, it highlights his professional separation from the GMC. Allinson’s separation from the GMC calls into question the ways by which he was able to construct authority as a medical outsider, pointing to the use of legitimation strategies. Allinson continued to practise after being struck off, though he explicitly distanced himself from orthodoxy by maintaining his scathing opposition to drugs and surgery. Allinson made virtue of his separation from his mainstream colleagues, bringing ideological polarisation into his writings to frame his hygienic approach against orthodoxy; on this Brown (1991: 50) argues that ‘it is not surprising that doctors who supported natural healing, otherwise known as “nature cure” or “naturopathy”, should fall foul of their professional brethren.’ In other words, counterculture is implicit in the principles of naturopathy, with Allinson condemning his medical colleagues both before and after he had his license removed.

Allinson drew further controversy after being struck from the Medical Register for having ‘wilfully and falsely pretended to be a doctor of medicine and licentiate in medicine and surgery and general practitioner, and also using the title of “doctor” and “Ex-L.R.C.P.Ed”’ (*The Times*, 1895: 4e). He signalled his separation from the mainstream community by using ‘Ex-L.R.C.P.’ after his name, but this was shown to be potentially misleading to the public, with the prefix ‘Ex’ being ambiguous, enabling him to disingenuously exploit the public for commercial gain. Allinson appears to have had a nuanced relationship with his professional brethren, and this is further explored through his rhetorical separation from mainstream medicine in the text case studies. The evidence that Allinson did not willingly reject the title when it was first removed suggests that Allinson still wanted to be associated with the knowledge he had gained during his orthodox medical training (*The Times*, 1895: 4e). Despite this desire to express his connection to mainstream medicine, he maintained his distaste for mainstream practices and continued to insult orthodox doctors in his writings. In

response to being struck from the Medical Register, Allinson (1900: 31) addressed his *Weekly Times and Echo* readers as follows:

Well, I am censured by the Edinburgh College of Physicians for helping people on to health, and for preventing them being drugged to death. If this deserves censure, then I willingly accept it, and hope to merit even more censure under like conditions. Will my readers help me fight their cause?

In the above extract, Allinson presents himself as a martyr for the people's health. Despite Allinson's conflict with the GMC, his reputation remained largely intact. He continued to provide endorsements after losing his license, such as supplying testimonials to bakers who sent him a loaf of wholemeal bread, certifying the quality with his signature (*Allinson Papers, MS3186*). These certificates also included a forfeit, should the baker downgrade the quality of the loaf in the future, demonstrating Allinson's desire to align himself with high quality goods. This emphasis on quality factors into his use of moralised discourses in his written texts, in which he draws on socially situated values such as purity.

Contemporary documents attest to the ongoing reputation the public assigned to Allinson, earning respect as an authority on diet and even being admired for his rejection of orthodoxy. In a 'Tribute to Dr. Allinson' printed in the *Bethnal Green News* in 1905, the writer claims:

When Dr. Allinson wrote and spoke against the use of drugs [...] and so estranged himself from the medical fraternity, he acted like a noble-hearted man [...] he is, and will be, called doctor by hundreds of people who consider him as much a doctor and more than many medical practitioners who style themselves as doctors without any right to do so. (*Allinson Papers, MS3186*)

Likewise, when Gandhi (2001: 326) visited London in 1914, twenty-two years after Allinson had been removed from the Medical Register, he wrote, 'I called in Dr Allinson of vegetarian fame, who treated diseases by dietetic modifications,' owing to Allinson's ongoing status as an authority on diet, even after being ostracised by the mainstream medical community. In fact, his commercial success did not depend on his membership of this community. Given Allinson's separation from orthodox medicine, analysis of the writer-reader relationship he builds in his written works enables a deeper understanding of how he constructed a persuasive writer identity and invited his readers into a community built on the principles of hygienic medicine. It is necessary to question how Allinson claimed legitimacy not only

amidst his own conflicts with the establishment, but also within the turbulent context of the turn of the twentieth century.

2.7.4 The Natural Food Company

In 1892—the same year he was struck off the Medical Register—Allinson purchased a mill in Bethnal Green and established Dr. Allinson’s Natural Food Company. The company sold a large variety of different health foods, many having a base of stone-ground wholemeal flour. Through his entrepreneurial endeavours, Allinson joined a wealth of companies in producing health foods, contributing to the growing wellness market. Horrocks (1997: 53) writes that, during the Victorian era, ‘the connection between nutrition theory and commercial profit had been successfully exploited’ by ‘individual entrepreneurs,’ including Allinson. On this basis, it is important to consider Allinson’s commercial interests when analysing the ways by which he constructs authority in his written works. The commercialisation of nutrition theory was implicit in foods sold and produced by the Natural Food Company. Some of these advertisements are collated within *Dr. Allinson’s Vegetarian Cookery* book, ranging from Vegebutter, which Allinson (1910: 148) noted ‘does not contain ANY animal fat whatever, and is the purest, healthiest and cheapest fat for all kinds of cooking, baking, and confectionary,’ to Dr. Allinson’s Food for Babies, which was sold to mothers who wished for their children to grow up ‘happy, robust, and vigorous’ (1910: 143). Allinson’s strategic use of moralised discourses is further explored in Chapter 4 through the analysis of the writer-reader relationship in three text examples. Additionally, in Chapter 6, select advertisements from the Natural Food Company are drawn on to build on the case studies within the current chapter.

Furthermore, Allinson’s Natural Food Company held bread baking competitions, starting in 1909. One article from the *Master Baker Times* stated:

A prize of five guineas and a framed diploma for exhibition will be awarded in every competition to the baker who sends in for exhibition the best specimen of an Allinson loaf of his own baking. The competition will be held every month [...] There will also be held every January an additional competition open to the winners of the monthly competitions of the previous year, the prize offered being a handsome silver challenge trophy. (*Allinson Papers, MS3186*)

As such, the competitions introduced another method by which Allinson could popularise his name and message, again highlighting his commercial interests. This strategy was also seen in Hovis's marketing, with 'a programme of regional and national baking competitions to improve standards of Hovis bread-making and to popularise the art and the product' (Collins, 1976: 30). In 1910, the *Baker's Record* described the champion trophy for Allinson's competition as 'one of the handsomest ever seen in connection with the trade' (*Allinson Papers, MS3186*), demonstrating the influence that the competitions had amongst bakers at the time, a sentiment which may have filtered down to consumers. Allinson's entrepreneurial spirit is therefore evidenced by the Natural Food Company and its associated activities; this is an important contextual factor to consider when analysing writer- and reader-oriented strategies in the texts, given Allinson's commercial interests in encouraging individuals to both keep reading his publications, and also buy his health food products.

2.7.5 Allinson's Writings

Alongside popular events such as the bread-baking competitions, the proliferation of mass media and rising literacy levels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fuelled a culture of communication which was embraced by Allinson in his approach to disseminating his health ideas; on this, Brown (1991: 52) writes:

In 1883, Allinson had extended his range of readers by writing a letter to *The Times* advocating a cheap vegetarian diet, and offering a book of relevant recipes. Five days later he had already received over 500 requests for the book: with the donations which accompanied them he promised to give a free dinner to the poor of the East End.

In this sense, Allinson occupied the role of 'author' more than he did 'medical doctor,' having 'a certain similarity with the famous market-friendly medical thinkers' (Bae, 2022: 15). Pepper (1992: 34) argues that 'it seems unlikely that Allinson would have achieved either the commercial success or the notoriety that he did, had it not been for the emerging opportunity for mass communication afforded by the period.' Similarly, in an article on Allinson and Lane, it is argued that 'compared with Lane, Allinson was more passionate in promoting his thoughts and used the media in a more effective way' (Bae, 2022: 2).¹⁴ As

¹⁴ Edward W. Lane (1823-1889), along with Allinson, was a nineteenth century doctor whose ideas were influenced by hygienic medicine.

such, the writer-oriented strategies used by Allinson to present this positive image are of central interest within this thesis.

Allinson was the medical editor for the *Weekly Times and Echo* from 1885, publishing a regular column and corresponding with his readers (Scott, 1999). Brown (1991: 53) refers to Allinson's role with the newspaper as a 'most important step' in his medical career and relationship with the public. His column focused on a wide variety of topics, ranging from tobacco to eczema, with most articles focusing on the link between diet and health:

Each week, Allinson wrote a short article and answered postal enquiries. From 16 answers in his first issue the number soon rose, often to more than 100 each week. Allinson received a salary and the public had its answers free. As well as containing practical advice, his regular articles allowed him to cover such basic concepts of naturopathy as the healing power of nature, the unity of disease and the consequent unity of cure. (Brown, 1991: 53)

This aligns with arguments surrounding the power of regular, familiar publications to introduce new ideas into daily life (see further Section 2.6). Moreover, Bae (2022: 10) argues that '[u]nlike Lane, whose books and articles did not attract much social attention despite the massive advertisement of his practice and books in newspapers and magazines, Allinson's column *Answers to Correspondents* drew increasing attention from the public.' In this sense, Allinson joined other contemporary writers in the spirit of New Journalism, becoming more accessible and knowable to readers. This aspect of the zeitgeist was core to Allinson's rhetorical construction of identity. Ultimately, Allinson used his popular column to advance his ideas about hygienic medicine, including the promotion of vegetarianism and 'attacks on mainstream medical practice' (Bae, 2022: 10). Given Allinson's explicit acknowledgement of his readership in his writings, it is important to gain a deeper understanding of the persuasive strategies used to foster a convincing writer-reader relationship, creating a reading community fuelled by counterculture sentiment. The theme of counterculture, closely related to self-help arguments, is further developed in Section 6.4, building on the case studies in Chapter 4.

Alongside Allinson's role as medical editor for the *Weekly Times & Echo*, he published several books and pamphlets, some of which were controversially received. His pamphlet entitled *How to Avoid Vaccination*, published in 1888, was 'inflammatory' and incited the public to 'break the law by refusing to allow their children to be injected' and 'to flout

orthodox medical advice' (Pepper, 1992: 34-35). The pamphlet was 'ordered to be suppressed by the Edinburgh College of Physicians' (Pepper, 1992: 35), though Allinson continued to encourage his supporters to circulate the information. Another controversial publication of Allinson's was his *Book for Married Women* which supported artificial contraceptive methods and family limitation; it even advertised suppliers of contraception. Under the Obscene Publications Act, Allinson was prosecuted for the publication 'for selling obscene literature under the guise of medical works' (Scott, 1999: 260). Allinson's other publications, such as *A System of Hygienic Medicine* and *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, advanced his ideas surrounding natural, vegetarian diet, and prevention over cure.

2.7.6 Section Summary

This section has provided essential biographical details on Thomas Allinson's life; these contextual elements are integral to an understanding of Allinson's construction of the writer-reader relationship across the case studies within Chapter 4. Due to Allinson being a controversial and outspoken doctor, his writings are rich sources of power negotiation. Allinson draws on a combination of rhetorical strategies to establish and maintain his expert authority outside of the mainstream medical community, with his removal from the Medical Register being a key basis for legitimation. Allinson's condemnation of his professional colleagues in the press also calls into question the strategies he used to delegitimise their practices within his wider body of writings. In the texts, I analyse the ways by which Allinson positions himself, in terms of both author presence and markers of authority, as well as how he defines his identity by rejecting orthodox practices, considering ideological polarisation. The presentation of his system as involving laws of nature (Allinson, 1904a) suggests that he obligates readers to abide by these laws through high deontic modality markers.

Moreover, having provided context on Allinson's naturopathic views, his use of moral evaluation warrants analysis, with the potential to market his advice in direct opposition to some of the perceived evils of modern society (such as food adulteration). In context, Allinson had the opportunity to sell his unadulterated wholemeal bread to a public who was increasingly concerned about the composition of the foods they consumed. Moreover, core to Allinson's system of hygienic medicine is the notion of medical individualism (Bae, 2022), and this points to Allinson's use of reader-oriented strategies to relate to readers and encourage them to use agency in their diet and health choices. Given Allinson's background, the case studies in Chapter 4 explore how he negotiated his position as an authority on diet

with reader engagement and community-building strategies. Allinson has been described as ‘market-friendly’ (Bae, 2022: 15), meaning that it was not within his commercial interests to have complete professional distance from readers, thereby bringing into question how he sold his ideas (and health food products) to readers. Further to this, the growing power of the personal at this time (see further Section 2.6) presented Allinson with the opportunity to make profitable connections with his readership. It has been noted in Section 2.7.5 that Allinson wrote for a popular audience and engaged with his readers, and the later textual case studies examine how Allinson related to his readers and built community across different texts. Having contextualised Allinson’s position as a medical author within the wider zeitgeist, in Chapter 4 I analyse three examples of Allinson’s writings, exploring his rhetorical construction of authority and engagement with the readership to advance his health ideas and sell his products. The context surrounding Allinson’s life, building on the historical background detailed earlier in this chapter, also enables an informed analysis of the ways by which Allinson drew on key concerns of the time using moral evaluation.

2.8 Biography of Eustace H. Miles

2.8.1 Section Overview

This section accounts for key aspects of Miles’s personal background, which are essential for an informed understanding of the texts analysed in Chapter 5; it is important to gain a sense of how his personal background influenced his positioning in the texts. The current section both complements the earlier sections of this chapter, in its exploration of key socio-historical elements relevant to the analysis, as well as takes a more specific and targeted approach to Miles’s personal context, enabling a fuller understanding of the persuasive tactics used. Section 2.8.2 provides a general introduction to Miles, detailing some key elements of his views and health behaviours, such as muscular vegetarianism (vegetarianism with a focus on strength and fitness) and self-health (his preventative regimen). Following this, Section 2.8.3 covers Eustace Miles’s London restaurant and E. M. Foods brand, underlining his strong commercial interests as an entrepreneur and restaurant owner. Before concluding this section, Miles’s activities as a writer are introduced in 2.8.4. These components of Miles’s personal background, taken together, effectively contextualise the case study texts and enable an informed examination driven by the research questions.

2.8.2 Introduction to Eustace Miles and Self-Health

Miles first became known to the British public as a champion real tennis player, forming the foundation for the muscular vegetarianism which influenced his later work and involvement in the physical culture movement (Whorton, 1981). Miles's status as a successful athlete would go on to become a central foundation of his rhetorical identity and personal brand; role model authority is an important persuasive strategy for Miles, given that his own performance was testament to the efficacy of the lifestyle he promoted. Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 33) asserts that Miles was 'the most well-known vegetarian athlete at the turn of the century,' and a central figure in the growing physical culture movement. Most notably, Miles competed in the 1908 Summer Olympics, winning a silver medal; even prior to this achievement, Miles was a well-recognised name in British tennis. Reporting on one of Miles's amateur championship wins, *The Times* (1901: 12c) commented, '[t]his success was in no way unexpected, for Mr. Gribble with all his wonderful finish and length on the floor, cannot live against such a hard player as Mr Miles, who [...] is easily the most foremost amateur of the day.' Miles won the English Amateur Real Tennis Championship a total of 9 times and was the first British winner of the US Real Tennis Championship in 1910. Whorton (1981: 68) argues that 'it was primarily through his actions on the court that Miles drew international attention to the possibility that the simple vegetable diet might improve one's playing skills, as well as overall health.' The *British Medical Journal* remarked that Miles's 'success as an athlete afforded a splendid testimonial to the value of his system' (1910: 453a). As a champion vegetarian athlete, Miles proved that (in his case) a meat-free diet did not lead to weakness or low stamina. Vegetarian athletes 'subverted conventional gender representations by demonstrating that meat was not necessary for strength, endurance, and athletic success' (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 45). As such, Miles's athletic success provided greater efficacy for the claims he made in his writings, making him more likely to draw on role model authority to encourage individuals to change their own habits; in the texts analysed in Chapter 5, this manifests through features such as author presence and testimonies of Miles's own experiences. Richardson (2021: 137) builds on Whorton's (1981) examination of muscular vegetarianism, writing:

Miles pioneered a kind of muscular vegetarianism that was framed by the language of physical culture and nutritional science. A well-known sports personality, he was well placed to comment on the "body building power" of vegetables and used his own sporting victories as proof of the efficacy of his dietary advice to claim he had won tennis matches fortified by only salad, Hovis bread, and a very weak cup of tea.

The above extract provides vital context for the later analysis, as it highlights Miles's position as a role model in terms of his sporting success, using his own example to support his claims. The above quotation also points to Miles's awareness of the growing importance of science in dietary matters, and it is necessary to examine the ways by which he used science in his rhetoric as someone without medical or scientific qualifications.

Miles's success as an athlete was significant against a backdrop of debates surrounding meat consumption, masculinity, and physical strength. In relation to these debates, it is acknowledged by Whorton (1981: 61) that 'as vegetarians' athletic ambitions climbed during the second half of the [nineteenth] century, so did the contempt with which they were showered by cynical meat eaters.' In terms of challenging stereotypes and rejecting myths about vegetarianism, Whorton (1981: 63) also argues that '[a]thletes on ordinary diet saw the contest solely as a sporting event, but vegetarians approached it as a struggle to justify their life ideals and demonstrate physical and moral superiority to their adversaries.' The stakes were higher for vegetarian athletes, who were compelled to prove themselves as worthy, and even as superior, to their meat-eating competitors. This zeal was coupled with 'the masculine ideal extolled by physical culturalists' (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2006: 598), which saw mental and physical fitness being elevated, and participation in sport and games was integral to achieving this ideal.

Miles's (1919a: 33) health philosophy rested on the notion of self-health, which he defined as 'the condition of comparative independence of external helps, and comparative immunity from external attacks.' In other words, Miles strongly believed in prevention over cure and the importance of self-help for achieving true health. With this focus on self-help, Miles's writings must engage with individuals in such a way so as to encourage them to follow his advice; engagement strategies contribute to Miles's conversational tone and charismatic presence, particularly in the *Milestones* (see Section 5.3). In terms of self-help principles, Miles demonstrates similar ideas to Allinson, with both agreeing on the importance of individual agency and engagement in preventative health measures. In his book *Self-Health as a Habit*, he argued, '[w]hat a mistake most people make that they talk about ailments so much, about Health so little – just as if Health were a dull thing' (Miles, 1919a: 28); he encouraged readers to think intelligently about how to define true health, and not merely the absence of disease. Miles presented his health advice as a way to return to nature in the face of a rapidly industrialising Britain (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010). In a leaflet published by the Community Health Foundation, it was argued that: '[i]t would be a good idea if the

20th Century stood still for a year or so to give us all time to catch up. Then we'd realise the truth about our modern, affluent society – and how it's slowly, painfully, killing us' (*Food Ephemera, Box 1*). Anxieties surrounding modern life, and particularly the adverse effects on health, were prominent in the Edwardian era and, like many of his contemporaries, Miles was concerned about the effects of modern lifestyles on the body and mind, championing the Victorian sentiment of *mens sana in corpore sano*; this points to the importance of analysing moralised discourses in Miles's rhetoric.

As has been indicated, Miles's (1902a: 34) health advice included following a meat-free diet, though he refused to be labelled a 'vegetarian' as he believed the term to be 'terribly misleading.' This significant effort to distance himself from the mainstream vegetarian movement became another central component of Miles's rhetorical identity, feeding into the counterculture sentiment underpinning his works. In *Failures of Vegetarianism*, he states, 'I utterly refuse to be called a "Vegetarian" [...] I believe that I can live perfectly well without any vegetables at all' (Miles, 1902a: 8). Additionally, on the front of his restaurant's menu he states, '[b]eginners in Food-reform are advised to avoid the word "Vegetarian," which is obviously misleading' (*Food Ephemera, Box 7*). One reason for Miles (1902a: 34) distancing himself from the term was due to misconceptions that a vegetarian diet meant a diet consisting of purely vegetables. On the contrary, Miles promoted the consumption of 'Simpler Foods,' which included more than just vegetables and encompassed a wider range of foods, such as cheese and nuts. Miles (1902a: 34-35) also rejected the idea that all iterations of a meatless diet could result in good health: '[t]he conclusion I adopt is that an unscientific haphazard "Vegetarian" diet is not likely to produce vigorous physical and intellectual health, even if it produces gentleness and purity, which it does not always do.' In this sense, Miles (1902a: 35) condemned the way that much of the vegetarian literature presented the diet in a dogmatic way, arguing:

I do not state that the Simpler Foods such as I use will certainly suit everyone else; I only state that they have been used successfully by many, and that they are at least worth a fair trial by every one else. Let every one else experiment as thoroughly and scientifically as is feasible, and let him judge by the results.

This individualist approach to meatless eating is much the opposite of the dogmatic assertions which Miles accuses mainstream vegetarians of making. In this sense, Miles likely would have diverged from Allinson's didactic promotion of wholemeal bread as the staff of life. Conversely, Miles strongly argued that vegetarianism would only lead to good health if

the right foods were chosen within the bounds of a meat-free diet, ensuring a balance of food groups to build muscle and strength. Aligning with the principles of self-health, Miles much preferred an individualist approach, allowing individuals agency when testing his dietary advice and encouraging them to judge its success by their own results. In contrast to Allinson, who drew primarily on his previous medical training and experience, Miles combined his promotion of an experimental approach to trialling his diet with scientific authority by means of external expertise; in this way, he joined the growing trend of in-house scientists at this time, with science becoming increasingly marketable (Horrocks, 1997). It is important to note that, though Miles values scientific principles, he is critical of mainstream medical and scientific professionals, being selective about the experts he draws upon and condemning orthodox practices. Where Allinson primarily opposes mainstream doctors, Miles argues against orthodox professionals and mainstream vegetarians, making the two figures noteworthy for an examination of the counterculture arguments of food reformers.

2.8.3 The Eustace Miles Restaurant and E. M. Foods

In 1906 Miles and his wife opened the Eustace Miles Restaurant, commonly known as the ‘Eustace Miles,’ in Covent Garden (London). The restaurant was the self-proclaimed ‘Headquarters of the Pioneers of practical Food-reform’ (*Food Ephemera, Box 7*); it was an eclectic centre for curious customers to try the E. M. Diet and be introduced to the ‘Simpler Foods.’ The menu for the restaurant included body-building dishes marked ‘N’ for nourishing, such as ‘Nut Roast,’ and ‘NN’ for very nourishing, such as ‘Gruyere’ (Richardson, 2021: 138). Menu items such as ‘Vitamin Salad’ and ‘Celery’ were even marked ‘not N.’ The restaurant was not only used to showcase the E. M. Diet, but it was also the site of lectures, dances, and socials. Inside the restaurant was a Health and Help Bureau, placing emphasis on both physical and mental wellbeing, as well as a counter for purchasing books and recipes. The restaurant may have been focused on food-reform, but it also had connections with wider progressive movements. The restaurant became a frequent venue for meetings of women’s suffrage organisations, such as celebratory breakfasts following prison releases, as was reported by *The Times* following the release of four members of the Women’s Freedom League: ‘[t]he party was subsequently driven to the Eustace Miles Restaurant, where the women were entertained at breakfast’ (1909: 8c). It is therefore important to consider the ways by which Miles adopted counterculture discourses in his writings, given the radical affiliations between food reform and other movements.

Furthermore, Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 32) notes that the ‘popularity of vegetarian restaurants contributed to the publication of cookery books and the diet was promoted by popular publishers.’ Miles sold cookery books at his restaurant, such as *Health without Meat*, which was written by his wife Hallie Killick and contained ‘150 simple scientifically balanced recipes,’ alongside recipe leaflets such as “First Recipes” which he provided to customers free of charge (*Food Ephemera, Box 1*). *Health without Meat* is described as being ‘based on Eustace Miles’ well-known dietetic principles,’ and the use of Miles’s product ‘Emprote’ is suggested throughout (Killick, 1931: vii). In this sense the restaurant was more than an eatery; it was indeed a dynamic centre for food reform, being used as an arena for sharing ideas around health and diet. The restaurant was a physical manifestation of the community Miles fostered around the principles of food reform, and Chapter 5 examines the ways by which this community-building, constructed around Miles’s identity, extended to the page.

Contemporary perceptions of the Eustace Miles restaurant are evidenced by both non-fictional and fictional texts from the Edwardian era, with both emphasising the fact that the restaurant was an alternative community centred on food reform. When renowned restaurant critic Nathaniel Newnham-Davis recommended the Eustace Miles to a disapproving general with a vegetarian niece, the critic elected to try the restaurant for himself. The subsequent review appeared in his book, *The Gourmet’s Guide to London*, which offers a valuable window into the restaurant scene of Edwardian London. Newnham-Davis (1914: 75) gives insight regarding the visual appearance of the restaurant; he points out that the large windows were “‘dressed” as if they were shop windows,’ and goes on to note:

Sometimes they are full of tins and packets of the non-flesh foods arranged in piles and pyramids; sometimes they look like the windows of a book shop, piles of literature and charts of the human frame being in evidence; and sometimes boxing gloves and foils and pictures of young men holding themselves upright and sticking out chests as full as those of pouter-pigeons draw attention to the fact that a physical school high up in the building is one of Eustace Miles’ activities. (1914: 75)

This description reinforces the fact that the restaurant was concerned with more than just serving the ‘Simpler Foods.’ Based on Newnham-Davis’s (1914) account, at times the restaurant windows pointed to the rising consumerism in Britain, with the proliferation of branded foods and widening of choice for the rising working-classes; at other times the appearance of the restaurant windows played homage to the lively physical culture

movement and evolving notions of strength and masculinity (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2006). Miles wanted to showcase his diet and products through the restaurant's dishes, but he also wanted to sell his products and use his celebrity status to his advantage; this points to the importance of analysing his rhetorical construction of authority within his publications, which is unavoidably bound up with his commercial interests. It is even noted that there was 'a suggestion of a gymnasium about the restaurant' (Newnham-Davis, 1914: 76-77), which ties into Miles's emphasis on body-building meatless meals and physical culture. Newnham-Davis (1914: 74) appears to have been convinced of the efficacy of Miles's diet when it came to his tennis career, pointing out:

That Eustace Miles, half trained, went into a tennis court to defend his title of amateur world champion against a young American gentleman trained to the second, and that he made a fine fight for the championship with the odds desperately against him, shows that a diet of non-flesh food doesn't kill pluck or stamina.

Newnham-Davis (1914: 74-75) also comments on Miles's wife, Hallie Killick, noting of her philanthropic work, helping to feed the poor, that 'a kind heart thrives on Emprote and Protonnic and Compacto, and other meatless foods with strange names.' The physical actions of both Miles and his wife were considered by Newnham-Davis to be testament to the effectiveness of the E. M. Diet.

Miles's restaurant is also mentioned briefly in E. M. Forster's novel *Howard's End*; the character Margaret Schlegel describes the restaurant to Mr. Wilcox: '[i]t's all proteids and body-buildings, and people come up to you and beg your pardon, but you have such a beautiful aura' (Forster, 1910: 160). However, upon Mr. Wilcox's acceptance of an invitation to the Eustace Miles, Margaret retracts her offer, worried about what her 'conventional and chauvinistic' lover might think (Richardson, 2021: 136). Forster (1910) captures the generational divide in *Howard's End*, with Mr. Wilcox 'a remnant of the Victorian era just slipping from view,' whilst Margaret is a 'creature of coming modernity: bright, idealistic, and more than happy to forgo meat and lunch on nut cutlets instead' (Richardson, 2021: 136). As such, the portrayal of Miles's restaurant in *Howard's End* depicts it as a microcosm of modernity, with the public becoming increasingly open-minded in the twentieth century, in comparison to rigid Victorian conventions surrounding meat-consumption. These turn-of-the-century changes made the introduction of new ideas surrounding lifestyle change more fitting, with life reformers such as Miles taking advantage of the 'kairotic opportunity' (Reeves, 2019: 418) afforded by the zeitgeist.

Furthermore, the Eustace Miles served many dishes containing Miles's own health food products, such as Emprote, with the name deriving from Miles's initials—E. M.—and 'an abbreviation of protein' (O'Hagan, 2021a: 4). The early twentieth century saw numerous brands adopt scientific language when advertising their products in order to 'construct authority and credibility' (O'Hagan, 2021b: 2). Heffernan (2022: 1) notes that 'such products can be seen as precursors to the modern interest in health food and bodybuilding supplements.' Not only were Miles's products served at his restaurant, but they were also sold at a sales counter at the front of the building. Many of Miles's products and dishes attempted to mimic meat dishes, such as 'Nut Cutlets' and 'Savoury Nut Chicken' containing Emprote (*Food Ephemera, Box 7*). The writer G. K. Chesterton (1909: 436-437) expressed strong disagreement with the naming of such dishes:

Then, of course, there is the larger and more philosophic riddle of why the vegetarians, or fruitarians, try to make their dishes sound, or even seem, like meat dishes? Why do they talk non-sense about nut-cutlets or tomato-toad-in-the-hole? Why do they make nutton rhyme with mutton, and nutter rhyme to butter? It seems a futile poetical exercise [...] We meat-eaters might as well pretend that cutlets grow on trees.

The above extract highlights the tension surrounding meat replacements from the perspective of a meat-eater, demonstrating the significance of naming products. Moreover, Richardson (2021: 141) points to a more serious criticism of Chesterton's:

Chesterton's frustration at the indignity of the nut forced to masquerade as a miraculous vegetarian food reflects the contradictory claims made by products like Emprote and Nuttoria, which were industrially produced but sold as wholesome, unprocessed, and derived from nature.

Miles sold his products as a way to return to nature amidst the adverse effects of industrial capitalism (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010), with advertisements for products, such as "Emprote" Biscuits, rhetorically highlighting their purity and simplicity. Yet, as Richardson (2021: 141) highlights above, these health products were 'industrially produced.' The 'rhetoric of purity' (O'Hagan, 2020), alongside references to adjacent moral discourses (such as simplicity), features across Miles's writings.

2.8.4 Miles's Writings

Alongside his success as a restaurateur and the sale of his health food products, Miles wrote prolifically on a wide variety of health topics. Allen (2014: 1) notes that he was the 'author of various "how to" or "teach yourself" books on subjects as diverse as philology, sport, and the nutrition and general education of boys.' His publications reflect the diversity and breadth of his health philosophy, including texts such as *The Eustace Miles System of Physical Culture*, *Keep Happy*, and *Better Food for Boys*. Miles's body of written work also demonstrates his keen interest in language and composition, with publications such as *How to Prepare Essays, Lectures, Articles, Books, Speeches and Letters* and *How to Learn Philology*. Though he did not have scientific or medical credentials, he was a Cambridge-educated man possessing the knowledge and experience necessary to craft persuasive arguments. He also disseminated his ideas through advertisements, magazines, and articles in the press. Miles used his own experience and status as a celebrity athlete within his various writings; an article from *Healthy Life* magazine remarked:

Mr. Miles is no amateur in the gentle art of self-advertisement: he would be the first to admit it. But the advertisements have resulted undoubtedly in a very large number of people taking the first steps towards food reform, people who are repelled by the out-and-out "vegetarian" propaganda. (1913: 610)

The above extract demonstrates Miles distancing himself from the dogmatic vegetarian literature, taking a less didactic approach to encouraging people to reform their diet. This division between Miles's meat-free suggestions and the recommendations made by mainstream vegetarianism is a strategy which is explored further in the main analysis (e.g. Section 5.2), as it is a central component of Miles's authorial identity. The above extract also points to the importance of Miles's personal identity in his rhetoric; analysing his construction of the writer-reader relationship includes a focus on this 'art of self-advertisement' (*Healthy Life*, 1913: 610), exploring how Miles constructed a particular image of himself in his texts and, importantly, how he related this to readers. The *Healthy Life* article also acknowledges the irony of Miles creating manufactured health foods to promote natural diet, yet importantly notes:

Few can go straight from beef to nuts. After generations of abuse the human digestive system has to be humoured if the ideal is to be approached. And in this invaluable work of meeting people half-way and of humouring their tastes and digestions, the

restaurant in Chandos Street, London [...] and the strongly individual, thoroughly sane and pleasantly straightforward advocacy of Mr. Eustace Miles have been a very important factor. (1913: 610-611)

This extract points to the fact that the general public had become accustomed to the British diet, of which meat was a significant part, and that Miles offered individuals the chance to ease into the idea of meat-free eating gently. The extract suggests that part of Miles's persuasiveness lay in his rejection of a didactic approach and his commitment to simplicity and self-help principles. Miles's distancing from what he termed mainstream 'dogmatism' is central in the analysis of his texts, particularly his explicit account in *Failures of Vegetarianism* (Section 5.2). It is shown through the analyses in Chapter 5 that Miles's rhetoric was built upon a foundation of distancing from mainstream groups, combined with the assertion of his own authority as a role model and the support of external expertise.

2.8.5 Section Conclusion

This section has illustrated Miles's personal background in terms of some of the key factors which influence his positioning and relationship with readers in his written works. Notably, unlike Allinson, Miles was a sports celebrity, with contemporary accounts attesting to his success and status in this regard. This is vital context for the later analyses within Chapter 5, as Miles's physical fitness illustrated the efficacy of his diet, making him a role model in terms of diet and bodily health. It is therefore in Miles's best interests to have an overt author presence throughout his texts, in order to invest his own identity in his advice. Moreover, in connection to his affiliation with the physical culture movement, Miles was a proponent of scientific principles, advocating fair trial of his system and drawing on the persuasive power of nutrition science to market himself. Alongside his position as a role model, it is also important to analyse the ways by which he is able to draw on scientific discourses without having any scientific credentials himself.

Furthermore, this section has introduced Miles's philosophy of self-health, a preventative medical ideology which Miles used to empower readers to take charge of their own health. Implicit in this emphasis on self-help in Miles's arguments is a need to interact with the reader in order to convince them to engage in such preventative measures. His community-building spirit is evidenced by the Eustace Miles restaurant, which was an eclectic hub for sharing ideas and learning about food reform, and the later analyses provide an account of

how he replicated such a community in some of his written works. Miles has been shown to resist the dogmatism of mainstream vegetarians, making it necessary to evaluate his arguments in terms of how strongly he presents his case. Miles's distancing from mainstream vegetarians and orthodox professionals is central to the later analyses, with both writer- and reader-oriented strategies contributing to ideological polarisation. Miles's counterculture sentiment has also been made evident by his association with progressive movements and his rejection of mainstream vegetarianism.

2.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that many aspects of life in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain were concerned with health, and that the four themes underpinning the research questions—moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help—were bound up with the social context at this time. The health scares of the early Victorian era, such as contagious diseases and food adulteration, prefaced the health revolution which followed in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The industrialisation and modernisation of Britain led to a rise in sedentary occupations, increased comfort of the worker, and new health problems such as obesity. Anxieties surrounding modernity led life reformers to pursue a route 'back to nature' and, on a wider scale, the government's focus turned to prevention and holistic health. Overall, *mens sana in corpore sano*—a healthy mind in a healthy body—prevailed over *fin-de-siècle* theories and discussions surrounding health.

The turn of the century also witnessed changing relationships on a multitude of levels, such as between food producers and consumers, doctors and patients, and authors and readers. Stemming from these changing relationships, food reformers engaged in highly rhetorical activities, making the construction of a persuasive writer-reader relationship of particular interest. Strong arguments were also required in the face of popular perceptions of foods such as meat and white bread, which were preferred, and vegetables, which were disfavoured. Thus, food reformers such as Allinson and Miles were faced with the need to challenge these perceptions and alter the public's view of the foods they promoted. This highlights the pertinence of food reform as a site for persuasion, which has remained under-researched in a historical context. New ideas about health could be widely disseminated with the advent of mass consumer culture and the removal of taxes on knowledge, allowing an increasingly literate public to have agency regarding their health. As such, the changing textual landscape created space for food reform discourses to reach a wider audience.

Importantly, this chapter has built upon the overview of key aspects of the wider zeitgeist by including biographies of Allinson and Miles in Sections 2.7 and 2.8. These biographies have detailed central elements of the authors' personal backgrounds, further contextualising the later analyses in Chapters 4 and 5. Having contextualised the zeitgeist in which Allinson and Miles were producing written texts, alongside their individual backgrounds, the following chapter turns to the texts themselves, alongside the analysis framework with which I approach these texts.

Chapter 3 - Texts and Analysis Framework

3.1 Chapter Introduction

Having accounted for the historical context and personal backgrounds of the authors in Chapter 2, the current chapter details the text selection process for this research, alongside the theoretical underpinnings of the analysis framework. The theoretical framework and analytical approach described within this chapter, in combination with the historical context, enable this thesis to align with the aim to provide a linguistic perspective on historical discourses of food reform (see Section 1.5). The central research question for this thesis considers the use of rhetorical strategies to legitimise claims about health and diet; this chapter outlines the ways by which I approach answering this over-arching question. Section 3.2 provides an overview of some existing approaches to analysing food discourses, which are taken up further in Section 7.4 in consideration of the modern relevance of my research. Following a review of the literature in this area, Section 3.3 outlines the approach to selecting the case studies for analysis, comprising of one sampled collection of serial texts for each author, alongside additional standalone texts selected qualitatively based on the thesis aims and wider context. The multi-theoretical analysis framework is then described in Section 3.4, accounting for both writer- and reader-oriented strategies. I have designated these overlapping categories to provide the basis for analysing the construction of the writer-reader relationship in Chapters 4 and 5. Further to the analysis of case study texts for each author, the construction of the writer-reader relationship is integral to the central themes running throughout this thesis—moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help—which are taken up further in Chapter 6.

For this research, a rich collection of texts written by Allinson and Miles was gathered from UK libraries and archives, including the British Library, the University of Edinburgh's Centre for Research Collections, the Wellcome Library, and the UK Medical Heritage Library. Some of the texts selected for analysis are not freely available online, and this thesis works to bring some of this under-researched textual evidence to the fore of scholarship on historical food reform discourses. The wealth of texts written by Allinson and Miles covers a variety of genres and topics, converging on the subject of food reform. This chapter details how this larger collection of texts was narrowed down in order to produce a manageable, relevant, and representative set of case study texts for analysis.

This thesis is a linguistically informed history of food reform, and the current chapter provides justification and explanation regarding the multi-theoretical approach taken to the texts in order to produce informed conclusions about the rhetoric used. This chapter explains the relationship between elements of the historical background detailed in Chapter 2 and the analysis framework applied to the texts, demonstrating the suitability of this approach for answering the over-arching research question: How do Allinson and Miles use rhetorical strategies to legitimise their claims about diet and promote lifestyle changes? (see Section 1.5). In terms of the thesis structure, the analytical approach involves two detailed case studies of selected texts by each author (Chapters 4 and 5), and a thematic analysis chapter (Chapter 6). On discourse and the value of examining a variety of texts in its investigation, van Leeuwen (2005: 95) argues:

Evidence for the existence of a given discourse comes from texts, from what has been said or written – and/or expressed by means of other semiotic modes. More specifically it comes from the similarity between the **things that are said and written in *different* texts about the *same* aspect of reality**. It is on the basis of such similar statements, repeated or paraphrased in different texts and dispersed among these texts in different ways, that we can reconstruct the knowledge which they represent. [bold mine; italics in original]

This is particularly relevant to analysing historical discourses of food reform, and the analysis framework outlined in Section 3.4 enables this thesis to examine a variety of persuasive strategies used by two different food reformers across different genres. Building on the above extract, I emphasise the importance of considering the differing identities behind these texts, foregrounding the power of the individual. Fairclough (1995: 1-2) argues that one way that power can be realised is through the ‘unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed [...] in particular sociocultural contexts.’ In this regard, Allinson and Miles can be considered to hold power in the Edwardian health market, by means of their ability to control a particular narrative of food reform by publishing texts and selling their own branded health foods. Analysing the ways by which Allinson and Miles exercise power in this social environment can help to contextualise the rhetoric of today’s saturated health food market, and the powerful identities who control the current narrative of alternative health. Where Chapters 4 and 5 analyse the writer- and reader-oriented strategies present in the individual text case studies, Chapter 6 examines the overarching themes present across these different texts, synthesising the analyses and thereby enabling a reconstruction of some of the key aspects of late nineteenth and early twentieth century

discourses of food reform. In this way, Chapter 6 is underpinned by the principles of Fairclough's (1989: 26) third dimension, which concerns 'the relationship between interaction and social context.'

3.2 Analysing Food Discourses

Adopting a multi-theoretical analysis framework to examine the construction of the writer-reader relationship by two prominent food reformers sees this study join the growing trend of analysing food discourses, both modern and historical. Building on the socio-historical literature drawn upon in Chapter 2, the current section brings together some of the relevant scholarship on food discourses, prefacing the analysis framework described in Section 3.4. The literature in this area has highlighted the prominence of social values being implicit in food discourses, such as Chen and Eriksson's (2019: 2) study of healthy snack marketing. Using a social semiotics and multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis approach (MCDA) to analyse brand identity and positioning in company stories, they argue:

Products claiming to be organic, natural, or protein rich can signal "good food" and as fitting into particular ways of life. For marketers of healthy snacks, such signaling is central, as it is a way to connect these products to certain cultural values and lifestyles and thus fit into particular patterns of consumption. (Chen & Eriksson, 2019: 2)

The above extract highlights the rhetorical negotiation of values in relation to marketing health foods, particularly the fact that these values are linked to wider socially significant discourses; this is a central concern within this thesis, though in a late nineteenth and early twentieth century context (see RQ1, Section 1.5). Drawing insightful conclusions from their study, Chen and Eriksson (2019: 9) argue:

On the one hand, it [moral discourse] allows these companies to differentiate themselves from mega-capitalists who are blamed for causing social inequality, environmental degradation, and health-related problems. On the other hand, this discourse makes consumers feel as "good" consumers. It can provide a feeling of being empowered [...]

Their conclusions thus relate to the counterculture notions implicit in health food marketing, which has a long history, as well as the self-help principles associated with 'empowering'

consumers. Importantly, in their conclusion, Chen and Eriksson (2019) also question the truly moral nature of these moral discourses, arguing that the evocation of ‘healthiness’ can be underpinned by commercial motivations and may have no direct bearing on the true health value of a product. Through analysing present day health food companies, Chen and Eriksson (2019: 9) find that products are built towards ‘consumers’ health consciousness’ with businesses ‘position[ing] themselves as solution providers of the problems of snacks on the market and creat[ing] a moral discourse to construct their eligibility.’ They argue that ‘marketers can load symbolic ideas to the brand, which compellingly persuade consumers to associate the company with broader and deeper values that will increase sales potential’ (Chen & Eriksson, 2019: 2).

Koteyko (2009: 121) similarly explores how values are negotiated within specific contexts to boost sales, using critical genre analysis to examine how probiotic yoghurts are marketed online; she finds that ‘a personalised relationship between producer and consumer’ is created through a variety of rhetorical strategies, drawing attention to the interaction present in food discourses. Like Chen and Eriksson (2019), Koteyko (2009: 123) also concludes that health food marketing has a direct relationship with self-help principles, with companies latching on to the ‘capacity of audiences to become responsible, pro-active, and self-directed citizens.’ Moreover, Eriksson and O’Hagan (2021: 763) emphasise the historical trajectory of using science to sell health food products in early twentieth century Sweden, arguing that historical CDA work can help to ‘develop a critical stance and reflect on contemporary, “science-based commercial products.”’ The modern relevance of my research is considered further in Section 7.4.

Due to the fact that discourses of healthy eating are so entrenched in wider social contexts, analysing late nineteenth and early twentieth century food reform texts can deepen understanding of the historical use of certain values in lifestyle marketing. The aforementioned studies discuss the value-laden rhetoric implicit in food discourses and its connection to commercial interests, and this is something which has a long history. The discussion of socially situated persuasion in terms of brand identity is particularly relevant to this thesis, with the rise of branded foods coinciding with Allinson’s and Miles’s respective activities as food reformers (see further Section 2.4). In this regard, O’Hagan (2020) adopts a sociohistorical approach to social semiotics, analysing food discourses and addressing issues of moralisation and legitimacy. Like Chen and Eriksson (2019), O’Hagan (2020; 2023) evaluates the relationship between values and commercial interests, emphasising the rhetorical power of moral values in relating a product to an audience in a

meaningful and culturally relevant manner. In this regard, the use of moral values by authors can be seen as a reader-oriented strategy in that they must take consideration of what their audience is likely to value and capitalise upon those concerns. In line with the core principles of CDA, O'Hagan's (2020: 8) transhistorical discussion of the rhetorical use of purity by British food brands provides insight into the potential for discourse studies to inform historical understandings; she points to a central aspect of her study in this respect:

Another key implication of this study has been the importance of adopting a sociohistorical perspective to social semiotics. This has enabled social semiotics to move beyond a text-centred focus by anchoring analyses in archival evidence and triangulating them with a historical awareness of institutions and social structures.

My research builds on this sentiment by subjecting under-researched texts written by two key food reformers to in-depth analysis. In line with Fairclough (1989) and O'Hagan (2020), I analyse historical texts and inform this analysis with an exploration of the relevant context, with an understanding of the key historical themes driving the analysis. In this way, textual analysis is rooted in the social and discursive environment, which is essential in order to draw informed conclusions about rhetoric and identity. Furthermore, O'Hagan (2021a) also historicises current discussions surrounding protein, taking a multimodal CDA approach to historical food discourses, particularly considering the use of science to sell protein-enhanced food products. The rhetorical use of science to sell products in the early twentieth century is also accounted for in O'Hagan's (2021b: 2) study of Virol marketing, 'a malt extract preparation.' Both studies (O'Hagan, 2021a; 2021b) demonstrate the commodification of scientific rhetoric to market food products at a pivotal time when science was beginning to have more persuasive power; issues of authority and trust were integral to this development. This points to the importance of analysing Allinson's and Miles's adoption of scientific language in their texts, which I consider in the analyses in terms of writer-oriented strategies.

Moreover, Hanganu-Bresch (2023) aligns with van Leeuwen (2005; 2017) and van Dijk (1998) in terms of the importance of both legitimation and delegitimation in persuasion, manifesting as a rhetorically constructed dichotomy between ingroup and outgroup values. Hanganu-Bresch (2023: 5) specifically roots this in a discussion of contemporary dietary discourses, thus providing valuable insight for the analysis framework:

When looking at the contemporary landscape of vegetarian/vegan rhetoric today, it is therefore helpful to acknowledge that while the end goal might be similar (abstention from meat), the motivations and strategies used to persuade the public vary widely, and are also constructed in *dialogic opposition* to arguments used by meat eaters and promoters. [italics in original]

On this basis, I consider the ways by which Allinson and Miles construct themselves in opposition to orthodox groups, both in terms of their own authority and counterculture sentiment. The modern relevance of this thesis is revisited in Chapter 7, but what the above quotation highlights is the rhetorical possibilities attached to diet. The potential for ‘motivations and strategies’ to vary supports the case study approach taken in this thesis, and aligns with van Leeuwen’s (2005) above-mentioned argument (Section 3.1) in its analysis of different texts, written by different individuals, about the same issue—namely food reform. Analysing these different texts on the same topic enables this thesis to partially reconstruct historical discourses of food reform, focusing specifically on two powerful identities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century health market.

3.3 Text Selection Process

As has been suggested thus far, Allinson and Miles were two of the most prominent health food entrepreneurs and food reform authors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with both figures being driven by strong preventative medical ideology. Given their prolific writings across different genres, the authors provide the most fruitful material for analysis within this thesis. Both individuals published regular articles and booklets, alongside their respective collections of standalone book publications. In order to examine a range of texts by each individual, and to build an accurate picture of their rhetorical identities, I selected a combination of serial and standalone publications for analysis; examining more than one genre enables this thesis to produce a more dynamic account of the authors’ rhetoric. In short, the suitability of the authors selected for this thesis is two-fold: they were prominent and well-known entrepreneurial life reformers with personal brands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their prolific publishing activities have resulted in a wealth of textual evidence for linguistic analysis. In terms of van Leeuwen’s (2005: 95) point about the value of exploring a variety of texts dealing with the same issue (see Section 3.1), the range of genres engaged by Allinson and Miles, and the volume of material on food reform, lays the foundation for an in-depth analysis of how they

engaged with key ideologies in both similar and different ways. Where this thesis explores the similarities between Allinson's and Miles's rhetorical construction of the writer-reader relationship in the context of food reform and preventative medicine, I am also interested in the ways by which the authors employed strategies in different ways and across different genres, according to their own identities and the wider context. The range of genres engaged by each author, and the resulting wealth of texts, enables a rich and nuanced discussion of key discursive themes, emphasising the role of identity and context in the realisation of these key themes across different genres and texts. Moreover, it is important to note that in the main analysis, I do not treat the texts chronologically. This is because my aim is to analyse how Allinson and Miles legitimised their claims in terms of their own identities, as constructed across the text examples; my aim is not to analyse how the use of legitimisation strategies changed over time. Each text example is thus treated individually before evaluating its contribution to each author's rhetorical identity, making the order in which the text case studies appear in Chapters 4 and 5 inconsequential; each text case study contributes to a larger picture of the food reformers' rhetoric and no example takes precedence over another in this regard.

In terms of short, regularly published texts, the literature has highlighted the intersection of the seriality of publication, features of New Journalism, and the creation of reading communities around common interests and goals at the turn of the century (Jackson, 2000; King *et al.*, 2016; Mussell, 2009). This feature of the discursive environment warrants the inclusion of a regular publication series from both authors, which promises rich rhetorical strategies in the construction of the writer-reader relationship. Given the large number of smaller texts published within Allinson's collection of *Medical Essays* (1900; 1904b; 1905a; 1905b; 1905c) and Miles's collection of *Milestones* (1922-27), a sampling approach was taken in order to produce an evenly sampled, representative group of these texts for each author. The texts were selected in this way so that examples could be taken at regular intervals between the first and last dates of publication, thereby being representative of the whole collection. When working in the archives, I became familiar with the entirety of these collections, thereby enabling judgement of the fact that both serial publications follow a similar structure and format, making a random sample representative. Based on knowledge of the entire collections of *Medical Essays* and *Milestones*, coupled with contextual knowledge of the history, I created a candidate list of relevant titles for each author. Using a categorisation system, I identified candidate texts, excluded texts, and a selection of borderline cases. Borderline cases were texts which did not provide enough information about relevance within the title; for example, Miles's *Milestone* titled 'Our Warnings' did

not indicate the topic of the text, but upon closer examination it was discovered that this text focused on preventative health measures and paying attention to signals from the body, thus justifying its inclusion in the candidate list.

As prolific authors on health, both Allinson and Miles published on a diverse array of topics, many of which are excluded from analysis within this thesis. These exclusions were made in order to maintain focus on the diet-health link; this does not detract from the fact that Allinson and Miles also contributed to other key reform discourses, alongside their central focus on diet. Examples of topics excluded include alcohol, tobacco, dress, mental health, religion, sleep, life skills (e.g. writing), and holidays. This list of excluded topics is by no means exhaustive but illustrates the range of topics engaged by each author which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Excluding texts which were irrelevant to the thesis topic resulted in candidate lists which converge on preventative medicine and diet, enabling strong engagement with the research questions (see Section 1.5). Once the candidate lists for the *Medical Essays* and the *Milestones* were finalised, I took a sampling approach in order to obtain a representative and manageable sample for each set of texts, evenly spread across the date ranges; these sampled texts are taken up further in Section 3.3.1.

3.3.1 Sampled Texts

As has been indicated in Section 3.3 above, the large number of texts within Allinson's *Medical Essays* and Miles's *Milestones* means that it was necessary to create systematically sampled and representative lists of titles for closer linguistic analysis within the case studies. This section details the text selection process for each author's regularly published works, including lists of titles for each sampled set of texts. These texts are discussed in greater detail within Chapters 4 and 5.

3.3.1.1 Thomas Allinson

Allinson's role as medical editor for the *Weekly Times & Echo* led to a large collection of articles being written over the course of his career. Many of these articles were then re-printed in five volumes of *Medical Essays*. Though Allinson (1905a) states in the preface to the *Medical Essays* that he has revised the original articles for the book publication, cross-referencing with the original articles has shown very few differences in form and content. As such, these bound volumes of essays are useful sources for analysing Allinson's regular

engagement with readers through his *Weekly Times & Echo* column. Importantly, the essays are underpinned by the principles of hygienic medicine, with Allinson noting, ‘[t]hese Essays carry on my book on “Hygienic Medicine, or, the only Rational Way of Treating Disease”’ (1905a: *Preface*).

The selection of a sample of Allinson’s *Medical Essays* began with a candidate list of 145 texts spanning 6 years (1885-1890).¹⁵ The number of essays divided by the number of years was 24, meaning that in order to take an evenly spread sample, I gathered every 12th and 24th essay from the candidate list. This produced a manageable sample of 24 relevant essays, with roughly 4 per year across the 6-year date range. Table 1 shows the essay titles for the final sample of Allinson’s *Medical Essays*, with the selected titles numbered for presentation purposes.¹⁶ Within Section 4.3, which analyses the *Medical Essays*, the following citation style is used: (sampled number, *Shortened Title*: page); for example, page 57 of ‘Is Tea-Drinking Injurious?’ would be cited as (8, *Tea*: 57).

¹⁵ This date range was decided based on the original publications of the essays in Allinson’s medical column for the *Weekly Times and Echo*. The *Medical Essays* had a number of re-prints, but cross-referencing between the bound editions held by the British Library, and the original *Weekly Times and Echo* articles held by the University of Edinburgh, shows no obvious differences in the texts. Volume I was found to correspond with Allinson’s early articles during the beginning of his role as medical editor in 1885, and Volume V was found to finish corresponding with the original articles in 1890, thereby justifying the date-range of 1885-1890 for these texts.

¹⁶ The *Medical Essays* are not numbered by Allinson.

Table 1: List of Sampled Texts from Allinson's Medical Essays

SAMPLED NO.	ESSAY TITLE	VOLUME AND DATE
1	Man's Food from his Structure	Volume I, revised edn. (1905a)
2	Fruit	Volume I, revised edn. (1905a)
3	Constipation	Volume I, revised edn. (1905a)
4	Coughs and Colds	Volume I, revised edn. (1905a)
5	Scabies, or the Itch	Volume I, revised edn. (1905a)
6	The Urine	Volume II, 13 th edn. (1900)
7	Health Hints for Servants	Volume II, 13 th edn. (1900)
8	Is Tea-Drinking Injurious?	Volume II, 13 th edn. (1900)
9	To the Lean	Volume II, 13 th edn. (1900)
10	Tumours	Volume II, 13 th edn. (1900)
11	Hunger and Appetite	Volume III, revised edn. (1905b)
12	Thirst	Volume III, revised edn. (1905b)
13	How to Grow Tall	Volume III, revised edn. (1905b)
14	Varicose Veins	Volume III, revised edn. (1905b)
15	Epilepsy, or Falling Sickness	Volume III, revised edn. (1905b)
16	Salads	Volume IV, revised edn. (1904b)
17	Against Butter	Volume IV, revised edn. (1904b)
18	Infant Mortality	Volume IV, revised edn. (1904b)
19	Tonsilitis or Quinsy	Volume IV, revised edn. (1904b)
20	Psoriasis or English Leprosy	Volume IV, revised edn. (1904b)
21	How often shall we Eat	Volume V (1905c)
22	Felon, or Whitlow	Volume V (1905c)
23	A Red Nose	Volume V (1905c)
24	Blepharitis, or Inflamed Eyelids	Volume V (1905c)

Based on the initial creation of a candidate list of relevant titles, in terms of the aims and scope of this thesis, what the above *Medical Essays* have in common is their discussion of preventative health measures, with all of the essays in the sample including at least a short section dedicated to diet. This enables engagement with Objective 1 (see Section 1.5), which

is to identify the rhetorical strategies used by Allinson to legitimise his claims about health and diet.

3.3.1.2 *Eustace Miles*

Miles's *Milestones* are a series of short monthly booklets on various health topics, based on lectures given by Miles at the Eustace Miles Restaurant. Unlike Allinson's *Medical Essays*, which were originally conceived in article format for his *Weekly Times & Echo* column—and therefore short in length—Miles's *Milestones* were produced as longer booklets. The length of the *Milestones* prompted selection of a smaller sample, in terms of number of texts, in order to subject the texts to close analysis.

Taking the same sampling approach described above (Section 3.3.1.1), the selection of Miles's *Milestones* began with a candidate list of 62 texts spanning 6 years (1922-1927). Dividing the number of essays by the number of years produced the number 10, meaning that I gathered every 5th and 10th *Milestone* for the sample. The final sample is made up of 12 texts relevant to the thesis aims, with roughly 2 per year across the 6-year date range.

Table 2 lists the titles of the final sample of Miles's *Milestones*, with my own numbering for presentation purposes. Following the same citation style as the *Medical Essays*, the analysis of the *Milestones* in Section 5.3 cites the booklets with the following format: (sampled number, *Shortened Title*: page); see further Section 3.3.1.1 for an example.

Table 2: List of Sampled Texts from Miles's Milestones

SAMPLED NO.	ESSAY TITLE	MILESTONE NO. AND DATE
1	Catarrh & Colds: Their Nature and Cure	18 (c. 1922-27)
2	About Cancer	31 (c. 1922-27)
3	How to Strengthen Weak Hearts	39 (c. 1922-27)
4	Towards the Safe Minimum	48 (c. 1922-27)
5	"How to Kill Children"	55 (c. 1922-27)
6	Vitality, and How to Increase It	75 (c. 1922-27)
7	Epilepsy: Its Prevention and Cure	85 (c. 1922-27)
8	Oil: Its Values & Uses	98 (c. 1922-27)
9	Our Warnings	105 (c. 1922-27)
10	Bad Circulation and How to Improve It	113 (c. 1922-27)
11	Our Wonderful Glands Part I	123 (c. 1922-27)
12	Vegetables and Salads	137 (c. 1922-27)

Like the sample of *Medical Essays*, the above list of *Milestones* have in common the inclusion of health discussions relating to diet. This is therefore a highly suitable set of texts for undertaking this research, aligning with Objective 2 (Section 1.5), which is to identify the rhetorical strategies used by Miles to legitimise his claims about health and diet.

3.3.2 Standalone Texts

Alongside the evenly sampled collections of Allinson's and Miles's shorter, regularly published texts, I also selected standalone texts from their wider bodies of publications in order to address the research questions, using a variety of genres to better understand the discourses associated with food reform. These texts were selected qualitatively, taking an informed approach by considering the aims of this thesis and the historical context, particularly the key themes driving the research questions; see further Section 1.5. The selection of these additional texts is detailed in the following subsections: brief details on the texts are provided, with longer summaries in Chapters 4 and 5, prior to the analyses.

For longer standalone texts, the introductory matter was analysed in detail, informed by knowledge of the text in full. The preface is a 'highly interactive genre' which has a 'promotional nature' (Luzón, 1999: 411-12), drawing on metadiscourse and evaluation

features to persuade readers of the value of the text and encourage them to be receptive to its message. As such, the rhetorical richness of prefaces in terms of persuasion and the writer-reader relationship makes this genre a valuable site for analysis within this thesis. When analysing these longer, standalone texts in Chapters 4 and 5, a general summary of the entire text is provided prior to the detailed analysis of the front matter. The exception to this is Allinson's *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, which is a short pamphlet and therefore was analysed in full.

Moreover, given the breadth of texts available for each author, examples from texts not analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 are drawn on in Chapter 6 in order to supplement the analyses and provide additional examples supporting the major themes identified; for example, although advertisements are excluded from the scope of the main analysis, they are examined when discussing key themes in Chapter 6. This approach, enabling a wider range of texts to be consulted, supports a deeper understanding of how these authors contributed to discourses of food reform. This aligns with a CDA approach by considering both how the authors' writings were influenced by the wider social context and also how they contributed to key discourses within this context (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). This approach is further discussed in Section 3.4 in relation to the analysis framework.

3.3.2.1 Thomas Allinson

Alongside the sample of *Medical Essays*, two of Allinson's key standalone texts were selected for analysis, based on their relevance to the aims of this thesis. As is discussed in further depth in Chapter 4, wholemeal bread was at the heart of Allinson's dietary advice. Through his advice, Allinson invested wholemeal bread with natural restorative qualities, citing it as a preventative and remedy for a multitude of ailments. The centrality of this foodstuff in Allinson's health philosophy led to his pamphlet, *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (1889), being selected for analysis within this thesis. As was highlighted in Chapter 2, the British public held a preference for the white loaf; this means that Allinson had to employ rhetorical strategies to alter public perception and urge them to favour the wholemeal loaf for health reasons. The pamphlet is therefore a rich site of persuasion in this regard, making it an important inclusion for linguistic analysis.

Furthermore, Allinson's *A System of Hygienic Medicine* (1904a) was selected for analysis based on Allinson's prolific referral to it within his other texts, in which he speaks of the text

as the summary of his health philosophy. Indeed, Bae (2022: 10) remarks that ‘it is only in *System of Hygienic Medicine* that he [Allinson] purposefully delivered his whole philosophy in the form of a monograph.’ As such, the text can be viewed as a summary of Allinson’s health philosophy, making it an illustrative example of the arguments Allinson employed to encourage readers to adopt his proposed lifestyle changes.

3.3.2.2 *Eustace Miles*

Miles’s *Muscle, Brain, Diet* (1903) was selected with the same rationale as Allinson’s *System of Hygienic Medicine*, with Miles referring readers to this text within his other publications for fuller descriptions of his approach to diet and health. The second part of the full title of the text is *A Plea for Simpler Foods*, meaning that the text provides insight into Miles’s rhetoric as a food reformer. Given the fact that the ‘Simpler Foods’ were at the heart of Miles’s food reform agenda, the centrality of these foods within *Muscle, Brain, Diet* makes the text a valuable case study. This text therefore aligns with the aims and research questions for this study, given its focus on food reform.

Additionally, Miles’s *Failures of Vegetarianism* (1902a) was selected for analysis in order to further explore his separation from the mainstream vegetarian movement (or counter-vegetarianism), which was integral to his personal brand. As with Allinson, Miles rhetorically constructed an identity in opposition to various mainstream groups; where Allinson set himself primarily against the medical establishment, Miles was eager to set himself apart from mainstream vegetarians, whom he believed to be damaging perspectives of the diet and limiting the true health benefits which could be afforded if the diet was underpinned by core principles. In a wider context, this was seen with popular perceptions of vegetarianism being rooted in satire and stereotypes, as was exemplified by Figure 1. The inclusion of *Failures of Vegetarianism* is thus enlightening in terms of ideological polarisation and delegitimation of existing practices, which are important aspects of persuasion and pertinent in terms of the research questions driving this study (particularly RQ3).

3.4 Multi-Theoretical Analysis Framework

The analysis framework for this research has been designed to examine the rhetorical construction of the writer-reader relationship, which is foundational to the themes underpinning the research questions (Section 1.5). I make my own distinction between two

groupings of rhetorical features for the purposes of the analysis: writer-oriented strategies and reader-oriented strategies. Writer-oriented strategies include the persuasive tactics which contribute to the construction of the writer's identity, including overt author presence, different realisations of authority, and negotiation of expertise. Overlapping in many respects with writer-oriented strategies, reader-oriented strategies are those tactics which are used by writers to relate to readers and foster a sense of community, such as engagement markers, in-group identifiers, and the use of moralised discourses. The focus on the writer-reader relationship, underpinned by contextual factors, is driven by the fact that 'meanings are ultimately produced in the interaction between writers and readers in specific social circumstances' (Hyland, 2005: 175). The analysis framework builds on some of the major socio-historical and discursive themes which have been discussed in Chapter 2. In order to address the research questions, which feature multiple interrelated themes, I draw on a variety of theoretical concepts to analyse the complex rhetorical strategies used, including some principles of a CDA approach, which already exists as a context-based approach, thus making it appropriate for investigating the research questions for this thesis. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258) define CDA as follows:

CDA sees discourse – language use in speech and writing – as a form of “social practice”. Describing discourse as a social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it. A dialectical relationship is a two-way relationship: the discursive event is shaped by situations, institutions and social structures, but it also shapes them.

This relationship between texts and social factors underpins the analysis framework of this thesis, with its consideration of both how the authors' texts are influenced by the social context, as well as how the authors themselves influence the discourses they contribute to. In particular, Chapter 6 is underpinned by Fairclough's (1989: 27) third dimension (explanation), which concerns the analysis of 'the relationships between transitory social events (interactions), and more durable social structures which shape and are shaped by these events.' It is argued that '[c]ritical discourse analysis is very much about making connections between social and cultural structures and processes on the one hand, and properties of text on the other' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 277). This characteristic of CDA supports the structure and analysis framework devised for this thesis, which encompasses both the historical context and selected textual evidence, drawing connections in order to generate

informed conclusions about historical discourses of food reform (within the bounds of the case studies examined).

Taking a multi-theoretical approach is well suited to analysing complex historical texts, which are imbued with social and moral meanings. It is argued by van Leeuwen (2017: 219) that ‘an account of the meanings people attach to the practices they engage in is, by nature, descriptive – such meanings vary historically and contextually.’ To explore the complex nature of the rhetoric adopted by food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I take a descriptive approach which is rooted in the historical context. Jeffries (2000: 4) contends that ‘the theoretical basis of academic investigation [...] sanctions eclecticism, and ought to welcome multi-theoretical viewpoints as illuminating the undeniably complex data we’re trying to elucidate – namely human communication.’ In this spirit, my analysis is driven by the value of taking such an approach. Mulholland’s (1994) *Handbook of Persuasive Tactics* is an illustrative example of the value of seeing a variety of theoretical approaches come together in a single text dealing with persuasion. For each persuasive tactic listed, Mulholland (1994: xvii) refers the reader on to a multitude of different theorists and approaches from across linguistics and communication studies and argues that, in persuasion, a variety of tactics are more effective than a singular one, thereby supporting a multi-theoretical approach. The nature of this approach is required by the complex inter-related themes underpinning the research questions (see Section 1.5), the multifaceted contextual environment, and the differing personal backgrounds of the authors. The rhetorical strategies are thus nuanced and rooted in context, and drawing on useful insights from a multitude of theories enables a multi-layered analysis of the construction of the writer-reader relationship by two different food reformers.

With the analysis framework of this thesis involving an examination of texts rooted in their historical context, and thus the social conditions of the time, ideology is an important consideration—ideology concerns the ‘taken-for-granted assumptions, beliefs and value systems which are shared collectively by social groups’ (Simpson, 1993: 5). On ideology, van Dijk (1998: 263) writes:

The expression of ideology in discourse is usually more than just an explicit or concealed display of a person’s beliefs, but mostly also has a persuasive function: speakers want to change the mind of the recipients in a way that is consistent with their beliefs, intentions and goals.

This ‘persuasive function’ of ideology is especially pertinent in lifestyle discourses, which encourage individuals to live in accordance with new ideas. In its persuasive capacity, ideology has an intricate relationship with evaluation, which is the ‘broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about’ (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 5). Hyland (2005: 175) writes:

Evaluation is always carried out in relation to some standard. Personal judgements are only convincing, or even meaningful, when they contribute and connect with a communal ideology or value system concerning what is taken to be normal, interesting, relevant, novel, useful, good, bad, and so on.

As such, having outlined the key historical context in Chapter 2, it is now possible to analyse the use of evaluation strategies in connection to wider ideological factors. Emphasising the interrelated nature of evaluation and ideology, Hunston and Thompson (2000: 13) write:

The relationship between evaluation and ideology is multifaceted. On the one hand, implicit evaluation works in a text because writer and reader share assumptions. On the other hand, the ideological position that lies behind a text can be inferred by the analyst by examining the evaluation in it.

One such way that this ‘relationship between evaluation and ideology’ manifests in texts, particularly with a persuasive and legitimising function, is in the characterisation of both in-group and out-group individuals, with evaluation being an essential tool in both positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (presenting a positive image of yourself and a negative image of others) (van Dijk, 2005). This ideological polarisation—the creation of a divide between in-group and out-group individuals, based on differences in ideas—is explored in terms of how Allinson and Miles defined their personal identities in opposition to orthodoxy, but also how they fostered an in-group identity for their readers, and how they distanced themselves from mainstream groups. This is particularly relevant in Chapter 6, which is underpinned by wider ideological structures in its thematic analysis. Van Dijk (1998: 255) contends that ‘[I]legitimation is one of the main social functions of ideologies.’ Furthering this, he argues:

In many cases, various interests of our group may have to be defended or legitimated against others. And since conflicts over scarce social resources may be the very core

and function of the development of ideologies, group position and relations are the most direct social counterpart of ideological structures, as is most obvious in the well-known *polarization* between *ingroups and outgroups*. (van Dijk, 1998: 161) [italics in original]

In terms of socio-historical factors, Chapter 2 highlighted some potential reasons that Allinson and Miles would need to engage in ideological polarisation; these factors include changing social and professional relationships in a variety of different spheres, public attitudes towards certain foods (such as brown bread and meat), and the evolving authority of science. These factors were set against a backdrop of widening choice and mass communication, making distinctive identities and group membership even more salient amongst a multitude of competing interests. It is therefore important to consider ideological factors in the analysis, exploring the ways by which Allinson and Miles rhetorically constructed both in-group and out-group identities, both in terms of their own personal identities and their wider community of readers.

Furthermore, this thesis draws on concepts from van Leeuwen's (2007; 2017) model of legitimation—which considers how speakers or writers justify their arguments to audiences—with the most insightful aspects of this model in terms of the research questions being the construction of authority, which is primarily writer-oriented, and the rhetorical use of moralised discourses, which is primarily reader-oriented. Van Leeuwen (2007: 92) defines these two legitimation categories as follows:

1. *Authorization*, that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom and law, and of persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested.
2. *Moral evaluation*, that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems. [italics in original]

Not explicitly captured within the broad definition of 'authorization' quoted above is the subcategory of authority legitimation which considers 'commendation' (van Leeuwen, 2007: 97). Commendation legitimation is defined as follows: '[i]n this case, a practice, or some element or part of it, is legitimate because it is recommended by an acknowledged expert or engaged in by a role model, whether a peer leader, or a distant celebrity, hero or saint' (van Leeuwen, 2017: 221). This type of authority legitimation is of central concern when analysing the texts produced by Allinson and Miles, given the focus of this thesis on the rhetorical construction of identity through the writer-reader relationship. Allinson's and

Miles's differing grounds for commendation authority are introduced in their respective biographies (Sections 2.7 and 2.8), prior to the later analyses. Following the analyses, identity and authority are taken up further in Section 6.3, in line with RQ2. Van Leeuwen (2007: 97) describes two main strands of commendation authority legitimation: expert authority and role model authority. Having discussed the flourishing health food market of the early twentieth century in Chapter 2, it is essential to analyse the ways by which the two different authors claimed authority in this marketplace of competing voices. Examining the construction of authority is also necessitated by the nature of Allinson's and Miles's characters, with Allinson being a struck-off doctor and Miles being a famous athlete; this thesis questions how these authors drew on their different backgrounds in combination with key contemporary discourses and values to make arguments about food reform. Van Leeuwen (2007: 94-5) defines expert authority as 'legitimacy provided by expertise rather than status,' and role model authority as legitimacy by 'the example of role models or opinion leaders.' In terms of expertise, van Leeuwen (2007: 95) argues:

In the age of professionalism, expertise has acquired authority in many domains of activity that had previously been the province of families, for instance child rearing, nutrition, and eventually even sexuality.

As has been illustrated in Chapter 2, Allinson and Miles were writing at a time of 'kairotic opportunity' (Reeves, 2019: 418) in terms of these social conditions. Amidst key changes, such as the professionalisation of medicine and the rising authority of science, with people increasingly turning to authoritative experts for advice on how to live (Patton, 2012), it is essential to explore the ways by which key figures rhetorically negotiated expertise within this evolving landscape. In *The Rhetoric of Expertise*, Hartelius (2010: 1) argues:

Expertise is not simply about one person's skills being different from another's. It is also grounded in a fierce struggle over ownership and legitimacy. To be an expert is to claim a piece of the world, to define yourself in relation to certain insights into human experience. Expertise constitutes a special relationship between a subject matter, a public, and one who masters and manipulates the former for the latter's benefit or need.

The above quotation points to the highly rhetorical negotiation involved in both claiming and portraying expertise to readers, foregrounding the importance of knowledge of subject matter. Moreover, the connection between an author, an audience, and a topic is influenced

by factors relating to the author's identity, making it essential to explore how authors with different backgrounds constructed authority within a similar social context. Alongside expert authority, the social and discursive conditions of the time also highlight the importance of role model authority, particularly considering factors such as the rising power of the personal in journalism and the admiration of celebrities attached to the physical culture movement (O'Hagan, 2021a; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010). As such, it has been shown that these forms of commendation authority were entangled with key sociohistorical developments, and are therefore core components of the analysis framework. This relates to the fact that Allinson and Miles draw on different manifestations of authority, in line with their areas of expertise. Following the individual textual analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, the negotiation of authority is taken up further in Section 6.3.

Alongside commendation authority, I further draw on van Leeuwen's (2007: 97) legitimation model by exploring the authors' use of moral evaluation, which 'is based on moral values, rather than imposed by some kind of authority without further justification.' It has been highlighted within Chapter 2 that there were many socially relevant values linked to key developments and movements; these include values such as purity, rooted in the food adulteration scandal and health anxieties, as well as the marketing of natural products amidst the 'back to nature' arguments of life reformers, which condemned the ill effects of industrial capitalism. Van Leeuwen (2007: 97) states:

In some cases moral value is simply asserted by troublesome words such as "good" and "bad" which freely travel between moral, aesthetic and hedonistic domains and often combine with authority legitimation, as when President Bush legitimizes aggressive policies by pronouncing his enemies an "axis of evil."

The above example of President Bush's rhetoric illustrates how different legitimation strategies can combine to form a specific argument. In this regard, the analysis of Allinson's and Miles's rhetoric considers how they use moralised discourses not only to relate to readers but also to strengthen their arguments for certain lifestyle changes, with writer- and reader-oriented strategies working together to this end. In terms of moral evaluation legitimation, it is crucial to lay historical foundations in order to identify these discourses, as van Leeuwen (2007: 98) argues, 'it is not possible to find an explicit, linguistically motivated method for identifying moral evaluations of this kind. As discourse analysts we can only "recognize" them, on the basis of our common-sense cultural knowledge.' In light of this, Chapter 2 has provided the necessary historical foundations for identifying moralised discourses in the

texts (RQ1), drawing on the valuable work of social historians. It is argued that ‘all aspects of practices need legitimation, especially when practices are in the process of being established or changed’ (van Leeuwen, 2017: 218). This builds on Habermas’s (1976: 118) argument about the ‘human craving for meaning that appears to have the force of instinct’ and the ‘compulsion to impose a meaningful order upon reality.’ It is noted by van Leeuwen (2005: 104) that health-related arguments for particular eating practices represent one particular facet of reality:

A discourse such as the “health diet” discourse of eating is a knowledge of a particular social practice. The indefinite article is important. It is *a* knowledge. There are alternatives, other versions. Eating can be represented as primarily about health, or primarily about pleasure, for instance, and there can also be religious discourses of eating, to mention just some possibilities. This suggests that discourses are never only about what we do, but always also about why we do it. The discourses we use in representing social practices such as eating are versions of those practices *plus* the ideas and attitudes that attach to them in the contexts in which we use them. [italics in original]

This aligns with Hanganu-Bresch’s (2021: 115) point that the arguments rooting food in health contexts require highly rhetorical choices in order to frame food consumption in this way. It is vital to emphasise, in line with these scholars, that health arguments do not capture the whole picture of diet, but rather choose to represent food through one particular lens. The analysis framework used in this study enables a deeper understanding of how Allinson’s and Miles’s dietary recommendations were legitimised in connection to health. As such, it is essential to explore the ways by which authors portrayed a *specific* version of reality to meet particular ends; this is a decidedly persuasive enterprise.

There exists a gap in knowledge regarding how persuasive strategies have been employed in historical diet discourses, and by different individuals, despite the highly rhetorical nature of proposing lifestyle changes. Van Dijk (1998: 255) argues:

Pragmatically, legitimation is related to the speech act of defending oneself, in that one of its appropriateness conditions is often that the speaker is providing good reasons, grounds or acceptable motivations for past or present action that has been or could be criticized by others.

As was accounted for in Chapter 2, there were a variety of reasons for which Allinson and Miles may need to defend their recommendations, rooted in stereotypes, rigid attitudes, and other social conditions. Van Leeuwen (2017: 219) notes that ‘the persuasive role of legitimation comes to the fore when new or changed practices are proposed’ citing the importance of both legitimation and delegitimation. Therefore, in analysing persuasion in terms of food reform, it is important to analyse the ways by which the authors legitimise their own advice, as well as delegitimise the advice of others, thus engaging in a highly rhetorical and ideological struggle of competing values (RQ3).

Furthermore, in analysing the writer-reader relationship, and the issues of identity which are bound within this dynamic, I analyse metadiscourse features, which are used to ‘act on readers, guiding and directing rather than informing’ and are described as ‘discourse about discourse’ (Crismore & Farnsworth, 1989: 92). Expanding on this, Hyland (2019: 3-4) defines the principle of metadiscourse as follows:

Essentially metadiscourse embodies the idea that communication is more than just the exchange of information, goods or services, but also involves the personalities, attitudes and assumptions of those who are communicating. Language is always a consequence of interaction, and metadiscourse options are the ways we articulate and construct these interactions.

Building on the discussion of the rising importance of personalities in the discursive context of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (see further Section 2.6), analysing metadiscourse features such as stance and engagement markers can heighten understanding of how authors incorporated their identities into their persuasion. Hyland (2019: 4) notes that through using metadiscourse,

[...] a writer is able not only to transform what might otherwise be a dry or difficult text into coherent, reader-friendly prose, but also to relate it to a given context and convey his or her personality, credibility, audience-sensitivity and relationship to the message.

In this respect, metadiscourse is an important analytical consideration when dealing with historical food reform texts, given the nature of the persuasion being rooted in proposed lifestyle changes; recommending such changes inevitably involves a level of commercialisation of health information for readers, including both stance markers (to

contribute to the writer's identity) and engagement markers (to draw the reader into the discourse). Considering the importance of evaluation and authority within the research questions for this thesis (see Section 1.5), the use of modality is also analysed in the texts, examining the relationship of the authors' expressions to reality. Jeffries and McIntyre (2010: 77) assert that the 'main contribution' of modality 'to textual meaning is to reflect the producer's opinion about what s/he is saying or writing.' Within this thesis, I am particularly concerned with the level of certainty and necessity with which the authors present their arguments, including the degree of obligation placed on the reader to make suggested changes to their diet and lifestyle. As such, the multi-theoretical analysis framework used to analyse the texts considers both epistemic and deontic modality, relating to level of certainty and level of necessity/obligation, respectively.

Furthermore, in addressing RQ4, which considers the theme of self-help, popularisation strategies are analysed; these strategies are those which contribute to translating complex information for a popular audience. Examples of popularisation strategies analysed in the texts include analogy—drawing comparisons to explain concepts—and code-glossing—definitions or clarifications provided after specialist or unfamiliar terms. Considering metadiscourse features works alongside the examination of legitimation strategies, and Hyland (2019: 12-13) notes, '[m]anaging social relationships is crucial in writing because a text communicates effectively only when the writer has correctly assessed both the readers' resources for interpreting it and their likely response to it.' This therefore relates directly to authors' use of legitimation strategies, as their construction of authority and their engagement with readers is highly dependent on context. Hyland (2019: 15) further argues that 'in pursuing their personal and professional goals, senders seek to embed their discourse in a particular social world which they reflect and conjure up through particular recognized and accepted discourses.' This is foundational for the construction of the writer-reader relationship as it highlights the importance of the wider social environment for the authors' use of rhetorical strategies. On this basis, the multi-theoretical analysis framework has been designed to analyse the writer- and reader-oriented strategies which relate most directly to the social conditions of the time, as well as the writers' personal backgrounds.

Furthermore, based on the historical context outlined in Chapter 2, there exists an intriguing tension between the rising authority of science and the foregrounding of the interpersonal in texts; interpersonal strategies '[relate] to the roles and attitudes adopted and assigned by the [writer]' (Halliday & Webster, 2003: 84). For this reason, the analysis of Allinson's and Miles's rhetoric also explores the ways by which they drew on different discourses. Scholars

studying the features of New Journalism have accounted for paradoxical discourses appearing in close proximity within the pages of late nineteenth and early twentieth century publications (Jackson, 2000; Liggins, 2014; Summers, 2001; Young, 2015); see further Section 2.6. The rising authority of science, alongside the need to legitimise alternative arguments about health, saw Allinson and Miles draw on a combination of both scientific and popular discourses, often within a single page of text. These discourses have been discussed by scholars in terms of the ‘scientific ethos’ and the ‘lifeworld ethos’ (Fairclough, 1992; Habermas, 1984; Mishler, 1984), and these are useful terms with which to approach the analysis of contrasting (or blending) styles being employed rhetorically. Whilst the scientific ethos is characterised by impersonality and the foregrounding of scientific knowledge, the lifeworld ethos is rooted in the interpersonal and typically ‘reject[s] the elitism, formality, and distance of the medical scientist figure in favour of a (frequently simulated) “nice”, “ordinary” person’ (Fairclough, 1992: 147).

In addition, when examining these contrasting discourses and how the authors related to their readers, politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987) is also of relevance for this analysis, and is drawn on within the case studies in terms of reader-oriented strategies. Politeness theory concerns the social negotiation of interactions between individuals, considering the impact of expressions on positive face (making the hearer/reader feel positive about themselves) and negative face (avoiding placing imposition on the hearer/reader). Browse (2018: 68) argues that ‘politeness strategies [...] constitute a key part of the interactional ethics of the discourse,’ and adds that ‘the speaker’s identity is the platform from which they project an ethos.’ The concept of face is crucial for the construction of a persuasive writer-reader relationship, as the writers must negotiate a careful balance of authority and power to speak on a topic, whilst simultaneously relating to readers and drawing them into the discourse. It is to be expected that, due to the nature of the texts for analysis, which seek to advise the reader on how they should live, advice will be given to the reader with varying degrees of modality. How this is negotiated in the different texts is of key interest for the construction of the writer-reader relationship.

3.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has described the selection of case study texts for analysis, as well as detailed the multi-theoretical analysis framework which is adopted in this thesis. I have introduced my key distinction (to be used throughout the analysis which follows) of writer-oriented

strategies and reader-oriented strategies. In this chapter I have also drawn connections between aspects of the historical context (examined in Chapter 2) and justification for the theoretical considerations informing the analysis framework. The key argument underpinning this chapter is that taking a CDA-informed approach, accounting for both textual analysis and historical context, is essential for answering the research questions driving this study. In *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Giddens (1991: 54) argues:

A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor—important though this is—in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world [...] must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing "story" about the self.

The analysis framework I have outlined relates generally to this notion of identity. Considering Giddens's above definition, the analysis of each individual's written texts examines the recurring features for each individual, relating these features to an overall 'narrative' of identity which is used rhetorically. Giddens (1991: 54) also makes the crucial point that in order for identity to have a place in interaction and daily life, aspects of the contemporary social environment must be drawn into the discourse, supporting a deeply contextualised approach. This aligns with van Dijk's (2005: 68) argument:

It is not the social or political situation itself that influences text or talk, but rather the way individual participants represent, understand or otherwise construct the now-for-them-relevant properties of such a situation. Thus, contexts are not objective, or "out there," but subjective constructs of participants. [italics in original]

This is an important point which highlights the significance of individual identities working together with social contexts to form arguments, again highlighting the value of a case study approach when analysing persuasion in such contexts. Analysing writer- and reader-oriented strategies enables a reconstruction of Allinson's and Miles's identities in the texts, rooting this in historical context by considering how they related to their audience.

Essentially, I build on some of the existing insights gained from research on health and food discourses, examining key historical texts which have not yet been subjected to such multi-theoretical linguistic analysis. Although I have highlighted some insightful historical studies, which have pointed to the value of taking such an approach, I argue that the case study

approach taken in this thesis enables a deeper understanding of how individual identities operated in the Edwardian health food market, and how these identities were constructed using a variety of persuasive strategies. The multi-theoretical approach enables the analysis of complex discourses invested with power and moral values, thereby suiting the needs of the research questions (RQ1-4), which are underpinned by interrelated discursive themes.

Chapter 4 - Thomas Richard Allinson



Figure 2: Portrait of Thomas Richard Allinson (Allinson Papers, MS3186)

4.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter analyses the writings of Thomas Richard Allinson (1858-1918)—pictured in Figure 2 above—examining the rhetorical strategies he used to legitimise his claims by conducting a case study analysis of his texts (Objective 1, Section 1.5); see further Section 3.3 on the selection of texts. The current chapter details the ways by which Allinson used writer-oriented strategies to construct himself as an authoritative and credible expert, despite his well-known separation from the mainstream medical community. I also analyse the reader-oriented strategies used by Allinson to acknowledge and engage with his readership, fostering a community centred on shared values and common goals. These aspects of Allinson’s rhetorical identity are analysed through three illustrative case studies, taken from Allinson’s extensive body of written work.

The analyses within this chapter build on the historical background provided in Chapter 2, which contextualised the wider zeitgeist alongside Allinson's life and relevant activities; this context is crucial for an understanding of his construction of the writer-reader relationship. From his column for the *Weekly Times & Echo* to the marketing of his health food products, Allinson inextricably connected his identity to his medical ideas and hygienic agenda. It was thus essential to situate Allinson within the wider zeitgeist prior to the analyses, developing an understanding of how his experience and ideas may have influenced the rhetoric he employed within his writings.

Building on the summary of Allinson's core ideas and medical experiences in Section 2.7, Sections 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 analyse some of Allinson's major written works, driven by the aims and research questions detailed in Section 1.5. The case study texts selected for analysis within this chapter are: *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, the *Medical Essays*, and *A System of Hygienic Medicine*. Scott (1999: 259) argues that Allinson's publications 'were aimed at lay people and written in simple language,' yet the texts present a blend of rhetorical strategies to promote his hygienic agenda, thus warranting detailed analysis of the writer-reader relationship. In order to shed light on the rhetorical nature of the language Allinson used to promote his ideas on health, each of the sections within this chapter analyses persuasive strategies under two organisational headings: writer-oriented strategies and reader-oriented strategies (see further Section 3.4); both categories are crucial to the construction of a persuasive authorial identity and writer-reader relationship. It must, however, be noted that there is much overlap between these two categories, hence the division being for organisational rather than relating to a strict binary of persuasive function. Given that both writer- and reader-oriented strategies contribute to a complex and nuanced writer-reader relationship, the persuasive power of the strategies combined is summarised and evaluated at the end of each analysis section.

4.2 The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread

4.2.1 Section Overview

This section analyses the persuasive strategies used by Allinson in one of his key pamphlets—*The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (1889). As is Allinson's surviving legacy, wholemeal bread was at the heart of his health advice, as well as being his greatest commercial interest; it is important to note that the pamphlet was published by the Natural

Food Company (his own company). Given the centrality of wholemeal bread to Allinson's hygienic agenda and health food company, the pamphlet he dedicated to this product warrants exploration within this thesis, with the text being a rich source of rhetorical strategies. Given the widespread preference for white bread at the time (Collins, 1976), it is necessary to examine the ways by which Allinson rhetorically presented the brown loaf as superior. This analysis considers how Allinson used writer-oriented strategies to construct authority on brown bread and health matters, as well as the reader-oriented strategies he employed to relate to readers' concerns and draw them into the discourse. First, a general summary of the text is provided, before analysing the persuasive tactics used in terms of writer- and reader-oriented strategies; these features together contribute to a rhetorically constructed writer-reader relationship which Allinson believed would advance his ideas, and this combined use of strategies is summarised and evaluated in Section 4.2.5.

4.2.2 Summary of Text

In his 1889 pamphlet, *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, Allinson sets out what he believes to be the superiority of the wholemeal loaf and its essential place in the British diet. The pamphlet also includes a supplementary section on *Wholemeal Cookery*, which is excluded from the analysis, but is briefly summarised in the current section.¹⁷ The centrality of wholemeal bread—and more broadly, wholemeal flour—to Allinson's dietary philosophy and persuasive agenda led to this pamphlet being included as a case study for this thesis. As a genre, pamphlets are by nature ephemeral and respond to relevant social issues, contrasting with the permanence of the book publications by conveying arguments to the public in a cheaper, quicker format. Allinson (1889: 3) demonstrates his awareness of the timeliness of the pamphlet in the opening line: '[p]eople are now concerning themselves about the foods that they eat, and enquiring into their properties, composition, and suitability.' It is therefore necessary to explore the ways by which Allinson adopts writer- and reader-oriented strategies to justify the consumption of wholemeal bread within this short persuasive text.

The pamphlet is 16 pages in length, including the front-matter. On the first page, Allinson (1889: 3) claims that bread is the 'staff of life,' emphasising its importance in the British diet. He then goes on to describe wholemeal bread in scientific terms, discussing its chemical composition and impact on the body. In the remainder of the pamphlet, Allinson (1889: 11)

¹⁷ The analysis focuses on the main part of the pamphlet, which is a rich source of writer- and reader-oriented strategies in order to persuade the reader of the health advantages of consuming wholemeal over white bread.

advises his readers on how to make and consume wholemeal bread properly, including a recipe, before ending with the didactic statement: '[t]o banish the white flour loaf from his home is the duty of every good citizen.' This didacticism, framing readers as duty-bound to avoid white bread consumption, points to the strong markers of authority throughout the pamphlet. As mentioned above, following *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, Allinson (1889: 12) includes a short section on *Wholemeal Cookery*, building on the rhetorical foundations laid in the first section of the pamphlet, urging readers not only to consume wholemeal bread, but also to use wholemeal flour for 'all cooking purposes.' For the purposes of this thesis, the focus shall be on the main part of the pamphlet which seeks to legitimise the consumption of brown bread over white bread in terms of health.

4.2.3 Writer-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

This section first considers writer-oriented strategies of persuasion in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*: what persuasive tactics does Allinson use to rhetorically construct an identity as a dietary authority? As highlighted in Section 2.4, in the face of the industrial revolution and widespread food adulteration (Collins, 1993), Allinson faced the difficulty of persuading a public who favoured the white loaf to consume exclusively wholemeal bread. It is therefore necessary to analyse the ways by which Allinson constructed his own authority in the text in relation to wider social factors. Given Allinson's position as a hygienic doctor, his arguments for wholemeal bread are rooted in health principles, and his construction of authority reflects his position as an alternative medical doctor.

In Section 4.2.2, it was noted that Allinson couches the avoidance of white bread in terms of duty, suggesting strong markers of authority. It was also noted that Allinson foregrounds health arguments, given his position as an alternative doctor and his theory of hygienics; see further Section 2.7.2. Indeed, Allinson uses high modality throughout the pamphlet to claim authority as an expert on health; van Leeuwen (2007: 95) notes, '[t]he experts' utterances themselves will carry some kind of recommendation, some kind of assertion that a particular course of action is "best" or "a good idea."' This can be seen in Allinson's use of deontic and epistemic modality to establish an authoritative voice with little ambiguity. For example, when discussing the grinding of the grain he states, '[w]hen ground, nothing **must** be taken from it, nor **must** anything be added to the flour, and from this bread **should** be made' (Allinson, 1889: 5-6) [bold mine]. This expression of necessity and obligation is seen repeatedly throughout the text, particularly when Allinson is providing instructions on how

to best prepare wholemeal bread; for example, Allinson (1889: 6) argues that some chemicals '**must** never be used' and that 'all bread **should** be left for a day or two to set before it is eaten' (1889: 8) [bold mine]. He also adopts modals of obligation when discussing the diet of various age groups, emphasising the importance of wholemeal bread from the cradle to the grave; he argues that 'the first solid food a child **should** have is wholemeal bread' (Allinson, 1889: 8), that 'growing children **should** all have it' (1889: 8), that 'grown-up persons **must** eat this bread always' (1889: 8), and that 'old people **should** always eat this bread' (1889: 8) [bold mine]. Hyland (2002: 217) asserts that modals of obligation are usually 'writer-oriented,' signalling 'what the writer believes is necessary or desirable,' also noting that these modals 'function as directives only when referring to actions the writer believes should be carried out by the reader.' Alongside the necessity and obligation for all ages to consume wholemeal bread, Allinson also makes his case for different classes to see the value in the product. He argues, '[t]he rich **should** eat it, so that it may carry off some of their superfluous foods and drinks; and the poor **must** eat it, then they will not need to buy so much flesh foods and other expensive articles of diet' (Allinson, 1889: 10-11). The difference between 'should' and 'must' to appeal to different classes of people sees Allinson place the highest degree of obligation on the poor ('must'), whilst the rich are strongly advised to eat the bread ('should'). Allinson's authority is also implicit in the certainty with which he discusses the appropriate method of bread-making, using metadiscourse features such as directives. The use of directives often implies 'status differences' (Hyland, 2002: 217), and in this instance Allinson distances himself from the audience as an expert with the authority to provide bread-making instructions. Through the occasional use of self-mention in the pamphlet, signalling explicit author presence in the text, Allinson strengthens his personal authority by claiming the expertise as his own and choosing to 'adopt a particular stance and disciplinary-situated authorial identity' (Hyland, 2005: 181). This works in context as Allinson is positioned as helping the audience to improve their health, thereby justifying the sense of necessity and obligation he places upon readers to improve and maintain their health by consuming brown bread. This strategy is further evaluated in Section 4.2.5, following an examination of reader-oriented strategies in Section 4.2.4.

Furthermore, Allinson portrays his authority specifically in relation to health, as this is central to his argument for wholemeal bread and his marketing of his products as health foods. He does this by using high deontic modality when making health arguments, whereas statements relating to personal preference or taste generally adopt lower deontic modality. This lower modality used to discuss personal taste is illustrated in the following examples:

‘[a] small quantity of salt **may** be used, but not much, otherwise it adds an injurious agent to the bread’ (Allinson, 1889: 6) [bold mine]; ‘[w]hen it is desired to have a soft crust the loaf **may** be baked under a tin in the oven’ (1889: 7) [bold mine]. One exception to the use of low modality with personal preference is, ‘[g]rown-up persons **must** eat this bread always, as it gives more **satisfaction**; hunger is not felt so readily, and it “stays” the body better’ (Allinson, 1889: 8) [bold mine]. However, the reference to personal preference by means of ‘satisfaction’ from food appears alongside discussion of the physical effects of food on the body, justifying Allinson’s use of high modality in this instance. The use of low modality to refer to individual taste and preferences contrasts with the high modality which appears throughout the majority of the pamphlet, given its focus on health, with aspects of bread-making and consumption which have a direct bearing on the body being presented with a greater degree of authority.

Moreover, the pamphlet has an eclecticism which was characteristic of the period, with the spirit of New Journalism encouraging a diverse and often paradoxical approach to communicating ideas with an increasingly literate and curious public; see further Section 2.6. The mix of styles adopted by Allinson is primarily writer-oriented, as he works to carefully craft an identity which is seen, in the first instance, as expert, and in the second instance, as caring towards readers. Despite the prevalent use of high modality throughout the text, as highlighted above, Allinson relates to his readers by opening the pamphlet in an accessible and inclusive way, adopting the lifeworld ethos by appearing to reject ‘the elitism, formality, and distance of the medical scientist figure’ (Fairclough, 1992: 147), for example:

One food that is now receiving a good deal of attention is bread, and we ought to be sure that this is of the best kind, for as a nation we eat daily a pound of it per head. We consume more of this article of food than of any other, and this is as it ought to be, for bread is the staff of life, and many of the other things we eat are garnishings. (Allinson, 1889: 3)

In the above extract, Allinson adopts the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ to relate to his readers and assume shared interests; this inclusivity is taken up further in Section 4.2.4. Though deontic modality is still present in the above example, through repetition of the modal verb ‘ought,’ the didacticism of the statement is reduced by the more personal tone (e.g. use of the inclusive ‘we’) and lack of scientific language. In 1886, British newspaper editor Stead (1886: 663) argued: ‘[e]verything depends upon the individual – the person. Impersonal journalism is effete. To influence men you must be a man, not a mock-uttering oracle.’

Allinson (1889: 4) establishes himself as such a man, with an interpersonal introduction to the pamphlet which uses inclusive pronouns and accessible language, followed by a stark transition to using jargon and exposition in his explanation of the properties of a ‘perfect food’:

A perfect food must contain carbonaceous, nitrogenous, and mineral matter in definite quantities; there must be from four to six parts of carbonaceous or heat and force-forming matter to one of nitrogen, and from two to four per cent. of mineral matter; also a certain bulk of innutritious matter for exciting secretion, for separating the particles of food so that the various gastric and intestinal juices may penetrate and dissolve out all the nutriment, and for carrying off the excess of the biliary and other intestinal secretions with the faeces.

The above extract shows Allinson portraying a ‘scientific ethos’ with ‘the absence of niceties of interpersonal meaning’ (Fairclough, 1992: 143), and it is significant that this extract occurs only one page later than the earlier lifeworld example. However, some of Allinson’s scientific descriptions contain more glossing for the reader, as is shown in Section 4.2.4. As Browse (2018: 65) notes, ‘[j]argon is perhaps one of the most obvious ways in which speakers signal their belonging to a particular professional class of people.’ Allinson uses scientific and medical jargon in the above extract to claim authority as a diet and nutrition expert, carefully negotiating his position as an expert within his relationship with readers. The use of jargon, evoking a scientific ethos, is coupled with Allinson’s use of obligation modals, emphasising his strong commitment to his propositions and further highlighting his position as a knowledgeable and authoritative expert, despite being an outsider to orthodox medicine. Furthering his position of authority, Allinson includes a breakdown of the average composition of wheat, as shown in Figure 3 below.

Nitrogen ...	...	...	...	...	12
Carbon ...	...	...	...	...	72
Mineral Matter ...	...	...	...	...	4
Water ...	...	...	...	...	12
					—
					100
					—

Figure 3: *The Average Composition of Wheat* (Allinson, 1889: 4)

This scientific explanation of wheat is used as a rhetorical strategy for Allinson to strengthen his position as an informed expert on diet, with legitimate grounds for promoting wholemeal bread. In terms of figures, Mulholland (1994: 356) points out that ‘their very presence in the text could mark it as “expert” or “authoritative” and so persuade some A.s [readers],’ even if those readers do not fully understand what the figure entails. Particularly in the context of food adulteration, with widespread concerns about what chemicals were being used in basic foodstuffs such as bread, providing transparent quantification in this way would have been significant through its role in constructing the ‘rhetoric of purity’ (O’Hagan, 2020). Not only does the table shown in Figure 3 highlight Allinson’s scientific authority, but it may also contribute to his trustworthiness, and thus credibility, in the eyes of his readers.

Moreover, in *The Rhetoric of Expertise*, Hartelius (2010: 13) argues that ‘self-help gurus of all kinds build credibility by insisting that their recommendations are in their followers’ best interests,’ using talk show host Oprah Winfrey as a modern example. Allinson’s interdiscursivity, combining elements such as exposition with detailed recipes, works to enhance his credibility by creating a notion of self in the text which suggests that he holds legitimate authority across different areas, from the science of nutrition to the baking of bread. Fairclough (1992: 166) argues, ‘[t]he question of ethos is an intertextual one: what models from other genres and discourse types are deployed to constitute the subjectivity (social identity, “self”) of participants in interactions?’ Through an amalgamation of scientific and interpersonal discourses, alongside quantification and recipes, Allinson is demonstrating that not only does he understand the chemical breakdown of a ‘perfect food,’ but he can also provide a step-by-step practical recipe for his readers to bake their own wholemeal bread. The recipe comes at a later point in the text, after Allinson has provided a scientific breakdown of the bread. The ordering of these elements strengthens Allinson’s credibility by legitimising his authority to provide such a recipe.

Overall, Allinson uses writer-oriented strategies throughout the pamphlet to claim the right to speak authoritatively on the topic. He positions himself first and foremost as a knowledgeable and trustworthy expert. The use of high modality to make health arguments aligns with his construction of identity as an alternative doctor, striving to achieve legitimacy outside of the mainstream medical community and marketing his wholemeal bread in terms of his system of hygienic medicine. Allinson’s positioning as an expert, through a high degree of certainty, is furthered by his use of a scientific style, drawing on jargon and presenting a quantitative chemical breakdown for readers. As has been introduced within this section, Allinson carefully negotiates his positioning as an expert by combining

scientific style with a more personal style. The way Allinson orients the pamphlet towards the reader is now taken up in Section 4.2.4, before evaluating the writer-reader relationship as a whole in Section 4.2.5.

4.2.4 Reader-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

Turning now to reader-oriented strategies, this section considers how Allinson built upon his authority by fostering a relationship with his readers, generating a sense of community through food reform ideals. Jackson (2000: 12-13) refers to the term ‘reading communities,’ used to ‘describe categories of readers linked together by a common experience of expectation of reading, and by common social, political, ideological or cultural objectives or bonds (rather than by physical proximity).’ Like Jackson’s (2000: 12-13) exploration of George Newnes’s ‘attempt to exploit the concept of a community of readers,’ the current section analyses the ways by which Allinson created a community of readers using reader-oriented strategies. Some of the wider implications of this reading community are taken up further in Chapter 6, such as the use of in-group strategies in counter-culture arguments; see further Section 6.4. Moreover, the ways that the reader-oriented strategies work alongside the writer-oriented strategies to construct a contextually rooted and persuasive writer-reader relationship are summarised and evaluated in Section 4.2.5.

Throughout *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, Allinson builds on his expert authority by drawing on moral values which are directed towards his imagined community of readers (van Leeuwen, 2007). Allinson balances his authority by using positive evaluative adjectives such as ‘best,’ ‘perfect,’ ‘pure,’ and ‘good,’ which represent the ‘tip of a submerged iceberg of moral values’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 97). These evaluative adjectives relate to the ‘rhetoric of purity’ (O’Hagan, 2020) and the Victorian obsession with health, which ‘has long been used analogically to represent various kinds of perfection or excellence’ (Haley, 1978: 4). The use of moral evaluation legitimisation alongside expert authority portrays Allinson as writing with the reader’s best interests in mind, therefore bolstering the writer-reader relationship.

Furthermore, as was introduced in Section 4.2.3, Allinson includes both writer and reader in the text through inclusive pronouns such as ‘we’ and ‘our.’ Brown and Levinson (1987: 127) note, ‘[b]y using an inclusive ‘we’ form, when S [speaker] really means ‘you’ or ‘me’, he can call upon the cooperative assumptions and thereby redress FTAs.’ Addressing the

positive face of the reader in this way enables Allinson to decrease the social distance between the discourse participants and therefore construct rapport with his readership. This is noteworthy considering the fact that the text primarily instructs readers on how they should eat, and therefore threatens face. Allinson (1889: 5) uses an inclusive ‘we’ after his scientific explanation of the wheaten grain, following his composition table (see Figure 3) with, ‘[f]rom this analysis we observe that the nitrogenous matter is to the carbonaceous in the proportion of one-sixth, which is the composition of a perfect food.’ Though Allinson’s audience are likely not making this scientific observation themselves, Allinson includes them in the activity and provides them with the code gloss ‘which is the composition of a perfect food.’ The code gloss shows that Allinson believes his audience will not take for granted that his scientific explanation points to the composition of a ‘perfect food,’ so explicitly stating this ensures the audience is being directed towards the desired conclusion. In this way, reader-oriented strategies work alongside Allinson’s expert authority to position him as a knowledgeable and trustworthy adviser who wants to include his readers in-group.

Building on the discussion of his author presence in Section 4.2.3, Allinson’s (1889: 5) use of engagement strategies also includes personal asides; for example, ‘[b]esides taking part in this composition, the bran, being in a great measure insoluble, passes in bulk through the bowels, assisting daily laxation – **a most important consideration**’ [bold mine]. Hyland (2005: 183) notes that personal asides ‘allow writers to address readers directly by briefly interrupting the argument to offer a comment on what has been said.’ In the above example, Allinson interjects to emphasise the importance of his statement, conveying his stance on the matter through addressing readers. This again points to the importance of analysing both writer- and reader-oriented strategies, as Allinson combines his construction of his own identity with recognition of the reader, engaging in complex power negotiation. Furthermore, Allinson (1889: 7) also uses a personal aside, and simultaneously self-mention, in the following example: ‘[a]llow me here to warn public and private bakers of bread against letting the dough rise more than two hours, otherwise acetic acid fermentation sets in, makes your bread sour, and causes acidity of the stomach.’ The use of engagement here reminds the reader of Allinson’s personal authority and emphasises that what he advises is in the best interests of the reader. The reference to stomach acidity would have triggered a moral evaluation in context, as dyspepsia (or indigestion) was one of the most widespread medical complaints in the late nineteenth century (Collins, 1993). Where personal asides increase the proximity between writer and reader, synthetic personalisation strengthens this through direct address (Fairclough, 1989: 62); Allinson uses the personal pronoun ‘you’ to address his imagined community of readers as though he were speaking directly to one individual.

Synthetic personalisation is also seen in the following example: '[w]heatmeal can be bought from most corn factors in all large towns; in the country you must arrange with your miller to have the wheat ground for you' (Allinson, 1889: 6). In her discussion of the persuasive value of direct address, Mulholland (1994: 95) points out that, '[i]f the act required of the audience is to happen outside the communication [...] it may not happen,' however, she argues that it nevertheless 'stirs the audience into attention as they decide whether to obey or not.' Synthetic personalisation and other acknowledgements of reader presence contribute to the construction of solidarity with an audience because it highlights the writer's recognition of the reader.

4.2.5 Persuasive Strategies in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*

This section has analysed one of Allinson's key pamphlets in terms of both writer- and reader-oriented strategies and, as stated in Section 4.1, it is now necessary to summarise and evaluate how these strategies work together in context. In Section 4.2.3, Allinson's use of writer-oriented strategies contributes to his construction of expert authority in the text, claiming this expertise by means of modals of obligation and certainty for health arguments, alongside scientific jargon and chemical analysis. In context, this was fitting given the rising power of science in health food marketing (O'Hagan, 2021b), including the growing trend of using in-house scientists (Horrocks, 1997). Rather than having an external scientist, Allinson is both a medical figure and health food marketer, enabling him to invest his product with his own expertise. Allinson's personal authority works in relation to the moral evaluation legitimisation he employs, speaking as an expert on topics which have social significance for the imagined community; this includes the desire to avoid adulterated and impure foods, and the hope to achieve good health. Amidst concerns surrounding food quality and the general poor health of the nation (see further Chapter 2), Allinson's construction of authority and use of moral values enables him to present his advice and health food product as the antithesis to these concerns. This helps Allinson to ascribe legitimacy to wholemeal bread at a time when white bread was preferred by the British public. The combined use of expert authority and moral evaluation enables Allinson to market himself as a relevant expert, pertaining to key concerns of the time. Whilst Allinson maintains his positioning as an authoritative expert, he also includes his readers in-group by using inclusive pronouns, harnessing a sense of community, yet carefully maintaining the balance of power which sees him operate at the head of this community. The use of reader-oriented

strategies, such as moral evaluation and inclusive pronouns, enables Allinson to present strong authority under the guise that his advice is in the best interests of the reader.

Taking Allinson's use of both writer- and reader-oriented strategies together, it can be seen that he combines scientific exposition and authority markers with interpersonal strategies in order to carefully negotiate his positioning and that of his readers; he maintains distance as an authoritative expert, yet invites the reader into the text (and imagined community) through inclusive pronouns and direct address. The contrast and combined rhetorical strength between the scientific and personal styles helps Allinson to strike this balance. Given Allinson's controversial professional background (see further Section 2.7.3), it was within his commercial interests to establish his personal authority in no uncertain terms. As mentioned in Section 4.2.1, the pamphlet was published by Allinson's own company—the Natural Food company—stressing the financial capital invested in the strength of his argument. Allinson uses writer-oriented strategies to provide scientific backing for his product, and invites the reader to join a community of which he is at the head and, most importantly, purchase his wholemeal bread.

4.3 Medical Essays

4.3.1 Section Overview

This section presents an analysis of the persuasive strategies adopted by Allinson in his *Medical Essays* (1900; 1904b; 1905a; 1905b; 1905c). Section 4.3.2 provides a summary of the sample before the subsequent sections explore the persuasive tactics used in terms of writer- and reader-oriented strategies. The combination of writer- and reader-oriented strategies in the *Medical Essays* is then summarised and evaluated in Section 4.3.5.

4.3.2 Summary of Texts

In his capacity as medical editor for the *Weekly Times and Echo*, beginning in 1885, Allinson wrote a regular medical column and responded to questions from readers. He re-printed a selection of his early articles in five volumes of *Medical Essays*, originally published between 1885 and 1890, and a representative sample of these short articles forms the basis for analysis within this section. The approach to sampling the essays is outlined in Section 3.3.1.1, and the titles of the essays in the sample are listed in Table 1. Underpinned by the

health philosophy set out in *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, the *Medical Essays* lay out the treatment of various ailments and afflictions by natural means, in other words, without the use of drugs or surgery. In the preface to the first volume of essays, Allinson (1905a: 6) expresses his desire to initiate a ‘School of Healing’ which transcends orthodox medicine; this relates to Allinson’s use of popularisation strategies throughout the essays, inducting his readers into an imagined community formed around the principles of hygienic medicine. This sample of texts is pertinent to include in the present analysis given the popularity of the weekly column (Bae, 2022; Brown, 1991) and the volume of articles published. Based on the discursive trends of the period, with the interpersonal features of New Journalism characterising serial publications (see further Section 2.6), it is to be expected that Allinson will foster a sense of proximity to his readership in an attempt to construct and maintain a reading community. This desire to foster a relationship with his reading community is enhanced by the fact that he regularly engaged with his *Weekly Times & Echo* readers by answering their questions on health in his correspondence column and delivering ‘practical advice’ (Bae, 2022: 10). As the column focuses on medical issues, Allinson combines his own personal authority with a sense of solidarity with his readers, positioning them within a reading community and also positioning himself as an expert on the topics he is writing about. In context, establishing authority was of principal importance given Allinson’s complex relationship with the medical establishment and his alternative approach informed by naturopathy. Due to the fact that Allinson refers to his system of hygienic medicine involving rules or laws of life, it is to be expected that the essays will use high modality, particularly when making recommendations for readers to implement in their own lives. Additionally, it is also to be expected that Allinson will discredit the practices of orthodox doctors, given the purpose of the medical column to advise in line with the principles of hygienic medicine, as well as his known personal history of being outspoken against his professional colleagues in the press (see further Section 2.7.3).

The *Medical Essays* are short texts, owing to their initial publication as weekly newspaper columns. Each essay spans an average of 2-3 pages within the bound volumes. Allinson typically opens each essay with expository text, defining the ailment being discussed; for example, ‘[t]he word “tumour” really means a swelling, and is used in this sense by the doctor’ (10, *Tumours*: 98). When an essay concerns a specific ailment or complaint—such as ‘Epilepsy,’ ‘Psoriasis,’ and ‘Varicose Veins’—it is typically structured using subheadings such as ‘symptoms,’ ‘cause,’ and ‘treatment.’ Alongside the essays which focus on named conditions, there are also essays within the sample which are written on various aspects of diet, including ‘Man’s Food from His Structure,’ ‘Salads,’ and ‘Fruit.’ Further to this, the

sample includes essays directed towards different demographics, such as ‘To the Lean,’ ‘Health Hints for Servants,’ and ‘Infant Mortality.’ Ultimately, this sample of *Medical Essays* is representative of the wider collection, being both topically and rhetorically diverse. My approach to analysing the essays is also informed by an in-depth knowledge of the wider collection of *Medical Essays*, and further examples are drawn on in Chapter 6, driven by the overarching themes underpinning the research questions (see Section 1.5).

4.3.3 Writer-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

Allinson’s use of writer-oriented strategies in the *Medical Essays* is rooted in his desire to promote his system of hygienic medicine over orthodox approaches. He frames his authorial identity by strategically using ‘a configuration of text types or discourse conventions’ (Fairclough, 1992: 10), as was also seen in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (Section 4.3.3). Allinson draws on a variety of different discourses and textual conventions of the time in order to make arguments for a system of hygienic medicine, as in the following illustrative examples:

1. ‘The question arises in many minds, has it any injurious properties? Some would laugh at the idea of tea doing anyone harm, which nevertheless is the case.’ (8, *Tea*: 57)
2. ‘The injurious effects of tea-drinking are due to the alkaloid of tea called theine, to the adulterations, and to the temperature of the water drunk. The theine, which is the active principle of tea, and a nerve poison, causes more or less paralysis of the heart, and unduly excites the whole nervous system.’ (8, *Tea*: 57)

In Example 1 above, Allinson uses a rhetorical question, adopting an interpersonal and accessible style which is reminiscent of the lifeworld. Hyland (2005: 185) argues that questions ‘arouse interest and encourage the reader to explore an unresolved issue with the writer as an equal, a conversational partner, sharing his or her curiosity and following where the argument leads.’ In contrast to this conversational style, Example 2 more closely resembles a scientific ethos, with the use of jargon and less interpersonal features (Fairclough, 1992: 143). Whilst Example 2 is not completely devoid of the interpersonal, with the presence of glossing such as ‘theine, which is the active principle of tea’ (8, *Tea*: 57), Allinson’s blending of styles sees him combine interpersonal strategies with more formal scientific descriptions and explanations. The interweaving of these styles is present

throughout the sample and contributes to Allinson's multi-layered writer identity by simultaneously presenting him as a knowledgeable expert and a community-builder; the community-building aspects of Allinson's style are further discussed in Section 4.4.4. In terms of the scientific style which bolsters Allinson's authority, as was also seen in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (see Figure 3), he indexes his expertise by breaking down the composition of foods, for example:

1. 'Water, from 5 to 10 per cent.
Salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 per cent. in fresh, and from 2 to 8 per cent. in salt butter.
Caseine from the milk, 3 to 5 per cent.
Oily or fatty matter, from 86 to 92 per cent.' (17, *Butter*: 42)
2. 'Fruit consists chiefly of water, containing from 70 to 90 per cent., a fair proportion of sugar, a little nitrogenous material, vegetable acids and salts and insoluble matter.' (2, *Fruit*: 44)

The above examples employ a similar scientific breakdown to the one shown in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (see Figure 3), and this evocation of scientific ethos is used alongside a variety of interpersonal and popularisation strategies, which are taken up in Section 4.3.4. In terms of the construction of writer identity, the interdiscursivity shows Allinson drawing the reader into the text using engagement strategies whilst simultaneously re-asserting his authority as a medical expert, resulting in a writer-reader relationship which is built on carefully negotiated power relations. Through this, Allinson is able to present himself as relatable to readers, whilst also maintaining the expert authority needed to convince them to trust his advice.

Implicit in the interpersonal style running alongside the scientific exposition, Allinson conjures a high degree of author presence throughout the *Medical Essays*, using self-mention and drawing on illustrative testimonies of his own experience to lend efficacy to his claims. This author presence throughout the *Medical Essays* is implemented as a persuasive writer-oriented strategy to 'adopt a particular stance' (Hyland, 2005: 181), presenting an identity as an alternative medical authority. The prevalence of the first-person singular pronoun 'I' repeatedly reinforces Allinson's presence in the text, inextricably investing his own personal authority in the advice he gives; some illustrative examples are shown below:

1. '**I** have been in some of their bedrooms that **I** would not put a dog in if **I** wanted to keep it healthy.' (7, *Servants*: 43) [bold mine]

2. ‘Man’s use of flesh has induced many diseases, and all the evidence **I** can find shows he is worse mentally, morally, and physically for this change.’ (1, *Man’s Food*: 31) [bold mine]
3. ‘Thus, for example, when **I** see a cancer **I** do not say that cancer will cause death, or that it is the cause of the weakness which is seen when this disease is present.’ (10, *Tumours*: 98) [bold mine]
4. ‘**I** must warn patients against taking drugs whilst suffering from this complaint.’ (20, *Psoriasis*: 115) [bold mine]
5. ‘Here is the best way **I** know of making tea.’ (8, *Tea*: 59) [bold mine]

The above examples (1-5) are by no means an exhaustive account of Allinson’s author presence in the sample, but they provide insight into Allinson’s rhetorical choice to be explicitly present in the texts. Capturing the essence of Allinson’s argument throughout the *Medical Essays*, Allinson remarks that ‘[h]ygienic cure is safest and surest; drug treatment is always dangerous at best’ (20, *Psoriasis*: 116). To make this argument, Allinson uses his explicit author presence to contrast his approach with mainstream medicine, for example:

If a drug doctor or surgeon is consulted about the complaint, he at once advises that a deep cut be made in the tissues to let out the matter which is gathering. When such a cut is made it does not stop the complaint, but it gives you a larger sore to heal, and a stiff finger often results from this operation. Other doctors tell you to poultice the finger until it bursts. Both of these treatments are wrong. The abortive treatment is best. I usually stop matter from forming, or cause that already formed to be taken up again by low diet. I advise rest in bed, to foment the finger with hot water every four hours, and to live only on milk and soda water until all the bad symptoms are passed, which they quickly do on this diet. (22, *Felon*: 39)

In the above extract, orthodox doctors are referred to in abstract terms (e.g. ‘a drug doctor or surgeon’ which uses the non-specific indefinite article), and their treatments evaluated negatively as ‘wrong.’ Allinson was condemned for his negative references to the medical community, with *The Lancet* writing that he ‘rarely lost an opportunity of depreciating all other members of the medical profession by calling them “drug doctors”’ (1892: 1264a). Allinson contrasts his generalisations of mainstream medicine with his explicit author presence, drawing on his own professional experiences to bolster his credibility. By using the first-person singular pronoun ‘I’ to relate his advice directly to his own prior experiences, he establishes personal authority to speak on health topics and address readers directly, as if

they were patients. This contrast between Allinson's explicit identity in the text and the vague and negative descriptions of orthodox doctors is seen throughout the sample of *Medical Essays*. He repeatedly draws on his own experience with patients to support his arguments about health and lifestyle, for example:

I have now seen many cases where the free use of fruit and vegetables has dissolved a stone away and allowed it to pass at last as a small piece, thus doing away with the necessity of crushing it in the bladder, or removing it by a dangerous operation. (6, *Urine*: 28)

In the above extract, Allinson again draws on his own experience to directly counter the orthodox approach to treatment, contrasting the first-person singular pronoun 'I' with abstract and negatively evaluated medical generalisations such as 'crushing it in the bladder' and 'removing it by a dangerous operation.' This creates negative other-presentation of mainstream medicine, whilst Allinson claims legitimacy through positive self-presentation. On the rhetorical nature of drawing on personal experience, Mulholland (1994: 362) argues, '[w]hen some information is thought likely to be new to A. [the audience], and therefore in need of evidential support, one method is to give testimony from one's own experience as a guarantee that the information is true.' Though it is important to note that this is only persuasive if the writer has established authority on the topic; the use of modality discussed later in this section works in synergy with author presence to create such an authoritative position, and therefore lend credibility to Allinson's experiences. In some regards, Allinson also draws on role model authority by referring not only to his experiences as a doctor, but also to his own dietary experiences; for example, 'I have lived on one meal a day for a time, but having always to be at work, I did not get on very well, as I had not enough time to rest after the heavy meal taken' (21, *How Often*: 19). As such, drawing on accounts of his own experiences rhetorically constructs credibility throughout the text, legitimising his authority as an expert who possesses relevant practical experience with patients. This emphasis on practical experience complements the theoretical expertise Allinson claims through scientific and medical exposition, which typically occupies the opening section of the essays.

As has been suggested, Allinson's central purpose in the *Medical Essays* is to carve out his own authority by creating a dichotomy between his own system of hygienic medicine and the orthodox medicine of mainstream doctors, as in the following example:

In the treatment of this [Epilepsy] and other diseases I differ from ninety-nine hundredths of my professional brethren. Whilst they use deadly drugs and rarely enquire into the causes of this disease, I try to alter the wrong dietetic and hygienic conditions, and then the powers of the system can assert themselves and effect a cure. My results are more successful than theirs; this is my justification. They use bromide of potassium, of sodium, and of ammonium; also arsenic, strychnine, and other poisonous and injurious drugs. (15, *Epilepsy*, 110)

This example characterises orthodox doctors as out-group by referring to them in abstract terms such as ‘professional brethren’ and ‘they’ (which do not refer to anyone identifiable), in contrast to Allinson’s explicit use of the first-person singular pronoun ‘I,’ contributing to counterculture notions and Allinson’s authority outside of mainstream medicine. He uses the negative evaluative adjective ‘deadly’ to describe the mainstream approach to treating epilepsy. This aligns with negative connotations seen across the sample which characterise orthodox medicine as dangerous and violent. In the above example, Allinson then attempts to generate more fear surrounding orthodox medicine by using complex medical jargon without explanation, conjuring a scientific ethos which is rhetorically separate from the popular explanations he provides when describing his own approach. Not only does this jargon contribute to framing orthodox doctors as promoters of ‘poisonous and injurious drugs’ (15, *Epilepsy*: 110), but it also functions to emphasise Allinson’s ‘belonging to a particular professional class of people’ (Browse, 2018: 65). Making use of medical jargon whilst simultaneously rejecting it allows Allinson to claim a different kind of authority—an understanding of orthodox medical treatments alongside a knowledge of ‘better’ treatment in line with this system of hygienic medicine; this parallels his nuanced use of ‘Ex-L.R.C.P.’ after his name (see Section 2.7.3). In the above extract, Allinson also uses testimony of his own experience, noting the ‘results’ he has achieved and evaluating past treatments as ‘successful.’ The sample of *Medical Essays* shows Allinson using this strategy repeatedly, combining self-mention with references to his own experience, and contrasting this with abstract and negative references to orthodox medicine:

All drugs are harmful to the patient and never needed in these cases. If the diet I have recommended, and the rules I have advised are adhered to, there will be no need to have the swellings removed by the knife, as they will gradually be absorbed by the system. (19, *Tonsillitis*, 100)

The above extract shows Allinson contrasting the negative abstraction of ‘the knife’ with his overt author presence, striking a dichotomy between his own approach and that of mainstream doctors. This complex and nuanced relationship with the establishment is further discussed in Section 6.4. As has been argued above, Allinson does not completely disassociate from orthodox medicine, as is illustrated by his possessive reference to ‘*my professional brethren*’ (15, *Epilepsy*: 110) [italics mine]. In identifying with the mainstream medical community, and at the same time distancing himself from their practices, Allinson claims medical knowledge alongside mainstream doctors whilst simultaneously separating himself from orthodoxy through his promotion of an alternative system of medicine. This is a highly rhetorical balance which enables Allinson to claim credibility and draw on his medical experiences, but also separate himself from mainstream medicine in such a way so as to avoid being labelled a crank by his readers.

Moreover, in Section 4.2.3 it was shown that Allinson uses high modality for arguments relating to the body in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*. Similar use of modality can be observed in the *Medical Essays*, though this is most concentrated in the sections of the essays which deal with treatment or, more generally, Allinson’s health and diet recommendations. Sections in the *Medical Essays* which are more expository, explaining issues to readers rather than directing them, contain lower modality. As mentioned in Section 4.3.2, the structure of the *Medical Essays* explains certain ailments or health phenomena to readers before turning to outline the directions for treatment. These directions, which typically relate to dietary choices, are presented in a didactic manner across the sample through modals of obligation, as in the below illustrative examples:

1. ‘The treatment **must** aim at improving the general health. Bad habits **must** be abandoned; the use of tobacco **must** be given up; beer, wines, and spirits be taken no more, and, if possible, the drinking water **must** be soft [...] The food **must** always be simple, with a free use of fresh ripe fruits, and fresh vegetables and green stuff.’ (10, *Tumours*: 99) [bold mine]
2. ‘Anything that lowers the tone of the system **must** be discontinued, such as tobacco, beer, wines, spirits, also strong tea and coffee. Not much meat food **must** be indulged in. White bread **must** never be eaten; rice, sago, tapioca and cornflour puddings **should** not be taken, and potatoes **must** be left out of the dietary. Wholemeal bread, fruit, and vegetables **must** be consumed freely.’ (14, *Varicose Veins*: 92) [bold mine]
3. ‘Only three meals a day **must** be eaten, and the food **must** be of the plainest; wholemeal bread, fresh raw fruit, salads and various seasonable vegetables are most

suitable to take for this complaint. All sugary foods and drinks **must** be avoided; so **must** all kinds of fatty or greasy foods and all rich things.’ (20, *Psoriasis*: 115) [bold mine]

The above examples demonstrate Allinson’s frequent use of obligation modals within short extracts, with Example 1 containing 5 instances, Example 2 containing 6 instances, and Example 3 containing 4 instances. The use of high modality to make treatment recommendations works to ascribe certainty to the value of Allinson’s system, alongside the use of directives such as ‘[d]o not overeat’ (23, *Red Nose*: 51) and ‘[o]bey all the rules of health’ (24, *Blepharitis*: 65). This didactic tone is necessary in context, given the unorthodox nature of Allinson’s approach. Furthermore, the use of high modality works alongside overt author presence to position Allinson as an authoritative expert who possesses practical experience with patients. This experience builds on the expert knowledge established earlier in each essay, which sees Allinson adopt a more expository style to explain phenomena to readers, positioning them to receive and trust his recommendations. This combination of high modality and author visibility positions Allinson as an authoritative figure on diet, as in the following example:

Having warned my readers not to take drugs, **I** will now tell them how **I** treat my cases. **I** first insist that all medicines must be discontinued. **I** thus clear the ground, and **I** know my patient is not being injured by these things. **I** next demand that all injurious food or habits shall be done away with; the pipe, cigar, quid, or snuff must all be thrown away. Ale, beer, porter, stout, cider, claret, port, sherry, champagne, rum, gin, whiskey, brandy, liqueurs, and all alcoholic drinks must be avoided. Even tea and coffee **I** never allow. Having stopped the use of things that are very injurious, **I** next see to the dietetic habits. The diet from which **I** get most success is what is commonly called a vegetarian one. (15, *Epilepsy*: 111) [bold mine]

The above extract illustrates how strategies come together to rhetorically construct Allinson’s authority as a writer. The prolific use of self-mention, indicated by the repeated use of the first-person singular pronoun ‘I’ (which is used 9 times), works alongside high modality through repetition of the deontic modal ‘must’ alongside the strong evidentiality and epistemic modality of ‘demand’ and ‘never.’ The final sentence of the extract then enhances Allinson’s authority by positively evaluating his prior experiences with using a vegetarian diet for treating his patients. This aligns with Zweiniger-Bargielowska’s (2010: 2) argument about life reformers drawing heavily on success stories to market their

recommendations. The above extract also includes the reader-oriented in-group identifier ‘my readers,’ which is discussed further in Section 4.3.4.

Overall, Allinson’s use of writer-oriented strategies sees him claim authority by demonstrating his medical and scientific knowledge; this authority is then invested in the high degree of author presence throughout the *Medical Essays*. Allinson adopts a didactic tone when making treatment recommendations rooted in hygienic medicine, but this didacticism is only persuasive if Allinson’s authority is suitably established as an expert with the power to make such strong recommendations. Most notably, Allinson’s use of writer-oriented strategies functions to ascribe his own system legitimacy, whilst simultaneously delegitimising the approaches of orthodox doctors. Both legitimation and delegitimation are necessary when introducing new ways of thinking (van Leeuwen, 2017: 219), and this balance is essential given Allinson’s personal background, having been removed from the Medical Register (see Section 2.7.3). The ways by which he uses this authority as a foundation on which to interact with the reader are now taken up in the following section, before evaluating the overall construction of the writer-reader relationship in Section 4.3.5.

4.3.4 Reader-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

Allinson’s use of writer-oriented strategies is essential for his positioning within the writer-reader relationship, and this positioning influences the ways by which he interacts with and acknowledges readers in the texts. Throughout his *Medical Essays*, Allinson addresses his audience with the in-group identifier ‘my readers,’ characterising his readership as enlightened insiders; this is shown in the examples below:

1. ‘Lobster salads and such things are abominations that **my readers** will do well to avoid unless they want indigestion, diarrhoea, etc.’ (16, *Salads*: 26) [bold mine]
2. ‘I want **my readers** to understand this, as on this fact depends the treatment.’ (15, *Epilepsy*: 108) [bold mine]
3. ‘**My readers**, now, I hope, will see the value of fruit as a food and as a corrective of any disordered condition of the system [...]’ (2, *Fruit*: 45) [bold mine]
4. ‘In future articles I hope to show this plainly to **my readers**, and if the evidence satisfies them, they should try the effect on themselves of a diet into which flesh does not enter.’ (1, *Man’s Food*: 31) [bold mine]

This reader-oriented strategy aligns with what Jackson (2000: 12) terms the ‘paradigm of social discourse’ which was present towards the end of the nineteenth century. Like Newnes and his publication of *Tit-Bits* (Jackson, 2000), Allinson wrote to construct a collective identity amongst his readers, as was becoming convention at the time (see Section 2.6). Importantly, this in-group identifier brings the imagined reader into Allinson’s counterculture community, involving them in the ideological polarisation seen in Allinson’s construction of writer identity, which involves delegitimising orthodox approaches (see further Section 4.3.3). The use of the in-group identifier ‘my readers’ also builds on the use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we,’ which is seen across the sample; for example, ‘[t]he number of times a day that **we** eat is one thing, but how often **we** ought to eat for health, strength, and long life is another’ (21, *How Often*: 19) [bold mine]. Moreover, Allinson assumes a loyal community of readers through references to both past and future articles; for example, ‘[a]t some future time I may take up the different kinds of tumours and devote an article to each one of them’ (10, *Tumours*: 100). Pointing forwards in this way assumes a continued loyalty from his readers, positioning them as part of an imagined reading community. Allinson further builds this community through the use of synthetic personalisation, as in the following illustrative examples:

1. ‘If **you** feel a fit coming on, pinch **yourself**, run pins into **yourself**, or try to ward it off by jumping about or running. **You** may thus sometimes stop it.’ (15, *Epilepsy*: 112) [bold mine]
2. ‘If **you** are troubled with skin eruptions or breakings out of any kind, or if fatty tumours, or wens, or gall stones annoy **you**, then leave it [butter] alone altogether.’ (17, *Butter*: 43) [bold mine]
3. ‘Try to eat only when hungry; if meals come regularly, learn to eat just enough to last **you** until the next meal time.’ (11, *Hunger*: 27) [bold mine]
4. ‘**You** can readily imagine the great joy over so simple a cure.’ (3, *Constipation*: 67) [bold mine]
5. ‘**You** can scarcely go into a house without meeting someone who is coughing, sneezing, blowing his nose, or speaking hoarsely.’ (4, *Coughs and Colds*, 84) [bold mine]

Through this ‘simulation of private, face-to-face, person-to-person discourse in public mass-audience discourse’ (Fairclough, 2013: 65), Allinson draws the reader into the text and the imagined community by adopting a direct, conversational style. Fairclough (2013: 65) argues that this involves the ‘manipulation of interpersonal meaning for strategic,

instrumental effect,' and the above examples (1-5) show Allinson using synthetic personalisation to draw the reader into a community governed by the principles of hygienic medicine. The use of questions as an engagement strategy, as introduced in Section 4.3.3, also functions to include the reader in this community.

Furthermore, Allinson orients the *Medical Essays* towards the reader by demonstrating an acute awareness of his audience's level of knowledge, adapting to the 'different needs of popular readers' (Myers, 1990: 176). Particularly when an essay concerns a specific ailment or complaint, Allinson dedicates the first section of his essay to exposition, as in the following illustrative examples:

1. 'Psoriasis is really a variety of eczema, and is often called scaly eczema. It is an inflammation of the skin attended with redness, a little itching, and the part affected has a scaly covering. It affects all parts of the body, but is mostly seen on the outer aspects, as on the outsides of the fore-arm and upper arm, and the outsides of the thighs and legs.' (20, *Psoriasis*: 114)
2. 'The tonsils are two small almond-shaped bodies situated at the side of the throat close to the root of the tongue; inflammation of them is known as tonsillitis, and a person having this complaint is said to be suffering from quinsy.' (19, *Tonsillitis*: 98)

Whilst the above expository extracts work to establish Allinson's command of the subject from the outset, they also function to explain medical phenomena to the reader in more accessible terms, thereby forging a strategic expert-novice relationship between writer and reader. This proximity 'involves responding to the context of the text, particularly the readers who form part of that context, textually constructing both the writer and the reader as people with similar understandings and goals' (Hyland, 2010: 117). Furthermore, Corbett (2006: 756) notes that '[p]opularizations are therefore a forum in which specialists can attempt to form alliances and engage in negotiating the public meaning of specialist knowledge.' Another strategy Allinson uses to demonstrate his understanding of his audience is code-glossing, rhetorically situated to 'reflect the writer's predictions about the reader's knowledge-base' (Hyland, 2019: 61), as in the following examples, with glossing highlighted in bold:

1. 'Distension of the stomach, **or loading it with food**, or any other stuff, does not take away this sensation, though it may relieve the craving for a time.' (11, *Hunger*: 25) [bold mine]

2. ‘The itch is a contagious disease—**the female or young insects getting from one person to another.**’ (5, *Scabies*: 106) [bold mine]
3. ‘If it continues, it may in time lead to phosphatic calculus, **which is a form of stone in the bladder.**’ (6, *Urine*: 27) [bold mine]

Explaining phenomena to the reader by means of apposition both demonstrates Allinson’s command of his subject matter and, in terms of reader-oriented strategies, shows an acute awareness of the audience’s level of knowledge. This rhetorical strategy also contributes to the construction of a self-help discourse by empowering the reader with knowledge relating to health and disease. Allinson also uses analogies to explain things to readers, for example:

The Strasburg geese are frequently fed, kept warm, and not allowed to exercise; the result is they put on flesh rapidly, and if they were not killed they would die from fatty livers. I give this example that my readers may not hasten to fatten themselves up, and so make themselves ill. (9, *Lean*: 80)

The above example shows Allinson using an analogy, along with both explicit author presence and the in-group identifier ‘my readers,’ to make a connection between the analogy and the writer-reader relationship, with Allinson encouraging readers to learn from this example and avoid behaving like the ‘Strasburg geese.’

Furthermore, Allinson orients the *Medical Essays* towards the reader by using moral evaluation strategies. Moral evaluation is inextricably linked to context and, as Hartelius (2010: 10) argues, constructing an identity as a credible expert relies on an understanding of both ‘audience and context.’ Moral evaluation strategies enable authors to demonstrate an awareness of their audience and contextual environment by using language which triggers ‘specific discourses of moral value’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 97). Allinson writes, ‘[g]ood wholemeal bread requires no butter to help it down, as it has a pleasant flavour of its own; but insipid white bread must be spread with salt grease to give it taste, or very little would be eaten’ (17, *Butter*: 43), thereby contrasting the positively evaluated ‘good’ and ‘pleasant’ wholemeal bread with the negatively evaluated ‘insipid’ white bread; through this he assumes common ground with readers. Moreover, Allinson uses moral evaluations which contribute to the ‘rhetoric of purity’ (O’Hagan, 2020) present throughout the *Medical Essays*. O’Hagan (2020: 3) highlights the ‘growing obsession with “pure” food’ which was present towards the end of the nineteenth century as a result of various food adulteration

scandals; see further Section 2.4. O'Hagan (2020) argues that food companies capitalised on issues which were important to consumers, which towards the end of the nineteenth century entailed pure and unadulterated foods. As a result, purity was 'used as a rhetorical device' (O'Hagan, 2020: 1). In his essay on tea drinking, Allinson questions the purity of tea and asks 'what are its adulterations' (8, *Tea*: 57), whilst also making multiple references to the 'injurious' nature of tea. In context, the use of negative evaluations such as 'injurious,' 'poison,' and 'irritant' are morally opposite to contemporary concerns about the purity of food and drink. Using such evaluations enables Allinson to build credibility by triggering relevant moral values for his readers; for example:

[w]hite bread, flesh foods, vegetables deprived of their salts by boiling, peeled fruits, corn-flours, and other artificial and expensive preparations do much towards keeping us small. Impure drinks, as tea and coffee, are also bad, but much worse are the alcoholic fluids [...] (13, *Tall*: 61).

Across the sample of *Medical Essays*, Allinson uses moral evaluation to both support his own suggestions and discredit mainstream approaches, with corresponding positive and negative adjectives being found across the sample; for example, healthy/unhealthy, good/bad, right/wrong, pure/impure, and natural/artificial. As van Leeuwen (2017: 219) argues, 'the persuasive role of legitimation comes to the fore when new or changed practices are proposed. This involves the de-legitimation of existing practices, as well as the legitimation of the proposed changes.' As such, using a balance of positive evaluations, triggering moral concepts and supporting Allinson's suggestions, and negative evaluations, relating to contextually negative moral concepts, enables this 'persuasive role of legitimation' (van Leeuwen, 2017: 219) to come to fruition. The use of moral evaluation is further seen in the examples below:

1. 'Cough mixtures, expectorants, narcotics, etc., should never be used, as they are **poisonous** and always make people **worse**.' (4, *Coughs and Colds*, 86) [bold mine]
2. 'When we inquire more deeply into this subject, we find that **favourably** dietetic and hygienic conditions **increase growth**, whilst **wrong** foods and **unhealthy** surroundings cause a **dwarfing** of both the mind and body.' (13, *Tall*: 60) [bold mine]
3. 'The moral I want mothers to draw is that all kinds of **artificial** foods, such as tops and bottoms, rusks, baked flour, oatmeal, sago, arrow-root, gruel, and patent foods are very very **injurious** to babies who have not yet cut at least two teeth.' (18, *Infant Mortality*: 59) [bold mine]

In context, the use of the above evaluations had social significance for readers. Examples 1 and 3 use negative evaluations which are entrenched in wider discourses surrounding food quality, particularly adulteration; see further Section 2.4. Further to this, Example 2 strikes a dichotomy between ‘favourable’ and ‘wrong,’ ‘unhealthy’ conditions, rooting this in discourses of *mens sana in corpore sano* and physical efficiency.

4.3.5 Persuasive Strategies in the Medical Essays

Having accounted for Allinson’s use of writer- and reader-oriented strategies in turn, it is now necessary to summarise and evaluate the construction of the writer-reader relationship as a whole. In the *Medical Essays*, as in *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (Section 4.2), Allinson carefully negotiates power relations. Drawing on both scientific and interpersonal discourses, he indexes his personal authority and brings this expertise into an arena where he interacts with the reader in an expert-novice relationship. The use of writer-oriented strategies, such as explicit author presence and high modality, signals Allinson’s position as a knowledgeable and experienced expert, enabling him to make such strong recommendations to readers. However, it is important to note that this authority only works in context alongside Allinson’s community-building strategies, which work to persuade the reader that he adopts didacticism in their best interests.

Allinson’s personal authority and overt visibility in the texts contrasts with his delegitimation of orthodox practices; this was necessary in context given Allinson’s removal from the Medical Register and the need to establish legitimacy outside of the mainstream medical community. His commercial interests also relied on gaining the trust of his audience by marketing his expertise, and his construction of authority works alongside reader relations to bring the audience into an imagined community of which Allinson is the authoritative head. However, part of the trust he demands from the audience relies on his past ties to mainstream medicine, which he signals by associating himself with his medical colleagues and demonstrating his orthodox knowledge of specialist drugs and treatments. It has been shown through the analysis that Allinson engaged in positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation which, by combining this polarisation with reader inclusivity, brings readers into an us versus them dynamic. This strategy therefore ties into the counterculture sentiment which underpins the *Medical Essays*, with their primary purpose to advocate Allinson’s hygienic approach over orthodox approaches. Allinson brings the reader into this

us versus them dichotomy by using evaluative features which are ‘difficult to challenge’ (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 8), drawing especially on values which trigger moralised discourses associated with the zeitgeist, such as food quality and good physical health.

Allinson’s construction of the writer-reader relationship in the *Medical Essays* is consistent with the growing power of the personal which characterised the period, as well as the gradual shift towards ‘networks based around institutions and authority figures’ (O’Hagan, 2023: 18). Allinson uses a knowable identity, investing this with expert authority, and relates directly to readers by drawing them into an imagined community built on the principles of hygienic medicine. Through drawing on assumed shared values which are rooted in wider socially relevant discourses, Allinson situates his authority in context, advising readers on issues which were pertinent at the time and aligning with the spirit of *mens sana in corpore sano*. Considering the three text examples analysed within this chapter, the *Medical Essays* require the greatest degree of inclusivity and solidarity, given that the serial publication served to gradually induct readers into an alternative health community. Allinson combines an authoritative writer identity with reader inclusion and popularisation strategies to engineer a writer-reader relationship which enables him to simultaneously claim medical expertise and foster a sense of community.

4.4 A System of Hygienic Medicine

4.4.1 Section Overview

This section analyses the persuasive strategies used throughout Allinson’s main treatise on health, *A System of Hygienic Medicine* (1904a), which Bae (2022: 10) describes as the only text in which Allinson ‘purposefully delivered his whole philosophy in the form of a monograph.’ This fact makes the text pertinent for examination within this thesis, given its centrality to Allinson’s textual agenda. For the purposes of this thesis, the whole text is summarised in Section 4.4.2, before examining the preface in closer detail. Rhetorically, the preface interacts with the reader to provide justification for the text and set the precedent for the pages to follow (Luzón, 1999), making it a rich source of Allinson’s construction of the writer-reader relationship.

4.4.2 Summary of Text

Allinson's *A System of Hygienic Medicine* is a short monograph, comprised of 93 pages including front- and end-matter. In her article on the hygienic medicine of Lane and Allinson, Bae (2022: 18) argues that both men were 'rare representatives of the attempts to theorise it and promote it to the lay public in the medical publication market.' *A System of Hygienic Medicine* saw Allinson adopt hygienic medicine, 'a term not used frequently in the Victorian era' (Bae, 2022: 2), as a concept to promote his medical ideas to the wider public. This section provides a concise summary of *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, contextualising the subsequent analysis.

Chapter 1 couches hygienic medicine in terms of 'back to nature' arguments, aligning with wider life reform discourses present at the time (see Section 2.3). On these discourses, Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 18) argues, '[t]his tension between a belief in the value of scientific progress and a disdain for the artificiality of civilization strikes at the heart of the [life reform] movement.' This sentiment is significant throughout *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, with Allinson (1904a: 9) simultaneously arguing that his advice is on 'purely scientific grounds' and that '[c]ivilised man is an artificial animal, being guided by fashion and not by instinct, in consequence of which he has inferior health and many diseases' (1904a: 13).

Following this, Chapters 2-5 outline Allinson's (1904a: 22) hygienic medicine as an approach to 'right living,' which he argues is the best way to prevent ill health. According to Allinson's (1904a: 42) health philosophy, 'disease means a disordered system' which can be remedied by 'a correct observance of Nature's laws.' These chapters work to create a dichotomy between right and wrong living, with preventative health measures being rhetorically framed as a legal obligation, or duty: '[d]eath itself is the penalty some have to pay for their crimes against Nature' (Allinson, 1904a: 43). Alongside these legal connotations, Allinson (1904a: 43) also frames the observance of the 'laws' of health as a divine enterprise, with neglect of these laws being described in terms of evil and sin. The use of such connotations points to the high modality and moral evaluation used in the text. Allinson (1904a: 56) ends the summary of his system by arguing that 'right living' is just as curative as the 'giving of drugs,' continuing that whilst drugs work to mask the symptoms of disease, obeying the laws of health restores the system. Allinson thus draws on discourses of medical individualism and self-help, putting the onus on individuals to keep their own system in order, in accordance with 'right' and 'wrong' living. In creating such a dichotomy,

it is to be expected that Allinson will adopt ideological polarisation in order to legitimise his system, and delegitimise that of orthodox doctors.

Having set out the core principles of his system of hygienic medicine, Allinson (1904a: 57) uses Chapters 6-8 to condemn the use of drugs to treat disease; he argues, '[t]his is a system by which persons hope to sin against the laws which govern them, and avoid paying the penalty by taking nauseous drugs.' This again suggests that counterculture sentiment, constructed through delegitimation of orthodox practices, is central to the text, enabling Allinson to construct himself as an alternative (but credible) authority. In the latter chapters, Allinson continues to use legalistic and religious rhetoric to emphasise the binary between 'right' and 'wrong' living. In Chapter 9, Allinson (1904a: 70) speaks against unnecessary surgery, arguing, 'I want to see the surgeon looked up to as a man who will use every means in his power to avoid an operation, and will only then operate if life is in danger.' Having condemned the use of drugs and unnecessary surgery, in Chapter 10 Allinson (1904a: 77) refers to the 'Vis Medicatrix Naturæ,' which translates to 'the healing power of nature.' He argues that 'to cultivate this Vis Medicatrix Naturæ, we must live properly' (Allinson, 1904a: 80). In line with the wider life reform movement (see further Section 2.3), Allinson is able to capitalise on anxieties surrounding industrial capitalism and modern working conditions by adopting moralised discourses of nature.

In the conclusion to the text, Allinson frames himself as acting purely in the interests of his readers, adopting the 'preacher' style which Bae (2022: 11) ascribes to some nineteenth century medical figures; Allinson (1904a: 82) states: '[i]f I am the means of leading anyone to better health, or to a more comprehensive view of life and its mode of action, I am satisfied.' He also re-asserts the individualism inherent in his approach to medicine, aligned with the 'prototype of naturopathy' (Bae, 2022: 11), encouraging readers to both think and act in their own best interests, in line with Allinson's ideas on health. Moreover, the conclusion sees Allinson (1904a: 81-82) anticipate potential objections to a system he knows will not be readily received by the medical profession, '[b]eing comparatively a new system it will meet with much opposition. That I expect, but I am sure it will shew itself superior to any known system.' Mulholland (1994: 209) argues that 'C.s [communicators] can present themselves as ready to concede any opposing views provided they do not destroy the main thrust of the argument, and so, although they receive objections, they can incorporate them without losing control of the discussion.' As such, adopting this persuasive strategy at the end of the text enables Allinson to maintain authority on the topic, portraying objections as ignorant rather than grounded in trial of the system.

For the purposes of this thesis, the preface to the text is the most suited to analysing the writer-reader relationship, given the function of a preface in ‘courting the reader, necessary not only to enhance sales but to reduce the risk of misreading’ (Raymond, 2003: 95). This notion of ‘courting’ the reader suggests that the preface contains explicit arguments relating to the topic of the book—Allinson’s system of hygienic medicine—and that it lays out what the reader should take from the text through a combination of both writer- and reader-oriented strategies. As such, the rhetorical function of the preface enables this section to consider how Allinson constructed the writer-reader relationship to market his health philosophy to readers.

4.4.3 Writer-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

In the preface to *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, Allinson blends a variety of writer-oriented strategies to claim authority on the subject matter and present himself as an alternative medical expert. Beneath the opening portrait of Allinson, and on the title page, Allinson signals his prior association with the orthodox medical community with the letters ‘Ex-L.R.C.P.’ after his name. Whilst Allinson’s relationship with the establishment is nuanced (see further Section 2.7.3), the use of ‘Ex-L.R.C.P.’ demonstrates that, though he is now separate from the orthodox community, he has received recognised medical training. The eighth edition of the text, which has been selected for analysis, includes the first and second edition prefaces, with the first one signed ‘T. R. ALLINSON, L.R.C.P.’ and the short second edition preface signed ‘T. R. ALLINSON, **Ex-L.R.C.P.**’ [bold mine], with the original unretracted credentials further emphasising Allinson’s registered medical career at the time of originally writing the monograph. This is a pertinent distinction to make prior to introducing his alternative system, which he directly compares to allopathic medicine (mainstream medicine). The use of Ex-L.R.C.P., whilst abiding by the restrictions set upon him by the GMC, enables Allinson to claim mainstream medical expertise whilst simultaneously rejecting it. This is significant at the beginning of a text which opposes orthodox medical treatments (drugs and surgery), as Allinson can claim more authority than someone who has no prior medical training. The evidence that the public may not have understood the meaning of ‘Ex’ before his credentials also points to the potentially misleading role of using this within his publications (see further Section 2.7.3). Throughout the preface he reinforces his connections to mainstream medicine with phrases such as ‘my own profession’ and ‘my professional brethren’ (Allinson, 1904a: 11), as was also seen in the *Medical Essays*; see

further Section 4.3. Alongside the use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ directed towards the audience (see further Section 4.4.4), Allinson (1904a: 11) also uses ‘we’ to identify with mainstream doctors: ‘[p]overty and sudden illness always find a helper in the doctor, the amount of gratuitous work done by the profession being very large; sometimes **we** do not get thanks for it even’ [bold mine]. This is bolstered by further claims to wider medical knowledge such as: ‘I am supported by medical books’ and ‘I have read many works on medicine’ (Allinson, 1904a: 10). This nuanced relationship with the establishment is shown in his rhetoric and is further explored in Section 6.4.

Allinson (1904a: 9) draws on expert authority to legitimise his claims in the preface to *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, adopting a high degree of author presence; for example, he repeats the first-person singular pronoun ‘I’ 7 times in the following short extract:

It will be seen that **I** advocate in this work the disuse of flesh as food. **I** do so on purely scientific grounds. **I** do not believe in Vegetarianism as a religion or a fancy, but as a means of improving the physical health of man. **I** believe in it as a most undoubted good. **I** believe in the greatest physical happiness and health possible, to attain which **I** believe a non-flesh diet most essential. **I** believe that man’s structure is adapted for a non-flesh diet, and that he is physiologically entitled to it. [bold mine]

This visibility in the text forms an individual identity which is separate from the abstract and derogatory reference to ‘medical men who are wedded to the drug system’ (Allinson, 1904a: 10), thus contributing to ideological polarisation between Allinson’s approach and orthodox approaches. In the above extract, Allinson argues that he makes claims on ‘purely scientific grounds,’ suggesting that his system is rooted in evidence and scientific expertise. The refrain of ‘I believe’ creates ‘communicative rhythm’ (Mulholland, 1994: 335) to reinforce Allinson’s presence in the text and his stance on the benefits of vegetarianism. In terms of expert authority, van Leeuwen (2007: 95) argues: ‘[t]he experts’ utterances themselves will carry some kind of recommendation, some kind of assertion that a particular course of action is “best” or “a good idea.”’ The refrain used in the above example is part of a larger trend of repetition throughout the text, a feature highlighted explicitly by Allinson (1904a: 11):

Readers will find a great deal of repetition in every chapter; this cannot be helped. I could easily sum up the gist of the work in a few sentences. As it is, I repeat, repeat, and repeat, for I want the facts to be remembered, and we always remember best that which we hear most frequently.

The focus on repetition throughout the text results in the kind of ‘assertion’ which van Leeuwen (2007: 95) highlights as being implicit in expert authority. The fact that Allinson deems certain points worthy of repetition assigns authority to the advice. Allinson’s (1904a: 9-10) author presence throughout the text also includes testimonies of his own experience and role model authority, for example: ‘[i]t is not with me a question of what I could eat, but what I should eat. I am an abstainer from flesh myself; were it equally good to eat flesh or abstain from it, then I should not recommend abstinence from flesh as I do now.’ Van Leeuwen (2007: 95) highlights the fact that role model authority is commonly used in ‘lifestyle media,’ with the behaviour of role models being ‘enough to legitimize the actions of their followers.’ In terms of legitimation, Allinson (1904: 10) also draws on the authority of tradition, arguing: ‘[t]he system of drugless cure is one of the oldest on record.’ In this instance, the justification for resisting drug treatments is ‘because this is what we have always done’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 95) and, in context, this is in-keeping with life reformers’ reverence for the natural. Overall, the prolific use of self-mention throughout the text works to inextricably link Allinson’s advice to his own personal authority. He argues: ‘[t]he system **must** be launched; I have tested it for myself and it stands my trials, now it remains for the public at large to try it and judge if it is not better than the old drug system’ (Allinson, 1904a: 10) [bold mine]. In this instance, Allinson uses the deontic modal ‘must’ alongside testimony of his own experience to portray a didactic and authoritative persona, also labelling the orthodox approach ‘old’ in order to contrast it with his own suggestions. Deontic modality also occurs in relation to self-help ideology: ‘[i]f a man wants to get on in this world he **must** fight for himself and look after himself. So if he wants to be well and live long he **must** look after himself, study the laws of life, apply them, and then he **will** succeed’ (Allinson, 1904a: 11) [bold mine]. In this example, Allinson uses the ‘writer-oriented’ obligation modal ‘must’ to signal his beliefs (Hyland, 2002: 217), alongside the epistemic modal ‘will,’ rooting his system of hygienic medicine in self-help ideology (see further Section 6.5). Allinson’s authoritative stance on his ideas is further reinforced through the repeated use of strong evidentials, such as ‘most undoubted’ (1904a: 9), ‘most essential’ (1904a: 9), and ‘I strongly object’ (1904a: 10). Hyland (2019: 94) asserts that, in terms of ethos (demonstrating a persuasive character), the use of strong evidentiality works to ‘underline certainty and establish an individual presence in the discourse.’ He also notes that this strategy ‘combines effectively’ with the use of first-person pronouns to convey a strong image of character (Hyland, 2019: 95). Allinson combines high modality with his overt author presence to convey such an authoritative persona in the text.

The strong character Allinson constructs by means of writer-oriented strategies enables him to claim the right to speak on the topic; this is paramount to establish in a monograph on health, on which Allinson claims he is an expert. He describes his purpose as follows: '[t]his is written at various times and in various moods, but I have tried to be consistent all through and lay a plan of hygienic living and medicine before the reader. I commend it to the public for its ideas and nothing more, and hope it may be of benefit to humanity' (Allinson, 1904a: 12). The role Allinson thus constructs for himself, as the writer, is one of expert adviser to an imagined community; he constructs this community through a variety of reader-oriented strategies, which are now taken up in the following section.

4.4.4 Reader-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

Given the purpose of the preface to stir readers to act, the use of reader-oriented strategies is vital to draw the reader into the text and encourage them to follow Allinson's advice. On the objective of the text, which is rooted in self-help ideology, Allinson (1904a: 11) writes, '[t]his work is one on medical reform, its aim being to teach persons to act and think for themselves, and not to depend on others.' Allinson (1904a: 9) makes a distinction between 'vegetarians' and 'mixed feeders,' arguing: '[t]he systems we have, are already adapted for a non-flesh diet, hence we vegetarians who confine ourselves to a non-flesh diet are longer lived and have less ailments than mixed feeders.' In this instance, the inclusive pronoun 'we' works to assume shared values and therefore create a sense of solidarity with readers around being vegetarian, and if readers have not yet adopted this diet, they are encouraged to do so in order to avoid the medical complaints that mixed feeders are said to be prone to. The use of the inclusive pronoun 'we' is used throughout the preface and, building on Allinson's positioning as an expert, this community-building strategy works to generate a sense of solidarity with readers and encourage them to subscribe to Allinson's system: '[c]ertain laws must be followed; the nearer **we** live up to them the better **we** shall be from a physical standpoint' (1904a: 9) [bold mine]; '[a] drug may apparently produce symptoms of good, but **we** must recollect that if it stops the disease in one part that the disease will break out elsewhere in a different form' (1904a: 10) [bold mine]. These examples show Allinson combining his authority, through strong epistemic and deontic modality, with the inclusive pronoun 'we'; this explicitly connects both Allinson and the imagined readership to the principles of hygienic medicine, generating a sense of community around alternative health, with Allinson as the authoritative expert. Furthermore, building on his own distancing from the orthodox medical community (see further Section 4.5.3), Allinson brings readers into an

us versus them dynamic by including them in-group. As in his other texts, the use of inclusive pronouns also helps to mitigate the face-threatening nature of the advice (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 127).

To connect with his audience, Allinson (1904a: 10) also uses synthetic personalisation:

To the man with a family who is anxiously wondering how he can feed his many children, I say this, give them a diet into which flesh rarely enters. Thus **you** may save **yourself** worry which often is a cause of disease both physical and mental.

In the above example, Allinson positions readers who may be able to relate to this situation, which in the context of the time would have been significant, given the high levels of infant mortality (Oddy, 1970: 322). The use of the personal pronoun ‘you’ directly addresses the audience in a more intimate manner, in the ‘conversational’ style of the lifeworld (Fairclough, 1992: 98). This works alongside the use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ and other acknowledgements of the readership—such as explicit mention of ‘readers’ (Allinson, 1904a: 11)—to evoke an imagined audience, portraying Allinson to be addressing real individuals with relatable struggles. Allinson makes it appear as though he is addressing a very specific type of individual, yet in context anxieties surrounding child health and nutrition were high (Apple, 1995). Thus, the wider applicability of this seeming direct address has persuasive power, as readers can relate to the situation. Taken together with his repeated use of the inclusive pronoun ‘we,’ Allinson thus closes the social distance within the writer-reader relationship.

Furthermore, Allinson popularises information through analogies to make his ideas about health more understandable for a lay audience. Allinson (1904a: 11-12) introduces the notion of ‘health’ in terms of ‘wealth,’ an analogy he continues to make throughout the main chapters of the text:

As wealth comes from looking after the pence or trifling expenditures, so health comes from the observance of small things, which are insignificant in themselves, but which, if neglected, are a force to bear one down to the tomb. Wealth comes not from our income, but from the amount we save of it, so health comes not from the amount we have to go on with, but from the amount we keep, by not expending it on trifles which waste our strength and give us no return. Persons can save money for a rainy day or for emergencies, so we can save health for old age or for the emergencies of accident

or illness. So I might go on shewing the analogy of health and of wealth, for we can transmit our good health to our children as easily as we can will our money to them; and so on.

The above extract demonstrates Allinson's efforts to describe health in terms of wealth, and through this analogy he urges the reader to accept the similarities between the two concepts (Mulholland, 1994: 37). At the time of writing, the effects of industrial capitalism saw workers achieve a higher level of comfort in life (Burnett, 1979). Concerns about managing money were therefore pertinent as a point of reference for Allinson to market his health advice in relatable terms. The use of analogy also demonstrates Allinson's awareness of the needs of his popular audience, with the popularisation of information fuelling self-help ideology by empowering individuals with an understanding of health matters. From the opening line of the text, Allinson (1904a: 9) uses analogy to frame his system for readers: '[t]he object of these pages it to try to put ailing persons on the road to health.' He even uses an analogy when referring to the structure of the text, writing '[many] sounds can be got from one string on a violin, and I hope to give many readings to my one theme' (Allinson, 1904a: 11). Analogy is important for introducing new ideas and the use of analogies in the preface is consistent with the purpose of the monograph, which is to set forth new ideas about health and the body. This strategy works alongside other engagement markers, such as questions and code glosses: [b]ut what use are riches unless a man has health?' (Allinson, 1904a: 11); 'toxic, (*i.e.*, poisonous) effects of drugs' (1904a: 10), which draw the reader into the text and carry them along with the argument.

Furthermore, the preface features moralised discourses which are oriented towards prevalent concerns of the imagined community. In line with the aim of the text, which is to condemn orthodox medicine and promote Allinson's alternative system, he evokes moralised discourses to delegitimise orthodox approaches through use of the adjectives 'toxic,' 'poisonous,' and 'wrong' in relation to drugs, as well as 'injurious' in relation to meat-consumption (Allinson, 1904a: 9-10). In contrast, Allinson's system is described as 'plain,' 'good,' 'scientific,' and 'cheap' (Allinson, 1904a: 9-10). As such, a dichotomy is established between dangerous orthodox approaches and Allinson's simple, scientific, and economical system. This polarisation between orthodox and alternative ideas held significance amidst anxieties about what was entering the body, the rising authority of science, and concerns about the affordability of diet. Through drawing on moralised discourses, and therefore shared values, Allinson draws the reader into an us versus them dynamic.

4.4.5 Persuasive Strategies in A System of Hygienic Medicine

This section has analysed Allinson's *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, summarising the major themes of the text prior to examining the rhetorical strategies used in the preface. Overall, the monograph is a concise summary of Allinson's health philosophy, and the preface sets out the central aim of the text, which is to help individuals possess greater agency over their health and avoid orthodox medical treatment. The text appears, in principle, to be more focused on providing information than selling a product; though Allinson's commercial interests are undeniable, texts like *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* are more overtly commercial in nature. In order to market his system and encourage self-help principles, Allinson combines both writer- and reader-oriented strategies and, having analysed each grouping in turn, the current section evaluates their combined use.

Section 4.4.3 showed Allinson's construction of personal authority through explicit author presence and high deontic and epistemic modality, positioning himself as a medical expert; this is an important foundation on which to build reader engagement, with the construction of authority lending Allinson legitimacy to build such a community. It has been shown that Allinson negotiated a nuanced position with the medical establishment, at once claiming and rejecting orthodox medicine. Through a combination of author presence and markers of authority, Allinson positions himself as a knowledgeable medical expert with the necessary training, ascribing legitimacy to his new system. Resting on the construction of personal authority in no uncertain terms, Allinson's use of reader-oriented strategies such as inclusive pronouns and moralised discourses is primed by his authority, enabling him to bring the reader into a community of which he is the accepted expert. Distancing himself from orthodox doctors and their practices, using the first-person singular pronoun 'I,' then enables Allinson to bring his readers in-group, resulting in an us versus them dynamic which fuels Allinson's aim to have readers reject orthodox treatment in favour of hygienic medicine. This is furthered by the use of popularisation strategies, such as analogy, which invite the reader to understand health from Allinson's point of view, fuelling the medical individualism at the heart of hygienic medicine by empowering readers with an understanding of self-help. Using his established position as an authoritative expert, Allinson generates a feeling of proximity to his readers, furthering the sense of community around anti-establishment, alternative health practices.

In short, Allinson uses writer-oriented strategies to establish himself as an authoritative expert, legitimising his separation from the medical community whilst simultaneously

acknowledging his mainstream medical training. Reader-oriented strategies build on this construction of expert authority, bringing the reader into a community which is built on shared values and headed by a knowledgeable and trustworthy expert. The carefully crafted writer-reader relationship in *A System of Hygienic Medicine* therefore enables Allinson to position his readers in opposition to mainstream medical practices (drugs and surgery), at the same time priming them to accept his alternative system.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

Chapter 4 has presented case study analyses of Allinson's texts, examining three examples of his written work: *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread* (Section 4.2), the *Medical Essays* (Section 4.3), and *A System of Hygienic Medicine* (Section 4.4). It has been highlighted that these three examples formed an integral part of Allinson's persuasive agenda; this includes his attempts to convince the public to follow the principles of health associated with hygienic medicine, adopt a meat-free diet, and reject orthodoxy. This analysis has shown that Allinson drew on a variety of persuasive tactics, both writer- and reader-oriented, to present his case to readers. In doing so, this chapter has built on the contextual foundations provided in Chapter 2, taking into consideration key aspects of Allinson's personal background such as his conflict with the GMC and his entrepreneurial endeavours with the Natural Food Company. These elements of Allinson's personal background have provided essential context for an informed analysis of his writings, being central to his construction of the writer-reader relationship.

In Section 4.2, Allinson's highly commercial pamphlet—*The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*—was analysed. Published by his Natural Food Company, the pamphlet emphasises scientific authority, with jargon and numbers indexing Allinson's position as expert. This authority is bolstered by high modality, which Allinson adopts specifically in relation to health arguments. In context, investing scientific authority in his promotion of wholemeal bread enables Allinson to present his product as the antithesis to the negatively evaluated white loaf, which was invested with moralised discourses relating to food quality concerns. As has been highlighted, the pamphlet as a genre can respond to social issues in a timely nature, and Allinson makes this timeliness apparent in the text. Allinson has been shown to combine his construction of expert authority with inclusive pronouns, personal asides, and synthetic personalisation, creating a sense of solidarity with readers.

Furthermore, in Section 4.3, a sample of Allinson's *Medical Essays* was analysed, with the primary focus of these texts being community-building; this is indicated by these texts containing the only instances of the in-group identifier 'my readers,' and informed by the context on Allinson's reading community. Allinson adopts a high degree of self-mention throughout the essays, contrasting this with abstract references to orthodox doctors, whom he characterises as dangerous. As with *The Advantages of Wholemeal Bread*, Allinson is shown to construct authority in the *Medical Essays* through high modality and strong evidentiality, combining these features with self-mention to portray a strong character. Consistent with his desire to initiate a 'School of Healing,' Allinson has been shown to adopt popularisation strategies throughout the *Medical Essays* to explain concepts to readers and empower them with the knowledge necessary for self-help. Allinson's strong presentation of authority, resulting in a didactic tone, works alongside the reader-oriented strategies which bring the reader into a community of which Allinson is the accepted expert; this fosters an expert-novice dynamic which aligns with Allinson's purpose in the essays, which is to disseminate his ideas on hygienic medicine to the public, fostering an imagined community around these principles.

The final text example analysed within this chapter (Section 4.4) was the preface to Allinson's monograph—*A System of Hygienic Medicine*. Compared with the previous analyses, this text contains a lesser degree of scientific authority, which is to be expected given the purpose of the preface as a genre in 'courting the reader' prior to the central text (Raymond, 2003: 95). In a similar vein, strategies such as the use of jargon to index expertise, and the use of reader-oriented strategies such as code-glossing and personal asides, are not as prominent in this text. As was observed in the *Medical Essays*, Allinson identifies with orthodox medicine, signalling his prior medical training. He also adopts an explicit author presence, which is invested with expert authority through assertion. Like in his other texts, Allinson combines high deontic and epistemic modality with strong evidentiality to portray certainty in relation to his system and obligate, or in some cases strongly advise, readers to follow his recommendations. In context, this was essential given his separation from the mainstream medical community. This strong authority and certainty is coupled with reader-oriented strategies such as inclusive pronouns, synthetic personalisation, and explicit reference to the 'readers'; these strategies work to close social distance in the text, performing the function of the preface by inviting the reader in-group, and situating them to consume the remainder of the text.

Chapter 5 - Eustace Hamilton Miles

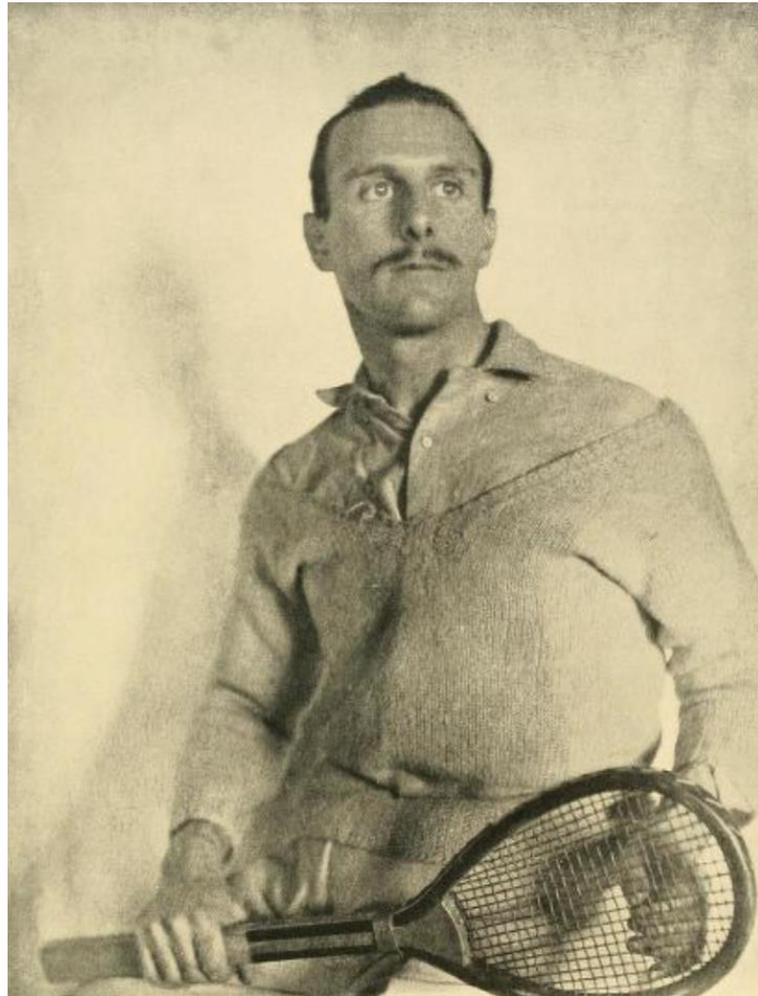


Figure 4: Portrait of Eustace Hamilton Miles (Miles, 1904: 91)

5.1 Chapter Introduction

This chapter examines the rhetoric adopted by Eustace Hamilton Miles (1868-1948)—pictured in Figure 4 above—to market his ideas on health and food reform, building on the account of his personal background in Section 2.8 by analysing key text examples from his body of written work (see Objective 2, Section 1.5). Alongside Allinson, Miles provides a rich example for the purposes of this thesis, having produced a variety of popular written works on health and being a key proponent of food reform at this time. The persuasive strategies Miles adopted to promote his lifestyle ideas, and particularly what he termed the ‘Simpler Foods,’ are analysed in terms of both writer- and reader-oriented strategies. As has been outlined in Chapter 3 and demonstrated in Chapter 4, analysing these overlapping features provides a deeper understanding of a writer’s rhetorical construction of the writer-

reader relationship. Mirroring the structure of Chapter 4, this chapter is centrally structured around three key examples of Miles's writing.

Three illustrative text examples from Miles's diverse body of written work are analysed, spanning different genres and purposes; these texts are *Failures of Vegetarianism* (Section 5.2), the *Milestones* (Section 5.3), and *Muscle, Brain, Diet* (Section 5.4). As with Chapter 4, each of these sections is divided into an examination of writer- and reader-oriented persuasive strategies, respectively, with the rhetorical construction of the writer-reader relationship being crucial for the development of the key themes underpinning the research questions (see Section 1.5). As such, at the end of each text analysis, the combination of writer- and reader-oriented strategies is summarised and evaluated in terms of the multi-layered construction writer-reader relationship as a whole.

5.2 Failures of Vegetarianism

5.2.1 Section Overview

This section analyses Miles's 1902 publication, *Failures of Vegetarianism* (1902a), in which he outlines his perceived flaws of mainstream vegetarianism and promotes what he terms the 'Simpler Foods.' One of the central aims of the text is to challenge popular misconceptions of the vegetarian diet, with Miles (1902a: 19) believing the public to hold a 'misleading and fatal impression' of vegetarianism as 'A Diet of Vegetables,' as opposed to the varied and nourishing 'Simpler Foods' he consumes; for this misconception he blames mainstream vegetarians. Miles's concerns about the social meaning of vegetarianism were not unfounded, given the satirical representation of vegetarians in the press and popular culture, aligning vegetarians with what Miles (1902a: 28) has called 'an association of anaemic and peevish faddists.' In contrast to the light-hearted satire of the cartoon featured in Section 2.5 (see Figure 1), a further example of the ridicule surrounding vegetarianism at this time is discussed by Richardson (2021: 133):

Appearing in an 1892 issue of *Punch*, "The Nebuchadnezzar's Head" was the invention of the magazine's editor, Francis Cowley Burnand, who recognized the vegetarian restaurant as a source of rich comic potential [...] To readers horrified at the prospect of "rice and prunes" for lunch, Burnand's sketch was part of a long-running satire on the absurdities of the meatless diet and its earnest enthusiasts.

These notions are coupled with the stigma attached to male vegetarians, with debates surrounding meat and masculinity being significant in the early twentieth century (Whorton, 1981; Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2006). These are important factors to consider in Miles's rhetorical construction of identity in direct opposition to these satirised vegetarians who, in Miles's opinion, did not promote a nutritionally balanced and scientifically grounded diet. *Failures of Vegetarianism* is Miles's most explicit account of his distaste for mainstream vegetarianism.

This text is of particular value for inclusion within this thesis, given Miles's outspoken refusal to be labelled a vegetarian throughout his writings, with the othering of mainstream vegetarianism being integral to the alternative authority he attempts to construct. For the purposes of this thesis, Section 5.2.2 provides a summary of *Failures of Vegetarianism*, with Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 presenting a targeted analysis of the introductory material of the text. Following the analysis of writer- and reader-oriented strategies, respectively, Section 5.2.5 summarises and evaluates the combined use of these strategies within the writer-reader relationship. In this instance, the preface and introduction to the text are rhetorically rich, with Miles summarising the argument of the text within these sections. Essentially, the introductory matter of *Failures of Vegetarianism* provides a condensed summary of Miles's delegitimation of mainstream vegetarianism, and this is core to his rhetorical construction of identity and legitimation of proposed lifestyle changes.

5.2.2 Summary of Text

Miles's *Failures of Vegetarianism* is a short book, comprising 202 pages, in which he focuses on the shortcomings of mainstream vegetarianism whilst simultaneously promoting his own interpretation of a healthy meat-free lifestyle; he persuasively engages in both delegitimation and legitimation to make his case. Miles (1902a: 33) states that the text 'shall concentrate our attention upon the failures' of mainstream vegetarianism, directing readers to texts such as *Muscle, Brain, Diet* for an account of the success of the 'Simpler Foods.' The ideological polarisation throughout *Failures of Vegetarianism* functions to promote Miles's interpretation of a meat-free lifestyle by constructing it in opposition to the frequently satirised mainstream vegetarians. One of the central aims of the text is to encourage readers to *choose* the 'Simpler Foods' once they have been subjected to personal trial and deemed effective. Miles (1902a: 30) adopts a view of the 'Simpler Foods' as being

key for prevention, noting that *'at present, however, more people try the diet in order to escape death or disease than in order to get more positive health'* [italics in original]. Thus, Miles urges readers to follow his advice in order to achieve improved physical and mental health, in turn reducing the risk of preventable illness. Again, like Allinson, Miles promotes self-help ideals, wishing for readers to gain more independence in terms of their health needs. There exists, however, a tension between the promotion of these self-help ideals and the strong persuasion towards a preferred way of living. This illusion of choice is central to the marketing of healthy lifestyles and health-foods, and is taken up further in Section 6.5.

The text begins with an introduction which summarises the supposed causes of failure of mainstream vegetarianism, with Part II expanding on these causes. Following this, Miles (1902a: 145) begins Part III of the text with the following statement: 'I hope that Part II has already made it clear to the reader that many, if not most, of the failures of "Vegetarianism" have been because the Simpler Foods [...] have not been given a fair trial.' In light of this, Miles uses Part III of the text to explain to his readers what he means by subjecting the 'Simpler Foods' to a fair trial, including a number of tables and numerical representations to persuade readers of the efficacy of the diet. In this sense, Miles draws on both lifeworld and scientific styles in order to present his case, with tables showing statistical analysis, supported by the external expertise of Dr. Haig, juxtaposed against Miles's conversational tone. Part IV of the text then provides a final summary, being made up of a series of directions for the reader, such as 'eat enough Proteid' and '[d]iscard and avoid stimulants and narcotics' (Miles, 1902a: 179). This summary is followed by a sub-section titled 'Parting Advice to "Vegetarians"' which outlines how Miles believes his readers should behave as a 'Vegetarian' in society.

5.2.3 Writer-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

In terms of writer-oriented strategies, Miles (1902a: 7) opens the preface of the text by immediately distancing himself from mainstream vegetarians, using scare quotes in order to reject the term along with its popular connotations: "'Vegetarians" say that "Vegetarianism" is a success, or (to put it more concretely) that they, the "Vegetarians", are successes.' This rhetorical distancing, which is used every time the term is mentioned in the text, carves out a space for Miles to promote his alternative approach, by way of the 'Simpler Foods.' Not only does Miles distance himself from the label, but he also invests it with negative evaluations, thereby delegitimising the mainstream approach to a meatless diet. Through

investing the label ‘vegetarian’ with these negative qualities, Miles distances his own suggestions from such adverse effects. Many of these negative evaluations are connected to moralised discourses, and are therefore taken up further in Section 5.2.4 as reader-oriented strategies.

Miles’s delegitimation of mainstream vegetarianism through distancing and negative evaluation appears alongside his own role model authority as a sports celebrity, indexed by references to his successful tennis career on the title page; he is described as ‘Amateur Champion of the World at Tennis, and of the United States and Canada at Racquets and Squash Tennis’ (Miles, 1902a: *Title Page*). Miles was ‘the most well-known vegetarian athlete at the turn of the century’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 33), so it is probable that many of his readers were aware of his status. This makes the frequent use of self-mention throughout the text particularly salient, with Miles having a deliberate presence. In this case, the use of self-mention aligns with Miles’s position as a famous athlete, which is appropriate given the text’s focus on diet and physical health. Like Allinson, Miles repeatedly uses first person singular pronouns, as in the following examples: ‘[t]he reader will notice at once that **I** take care to speak of ‘The Simpler Foods’ (1902a: 7); ‘**I** believe that **I** can live perfectly well without any vegetables at all’ (1902a: 8); ‘[s]imilarly, though my diet includes the general principles of “Vegetarianism”, **I** refuse to be called a “Vegetarian”’ (1902a: 28) [bold mine]. The use of overt author presence functions to attach Miles’s identity to the advice which, in context, is invested with the role model authority implicit in his sporting success. Miles’s author presence, through use of first-person pronouns, also contrasts with his impersonal and abstract references to ‘Vegetarians’; whilst this group is characterised with impersonality and distance, Miles is explicit about his own presence and authority, foregrounding his individuality and strengthening his position.

Miles also uses testimonies of his own experience to enhance his credibility, which relates to his role model authority as a successful athlete. For example, he states, ‘[f]ew of us associate with the name [‘Vegetarian’] those Simpler Foods which I make the *basis* of my own food-supply, e.g. cheese, Plasmon, and milled nuts’ (Miles, 1902a: 8) [italics in original]; ‘[p]ersonally I now use it for all the above reasons’ (1902a: 32). In this case, Miles’s authority as a role model attaches credibility to the ‘Simpler Foods’ he promotes, since these are the foods that he includes in his own diet. Nevertheless, Miles recognises the bounds of his own authority, drawing on external expertise to strengthen his arguments, as in the below examples from the introduction to *Failures of Vegetarianism*:

1. 'For the present we may accept, provisionally, Dr. Haig's theory as to the cause of the desire for Flesh-foods, viz. that it is created partly by the use of Flesh-foods.' (1902a: 27)
2. 'Why have so many "Vegetarians" failed? We cannot do better than quote, by way of introduction, a leading authority on food, viz. Dr. Robert Hutchison.' (1902a: 36)

Though Miles does not have professional credentials beyond his athletic success, drawing on other experts in the text enables him to align his position as a role model with knowledge of expert views, thereby building a multi-layered writer identity. However, Miles (1902a: 37) does not simply insert extracts from experts into the text, he is critical of the expertise, such as when he states: '[w]ith a few provisos, his remarks are profoundly true, but he does not get to the root of the matter altogether.' Through engaging with professional texts in this way, even referring to specific pages and arguments, Miles presents himself as well-read and knowledgeable, thus enhancing his credibility; this strategic use of external authority is taken up further in Section 6.3.

Furthermore, one significant aspect of Miles's construction of authorial identity in *Failures of Vegetarianism*, and indeed throughout his writings, is the apparent rejection of dogmatism. Miles (1902a: 7) states: '[t]he purpose of this little book is to state why and in what respect "Vegetarianism" has been a failure, and incidentally to state why and in what respects *the Simpler Foods, if properly chosen, are likely* to be a success' [italics in original]. The use of lower epistemic modality when summarising the purpose and central argument of the text, claiming that his recommended diet is 'likely' to be successful, contrasts with 'the dogmatic form of statement' (Miles, 1902a: 33) which he accuses the vegetarian literature of adopting, arguing that this literature usually suggests '[o]ur diet will certainly succeed with you,' with no acknowledgement of the inevitable negatives. When Miles uses higher deontic and epistemic modality in the text, it often appears alongside inclusive pronouns:

1. 'When **we** ask ourselves why it is that so many people have lived and do live on the Simpler Foods, **we must** not forget this great personal follow-my-leader motive.' (1902a: 29) [bold mine]
2. '**We must** notice the dogmatic form of statement which the "Vegetarian" literature so often adopts.' (1902a: 33) [bold mine]

3. ‘**We must** judge them after a fair and scientific trial, during which abundance of Proteid is taken [...]’ (1902a: 35) [bold mine]

The deontic modality, expressing obligation, in the above examples (1-3) relates to mental actions on the part of the reader, with the purpose of the text being to delegitimise mainstream vegetarianism. Any references to Miles’s own system are framed with lower modality, as suggestions rather than obligations, and Miles (1902a: 36) even states, ‘[d]oubtless there are many “laymen” who could have done this work far better than I have done it.’ As such, Miles purposefully understates his own authority, in terms of modality, by acknowledging his lack of expertise and avoiding placing obligation on the reader which is not mitigated by inclusive pronouns; this inclusion of the reader is taken up further in Section 5.2.4. However, the use of lower deontic modality is countered by the fact that Miles (1902a: 8) uses stance markers to make his views clear to readers by means of high epistemic modality, such as when he states, ‘I utterly refuse to be called a “Vegetarian.”’ Indicating his affective attitude towards the term allows him to express his extreme dislike for it, further distancing himself from mainstream vegetarianism and adopting an authoritative tone towards the material. Moreover, Miles’s continued use of the first-person singular pronoun ‘I’ enables him to reject being grouped together with the nameless vegetarians he criticises, instead framing himself as an educated and different individual, capable of providing superior dietary advice which is said to be devoid of any dogma: ‘[h]owever, to avoid the dogmatism of most “Vegetarians,” I do not state that the Simpler Foods such as I use will certainly suit every one else’ (1902a: 35). This strategy, contrasting personal identity with abstract references to outside groups, parallels Allinson’s positioning against orthodox medicine in his writings (e.g. Section 4.3.3); both individuals strategically carve out space for their own identities.

Moreover, Miles presents himself as a writer who makes arguments firmly rooted in evidence, and this is shown at the end of his introduction to *Failures of Vegetarianism*, where he provides a list detailing the reasons for vegetarians’ failure in order to persuade by ‘sheer weight of evidence’ (Mulholland, 1994: 25): ‘[i]t may be convenient for the reader to glance first through the reasons for failure, summarised in a tabular form’ (Miles, 1902a: 37); the list is as follows:

The Medical Profession.

The popular idea of good health is too low.

The popular idea of good health is absolute, not relative.

‘Education’.

The power of custom and orthodoxy.

The fatal effects of even a few failures.

Are “Vegetarians” as healthy as they claim to be?

Why have most “Vegetarians” become “Vegetarians”?

Dogmatic statements by “Vegetarians”.

Petulance and anger of “Vegetarians”.

Failures not mentioned or emphasised by “Vegetarians”.

Other misleading statistics by “Vegetarians”.

The wrong “Vegetarian” food for individuals.

Hurry and worry; and wrong ways of eating.

Indigestible “Vegetarian” foods.

Unpleasant “Vegetarian” foods.

Excessive “Vegetarian” foods.

Bad “Vegetarian” combinations.

Irritating and stimulating “Vegetarian” foods.

Drinks and drinking.

Inadequate “Vegetarian” foods, and unemphasised elements in diet (esp. Proteid).

The name “Vegetarian(ism)”, and other misleading words.

“Vegetarian” Restaurants.

The ABC of “Vegetarianism” is not made clear.

Immediate effects of the Flesh-foods.

Violent reform.

Unessential fads.

Neglect or omission:—(i) of valuable tests. (ii) of valuable arguments. (iii) of the use of questions. (iv) of valuable helps and means.

The need of a public organ.

The need of more experimenters.

Popular Fallacies.

(Miles, 1902a: 37-38)

Not only does the above list look to persuade the reader by the number of items listed, suggesting a strong case against mainstream vegetarianism, but each ‘reason for failure’ provides a basis on which Miles can build his own argument later in the text. In other words, these failures carve out a gap for the promotion of the ‘Simpler Foods.’ The above list also sees Miles distance himself from mainstream vegetarianism by continuing to repeatedly

reject the term using scare quotes. The above list also draws heavily on negative values which relate to moralised discourses, thereby orienting the text towards the reader in context; this and other reader-oriented strategies are now taken up in the following section.

5.2.4 Reader-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

Having characterised Miles's construction of writer identity in the text, it is now necessary to consider how he engages with readers. As mentioned in the previous section, Miles (1902a: 8) relates the text to readers in context by drawing on moralised discourses, such as when he discusses the negative consequences of using the term 'vegetarian': '[t]he name is misleading. It has misled hundreds, if not thousands, into a **haphazard, unscientific, un-nourishing, bulky, indigestible** diet of which the physical effects may be simply **lamentable**' [bold mine]. Similarly, the list of failures quoted in Section 5.2.3 features evaluative adjectives such as 'fatal,' 'indigestible,' 'unpleasant,' 'excessive,' 'irritating,' and 'violent,' as well as the simple evaluations 'wrong' and 'bad' to characterise the failures of mainstream vegetarianism. This further frames Miles as an alternative authority as he uses negative evaluative adjectives such as 'unscientific' and 'indigestible' to trigger moral concepts for his readers, and thus delegitimise mainstream vegetarianism in a way which appeals to readers in context. Science became highly marketable in early Edwardian food discourses (O'Hagan, 2021a), as food brands and diet reformers attempted to distance themselves from the unscrupulous adulteration scandals of the nineteenth century (see further Section 2.4). Additionally, indigestion (or dyspepsia) was one of the most widespread medical complaints among the general public at the turn of the century (Collins, 1993). The negative evaluations also relate more generally to concerns about ill health and food quality, and contrast with Miles's (1902a: 8) positive evaluation of his recommended foods as being simpler.

Miles's use of negative evaluation to discuss mainstream vegetarianism is strongly tied to physical health, which was of primary concern at the beginning of the twentieth century. The notion of *mens sana in corpore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body) (Haley, 1978), was prominent in the nineteenth century and continued to govern discussions of health during the Edwardian era. Miles attempts to persuade his readers to disregard the claims of mainstream vegetarians by pointing out the negative physical effects of consuming a poorly chosen meatless diet, therefore connecting his argument with what society deemed valuable at the time. This is also seen in the dichotomy Miles creates between the labels 'Mixed' and

‘Simpler’ when referring to the two opposing diets he describes. Given the social anxiety surrounding food adulteration, which usually included mixing adulterants into common foods, the notion of a food being ‘simple’ aligns with the rhetoric of purity which was being adopted at the time (O’Hagan, 2020). Drawing on the contextual environment in this way orients the text towards the reader by connecting Miles’s argument to assumed shared values, which enables him to market his ideas as relevant to readers through key social concerns.

Alongside drawing on moralised discourses, and therefore assumed shared values, Miles demonstrates an awareness of his readers by using metadiscourse markers to pull them along with his argument. He makes explicit reference to his readership, such as when he points out, ‘[t]he reader will notice at once that I take care to speak of “The Simpler Foods”’ (Miles, 1902a: 7). Like Allinson, Miles also fosters a sense of community with his readership, using the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ throughout the text to create solidarity around rejecting mainstream vegetarianism in favour of Miles’s alternative. This contrasts with the affective negative evaluations of mainstream vegetarianism, which is characterised as out-group. Moreover, Miles (1902a: 36) relates to readers through the use of questions, such as ‘[w]hy have so many “Vegetarians” failed?’ This strategy draws readers into the discourse and makes them active participants in the discussion; this aligns with Miles’s aim to encourage individuals to possess agency over their own health, rather than subscribing to a ‘follow-my-leader motive’ (Miles, 1902a: 29); see further Section 6.5. The use of engagement strategies to relate to readers in the text also contributes to Miles’s conversational tone.

Moreover, van Leeuwen (2007: 96) asserts that terms such as ‘custom’ can signal the authority of tradition, which answers the ‘why’ question with ‘because this is what we always do.’ This is the attitude which Miles (1902a: 26) seeks to avoid, using a hypnotism metaphor to present his argument to readers:

Throughout the day, **custom** is suggesting, suggesting, suggesting, with that repetition and reiteration which is one of the open secrets of its success; we, meanwhile, are not conscious that **custom** is influencing us—we are not resisting, we are not making “Counter-suggestions.” And so we are, as it were, being hypnotised all the day long, generally in despite of our saner reason and in despite of our higher desire. The potency of **custom** backed by authority, over “the Mind of the Crowd,” is such that, when opposed to **custom**, the strictest logic will be of very little avail. [bold mine]

In the above extract, Miles uses the word ‘custom’ 4 times, signalling the authority of tradition. The repetition of the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ throughout the extract works to bring the reader into the discourse, conveying the widespread nature of this ‘hypnotism’ of custom which Miles describes. He contrasts this notion of custom with ‘saner reason’ and ‘the strictest logic,’ suggesting that the two do not co-exist in the minds of the public, and that readers should disregard custom in favour of a better-informed approach to health.

Furthermore, Miles also uses positive politeness to create solidarity with his readers, contributing to the formation of a reading community which can be characterised in opposition to mainstream vegetarianism. In line with his rejection of the didacticism of vegetarian literature, Miles (1902a: 9) places emphasis on allowing his readers to make their own choices and adhere to the principles of self-health:

The reader, after he has read the book, is asked to dismiss the words “Vegetarianism” and “Vegetarians” from his mind, and to consider whether the Simpler Foods, the MAGNVS-foods, the P.U.R.E.-foods, *properly chosen*, are not *likely* to be a success for him or her, individually, if only they be given a fair personal trial in the way which is outlined in Part III. of this book. [italics in original]

Although the request to the reader to stop using certain terms threatens negative face, this threat is minimised by the subsequent inclusion of the reader in-group (Brown & Levinson, 1987), as well as providing the reader with the agency to judge for themselves if the ‘Simpler Foods’ are effective. Brown and Levinson (1987: 70) assert that the threat of an FTA can be minimised if ‘S [speaker/writer] considers H [hearer/reader] in important respects to be “the same” as he, with in-group rights and duties.’ Miles (1902: 9) indicates that his readers have the right to consider for themselves, and subject to ‘fair personal trial,’ the diet he is promoting. Additionally, when Miles refers to the ‘MAGNVS’ and ‘P.U.R.E.’ foods, he is using abbreviations which he explained earlier in the text; using them without explanation at the end of the text treats the reader as being in-group and therefore adopts positive politeness. In adopting these politeness strategies Miles attempts to create solidarity around his alternative meat-free diet, encouraging readers to join him in trialling the foods he suggests. In relation to the distancing which characterises Miles’s writer identity, including the reader in-group brings them into an us versus them relationship against the negatively framed mainstream vegetarians. In this respect, the writer-reader relationship in the text is summarised in the following section.

5.2.5 Persuasive Strategies in Failures of Vegetarianism

Having accounted for Miles's use of writer- and reader-oriented strategies, respectively, it is now necessary to consider their combined rhetorical power. Though the introduction to *Failures of Vegetarianism* states, '[t]his book will not emphasise the arguments for the Simpler Foods, nor the many successes' (Miles, 1902a: 32), the text is rich in delegitimation strategies to discredit mainstream vegetarianism, simultaneously creating space for Miles's suggestions. Miles's writer identity is constructed through distancing from the abstract 'Vegetarians,' whom he contrasts with his own individual author presence and invests with negative values. He also draws on his own role model authority as well as external expertise to position himself to discredit mainstream vegetarians. This distancing not only works to construct Miles's identity in the text, but when combined with moralised discourses and inclusive language, it works to draw the reader into an us versus them dynamic. Miles thus forms a community around the rejection of mainstream vegetarianism. Part of this community and in-group identity rests on the strong evaluation used by Miles; Hunston and Thompson (2000: 8) emphasise that 'evaluation is particularly difficult to challenge, and therefore is particularly effective as manipulation.' In the text, Miles is careful not to impose demands upon the reader, mitigating the effects of obligation modals by using inclusive pronouns, and hedging when discussing his ideas about the 'Simpler Foods.' Through making arguments using strong evaluation, with the backing of his role model authority and knowledge of external experts, Miles creates an illusion of choice; he claims that readers possess the agency to choose the 'Simpler Foods' and decide for themselves their efficacy, but at the same time he strongly steers readers towards accepting his position. This paradox is firmly rooted in Miles's unavoidable commercial interests.

5.3 Milestones

5.3.1 Section Overview

This section analyses Miles's *Milestones* (c. 1922-27), which are a series of booklets covering various health topics. Section 5.3.2 provides an overview of the sample before the following sections (5.3.3 and 5.3.4) examine writer- and reader-oriented persuasive strategies, respectively. The combined use of persuasive strategies in the *Milestones* is then summarised and evaluated in Section 5.3.5.

5.3.2 Summary of Texts

The *Milestones* are a series of booklets, published between 1922 and 1927, on a variety of health topics, with the chief motives for reading these booklets described by Miles in the introduction to the first two series of *Milestones* as follows:

[...] the desire to improve the appearance; to increase the health; to get more comfort and happiness, both for ourselves, and also in our homes; to better the state of the nerves; to gain self-control and good-temper and patience; to make the brain-power (and especially the money-earning capacity) more efficient; to acquire the habit of welcoming and appreciating circumstances instead of resenting them; to help others; and to progress; and, of course, to economise sensibly. (1, *Catarrh & Colds*: 1)

The above extract points to the breadth of topics covered in the *Milestones*, transcending the central focus of this thesis on diet. As such, in order to address the research questions, which focus on food reform, and achieve a manageable and targeted sub-corpus, an evenly sampled set of *Milestones* were selected from a candidate list of relevant titles. The data selection process is described in full in Section 3.3. Alongside the primary aim indicated by Miles, the *Milestones* are structured heavily around the discussion of various fallacies, which are linked to mainstream groups such as vegetarians and orthodox doctors. As such, the *Milestones* are a rich source of Miles's delegitimation of mainstream practices. The discussion of fallacies is also coupled with Miles's legitimation of his own advice, making the *Milestones* highly rhetorical.

In his introduction to the *Milestones*, Miles addresses the numerous lectures he has delivered at the Eustace Miles Restaurant, noting that he has frequently been requested to publish these talks in print format.¹⁸ Written and published with the help of his wife Hallie Killick, the *Milestones* seek to 'try to tell people what to do (subject to individual modifications), how to prepare for it, how to do it, when to do it, and why' (1, *Catarrh and Colds*: 1). Implicit in this description of the texts is individualism, with self-help being a core theme throughout the booklets. The introduction to the first two series of *Milestones* makes apparent this preference for empowering individuals to take charge of their own health, rather than become unthinking followers of another fad. Miles writes:

¹⁸ Each booklet begins with a general introduction, with slight variations for each series of the *Milestones*. The core information featured in this repeated introduction remains the same across all booklets.

Just one hint on the way to read these Booklets. Before reading them, people should think out the subjects for themselves, and jot down their own ideas. After reading them, people should read other books as well, and again make notes of fresh ideas; and then experiment; and then try to help others by their own experiences. (1, *Catarrh and Colds*: 2)

This sentiment aligns with Miles's crusade against the dogmatism prevalent in mainstream vegetarian literature, as was covered in Section 5.2 on *Failures of Vegetarianism*. Opposing the didactic recommendations of the 'vegetarians,' Miles instead appears to open himself up to critique, valuing readers as contributors to the ongoing discovery of better health. He finalises his introduction to the third series of *Milestones* by stating: 'I hope many readers will send us suggestions as to other subjects, and any criticisms on these first three Series, so that we may improve future editions of the "Milestones"' (4, *Towards the Safe Minimum*: 2). This suggestion of ongoing dialogue with readers and continual improvement of resources works in opposition to the dogmatism Miles is trying to condemn, and values readers as legitimate in-group members, possessing both voice and agency. The formation of this reading community is central to Miles's rhetoric and the seriality of the *Milestones* enables regular construction of this community.

Each *Milestone* deals with a different topic, with those in the current sample covering a variety of health and dietary concerns; the exact titles and topics of the texts within the sample are detailed in Section 3.3. It is noted by Miles that the most popular publications and lectures, drawing the largest audiences, concern specific named ailments; many of the *Milestones* thus focus on named conditions, such as epilepsy and cancer. The booklets are structured around numerous sub-headings, dividing the information for the reader into short, manageable sections. Drawing on his own knowledge and experience, as well as that of relevant experts, Miles presents a description of each topic in which he interweaves his own recommendations for both curing and preventing illness. In his recommendations, Miles also embeds his own brand and products, often using 'native ads,' which are defined as disguising 'advertising goals through non-commercial content' (Jaworska, 2020: 429). This also has parallels with the infomercial genre, which involves 'a blend of information and commercial' to market products (Jalilifar *et al.*, 2021: 568). Miles adopts this combination by mentioning his products within seemingly non-commercial health advice, as in the following examples:

1. ‘Undoubtedly what Proteid there is, is good; but, what Proteid there is, is almost negligible as compared with the Proteid in such foods as cheese, eggs, “**Emprote**” etc.’ (12, *Vegetables*: 24) [bold mine]
2. ‘There should be pleasant flavour; there should, preferably, be something crisp to compel mastication; there should be just enough of the body-building elements, not from flesh-foods, but rather from egg or cheese or nuts, if they agree, or from special foods as “**Emprote**” [...]’ (3, *Weak Hearts*: 17) [bold mine]
3. ‘Then there are the pure body-building or Proteid foods. Eggs, pure cheeses, and special foods like “**Emprote**” and the **E. M. Infants’ food** are far preferable to meat, and even to chicken and fish.’ (5, *Children*: 19) [bold mine]
4. ‘These “Salts” and Vitamines are also to be obtained from fresh pure milk, or from eggs, and from such foods as “**Emprote.**”’ (6, *Vitality*: 17) [bold mine]
5. ‘Firstly, there are plenty of “fats” in foods themselves: for example, in ripe (that is to say, black) olives, in eggs, in some nuts, particularly pinekernels and almonds and Brazil nuts, in ordinary cheese, in “**Emprote,**” in pea-nuts, in oats (which, however, are apt to be irritating), there is plenty of “fat.”’ (8, *Oil*: 22) [bold mine]

The above examples (1-5) show Miles embedding mention of his product within his advice, highlighting the tension between Miles’s self-proclaimed non-dogmatic approach to encouraging individualism and self-help principles, and his unavoidable commercial interests as a businessman in the Edwardian health market. The infomercial nature of the *Milestones* is reinforced in the advertisements at the back of the booklets, which encourage individuals to ‘[u]se “EMPROTE,” and have less Meat or no Meat. “Emprote” has three times the Body-building value of Meat as bought. It is ready for use without Cooking’ (5, *Children*: 29); this is accompanied by a map showing the location of the Eustace Miles restaurant. These are important aspects of the booklets to highlight in advance of the analysis as they highlight Miles’s strong commercial interests.

5.3.3 Writer-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

This section considers the ways by which Miles employs writer-oriented strategies in the *Milestones* to rhetorically construct a persuasive authorial identity. As was similarly observed in *Failures of Vegetarianism* (Section 5.2.3), Miles recognises his position as a ‘layman’ (2, *Cancer*, 20), and he compensates for this by drawing on relevant experts and specialists. Most frequently cited is Mr. C. H. Collings, who is described in *Keep Happy* as

‘the leading Clinical Analytical Expert’ (Miles, 1919b: 58). Horrocks (1997: 54) writes, ‘[i]n both food and pharmaceuticals the first scientists to be employed were analytical chemists, whose work was closely related to production.’ In Miles’s case, he also drew on the expertise of his in-house scientist when making claims in his writings, pointing to the highly commercial nature of the *Milestones*. It is further noted that ‘[b]y 1914 it was the norm for large food and pharmaceutical manufacturers to employ their own scientists, and many regarded them as essential to future commercial success’ (Horrocks, 1997: 54); Miles exploited the financial possibilities of drawing on external expertise in this way. He also cites a range of other experts on different areas of health, such as Mr. Arthur Knight: ‘Mr. Knight and I have had a good deal of experience in advising mothers as to the treatment—especially the dieting—of their Babies and Children, and we have hardly ever had a failure’ (5, *Children*: 5). Van Leeuwen (2007: 95) notes, ‘[t]ypically, expert legitimation takes the form of “verbal process clauses” or “mental process clauses” (e.g. Professor so-and-so believes...’) with the expert as subject,’ as in the following example from Miles: ‘Dr. Lindlahr, a great American Nature-Cure Expert, writes as follows [...]’ (2, *Cancer*: 12). *Milestones* such as ‘Our Wonderful Glands’ and ‘About Cancer’ are largely made up of quotations from various experts; in this sense, Miles is a compiler of information (for the public), aligning himself with the aspects of modern science which enable him to promote his lifestyle ideas and associated health food products. As such, Miles exploits the commercial aspects of science; he writes, ‘[r]ecently, thanks to Mr. G. Reilly, I have been able to patent a process for extracting the most valuable “salts” and vitamins from vegetables, etc., without chemicals and without severe heat, and of preserving them without any preservatives or condiments whatsoever’ (11, *Glands*, 37). Here, Miles is seen using self-mention, qualified by a reference to a relevant expert, in order to enhance his credibility in setting forth his scientific workings with food.

Miles’s use of external experts also works to distance him from orthodoxy, as in the following example: ‘[t]he orthodox examination of the urine gives a little information which is of importance [...] But Mr. Collings’ examination is ever so much more thorough’ (9, *Warnings*: 16). Like Allinson, Miles has a nuanced relationship with the establishment which he negotiates rhetorically. As was seen in *Failures of Vegetarianism* (Section 5.3.3), Miles uses scare quotes to distance himself from mainstream vegetarians. In the *Milestones*, he extends this distancing strategy to orthodox scientists and doctors, using scare quotes to set himself apart from their activities; for example, ‘[b]ut the usual methods of “**curing**” Colds and Catarrh are almost entirely wrong, and decidedly harmful’ (1, *Catarrh & Colds*: 3) [bold mine]; ‘[w]e cannot say that these people have proved their theories satisfactorily, but at

least even the orthodox “**Scientists**” are bound to admit now that their former dogmatic final statistics were on the side of excess’ (4, *Safe Minimum*: 5) [bold mine]; ‘[a]nd indeed the whole problem of Cancer treatment is in a fearful muddle, in spite of the vast sums that have been spent on “**research**”’ (2, *Cancer*: 3) [bold mine]. As with his distancing from mainstream vegetarians, Miles attaches negative connotations to these terms, with evaluative adjectives such as ‘harmful’ and ‘dogmatic,’ thereby enabling him to delegitimise these groups.

Although Miles draws on a number of different experts in the *Milestones*, his identity is still inextricably linked to the advice through a high degree of author presence. The introduction to the first two series of Milestones begins, ‘[f]or years past, I have given Lectures at the Eustace Miles Restaurant’ (1, *Catarrh and Colds*: 1). Miles repeatedly draws on testimonies of his own experience across the *Milestones*; for example: ‘[h]ere is a typical case that I treated and cured’ (3, *Weak Hearts*: 3); ‘I had one case in which the Catarrh always came after the mid-day meal when that meal included unripe stewed fruit (the unripeness being veiled with masses of sugar) on the top of cooked vegetables’ (1, *Catarrh & Colds*: 14). In some cases his author presence explicitly relates to his authority as a role model, describing his own behaviours for his followers to emulate: ‘I have managed to do this myself, for twenty months, thanks to choice of foods and drinks’ (4, *Safe Minimum*: 6); ‘I take these foods myself, though I do not call myself a “Vegetarian,” and I never eat flesh-foods’ (12, *Vegetables and Salads*: 3). Miles’s overt author presence contrasts with his abstract references to outside groups, such as mainstream vegetarians, orthodox scientists, the authorities, and research institutions. In the same spirit as Allinson constructing an individual identity against abstract references to orthodox doctors, Miles claims an individual identity whilst characterising outside groups in vague and unidentifiable terms. The only individuals who are given a visible identity in the text are the select experts Miles draws on to ascribe expert authority to his claims, as was seen at the beginning of this section.

The counterculture arguments in the *Milestones* are nuanced, with Miles writing in opposition of a number of different groups including, but not limited to, mainstream vegetarians and scientists. However, Miles does not completely oppose scientists and medical professionals, as has been shown by his use of evidentiality, drawing on external expertise to further his own arguments. His characterisation of mainstream vegetarians as out-group is engineered through negative evaluation, building on the separation created through the use of scare quotes, as in the illustrative example below:

It is a terrible tragedy that those who, from most excellent motives of humanitarianism or hygiene, or economy, have given up on meat, have imagined that, since they became “Vegetarians,” they must live on Vegetables. It is a perfectly hopeless view, fostered, perhaps unknowingly, by those dear old people who will insist on hoisting “the old flag” and refusing to consider the millions whom they are misleading. The haphazard “Vegetarians” have been the curse of Food Reform. Those who exist on Vegetables, perhaps with some pappy and sloppy and probably devitalised cereals, containing 2 ½ per cent. of Proteid or less, have failed to maintain health and have brought the whole cause of Food Reform into disrepute. This is the first fault to which I would call attention. (12, *Vegetables and Salads*: 5-6)

In terms of evaluative features, it is noted by Channell (2000: 44) that ‘speakers and writers cluster negative [or positive] items so that there is a mutually supporting web of negative [or positive] words.’ The prolific use of negative evaluation in the above extract works to distance Miles from satirical representations of vegetarianism at the time, delegitimising the diet of these individuals through hyperbolic words such as ‘tragedy’ and ‘curse,’ and by describing the foods they consume as ‘pappy’ and ‘sloppy,’ explicitly highlighting the low nutritional value. Elsewhere in the *Milestones* he refers to the ‘taking of strong drugs’ as a ‘gigantic blunder’ (3, *Hearts*, 23), meat-extracts as ‘an abomination’ (2, *Cancer*, 18), with specialists who ‘recommend the free use of beef-tea and meat-extracts’ described with the terms ‘idiotic’ and ‘utter ignoramus’ (7, *Epilepsy*, 5). On operations, he also writes, ‘[t]here is the obvious objection of the expense, and the horror and dread, and the danger; and very often the operations do not cure even for a time’ (2, *Cancer*, 17). The use of strong negative evaluations gives Miles a commanding presence in the text because ‘[t]he reader is not positioned to make a decision as to whether or not to agree with these evaluations; instead, the reader’s acceptance of the evaluation is simply assumed’ (Hunston & Thompson, 2000: 8). Miles does not adopt high deontic modality to the same degree as Allinson, owing to their different positions and personal backgrounds. Miles is careful to express any obligation in terms of the imagined community as a whole; this is taken up further in Section 5.3.4. Considering Miles’s writer identity and his position as a role model, his strength of argument comes through his affective attitude towards the material, which is rooted in high epistemic modality about his own position and experience, rather than the use of high deontic modality towards the reader. Section 5.3.4 builds on this through analysis of Miles’s assumption of shared values with his readers, as well as his strategic use of moralised discourses to relate to the audience in context.

Like Allinson, Miles adopts an interdiscursive approach to constructing a persuasive writer identity in the *Milestones*, combining both the scientific ethos and the lifeworld ethos to present himself as a knowledgeable and evidence-based, yet accessible and cheerful, adviser to the public. However, on the whole, Miles adopts a more conversational tone, drawing most heavily on the lifeworld. Adopting a scientific ethos, Miles provides some technical descriptions, as in the example below:

The *Medulla Oblongata* seems to have in it a centre which affects the circulation and makes the action of the Heart slower, partly by making the arteries of the body more tense; thus, through what is known as the *Vagus* nerve, the *Medulla* inhibits the pace of the Heart-beat; conversely, in the Sympathetic Nerve-System, there is a centre which makes the Heart-beat quicker. (3, *Weak Hearts*: 6) [italics in original]

Whilst the above extract is not completely scientific and impersonal, within Miles's style it is markedly more scientific than the majority of his conversational writing. The extract shows Miles using jargon relating to the body and bodily processes, building on his role model authority as an athlete by indexing his knowledge of the inner workings of the body. The scientific ethos is also visually represented in 'Our Wonderful Glands,' with the inclusion of a diagram showing the endocrine, or ductless glands, on the body; the diagram uses specialist terms to index Miles's knowledge (see Figure 5 below). In the same spirit as the above extract, the diagram below builds on Miles's primary authority as a role model, adding a layer of expert knowledge relating to the body which better positions him to advise readers on health matters.

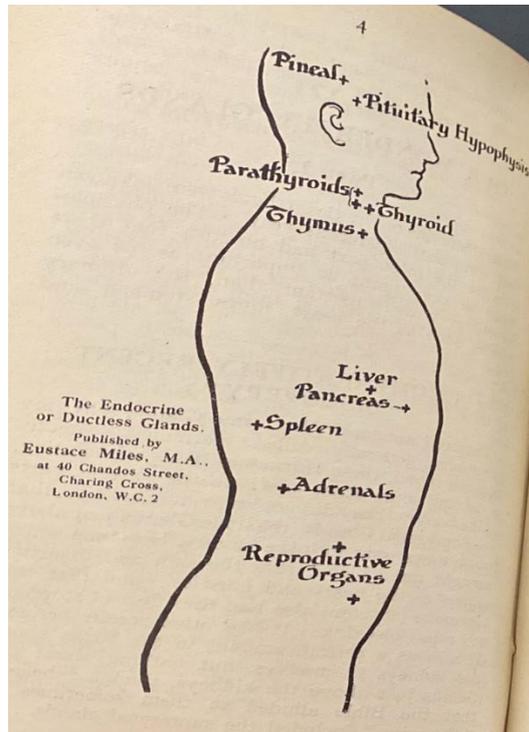


Figure 5: Diagram of *The Endocrine or Ductless Glands* (11, Glands: 4)

Contrasting with the above examples of the scientific ethos being present throughout the *Milestones*, the lifeworld ethos is adopted most significantly in the texts through the use of a conversational tone and reader engagement, such as the use of questions; for example: ‘[a]nd if you do not hold yourself correctly, how can the blood circulate rightly?’ (10, *Bad Circulation*: 14); ‘[s]urely the ideal should be (subject to certain important exceptions) the Minimum of exercise that will secure real physical and mental efficiency?’ (4, *Safe Minimum*: 14); ‘[h]ow are “stones” formed?’ (1, *Catarrh & Colds*: 8). Though these examples, being engagement strategies, can be classified as reader-oriented, they are mentioned here in support of the blend of the scientific and lifeworld ethos which Miles adopts to construct identity within the *Milestones*. In terms of these two kinds of ethos, Miles adopts the lifeworld ethos more prolifically. Overall, the *Milestones* possess a highly conversational tone which evokes the lifeworld and characterises Miles as an accessible and charismatic author; this is further demonstrated in the subsequent section.

5.3.4 Reader-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

The previous section noted the fact that Miles tends to adopt lower modality when making arguments in the *Milestones*, particularly when compared with Allinson. However, when Miles does use obligation modals to strengthen his arguments, he tends towards including the reader in-group, as in the below example:

But all the time **we must** not attend merely to positive factors in diet. **We must** attend also to the negative factors in diet and drink.

We must avoid those things which have poisoned us, and probably used up some of the “salts” and vitamins and glandular extracts of the body in a remedial capacity.

And, above all, **we must** attend to general health.

We must give the system a rest from the wrong food and drinks, and from overwork.

We must get it into the right position.

We must keep it clean by every possible means.

We must establish deep, full, and rhythmical breathing as a regular habit.

We must avoid the wrong emotions and feelings.

We must get all the air and light that we can [...]’ (11, *Glands*, 38) [bold mine]

Though the above extract bridges both writer- and reader-oriented strategies, it has a primarily community-building function. Miles combines the obligation modal ‘must’ with the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ in order to portray his advice as being in the reader’s best interests and mitigate the face-threatening nature of the high deontic modality used. The above example also shows Miles using the refrain of ‘we must’ 10 times, with repetition being prominent across the *Milestones*; a further illustrative example is provided below:

Then **we can** use positive means. **We can** sip much more water, or pure and clear vegetable-juices, if **we can** get them made. **We can** practise many gentle but deep and full breaths during the day. **We can** do many little “Self-suggestions.”* **We can** correct our posture and our expression. Again and again, and in a number of details, as I have pointed out in “Daily Health,” **we can** reform ourselves positively. **We need** not confine ourselves to abstinences and lessenings. **We can** adopt also positive methods, which will cleanse us and re-build us, and lessen what has been excessive, and increase what has been deficient. (9, *Warnings*, 24) [bold mine]

The above extract provides a further example of Miles addressing the positive face of his readers, using the inclusive pronoun ‘we,’ in order to soften the impact of his advice. The explicit author presence adopted throughout the *Milestones* also has a reader-oriented function; Miles uses personal asides, ‘briefly interrupting the argument to offer a comment on what has been said’ (Hyland, 2005: 183), as in the following examples: ‘[w]hen we laugh “heartily”—**which, by the way, is a very good phrase**—we massage our Heart rather more frequently than in ordinary breathing’ (3, *Weak Hearts*: 9) [bold mine]; ‘[w]e should have a

very tender and sensitive moral conscience, and (**I may add**) a very tender and sensitive intellectual conscience, too, so that we shall not tolerate inaccurate ideas, as most people do' (9, *Warnings*: 7) [bold mine]; '[w]hichever method may be adopted (**and I think most people would prefer the former method**), the Oil should not be put on to excess [...]' (8, *Oil*: 6) [bold mine]. Not only does this strategy serve to consistently remind the reader of Miles's presence within the text, it also 'draws the reader in [...] showing that his or her needs for clarity and engagement are recognized and attended to' (Hyland, 2019: 84). This awareness of the reader is also present in the consistent use of inclusive pronouns across the *Milestones*. Alongside the use of the inclusive pronoun 'we' to draw readers into the discourse, Miles occasionally addresses the reader directly using synthetic personalisation; for example, '[i]f **you** have a sore place on your hand, and **you** apply to it vinegar or salt (to take two of the irritants), **you** feel pain; if **you** want to allay the pain, **you** will perhaps put oil on the place. The pain **you** would not call Catarrh' (1, *Catarrh & Colds*: 4-5) [bold mine]; '**[y]ou** can call it self-massage; that is the technical phrase for it' (10, *Bad Circulation*: 21) [bold mine]. The running commentary on the topic, alongside the community-building nature of the inclusive pronouns used, aligns with the interpersonal spirit of New Journalism present at this time; see further Section 2.6.

Furthermore, Miles uses positive politeness to position his readers as sharing common ground, priming them to accept his arguments. This can be seen in the below example, in which Miles separates his community of readers from those who would object to his ideas:

I know that many people will say, "Why bother about this sort of thing?" These are the people who have very small and low ideals in life; they are not out to get the best out of themselves, and to help others also; they are not likely to be readers of this little booklet, so I can ignore them here. (6, *Vitality*, 12)

Miles also assumes shared knowledge with his readers by using evidentiality markers which portray high epistemic modality; for example, '[i]t is **obviously** for their advantage that as little as possible of these things should be taken' (4, *Safe Minimum*: p13) [bold mine]; '**[o]f course** the blood-stream, and all that affects the blood-stream—that is to say, food and drink, baths, exercise, and so on—will affect the Heart' (3, *Weak Hearts*: 7) [bold mine]; '**[e]veryone** knows the energising value of light, especially sunlight' (6, *Vitality*: 9) [bold mine]; '[n]ow we **obviously** need an all-round ideal towards which we may strive' (9, *Warnings*, 8) [bold mine]. Hyland (2005: 184) argues that these appeals 'seek to position

readers within apparently naturalized boundaries of disciplinary understandings,’ and in this sense, Miles can ‘smuggle contested ideas’ into his *Milestones*.

As has been highlighted in Section 5.3.3, in terms of the lifeworld ethos, Miles draws his readers into the discourse through the use of engagement strategies such as questions; for example: ‘[i]t may be asked, Why does this fallacy matter? What difference does it make?’ (3, *Weak Hearts*: 11); ‘[i]n what direction are we going, besides the realisation that the Glands are of enormous importance?’ (11, *Glands*, 36). The use of questions involves the ‘rhetorical positioning’ (Hyland, 2019: 63) of the reader, drawing them ‘into the discourse at critical points, predicting possible objections and guiding them to particular interpretations’ (Hyland, 2019: 63). Alongside contributing to the lifeworld ethos and construction of writer identity, the use of questions also functions to forge in-group relations through the creation of a reading community, with the conversational tone of the *Milestones* placing emphasis on interaction between writer and reader. Along with the use of strong evidentiality markers, highlighted above, the use of questions contributes to the construction of a community around shared knowledge, with Miles as *primus inter pares* (a first among equals).

Furthermore, Miles uses figurative language throughout the *Milestones* to present his recommendations and explanations to a popular audience. Nelkin (1995: 10) points out that ‘explaining and popularizing unfamiliar, complex, and frequently technical material can often be done most effectively through analogy and imagery.’ In ‘Catarrh and Colds,’ Miles refers to catarrh as ‘Nature’s policemen,’ building on the analogy throughout the Milestone:

We might say that Catarrh is—in some respects—like Nature’s policemen; if we get that point of view, I think we shall understand that, though we should be better in some ways without policemen in the ideal world, still, as things are, we are decidedly better with them. (1, *Catarrh and Colds*: 3)

This rhetorical strategy is oriented to the needs of the reader as metaphors ‘allow readers [...] to “grasp” a concept’ (Corbett, 1992: 150). This popularisation technique, making health information more accessible, is seen across the *Milestones*, with further examples including: *circulation as a canal-system* (10, *Bad Circulation*: 9), *the body as a business concern* (9, *Warnings*: 23), and *vitality as money* (6, *Vitality*: 4). On analogy, Mulholland (1994: 37) writes, ‘[w]hen used to persuade A. [audience] to take a desired attitude about one matter, C.s [communicators] should choose a matter for comparison about which A.

already holds the desired attitude, and suggest that since the two resemble each other, they should be accepted in the same way.’ It can be argued that Miles’s attempt to popularise information adopts self-help ideology, by empowering readers with knowledge relating to their health.

In the same spirit as *Failures of Vegetarianism*, Miles orients the text towards the reader by demonstrating a keen awareness of some of the key concerns of the time. Overt references to purity and simplicity are seen across the sample of *Milestones*, intertwining Miles’s advice with moralised discourses and the ‘rhetoric of purity’ (O’Hagan, 2020) which rose simultaneously with the public’s growing suspicion of the authenticity and quality of certain goods. Some examples of these moral discourses being employed in the *Milestones*, alongside repeated reference to the ‘Simpler Foods,’ are as follows: ‘[a]s people get their food purer and get the right meat-substitutes, and also make sure of having the precious vitalising and curative “salts” and vitamins, their Heart-beat tends, I find, to become nearer to sixty a minute, or even less’ (3, *Weak Hearts*: 10); ‘[t]he rate of infant mortality is terrible, though it has been lessened in recent years through a certain amount of care on the part of Societies and individuals, and through some improvement in the purity of the food-supply, and in the choice of foods for infants and babies’ (5, *Children*: 3); ‘[s]ide by side with that, let the foods be as unirritating and pure as possible’ (1, *Catarrh & Colds*: 18). A further example of these moralised discourses can be seen in the following extract:

There can be almost unlimited variety in the meals; but I should suggest that each meal itself should be simple. There should be pleasant flavour; there should, preferably, be something crisp to compel mastication; there should be just enough of the body-building elements, not from flesh-foods, but rather from egg or cheese or nuts, if they agree, or from such special foods as “Emprote”, there should be a little pure oil, which can be added to the salad materials, including watercress or lettuce or celery, and this fresh stuff should be taken at least once a day; or else there should be conservatively cooked vegetables, or pure clear vegetable-juices. (3, *Weak Hearts*: 17)

In the above extract, Miles can be seen drawing on moralised discourses of purity and simplicity, using the adjectives ‘pure’ and ‘simple’ to trigger these concepts. Though Emprote is a commercial product, listing it alongside references to purity and simplicity invests the product with the rhetoric of purity. Across the *Milestones*, other adjectives which contribute to moralised discourses of food quality and good health include ‘clean,’

‘nourishing,’ and ‘balanced.’ Moreover, Miles shows a sensitivity to the contemporary concerns surrounding modern lifestyles and the changing work landscape:

We ourselves are inclined, in the stress of modern life, to work for too many hours at a stretch. If we could work for shorter spells, having rest or recreation in between, we should live much longer lives, and do much easier and even better work as well, with less fatigue. (3, *Weak Hearts*: 15)

Furthermore, Miles often anticipates potential objections in the *Milestones*. As has been highlighted earlier in this section, he seems to separate his readers from these potential objectors, assuming that the readers are not the ones objecting to the ideas; for example, ‘I can hear some objectors, directly they see the title of this “Milestone,” saying: “He wants, of course, to reduce our food to starvation point.” So much better do such objectors know what one’s idea is than the author himself does, or his careful and fair readers!’ (4, *Safe Minimum*: 3). This works to further the ideological polarisation between ‘us’ and ‘them,’ with the ‘careful and fair readers’ being separated from the ‘objectors.’ This in-group versus out-group mentality is furthered by the use of nomination strategies, with Miles referring to his advisees as his ‘Health-Pupils’ throughout the *Milestones*. Not only does this strategy create a sense of community amongst people who follow Miles’s advice, but it also specifically avoids using the label ‘patients.’ This rhetorical choice places emphasis on individual agency, which is a core value within Miles’s health philosophy; the theme of self-help is taken up further in Section 6.5.

5.3.5 Persuasive Strategies in the Milestones

This section has presented an overview and analysis of a sample of the series of *Milestones* which Miles published between 1922 and 1927. Intended to present his ideas to a wider audience, rather than only those who could attend his lectures at the Eustace Miles Restaurant, the *Milestones* are a rich source of the rhetorical strategies employed by Miles to promote his health ideas, both in terms of writer- and reader-oriented features. It is now necessary to briefly summarise and evaluate the ways by which these strategies work together.

In terms of his own identity in the texts, Miles draws on both role model and expert authority, combining author presence and testimonies of his own experience with references to external

experts. Given his strong commercial interests, highlighted in Section 5.3.2, drawing on different kinds of authority enables Miles to market his own lifestyle in terms of his position as a role model, whilst also aligning his advice and business enterprises with statements from experts. However, Miles has been shown to have a nuanced relationship with orthodox science and medicine, with distancing from these groups present throughout the *Milestones*. Whilst this is key to Miles's identity construction in the texts, he also brings the reader into this us versus them relationship by adopting engagement strategies and including the reader in-group. Thus, the reader is invited into a community which negatively evaluates orthodox practices, and promotes Miles's alternatives instead.

Moreover, though Miles is seen drawing on a combination of lifeworld and scientific styles, he is primarily conversational in tone. Through this, he combines reader-interaction, such as questions, with assumptions of shared knowledge, treating the reader as an equal within the community. This is made further apparent by Miles's prolific use of the inclusive pronoun 'we,' combining markers of inclusion with obligation modals to portray matters as being in the best interests of the community as a whole, and decrease the power distance between writer and reader. In this way, the *Milestones* align with the discursive landscape in the early twentieth century, with a rise in the power of the personal and the growing importance of reading communities (see further Section 2.6). These textual conditions were favourable for Miles, given the appropriateness of his overt presence in the text, underpinned by his position as a role model. The highly interpersonal nature of the *Milestones* also work towards harnessing an in-group identity by engaging readers in a textual conversation with the author. These editorial relationships were becoming increasingly valuable in alternative health literature, particularly as mainstream medicine became increasingly impersonal. Furthermore, the conversational tone enables Miles to conceal overt persuasion beneath his eccentricities and charismatic persona.

5.4 Muscle, Brain, Diet

5.4.1 Section Overview

This section analyses one of Miles's major written works, *Muscle, Brain, Diet* (1903). Section 5.4.2 provides a general summary of the text, with the subsequent sections analysing the rhetorical strategies adopted in the preface. The inclusion of this text is a logical transition from the earlier analysis of *Failures of Vegetarianism* in Section 5.2, as Miles refers his

readers to *Muscle, Brain, Diet* for an account of his ‘Simpler Foods.’ During initial archive work for this thesis, it was also found that *Muscle, Brain, Diet* was the most commonly mentioned text within Miles’s title pages for his other publications, owing to its importance within his overall body of work. The text is also a pertinent selection for this thesis given Miles’s (1903: 32) statement that ‘this book deals especially with foods.’¹⁹ Like Allinson’s *A System of Hygienic Medicine*, Miles’s *Muscle, Brain, Diet* lays out his central ideas on health and diet to the public, making it a rich source of his construction of the writer-reader relationship.

5.4.2 Summary of Text

Whilst *Failures of Vegetarianism* draws attention to what Miles believes to be the shortcomings of mainstream vegetarianism, *Muscle, Brain, Diet* focuses more intentionally on the relative successes of a well-chosen meatless diet. The text encourages the reader to trial Miles’s system of consuming ‘Simpler Foods’ for better mental and physical health. In line with the authorial presence in the previous two examples, in *Muscle, Brain, Diet* Miles (1903: 37) primarily roots his arguments in his own life experience, noting, ‘it is my own experiences on which I am chiefly writing; I am not laying down universal laws for all mankind.’ This aligns with Miles being in favour of a position advocating trial and evaluation by the reader, with himself as the role model; this is offered as the antithesis to the supposed dogmatism of mainstream vegetarians.

The text is made up of 8 parts, each dealing with various aspects of good health and simple diet, and underpinned by Miles’s philosophy of self-health. In Part One, Miles (1903: 15) explains to readers what good health does and does not look like, noting a need to ‘expose’ various ‘injurious fallacies about good health’ prior to outlining his own health ideas. In this part of the text, Miles (1903: 18) is also sure to emphasise notions of positive health, ‘not merely “not being ill,”’ but a more preventative view of health which sees individuals striving for good health, even in the absence of obvious illness. In Part Two of the text, Miles (1903: 35) goes on to provide testimony of his own experiences ‘as evidence’ for the efficacy of his advice. Miles’s rhetorical manipulation of his own personal experiences is a prominent part of the text, which is explored in Section 5.4.3. This aspect of the text also aligns with the principles of self-health, with Miles arguing that the system has worked in a personal

¹⁹ This is an important distinction to make amidst Miles’s wider body of works, which focus on a wide variety of topics, ranging from exercise to writing. As such, selecting a text which has been overtly designated as a text on food is valuable for the analysis within this thesis, given its focus on food reform.

capacity, and suggesting that others should also experiment with it. The inclusion of Section Two demonstrates Miles's (1903: 38) self-awareness of his potential role model authority:

[...] when I was ready to play a hard tennis match and do eight or nine hours' hard mental work in a single day, without feeling any real fatigue, and when my success at games, and the range and amount and quality and success of my work improved instead of the reverse, *then*, by degrees, even my dearest friends and relations were forced to admit that there *might* be something in it in *my* case. [italics in original]

The above extract illustrates Miles's belief that his experience, and success, provide evidence for the efficacy of his diet. The extract also demonstrates Miles's acute awareness of the stigma surrounding vegetarian diet at the time; on this, Whorton (1981: 60) writes:

When the popular medical writer Woods Hutchinson taunted vegetarians for being repelled by "Meat! R-r-red meat, dr-r-r-ripping with bl-l-llood, r-r-reeking of the shambles," he was playing on the primitive suspicion that one needs blood to make blood, and muscle to make muscle; a diet devoid of red rags could never build full manly strength and energy.

Not only does this provide an example of the satirical discourse surrounding vegetarianism at the time, but it also points to Miles's rationale for proving that, in his own case, he was a successful athlete consuming a meatless diet. The final part of the above extract, which refers to a meat-free diet being insufficient for 'full manly strength and energy,' also highlights the added pressure for male vegetarians to prove themselves. As such, legitimation through role model authority is a core element of Miles's construction of identity in the text.

Following the dedicated account of his personal experiences with the 'Simpler Foods,' Part Three of the text discusses the advantages and disadvantages of 'ordinary' diet, which Miles (1903: 66) defines as 'the diet which includes the flesh-foods [...], eggs, tea, coffee, cocoa, usually alcohol, and often [...] tobacco.' Miles uses this section of the text to negatively evaluate the 'ordinary foods' before transitioning to Parts Four and Five of the text, where he outlines the 'simpler and cheaper foods,' and their advantages, creating a similar dichotomy as in *Failures of Vegetarianism*. He is concerned with emphasising the range of foods included under the 'Simpler Foods' heading, tackling the misplaced contemporary assumptions that a vegetarian diet is monotonous. Furthermore, in Part Six Miles details 'difficulties' and 'objections' associated with the diet he recommends, in-keeping with his

rejection of dogmatism and separation from mainstream vegetarians in this regard. Following his response to potential objections, in Part Seven Miles provides hints for readers on how they might go about adopting a diet of ‘Simpler Foods,’ emphasising the importance of eating a variety of foods and the essential nature of protein consumption. Finally, Part Eight outlines some ‘new ideas’ on a variety of social topics in relation to Miles’s views on health, such as political economy and disease; this section then goes on to summarise and conclude *Muscle, Brain, Diet*. The following sections turn to analysis of the preface to *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, which is a concentrated example of Miles’s rhetoric and construction of the writer-reader relationship, including aspects such as role model authority, ideological polarisation, and reader engagement.

5.4.3 Writer-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

This section analyses the writer-oriented persuasive strategies used by Miles to rhetorically construct an authorial identity. In the same style as the texts examined in previous sections, Miles (1903: xxix) adopts a high degree of author presence throughout *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, beginning his preface with, ‘[m]y object in this book is to suggest what I consider to be, for myself and therefore perhaps for many others, simpler and cheaper foods for health, brain-work, and exercise.’ As with *Failures of Vegetarianism* (Section 5.3.3) and the *Milestones* (Section 5.4.3), self-mention is employed throughout the preface, with a high degree of first-person pronouns used; this is a ‘conscious choice’ (Hyland, 2005: 181) made by Miles to establish a presence in the text from the outset. Miles draws on many examples from his own life and habits, using testimony of his own experiences to support his claims. This persuasive strategy fuels the role model authority which is implicit in Miles’s writings. This strategy is prominent in *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, with Part Two of the text dedicated to providing evidence in the form of personal experience. As has been outlined in Section 2.8.2, Miles had celebrity sportsman status at the time, with his success highlighted on the title page, citing achievements such as ‘Amateur Champion of the World and Holder of the Gold Prize at Tennis,’ as well as his membership of the National Commission of Physical Education. These contextual elements suggest that by detailing his own habits, he holds authority as a role model through his evidently efficient physical health and noteworthy successes. As highlighted in the previous section, Miles’s author presence also seeks to challenge popular perceptions of vegetarianism through his account of his own personal success story. The use of first-person pronouns gives Miles a presence in the text from the start, highlighting his role model authority explicitly by suggesting that what has worked in his own case, as a

well-known athlete, may also work for other individuals. Miles (1903: xxix) draws overt attention to his own personal habits from the first pages of *Muscle, Brain, Diet*:

The *Cheaper Foods*, which I here call the “Simpler Foods,” are best described by an instance: my day’s meals are generally *selected from* the following:—Gluten Biscuits, Hovis Bread and Butter, Milk, Cheese, Protene Biscuits, Apples, Stewed Fruits, Nuts, Salad, Green Vegetables, Peas, Beans, and Lentils. In other words, I can choose from Wheat and other Grains, Milk and Milk-Products, Fruits, Nuts, Vegetables, and Pulses. [italics in original]

Not only does Miles draw on role model authority in the above extract, by detailing his own daily diet, but he also employs a diverse list of different foods in order to challenge popular perception of a meatless diet. Contrary to the common view of vegetarianism as a diet of only vegetables, Miles persuades readers by ‘sheer weight of evidence’ (Mulholland, 1994: 25) that the version of vegetarianism he promotes is diverse and nutritious. Moreover, in the example below, Miles (1903: xxxiii) makes overt reference to the strength of his authority as a role model, using his own success as evidence for his system’s efficacy:

That my book will produce any immediate revolution in our national habits, I have not the smallest expectation: but I do believe that, if anything *is* likely to make people think out and try the problem for themselves, it is the example of one in whose case the Simpler Foods have worked and continue to work so well: of one who is known to be in constant physical training and constant mental training and activity all the year round, without suffering for it in the least; of one who, on the Ordinary Diet, at once loses half of his physical and mental activity, endurance, and success. [italics in original]

In the above extract, Miles shows self-awareness of his potential influence on readers, given his fame as an athlete. Van Leeuwen (2007: 95) remarks that role model authority is often prevalent in ‘lifestyle media,’ and Miles attempts to encourage readers to ‘follow his example’ and aspire to similar physical health. The use of author presence and role model authority works directly with Miles’s (1903: xxxii) rejection of mainstream ‘dogmatism’; he argues:

In other words, I lay down no absolute law, but I say what has most certainly suited myself—I give my own *personal experiences* as such: and I then suggest not that my

method will assuredly suit everyone else, but that it may possibly suit many, and that at the very least it is worth trying. [italics in original]

Though Miles presents himself throughout his publications, as in the above example, as rejecting the didacticism of other lifestyle reformers, he is in an arguably unique position as a celebrity athlete. His status as a real tennis champion means that much of the strength of his argument is implicit in his character, reducing the need to be ‘dogmatic,’ as Miles puts it. The above example shows Miles combining lower modality with role model authority, as he does throughout the preface, with a further example of this shown below:

Having said this much by way of definition, I wish to explain my point of view in writing this little work, and to insist that I am not so much asserting what *must certainly* hold good *in all* cases, as suggesting what *may possibly* hold good *in many* cases *because it has* held good—in spite of the very severest tests—in *my own* case. (1903: xxxi) [italics in original]

As in the previous example, the above extract shows Miles combining his own role model authority, through self-mention and reference to his own personal experience, with lower deontic modality. He further argues, ‘I am not a doctor, and it is not my business to dictate: I prefer to do as I do in this book, and to tell them *what I should try in their case*’ (Miles, 1903: xxxi) [italics in original]. Again, this shows Miles foregrounding his own authority as a role model.

Miles’s construction of role model authority also fuels his arguments against the mainstream. Van Dijk (2006: 126) notes the prevalence of ‘positive self-presentation’ when creating a divide between one’s own approach and that of outside groups in a discourse. Thus, Miles’s explicit reference to his own authority as a role model, bolstered by his presence in the text, works to build such a positive self-image. This is furthered by Miles’s (1903: xxxv) hedging of claims, which he contrasts starkly with the dogma of ‘one-sided fanatics.’ The construction of identity in the preface to the text also rests on the continued distancing from mainstream vegetarianism and the label ‘vegetarian,’ fuelling the dichotomy between Miles’s individual approach and the negative evaluation of outside groups. As with his other works, Miles (1903: xxx) uses scare quotes to distance himself from mainstream vegetarianism, stating: ‘I have not called my diet “Vegetarianism”: in the average mind that word is associated with “vegetables and vegetables alone,” especially with potatoes and cabbages.’ This builds on the rhetorical effect of the list of Miles’s own food preferences,

mentioned above, highlighting the divide between faddist vegetarianism and the ‘Simpler Foods’ Miles promotes to his readers. In terms of writer-oriented rhetoric, this strategy functions to define Miles’s identity in opposition to mainstream vegetarians, constructing a persuasive persona through highlighting difference. Miles’s rhetorical identity rests on the detailed account of his own personal success, foregrounded through significant author presence, and contrasted with the general references to ‘vegetarians’ and ‘faddists.’ The following section moves on to consider the ways by which Miles invites readers into a community built upon these principles.

5.4.4 Reader-Oriented Persuasive Strategies

Functioning alongside the writer-oriented strategies outlined in the previous section, reader-oriented strategies further develop the highly rhetorical writer-reader relationship established in *Muscle, Brain, Diet*. Miles draws the reader into the text by repeatedly using the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ to bring them along with his argument. This strategy is deepened through Miles’s use of other engagement markers; for example, presenting questions in the text. Miles (1903: xxxii) both questions the reader; for example, ‘[i]s their food-supply based on principles of Science and Economy?’ and anticipates potential questions from the reader; for example, ‘in your case a scientific and fairly long experiment can alone answer your question, “Will it suit *me* as well?”’ (1903: xxxii) [italics in original]. Hyland (2005: 185) notes that questions rhetorically function to ‘arouse interest and encourage the reader to explore an unresolved issue with the writer as an equal, a conversational partner, sharing his or her curiosity and following where the argument leads.’ The two-way questioning, both from Miles and the imagined reader, works to construct the reader as this ‘conversational partner.’ This engagement strategy creates a sense of in-group identity with the readership, bringing them into an us versus them dichotomy in accordance with the ideological polarisation highlighted in the previous section. Miles (1903: xxxii) similarly interacts with the reader in a conversational manner by providing commentary on the text by means of personal asides; for example: ‘a lady, who heard of a starving and miserable family, immediately in the kindness of her heart (**but also—such is life—in the ignorance of her mind**) sent off a large parcel of tea, sugar, beef-tea and arrowroot’ [bold mine]; ‘now, how much did this (**by no means inexpensive**) parcel contain?’ (1903: xxxii-xxxiii) [bold mine]; ‘[t]o give him [the reader] confidence (**which I myself was entirely without, when I started this diet**), I have told him my own experiences with the two different kinds of foods’ (1903: xxxv) [bold mine]. Moreover, in the following example, Miles (1903: xxxii) uses synthetic

personalisation to address the reader directly: ‘I also insist on this—that, whether the results will be similar in *your* particular case can be decided only by a personal trial’ [italics in original]. O’Hagan (2021a: 13) argues that the use of direct address by brands such as Emprote functioned to ascribe agency to readers with regards to their own health. The use of synthetic personalisation in the above example emphasises Miles’s individualist approach to health, separating himself from the didacticism of the mainstream vegetarians by hedging his statements.

Furthermore, Miles uses politeness strategies to deepen the ideological polarisation underpinning his us versus them argument by praising his readers using positive evaluations, such as ‘open-minded’ and ‘conscientious,’ whilst contrasting this with his labelling of ‘one-sided fanatics’ (1903: xxxv). This strategy creates a sense of solidarity with readers, with Miles ascribing qualities to readers which are implicit in his philosophy of self-health. Hunston and Thompson (2000: 10) assert that ‘evaluation can be used to build a relationship between writer and reader, in particular by assuming shared attitudes, values, and reactions which it can be difficult for the reader, as the subordinate in this relationship, to dispute.’ Miles forges this relationship with the reader by implying shared values and approaches to health, such as being ‘open-minded,’ ‘pulling the reader into a conspiracy of agreement’ (Hyland, 2005: 180).

Additionally, as with his other writings, Miles demonstrates an awareness of what is important to the reader through moral evaluation, using evaluative adjectives relating to the moral values of both simplicity and economy. At the beginning of the preface, he states that his suggestions involve ‘simpler and cheaper foods’ (Miles, 1903: xxix). This was pertinent in context, at a time when modernity was complicating the lives of many, and individuals hoped to cut food costs whilst maintaining good health. The use of the positive evaluative adjectives ‘good,’ ‘healthy,’ and ‘scientific’ (Miles, 1903: xxx-xxxii) also relate to moralised discourses of good health and the rising power of science. Van Leeuwen (2007: 98) notes that legitimisation in the form of moral evaluation depends on contextually appropriate ‘moral discourses.’ Miles (1903: xxxiv) remarks that his example of the success of the ‘Simpler Foods’ relates to ‘economy of time and money, bodily fitness, mental fitness, and happiness.’ The moral values indicated here are relevant to many of the historical factors highlighted in Chapter 2, such as industrialisation, physical culture, and the overall ideal of *mens sana in corpore sano*. As such, Miles orients the text towards the reader by tapping into contextually appropriate values.

Within the preface, Miles (1903: xxxiv) positions the imagined reader to take from the text his intended message, writing, ‘I shall venture to confess candidly here what impressions I hope that this book will produce on the sensible and thoughtful reader.’ He goes on to speak from the perspective of the imagined reader:

I hope he will say to himself: “Health of body and health of mind are all important to me, but so far I have been taught next to nothing about them; and the authorities on the subject are hopelessly conflicting [...] I feel that it *might* succeed in *my* case also, and it has become a duty to try, for, if it really *is* a sound system, I ought to do my best to spread it [...] If it *were* to prove as successful in my case as it has done in his, I should never regret it. Anyhow it appeals to all the strongest and best motives in my nature.’ (Miles, 1903: xxxiv) [italics in original]

Positioning the reader in this way enables Miles to project shared values into the writer-reader relationship, such as the importance of physical and mental health, and the ‘hopelessly conflicting’ nature of the authorities. Contrasting with the lower deontic modality adopted from Miles’s position, he has the imagined reader acknowledge an obligation to test the system. When speaking as the imagined reader, Miles uses high deontic modality to urge the reader to test the system, framing this as a ‘duty’, whilst using lower epistemic modality to hedge the fact that the success of the system is not a guarantee for every individual. Furthermore, high epistemic modality is used to portray this imagined reader as being hypothetically glad to have tried the system, if successful, and make the system sound strongly appealing. The imagined reader is also positioned to accept Miles’s authority as a role model, building on the strength of Miles’s writer identity. Furthermore, in closing the preface, Miles (1903: xxxvi) writes, ‘[a]t some future date I mean to publish a fuller work, for which all my readers will, I trust, send me their valuable quota of personal experiences.’ This acknowledges a continued readership, positioning readers as part of an ongoing community built on writer-reader interaction, with the allusion to physical correspondence by means of readers providing Miles with personal accounts.

5.4.5 Persuasive Strategies in *Muscle, Brain, Diet*

This section has presented a summary and analysis of Miles’s *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, detailing the ways by which he rhetorically constructs a persuasive writer-reader relationship. I have pointed out that this text was one of Miles’s main treatises on health, focusing on diet and

the ‘Simpler Foods.’ It has therefore been valuable for inclusion in this analysis, shedding light on the ways by which Miles manipulated authority and engagement in order to encourage readers to trial his proposed diet. In concluding the analysis of *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, it is necessary to summarise and evaluate the construction of the writer-reader relationship as a whole.

Given the focus on diet in this text, Miles’s construction of role model authority is unsurprising. Compared with the other two case studies analysed within this chapter, the preface to *Muscle, Brain, Diet* contains the most role model authority, particularly given its short length, with the use of self-mention and testimonies of Miles’s own experience being prominent. The analysis has shown that Miles believed in the power of his own example, even positioning the ideal reader to accept the efficacy of his claims because of his authority as a role model. Miles’s self-awareness of the power of his own example is not ungrounded, given the contemporary accounts of his sporting success and persuasive nature (as covered in Section 2.8). In context, it was necessary for Miles to position himself in this way so as to challenge misconceptions and stereotypes of the vegetarian diet, as well as ideas surrounding masculinity.

Miles’s construction of authority in the text is related to readers through the prolific use of engagement strategies, through which he adopts a highly conversational tone. This works within the genre of the preface, which looks to inspire the reader to continue reading the remainder of the text by stressing the text’s importance and relevance. The combination of Miles as a role model and the interaction with the reader works to bring the reader into a community, headed by an individual with a proven track record of good physical health (evidenced by his sporting success). Decreasing the distance between writer and reader also enables Miles to assume shared values with the imagined community, drawing on contextually relevant values to market his advice in relation to contemporary concerns. Moreover, bringing the reader in-group works alongside the delegitimation of mainstream vegetarianism and other orthodox groups by including the reader in an us versus them dichotomy, which further assumes shared values. Essentially, by combining his position as a role model with high engagement, Miles attempts to stir the reader towards self-help ideology; this includes the illusion of choice, with Miles’s apparent empowerment of the reader working alongside his strength of argument towards his proposed system. Finally, as a charismatic and conversational author, Miles can bring shared values into the text and lead the reader towards the desired conclusion, without appearing to overtly persuade.

5.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has analysed three text examples from Miles's body of written work, building on key aspects of his personal background accounted for in Section 2.8, such as his sporting success. This is essential context for the analysis of Miles's construction of identity in the texts. The biography in Section 2.8 also outlined Miles's strong preventative health principles, which similarly underpin his interactions with readers. Moreover, Miles's commercial interests were made clear through a discussion of his restaurant—the Eustace Miles—and E. M. foods.

Pervading all three of the case studies is Miles's commitment to both legitimization of his own authority and, importantly, delegitimation of outside groups, with Miles repeatedly referring to fallacies. His most explicit and scathing example of delegitimation is seen in *Failures of Vegetarianism*, where he is seen to repeatedly reject the term 'vegetarian' with scare quotes, investing the label with negative connotations by means of strong evaluation. Building on this counter-vegetarianism, in the *Milestones* he also distances from other mainstream groups, namely orthodox doctors and scientists, with abstract reference to the 'authorities' also being present in the preface to *Muscle, Brain, Diet*. The distancing from outside groups is furthered by Miles's explicit author presence across the sample, with self-mention contrasting with vague and abstract references to other groups. In context, Miles faced the need to resist popular misconceptions and stereotypes of vegetarianism.

Furthermore, one central aspect of Miles's presence across the texts is his construction of role model authority, stemming from his known sporting success. Legitimation by role model authority is achieved in the sample through self-mention and testimonies of Miles's own experiences. Though these features are present in varying degrees across the texts, role model authority is most prolific in the preface to *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, which is fitting given the purpose of the text to market his proposed diet. Miles is seen making overt reference to the power of his own example in this text, and this is supported by contemporary accounts of the efficacy of his diet being evidenced by his success; see further Section 2.8. The *Milestones* combine Miles's positioning as a role model with expert authority signalled by references to external expertise. This is notable, given that the *Milestones* are the most overtly commercial texts of the sample, with Emprote advertisements and restaurant details featured at the back of the booklets, along with in-text references to Miles's products. In terms of expert authority, particularly from scientists, Miles draws upon the growing power

of science in health food marketing at this time; see further Section 2.4. However, it is perhaps to be expected that the *Milestones* would contain more science than the monographs, given that the preface and introductory material were analysed for these texts; in terms of genre, these elements serve to invite the reader into the text.

Moreover, Miles's conversational tone and, more generally, his charismatic personality, encompass all of his texts, as he draws heavily on engagement strategies. Though this pervades the three case studies, the *Milestones* have the most conversational tone, which owes to their original conception as lectures at Miles's restaurant, before he published them in written form. Additionally, in terms of the wider context, the highly interpersonal nature of the *Milestones* is in keeping with the growing discursive power of the personal, which was tied to regular publications. The regular release of the *Milestones* enabled Miles to form a community around self-help principles. Drawing on engagement strategies across his writings works alongside delegitimation strategies to bring the reader in-group and thus set them against the groups he opposes. As such, Miles combines writer- and reader-oriented strategies to create a community around self-help principles, with himself as a role model, striking an us versus them relationship with orthodox groups. This also rests on his use of moralised discourses throughout his texts which, alongside his own positioning and his solidarity with readers, works to assume shared values for the in-group community; he taps into moral values such as purity, simplicity, and economy at a time when these values were exceptionally relevant in society.

The analysis of Miles's texts has also pointed to the tension between his advocacy of self-help principles and his strong commercial interests, which are implicit in his strength of argument both against mainstream groups and in support of his own system. Throughout his texts, but particularly in *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, Miles creates an illusion of choice for the reader by claiming that he is not demanding the reader to follow his system, whilst simultaneously presenting a highly rhetorical account which is difficult for the reader to object to, for example, through his prolific use of negative evaluation in relation to orthodox practices. This illusion of choice, which is pervasive in self-help discourses, is taken up further in Section 6.5.

Overall, Miles constructs an identity as a charismatic and conversational individual, willing to interact with the reader in an informal manner and thus decrease distance within the writer-reader relationship. Combining his solidarity with readers with his own identity construction and point of view, Miles creates a community around the principles of self-help and urges

his readers to simultaneously reject mainstream vegetarianism and orthodox professionals. He recognises his position as a layman, albeit an educated one, compensating for this by hedging his claims and drawing on external expertise.

Chapter 6 - Thematic Analysis of the Rhetoric of Food Reform

6.1 Chapter Introduction

Whilst it was necessary, in the first instance, to analyse the rhetoric of Allinson and Miles in terms of writer- and reader-oriented strategies in two separate case study chapters, the current chapter turns to a thematic analysis (see Objective 3, Section 1.5). In Section 3.1, I cited van Leeuwen (2005: 95) on the importance of analysing a variety of texts on similar issues in order to reconstruct historical discourses; in this case, the rhetoric of food reform in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In line with the research questions, the following interrelated themes, prominent within both the historical background and the case studies, are subjected to further analysis and discussion: moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help. It is important to note that these themes are not analytically distinct, but rather they interconnect to produce highly nuanced and multi-faceted arguments. To fully explore the research questions, it is necessary to embed the rhetorical case studies in wider context; doing so within this chapter aligns with Fairclough's (1989) third dimension, which concerns the relationship between textual interactions and wider social factors. In their study of modern discourses of veganism and vegetarianism, Wilson *et al.* (2004: 570) argue:

From a rhetorical perspective [...] discussion of the merits (or otherwise) of a vegetarian or low-meat diet can be understood not as reflections of attitudes and beliefs about vegetarianism but rather as positions located in a broader discursive context.

In terms of historical discourses of food reform, it is this 'broader discursive context' which is at the heart of the current chapter, being essential for an understanding of how the rhetorical strategies identified in Chapters 4 and 5 operate in relation to the wider zeitgeist and, crucially, in relation to the authors' differing personal backgrounds. The aims of this thesis require an analysis which builds upon the two case study chapters, situating Allinson and Miles within their wider context by focusing on core overlapping rhetorical themes. As such, this section aligns with the aims and objectives of this thesis, using the case studies as illustrative examples to enable a linguistically informed, historical discussion of food reform; see further Section 1.5.

Section 6.2 further explores the ways by which Allinson and Miles drew on key discourses of moral value for their own rhetorical ends. Investigating the ‘moral status of these expressions’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 98), in this case references to values such as ‘pure,’ ‘simple,’ and ‘good,’ can provide a deeper rhetorical understanding of how the authors drew on key concerns of the time. In considering this further, Section 6.2 highlights the fact that communication about food and health is firmly rooted in historical context and is therefore imbued with a multitude of interrelated discourses of moral value. An in-depth understanding of the writer-reader relationship constructed by different food reformers can only be gained through contextualisation of wider socially relevant discourses and how they are employed rhetorically. Chapters 4 and 5 have shown Allinson’s and Miles’s publications, within the bounds of the selected texts for analysis, to be rich in cultural value; Section 6.2 further problematise these discourses, pointing to their wider significance and furthering the analysis with additional examples from the wider collection of texts.

Building on the authors’ use of moralised discourses discussed in Section 6.2, Section 6.3 turns to the rhetorical construction of an authoritative identity within the Edwardian health food market, exploring how Allinson and Miles combined their use of moralised discourses with interpersonal strategies to present a carefully crafted persona. This section considers the ways by which the authors drew on different types of authority, namely expert and role model authority, in order to claim credibility in a marketplace of competing voices. In doing so, Section 6.3 considers the persuasive value of both experience and expertise, further exploring Allinson’s and Miles’s use of scientific authority to sell their products, a trend which was becoming increasingly commonplace at the turn of the century (O’Hagan, 2021b). In a textual environment characterised by the discursive features of New Journalism and the rising social value attached to science, Allinson and Miles adopted a variety of interpersonal strategies to carve out an individual voice.

Another key theme which has been prevalent in both the historical background (Chapter 2) and the case studies (Chapters 3 and 4), and which warrants further exploration in Section 6.4, is counterculture; this is conceived within this thesis as the rejection of orthodoxy and the negotiation of nuanced relations with mainstream groups. Both Allinson and Miles distanced themselves from orthodoxy, championing alternative approaches by using rhetorical strategies which result in ideological polarisation, setting ‘us’ (themselves and their readers) against ‘them’ in terms of a variety of different groups. As has been discerned in the analysis, Allinson’s and Miles’s relationship with the establishment was by no means clear-cut, and delegitimation has been shown to be core to both individuals’ identity

construction in the texts. Where Allinson draws on professional knowledge gained through his medical training, he simultaneously rejects his mainstream medical colleagues; in other words, he constructs a careful rhetorical balance between aligning with and rejecting orthodox medicine. With similar rhetorical prowess, Miles both engages with mainstream science, by consulting his own in-house expert, and rejects it. Miles most notably rejects mainstream vegetarianism (Section 5.2), explicitly distancing himself from the language and activities of this group. This points to the importance of analysing case studies written by key individuals in the alternative health movement, showing that the promotion of vegetarianism, particularly in terms of health and physical wellbeing, transcended mainstream vegetarian groups.

Alongside counterculture, the final significant theme identified for further analysis within this chapter is self-help. Self-help discourses are implicit through the fostering of an in-group identity for readers. The rhetoric of both Allinson and Miles is rooted in individualism and empowerment, with Allinson's system of hygienic medicine and Miles's ideas about self-health being underpinned by the notion that individuals have both the means and agency to be more self-sufficient in terms of their health and wellbeing. How did the authors draw on different discourses, types of authority, and relations with orthodox groups in order to rhetorically construct texts within a hybrid genre of self-help? Section 6.5 provides historical perspective on a genre which remains prominent today, considering the paradox of the genre in its simultaneous promotion of individual choice and strong arguments for one particular direction. It is important to reiterate that Allinson and Miles were not neutral facilitators of self-help behaviours, but also had vested commercial interests (see further Sections 2.7.4 and 2.8.3). The relationship between self-help discourses and other related discourses, such as infant welfare, national efficiency, and *mens sana in corpore sano*, is also considered in order to appropriately contextualise Allinson's and Miles's rhetoric and consider how they contributed to this emerging genre.

Through further exploration of these four interrelated themes, this chapter situates the individual case studies in their wider historical context, aligning with the type of interdisciplinary approach taken by O'Hagan (2019: 185), who argues that the nature of this approach 'accentuates food discourse as being anchored in a specific historical context with its own historical norms of communication and past affordances of materials and resources.' Whilst Allinson promotes vegetarianism with a focus on wholemeal bread, Miles promotes his own version of vegetarianism which centres on simple foods and protein. Despite the differences in the diet they promote, both have complex relationships with the themes

identified for further analysis within this chapter, all of which contribute to the rhetorical construction of the writer-reader relationship. Where Chapter 2 provided an overview of the zeitgeist and the authors' personal backgrounds, Chapters 4 and 5 then provided case studies showing how two prominent wellbeing gurus of the time used persuasive strategies to promote lifestyle changes. Considering this line of argument in terms of the thesis aims, Chapter 6 now takes the sociohistorical factors outlined in Chapter 2, along with the rhetorical strategies explored in the case studies, drawing these elements together in a synthesised and exploratory thematic analysis.

6.2 Pure, Simple, Good: Dietary Discourses of Moral Value

Given the interdependence between food and society, texts on diet have long been infused with socially significant discourses of moral value, relating to underlying ideological structures. Hanganu-Bresch (2021: 115) argues, '[i]nsofar as food is associated with health, it necessarily relies on a rhetoric of control and selection.' Considering this, examining the ways by which authors choose to represent the world in which diet discourses are produced at any given time is of great importance. This section is driven by RQ1: How do Allinson and Miles draw on discourses of moral value to legitimise their alternative approaches to health and diet? During a turbulent era for both diet and health, Allinson and Miles were able to draw on a vast array of moral values in their texts, working to support their promotion of a simple and pure lifestyle. These discourses became socially significant due to a variety of historical factors, ranging from widespread food adulteration in the nineteenth century (Collins, 1993; O'Hagan, 2020), to anxieties surrounding modernity taking root in the early twentieth century (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010); see further Chapter 2. On the shift in focus from quantity to quality of food, Lyon and Kautto (2022: 107) argue:

The early years of twentieth-century Britain were a transitional period for the way that food was understood. Diet adequacy was now being increasingly thought of as not simply a matter of the quantity of food but the qualities that food needed to have to sustain optimum health.

As such, values relating to the quality of food, and its association with good health, could be drawn on persuasively by Allinson and Miles. Moral values have been analysed in this thesis as primarily reader-oriented strategies, given their role in assuming agreement with readers in particular social contexts, with the discourses they relate to 'not made explicit and

debatable’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 97). This section further explores the discourses of moral value highlighted in previous chapters, demonstrating the ways by which the authors used contextually relevant moral values in their rhetoric and drawing on further examples from their wider collections of texts.

Hunston and Thompson (2000: 6) point to the interrelated nature of evaluative language features and social factors, arguing that ‘[e]very act of evaluation expresses a communal value-system, and every act of evaluation goes towards building up that value-system [...] identifying what the writer thinks reveals the ideology of the society that has produced the text.’ As such, analysing evaluation is a vital aspect of sociohistorical research, enabling reconstruction of the ideological factors underpinning historical texts in specific contexts; this aligns with Fairclough’s (1989) third dimension, through explanation of the relationship between the texts and the wider social context. It is necessary to highlight the fact that moral evaluations can only be recognised ‘on the basis of our common-sense cultural knowledge’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 98). In light of this, ‘[o]nly the social and cultural historian can explain the moral status of these expressions, by tracing them back to the moral discourses that underlie them’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 98). On this basis, it is of great value to produce a linguistically informed historical account of the moralised discourses employed by Allinson and Miles, placing this rhetoric in wider context. Unveiling the legitimisation strategies employed by authors enables a more nuanced and in-depth discussion of important sociocultural issues. Hanganu-Bresch (2021: 114) argues that ‘terms used to describe healthy food, such as pure, clean, natural, or organic are deeply contested and have elicited critical engagements from historians, philosophers, and rhetoricians.’ These terms have deep historical roots and exploring their use in historical contexts can provide a deeper understanding of the intersection between food, language, and society.

Both Allinson and Miles can be classified as life reformers, who were ‘inspired by Fabian socialist vegetarian Edward Carpenter’s utopian invocation of a “simple life” in harmony with nature’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 18). The discourses of moral value present throughout Allinson’s and Miles’s published works relate to this notion of the ‘simple life,’ with purity and simplicity being rhetorically significant. Examples of both positive and negative evaluative adjectives from Allinson’s texts include: ‘best,’ ‘perfect,’ ‘pure,’ ‘good’ (Section 4.2.4); ‘good,’ ‘pure,’ ‘injurious,’ ‘impure,’ ‘artificial,’ ‘bad’ (Section 4.3.4); ‘plain,’ ‘good,’ ‘scientific,’ ‘toxic,’ ‘poisonous’ (Section 4.4.4). Moreover, Miles uses evaluative adjectives including, but not limited to: ‘haphazard,’ ‘unscientific,’ ‘irritating,’ ‘bad’ (Section 5.2.4); ‘pure,’ ‘simple,’ ‘clean,’ ‘nourishing’ (Section 5.3.4); ‘simpler,’

‘cheaper,’ ‘good,’ ‘scientific’ (Section 5.4.4). Although moral evaluation is largely implicit, rooted in contextual knowledge, it may also be signalled by more explicit evaluations ‘such as “good” and “bad”’ (van Leeuwen, 2007: 97), as seen in the aforementioned examples. On this Hunston (2011: 26) argues, ‘[s]tatus is intrinsically linked with evaluations of “good” and “bad”, especially in texts which are part of a knowledge-building agenda, or texts which seek to influence actions using rationality as a means of persuasion.’ O’Hagan (2023: 11) finds similar use of both positive and negative values to market Postum, a coffee substitute in early twentieth century Sweden; she argues:

This stark contrast between the life-giving beauty of nature (e.g., Postum) and the dangerous, artificial poison (e.g., coffee) is powerful, even if the claim is false and plays down the fact that Postum is created through a relatively complex manufacturing process and is, therefore, not natural.

In line with O’Hagan’s (2023) conclusions, the analysis of Allinson’s and Miles’s use of evaluation demonstrates similar polarisation; for example, Allinson contrasted ‘good’ wholemeal bread with ‘insipid’ white bread (Section 4.3.4), and Miles evaluated his ‘Simpler Foods’ positively in comparison to the ‘un-nourishing’ and ‘indigestible’ diet of mainstream vegetarians (Section 5.2.4). The use of evaluative language to dichotomise issues also feeds into the ideological polarisation associated with the counterculture ideas covered in Section 6.4. It is important to note that although evaluation is ultimately enacted by individuals, it ‘takes place within a social and ideological framework’ (Hunston, 2011: 12-13). Allinson’s and Miles’s use of moralised discourses sheds light on this framework, enabling a situated discussion.

Furthermore, Zweiniger-Bargielowska (2010: 8) argues that ‘[p]hysical culturalists and life reformers were inspired by a critique of the artificiality of modern urban lifestyles and they aimed to restore the body to more natural living conditions.’ Allinson tapped into these anxieties surrounding the pressures of modernity on the mind and body, alongside concerns about food production processes, romanticising the past throughout his publications and ephemera. One illustrative example of this can be seen in Allinson’s use of a ‘yeoman of England’ in a Natural Food Company advertisement titled ‘Our Sturdy Forefathers’ (see Figure 6).

Our Sturdy Forefathers.

The stalwart "yeomen of England" were strangers to white bread; their bone and muscles were nourished on bread made as Allinson Bread is made, *from the whole of the wheat.*

MAKE no mistake about your daily bread; let it be a *real* staff of life to you and to your family. White bread and fancy "brown" bread cannot nourish and satisfy you as Allinson Bread does. Allinson gives you the **WHOLE** of the wheat, including those elements which are so important to the healthy working of your system. The flour is stoneground by a patent process to the ideal degree of fineness. Eat Allinson Bread at every meal and guard against Constipation and Indigestion, which are responsible for so much weakness and ill-health.

Send 4d. stamps (to pay carriage) and we will send you a free 2 lb. sample loaf, free sample of N.F. Biscuits, free book on Bread and Health, name of nearest baker, and particulars of Monthly Cash Prize Distribution.

NATURAL FOOD CO., Ltd., 305, Cambridge Road, London, E. 403

Allinson
UNADULTERATED WHOLEMEAL **Bread**

Figure 6: *Our Sturdy Forefathers* advertisement (Allinson Papers, MS3195)

In the above example, moral values relating to the ‘pastoral idyll’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010) are signalled both visually and textually. When analysing legitimisation strategies, such as the use of moral values, it is important to consider multimodality (van Leeuwen, 2017), particularly when evaluating the persuasive potential of advertisements. Values relating to concerns surrounding the physical deterioration of the nation at the turn of the century are also implicit in the example, describing the ‘yeomen of England’ as ‘stalwart,’ and picturing them with well-nourished physiques. The image features one of these men holding a traditional agricultural tool, with the background showing a windmill, wheat, and the rising sun, drawing a connection between nature and the romanticisation of the past. This sentiment persists in the present day, for example in the discourse surrounding the Paleo diet, which ‘champions a way of eating that mimics that of our hunter-gatherer forbears’ (Arnold-Forster, 2019: 15).

Alongside Allinson, Miles has also been shown to draw on moralised discourses relating to life reformers’ idealisation of the simple life. Throughout Miles’s texts, he draws on

discourses of simplicity through the positive comparative adjective ‘simpler,’ which is repeated in Miles’s promotion of the ‘Simpler Foods’ (and contrasted with ‘Mixed Foods’) in all of the texts examined in Chapter 5. The adjective ‘simple’ was socially significant given the widespread anxieties surrounding modernity (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010); these heightened concerns aligned with many aspects of life becoming increasingly complex, from diet to work. Resistance to the complexities of modern life can be seen running through Miles’s rhetoric, with simplicity being a core value in his messaging. Both Allinson and Miles encouraged readers to consume a restricted set of acceptable foods, resisting the abundance which became typical of the Edwardian plate (Pepper, 1992). In *Avenues to Health*, Miles (1902b: 5) makes overt reference to purity, ‘[i]t is true that at least *one* avenue is absolutely *essential* to health, namely purity.’ This shows a keen awareness for key social issues of the time, and O’Hagan (2021a: 13) finds that alongside Miles and his brand, other brands such as Plasmon were ‘also very skilled at profiting from current affairs to gain support for their foods.’

As has been indicated in Section 2.4, the social significance, and therefore commercial value, attached to purity arose during the nineteenth century with various food adulteration scandals coming to light. Alongside the lasting impact of this, it is also noted by Waddington (2011: 51) that ‘[b]y the turn of the twentieth century, the role of food in the transmission of certain bacteriological diseases had become an established tenet of public health and an area that attracted substantial scientific and public interest.’ Thus, brands such as Allinson’s and Emprote, as well as similar brands such as Plasmon, were able to capitalise on these concerns. Collins (1993: 109) describes the evolution of concerns surrounding food and purity:

The weight of public concern shifted at each successive stage of economic development, from simple adulteration in the early Industrial Revolution, to “legalized adulteration” in the mature industrial economy, to concern about the methods of food production on farms and the safety of the “cool chain” [temperature-controlled transportation of perishable foodstuffs] in the present day.

As such, it is therefore highly rhetorical for Allinson’s windmill to appear on ephemera for the Natural Food Company (as in Figure 6 and Figure 7), providing visual moral evaluation legitimisation by referring to the production processes for the bread.

Moreover, O'Hagan (2020: 1) discusses the 'marketisation of "pure"' from the late nineteenth century onwards, arguing that by adopting this rhetoric of purity, advertisers 'invest food with a moral authority and legitimacy that leads consumers to understand commodities through marketing discourses and buy into the lifestyle and cultural value that the product promises, although it may not be true.' Allinson explicitly draws on the rhetoric of purity throughout the texts analysed in Chapter 4, and this can be explored further by considering his wider collection of texts. As has been indicated above, van Leeuwen (2017: 218) argues for the importance of considering 'other forms of expression that combine with language' when analysing the use of legitimation strategies. In a collection of 22 advertisements printed by Allinson's Natural Food Company in *Reynolds's* newspaper, several images are repeatedly employed to represent moral values.²⁰ Visual moral evaluation manifests in repeated images of the windmill and of fields of wheat (see Figure 6 and Figure 7); both images appear in over half of the 22 advertisements examined. The use of these images is rhetorically significant alongside evaluative adjectives such as 'pure' and 'natural,' working to invest authority in Allinson's brand through its direct association with nature. Allinson's awareness of the contextual importance of purity is also evidenced through the inclusion of 'unadulterated wholemeal' as a subtext to 'Allinson bread' in all of the advertisements.

²⁰ This collection of Natural Food Company advertisements was gathered from the collection of *Reynolds's* newspapers held as part of the Allinson Papers collection (University of Edinburgh).

“THE most delicious Bread I have ever eaten, and my kiddies love it too. Ever since we started eating Allinson Bread we have not known what sickness means in our family.”

These are the actual words in which a customer tells of the benefits resulting from Allinson Bread. The testimony requires no emphasis, it is a plain statement of facts, which thousands of people have confirmed, and which you can easily prove for yourself by a week's trial of this delicious all-of-the-wheat bread.

It is important to see that you get Allinson Bread—no other will do. There is a great difference between Allinson and fancy “brown” breads. Allinson—and Allinson alone—gives you the **whole** of those elements of the wheat which are so vital to your health and welfare.

SOLD EVERYWHERE. Send Ad. stamps to pay carriage on free 2lb. Sample Loaf, free supply of N.F. Biscuits, free book on Bread and Health, address of nearest Allinson Baker, and particulars of the monthly Prize Distribution (over 100 cash and other prizes). **NO INCREASE OF PRICE.**

NATURAL FOOD CO., LTD., 305, Cambridge Road, London, E

Allinson UNADULTERATED WHOLEMEAL Bread

Figure 7: Allinson's Bread Advertisement (Allinson Papers, MS3195)

Similarly drawing on purity and adjacent discourses, in the *Eustace Miles System of Physical Culture*, Miles (1907: 1) recognises the power of natural approaches at the time, ‘[t]here never has been such a craze as there is to-day for what are called “Natural Systems” of healing. The bias now is against drugs and operations; it is against stimulants and narcotics; it is for cheap and simple remedies and preventives.’ Adopting the rhetoric of purity in a leaflet advertising Emprote biscuits (see Figure 8), the branded biscuits are contrasted with ‘[o]rdinary biscuits,’ described as being ‘far superior.’ This superiority is rhetorically captured through the biscuits being ‘free from uric acid and other undesirable ingredients’ and ‘natural,’ as well as being ‘famous for their purity’ (*Food Ephemera, Box 7*).

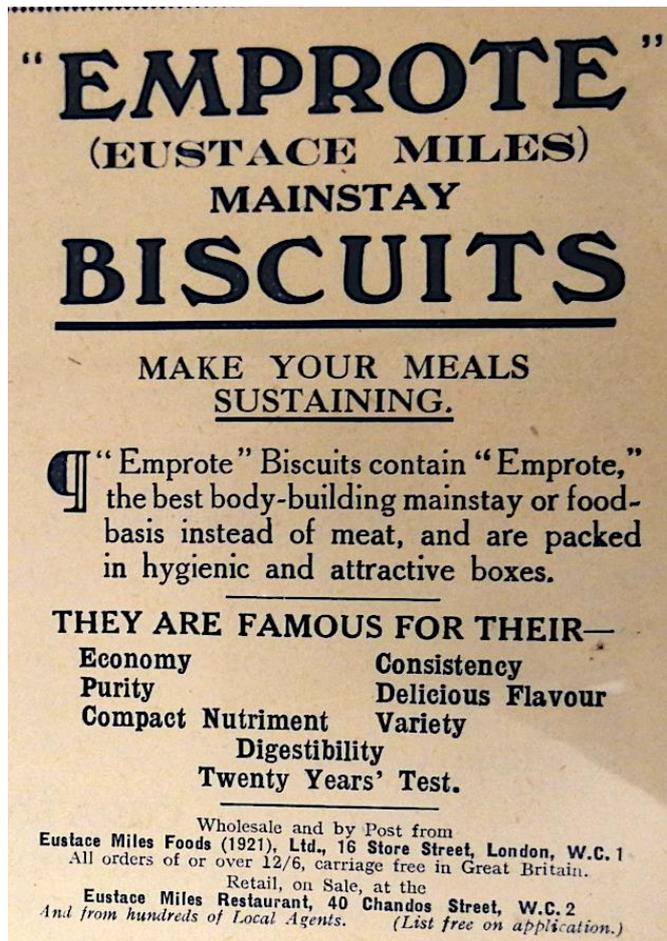


Figure 8: Advertisement for "Emprote" Biscuits (Food Ephemera, Box 7)

Allinson and Miles were part of a much wider trend of moralised discourses at the turn of the century, with other major brands also capitalising on contemporary public concerns by using relevant buzzwords; O'Hagan (2020: 3) notes that 'Cadbury's became the leading figure of the "pure" food movement,' also citing 'Holbrook's, Fry's and Colman's' as central proponents of this movement. Collins (1993: 108) also attests to the fact that purity was a highly important value in food advertising at this time, noting:

Many of today's most popular convenience foods were originally conceived as health foods. They claimed to use only the finest ingredients, prepared under the most hygienic conditions. Thus medical endorsements and notices of awards at food exhibitions testifying to the purity of the products, and their alleged benefits, were much used by advertisers.

This suggests that Allinson and Miles were by no means unique in their use of these discourses, but rather drew upon socially significant values to advance their own agendas. For example, using purity as a rhetorical device was favourable for Allinson's persuasion

given the public's preference for white bread. On twentieth century bread consumption, Oddy and Miller (1976: 28) write:

[...] perhaps the most severe constraint, even within the fairly narrow limits of product design and manufacture, has been the strength of consumer preference for a single product, the white wheaten loaf, which comprised in 1900 over 95 per cent and in 1970 still over 80 per cent of bread consumption by weight.

In the face of unfavourable public opinion towards the wholemeal loaf, Allinson therefore adopted moral values, such as 'purity,' in order to frame his argument in terms of current concerns. This use of 'pure' as a buzzword signalling a wider moral discourse aligns with Summers's (2001: 269) argument about writers using established discourses and values to market new ideas to the public. Alongside moralised discourses of purity and nature, Allinson and Miles also drew on contextually important discourses relating to the strength of the nation, rooted in contemporary concerns about the efficiency of the race. As was highlighted in Chapter 2, the turn of the century was characterised by a multitude of factors contributing to concerns for the health of the nation, including record military rejection rates and the simultaneous rise of the infant welfare movement. Citing key social historians of this period, O'Hagan (2020: 4) notes:

While nutrition was predominantly concerned with healthy eating, it also had a moral motive, which was concerned with the making of "strong" citizens and foregrounded wellbeing as a national responsibility (Ray, 2013: 396). Eating "pure" food became part of a wider discourse of imperialism, conflated with a moral duty that was owed by individuals to British society (Dyhouse, 2012: 136).

Values relating to this wider discourse of national duty are also linked to the discourses of self-help which are further explored later in this chapter (Section 6.5). These discourses, which foreground the physical strength of British citizens, were intertwined with the pure food movement, with companies such as Hovis and Bovril presenting 'their argument that "pure" foods increased a person's physical endurance by featuring images of factory workers, elderly people, young children and sportsmen alongside straplines on strength, fitness and stamina (Collins, 1993: 108)' (O'Hagan, 2020: 4). The rhetoric of purity was also aligned with physical culture discourses, which idealised bodies in terms of perfection and excellence (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010); as argued by Miles (1907: 6) in the *Eustace Miles System of Physical Culture*, '[i]t [the body] cannot possibly be less than an instrument

of expression, and merely as such it deserves to be brought nearer perfection.’ This points to the overlap between purity and aesthetics surrounding the body at this time, something which is prevalent in Miles’s rhetoric through his use of role model authority, combining his use of moralised discourses with references to his own physical health as an athlete (see Section 5.5). This is similarly found by O’Hagan (2021a: 17), who argues, ‘Emprote largely uses language to reframe vegetarianism within the context of athleticism, rivalry and aggression in order to present it as a manly phenomenon that is essential to being a good British citizen.’ Miles’s use of moral evaluation resists the misconceptions and satire surrounding vegetarianism, and he draws on contextually important discourses to market his muscular vegetarianism to the public.

Furthermore, O’Hagan (2020) notes that the use of purity as a rhetorical device, imbued with moral value, changed in character alongside new developments. She notes that moralised discourses of purity underwent a ‘remarketisation campaign’ which saw it become increasingly aligned ‘with the growing wave of vegetarianism in the country’ (O’Hagan, 2020: 6). As concerns surrounding food adulteration were kept at bay by important developments, such as the 1875 Sale of Food and Drugs Act, purity came to be associated with the yearning for natural living, working against ‘the dulling effects of industrial capitalism’ (O’Hagan, 2020: 6). Although Allinson and Miles drew on moralised discourses which were prevalent at the time, and taken up by other, more mainstream companies, it is the way they combined these moralised discourses with other rhetorical strategies which allowed them to develop individual identities and claim authority within the alternative health market.

6.3 Expertise and Experience: Constructing an Identity as an Authority on Diet

Having examined the discourses of moral value available to both Allinson and Miles, it is now necessary to detail the ways by which they combined these existing discourses with interpersonal strategies to construct a persuasive identity within the Edwardian health food market. This section considers RQ2: How do Allinson and Miles draw on different manifestations of authority in order to legitimise their claims about health and diet? Given the growing importance of identity within the discursive landscape of the turn of the twentieth century (see further Section 2.6), it is important to consider the ways by which

Allinson and Miles constructed their individual personal brands within this context and, as part of this, how they claimed authority to speak on health and diet topics.

As van Leeuwen (2007: 97) has argued, explicit signals of positive and negative values can work alongside markers of authority in pursuit of specific rhetorical ends. As such, it is important to discern how Allinson and Miles used moralised discourses as a foundation on which to base their construction of authority. The authors have differing personal backgrounds (see Sections 2.7 and 2.8), with Allinson being an outcast naturopathic doctor, and Miles being a celebrity athlete and educated layman. On this basis, both authors draw on different types of authority in an attempt to persuade readers to sample the lifestyle they promote, using a combination of rhetorical strategies rooted in both experience and expertise to legitimise their claims. In a recent article on the rhetoric of Gwyneth Paltrow's wellness company Goop, Crowe (2021: 209) argues that Paltrow draws on arguments rooted in both expertise and personal experience, finding that the combination of these different manifestations of authority works to 'collectively empower' the audience. Like Paltrow, Allinson and Miles draw on a combination of expert and role model authority to build a specific image and establish legitimacy. This contributes to what Hanganu-Bresch (2023: 4) has termed 'polyphonic or chameleonic rhetoric,' which encapsulates the 'vast array of rhetorical strategies targeting various motivations for meat consumption' which meat-abstainers have and continue to employ in their communications. This notion of polyphony, borrowed from Bakhtin (1984) and originally relating to the simultaneous presence of a multitude of voices in literary texts, is also in accordance with Aristotelian notions of exploiting 'the available means of persuasion' (Cooper, 1932: 7) in any given situation. These theoretical discussions are useful for conceptualising the fact that there was no one rhetoric of food reform at this time, but rather many rhetorical strands which individual writers could draw on in a variety of ways, for their own personal gain. The result is a multitude of different personalities advocating lifestyle reform in different ways; this highlights the importance of analysing individual case studies as well as wider themes, deepening understanding of how the authors infused their rhetoric with aspects of their own identities.

As was mentioned in Section 2.6, Allinson and Miles were writing at a time when the discursive landscape was increasingly characterised by the features of New Journalism, such as a greater emphasis on the interpersonal and the juxtaposition of styles. Salmon (2000: 29) argues, '[i]t is surely not coincidental that at the very moment when the material basis of the press made it harder to locate an individuated source of authorial value, the discourse of

journalism should so insistently declare its personalized character.’ Jackson (2000: 24) further problematises this key development in the discursive landscape of the late nineteenth century:

It is a curious fact that whilst the capitalistic development of the late-nineteenth century press entailed an increase in the distance between the organizational hierarchy of the publishing company and the mass reading public that fed its progress, the New Journalism was characterized by its personalized tone and its dependence upon the individual identities of editors, authors and illustrators.

The discourse conventions afforded by the time, manifesting in the knowable identities of authors, were taken advantage of by Allinson and Miles, who both had reasons to place themselves at the heart of their texts. Allinson’s name and portrait became a symbol of authenticity at a time when branded foods had to harness the public’s trust. He was also a controversial medical figure, as accounted for in Section 2.7.3, making his formation of identity outside of the mainstream medical community paramount to constructing and maintaining legitimacy in the eyes of his readers. In Miles’s case, his presence in the text was warranted by his celebrity status and sporting success, grounded in the principles of the physical culture movement which saw the ‘male body beautiful’ (Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 2010: 61) championed and provided an antithesis to the poor physical fitness of the nation. As such, both individuals had personal brands which they were able to construct and maintain in accordance with key discursive trends of the time, and this included drawing on different types of commendation authority to legitimise their claims.

As was becoming more conventional at the time, both Allinson and Miles engaged with readers by corresponding with them. Allinson interacted with his readership through his ‘Answers to Correspondents’ column in the *Weekly Times & Echo*. In a similar capacity, Miles responded to questions from his readership through his ‘Health & Counsel Bureau,’ which was a regular section of his monthly magazine, *Healthward Ho!* Jackson (2000: 14) notes that George Newnes’s ‘Answers to Correspondents’ column gave ‘an impression of editorial accessibility and reader involvement,’ also highlighting:

[...] a bond of fellowship associated both with pre-industrial social models and new forms of collectivism; and an inclusive style of journalism which, whilst it was commercially motivated, addressed the needs and preoccupations of readers in a way

which bound them closer to the authority of the editor and led them into identification with a discursive community of so-called “Tit-Bitites”. (2000: 12)

In line with Jackson (2000), Patton (2012: 112) acknowledges similar features within the *Girl's Own Paper*:

But the treatment of health in the *Girl's Own Paper*, especially within the “Answers to Correspondents” section of the magazine, also reveals late-century tensions between older constructions of the doctor-patient relationship and the newer ones that developed along with the professionalization of medicine; between the conventions of anonymous periodical correspondence, as established long before the *Girl's Own Paper* was launched in 1880, and the sense of personal (even familial) connection between magazine and readers that the *Girl's Own Paper* encouraged [...]

In the same spirit, Allinson and Miles are seen to align with the growing trend of having proximity with readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both authors construct themselves as highly present within their texts, using self-mention across their publications to forge an individual voice. Allinson and Miles create a sense of proximity by using engagement markers throughout their texts to foster reading communities, and investing in these relationships more directly in their respective ‘Answers to Correspondents’ sections. Engagement strategies in the texts include the use of inclusive pronouns, synthetic personalisation, questions, and personal asides; these strategies play an important role in addressing the positive face of readers and inviting them into imagined communities. For example, in the analysis of the *Medical Essays* (Section 4.3.4), Allinson is shown using the in-group identifier ‘my readers,’ alongside the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ and instances of synthetic personalisation. Similarly, the *Milestones* (Section 5.3.4) are shown to possess a highly conversational tone, with prevalent use of personal asides. Patton (2012: 112) suggests that the ‘complexities and confusions of late Victorian culture’ provided readers with more agency over their health, thus indicating that the social conditions of the time made room for self-help discourses to become more popular.

In drawing heavily on the interpersonal, Allinson and Miles also provide testimonies of their own experiences, albeit rooted in their different personal backgrounds. Like Crowe (2021: 207) found with Paltrow’s rhetoric, these authors are ‘able to use the personal embodiment of experience as a form of expertise.’ Allinson adopts prolific self-mention to market his own experiences to readers, rooting these experiences in his previous medical training. In

Allinson's case, an illustrative example of this is his essay titled 'How I Live,' in which he provides intricate details about his day-to-day life. He begins the article by stating: 'I am being continually asked what I am like, how I live, and such questions. To satisfy this curiosity, and to instruct as well, I now write this article' (Allinson, 1905b: 66). From the title alone, Allinson explicitly establishes an authorial identity which is present in the text, realised through his repeated use of self-mention throughout the article. Similarly, the essay titled 'My Vegetarian Experiences' begins, '[m]ore than seven and a half years have now passed since I ate any fish, flesh, or fowl, and I think my experience may be of use in helping my readers on to health' (Allinson, 1900: 32). These essays were originally published in Allinson's *Weekly Times and Echo* medical column, so in this context he is considered an expert. Through establishing a presence in the text from the beginning, Allinson provides implicit expert legitimisation for the information to follow, due to his known position as medical editor for the *Weekly Times and Echo*. These examples also rest on role model authority, with readers being expected to 'follow the example' of Allinson (van Leeuwen, 2007: 95): '[n]ow that I have given my readers an idea of how I live, and why I do so, I hope that they will take hints, and make themselves happier and healthier in consequence by my example' (Allinson, 1905b: 70). Allinson's belief in the power of his own example underpins the various publicity stunts he performed in attempt to further legitimise his claims; see further Section 2.7.2. Moreover, in his essay titled 'Personal, But Instructive,' Allinson (1900: 29) argued:

I do not like to write about myself, but the action of the College of Physicians of Edinburgh forces me to do so. I appeal to my readers and ask their verdict. I have been writing for the *Weekly Times and Echo* for five years, during which time I have done my best for the public, and used all the skill and knowledge I am possessed of for its enlightenment.

This is ironic because, as has been mentioned within this section, Allinson also has essays titled 'My Vegetarian Experiences' and 'How I Live,' yet claims he does not like to write about himself. This suggests that he would not want the essays to be seen as self-indulgently talking about himself, but rather as personal evidence for the efficacy of his claims. Allinson (1900: 31) ends 'Personal, but Instructive' with '[r]eaders, help me to help yourselves.'

Whereas Allinson's experiences are rooted in his position as an expert, with acknowledgment of his prior medical training by means of 'Ex-L.R.C.P.,' Miles's testimonies of his own experiences function to convey his authority as a role model, owing

to his position as a celebrity athlete. Both Allinson and Miles use their names and faces to construct their personal brands in the Edwardian wellness market. The front cover of Miles's (1912) *Exactly How to Begin a Change of Diet* even features the accompanying text 'Mr. Eustace Miles' Advice (based on Personal Experience),' foregrounding the persuasive value of Miles's experiences. Miles's belief in the persuasive power of his own experiences is most prevalent in the analysis of writer-oriented strategies in *Muscle, Brain, Diet* (Section 5.4.3). In this monograph, Miles makes explicit reference to the strength of his own example, foregrounding his authority as a role model when making dietary recommendations to readers. Miles's repeated use of self-mention builds on the acknowledgement of his sporting success on the title pages of *Failures of Vegetarianism* (Section 5.2.3) and *Muscle, Brain, Diet* (Section 5.4.3). He contrasts his construction of role model authority with the negative evaluation of outside groups; this distancing is taken up further in Section 6.4, but it is important to acknowledge the role that this strategy plays in carving out Miles's individuality in the text. Furthermore, Miles is aware of his potential shortcomings as an educated layman and sportsman, thereby qualifying his claims with the use of external expertise. The combination of Miles's own position as a role model, and the use of external expertise to claim authority, is seen across the text examples analysed in Chapter 5, with the *Milestones* (Section 5.3.3) drawing most heavily on such external authority. The combined use of self-mention, signalling Miles's role model authority, and references to experts, enables Miles to construct credibility to speak on diet and health.

Alongside a high degree of author presence across their texts, Allinson and Miles also create a visual presence by using their portraits on pieces of ephemera. For example, Allinson used his own portrait on his wholemeal bread advertisements, depicting himself cutting the bread or presenting the loaf towards the viewer (see Figure 9). Figure 9 also shows a smaller version of Allinson's portrait featured on the band which was wrapped around the loaf, assuring buyers of its quality and authenticity.

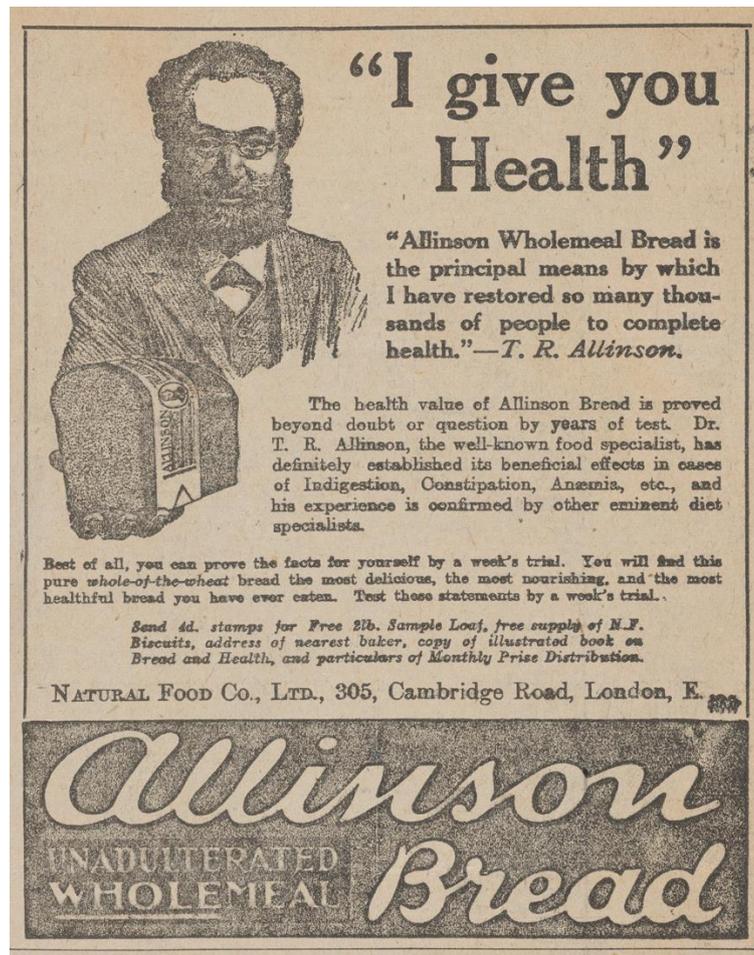


Figure 9: "I give you Health" advertisement (Allinson Papers, MS3195)

The banded loaf can similarly be seen visually represented in Figure 7. This strategy simultaneously draws on both expert and role model authority. The practice of wrapping loaves in this way was also adopted by other major bread producers, such as Hovis (Collins, 1976). It is noted by van Leeuwen (2017: 224) that role model authority is prominent in 'advertising and lifestyle media,' with figures providing legitimization for products and practices by 'engaging in them or endorsing them.' In a study focused on Emprote and Plasmon, O'Hagan (2021a: 10) argues that images showing figures such as Eustace Miles and Eugen Sandow in relation to the products being advertised, encourage viewers 'to make a connection between themselves and the figures, hoping to claim the discourses of health, fitness and an active lifestyle as their own.'²¹ This can be seen on the front cover of *The Eustace Miles System of Physical Culture* (see Figure 10).

²¹ Eugen Sandow was a 'famous bodybuilder' who was central within the physical culture movement and endorsed Plasmon (O'Hagan, 2021a: 3).

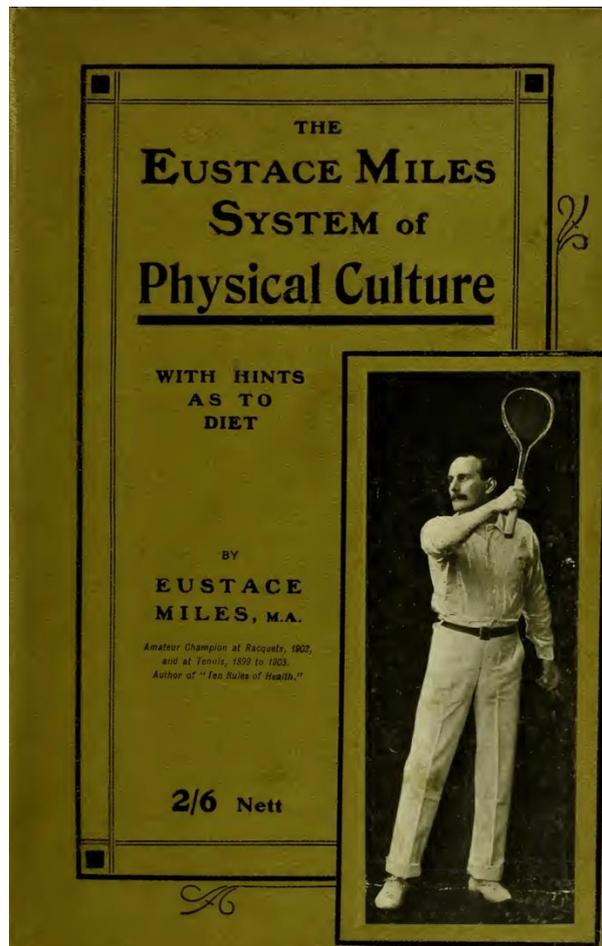


Figure 10: Front Cover of *The Eustace Miles System of Physical Culture* (Miles, 1907)

In a similar fashion, Miles uses his own self-portrait on the cover of the menu for the Eustace Miles Restaurant. Working alongside their textual authorial presence, the use of these images appears to be a conscious choice to link their identities to their advice. Viewing a variety of other menus for food-reform restaurants, they are not all as personalised.²² For example, the 'Bill of Fare' for the Food Reform Restaurant features neither a visual nor textual personal identifier, with proprietors listed as *The Food Reform Co., Ltd.* Similarly, though the menu for The First Vitamin Café cites Mr. Edgar J. Saxon, F.R.S.A., F.N.C.A., Editor of *The Healthy Life Magazine* as its director, there is no accompanying image, and the emphasis seems to be on his credentials and expert authority rather than his personal identity (*Food Ephemera, Box 7*).

Though Miles does not have a credentialed medical history like Allinson, he still draws on expert authority as a rhetorical strategy throughout his writings, combining references to experts with his own experience, as illustrated most prevalently in Section 5.3.3. Further

²² Additional menus discussed are part of the Wellcome Library's Food Ephemera collection, being held in the same collection as the Eustace Miles restaurant menu.

illustrating this strategy, in *A Health and Counsel Bureau*, Miles (c. 1900-1920: 21) adds the following ‘important note’ to one of his responses:

This was written in 1910. Since then, I have been working with the most expert Clinical Analyst, who has made Threefold Examinations for me. According to his reports, we are enabled to tell precisely that certain “Salts” are or are not deficient, and to prescribe accordingly.

Moreover, in another response to a reader who had submitted a question about hair health, Miles (c. 1900-1920: 59) opens the response with ‘[a]n expert kindly contributes this letter,’ proceeding to insert the letter written by the expert. Miles appears willing to recognise the bounds of his own expertise, as someone who does not have any scientific or medical credentials; for example, when he points out his position as a layman when writing about cancer, proceeding to cite numerous experts (Section 5.3.3). Throughout *A Health and Counsel Bureau*, and indeed across his other publications, he frequently refers to working alongside an expert, who is named in other publications as a Mr C. H. Collings: ‘[i]f I could get a thorough examination made—for instance, by the Clinical Analytical Expert who is working with me—I should be able to tell you. Otherwise, I am in the dark’ (Miles, c. 1900-1920: 70). In a recent article on the rhetoric of the Whole Foods Plant-Based (WFPB) movement, Hammontree (2023: 70) finds that ‘alternative medicine practitioners’ can form a ‘unified front’ through scientific and medical endorsements. The above example from Miles illustrates this ‘unified front’ being employed in a historical context; the modern relevance of this strategy is taken up further in Section 7.4. Furthermore, despite Allinson having prior membership of the mainstream medical community, the Natural Food Company also draws on external experts to add persuasive value to claims, for example:

One of the greatest dietetic authorities of this generation, Sir Henry Thompson, F.R.C.S., said in his well-known book, “Food and Feeding,” that all bread should be made from *entire* wheatmeal (as *Allinson Bread is made*). In the plainest language he states that bread which lacks the health-regulating elements (*which you get in Allinson Bread*) is mischievous and should not be eaten. (*Allinson Papers, MS3195*) [italics in original]

This use of an outside authority is also reinforced through the use of a portrait of the mentioned expert on the advertisement. Not only does this draw on authority to lend persuasive power to the product, but it also persuades by tapping into concerns about the

chemical composition of foods which stemmed from adulteration concerns. Section 2.3 described the power of scientific endorsement in relation to diet trends, such as Fletcherism; Allinson and Miles are also seen to draw on the rhetorical strength of science. Alongside the use of expert authority, both authors draw on the scientific ethos by means of jargon, figures, and statistics. In terms of using science in advertising, O'Hagan (2021a: 9) notes that 'the use of science was fairly innovative in the early twentieth century,' with audiences being more susceptible to 'subtle marketing strategies' of this kind. Miles, in particular, can be seen drawing on the novelty and persuasive power of products appearing scientific to the public. O'Hagan (2021a: 8) found that both Emprote and Plasmon 'cleverly embed notions of science and technology in their products through the use of geometric shapes and patterns,' noting that 'the interconnection of hexagons and circles brings to mind a chemistry cell chain, implicitly suggesting that the products have been scientifically analyzed and formulated.' This notion can also be seen in the very naming of Miles's brand, which is based on Miles's initials combined with '-prote' to make it sound like a protein. The menu for Miles's restaurant also labels dishes 'not N,' 'N,' or 'NN' in accordance with how nourishing they are for customers (see further Section 2.8.3). These factors contribute to the scientific ethos which Miles was seen to adopt throughout the sample of texts in Chapter 5. In terms of using science to sell products, O'Hagan (2021b: 1-2) argues:

The use of science in marketing was, thus, a key way to construct authority and credibility and was reflective of a broader change in networks of trust across Victorian society, with people moving away from "thick" networks of friends and family to "thin" networks based around institutions and authority figures.

This again draws on key developments of the time; alongside the changing landscape of journalism, the above extract points to evolving issues surrounding trust, with individuals increasingly turning to 'authority figures' for advice. By constructing themselves as such figures, Allinson and Miles were able to capitalise on the changing landscape of scientific authority and trust at this time. On scientific authority, Hartelius (2010: 8) notes:

In the process of historicizing knowledge and expertise, some critical scholars remind us of the authority the title "scientist" has wielded under the rule of objectivist epistemology. In the popular mind, science is a fact-driven, value-free enterprise wherein data is collected and compiled. While the outcome of this process may be manipulated for any number of agendas, the scientist remains the unimpeachable expert.

The above extract points to the important intersection of scientific authority and rhetoric. Although both Allinson and Miles had varying degrees and forms of pre-existing authority, they also made use of external authority to further support their claims. This handling of expertise relates to Hartelius's (2010: 10) argument that 'expert knowledge requires expert performance.' Simply possessing expertise, of any kind, is not enough to persuade individuals to implement a certain lifestyle change or purchase a specific health food product. This is particularly important in terms of preventative medicine, where the needs of the audience are unlikely to be immediate or urgent, and thus persuasion becomes more pivotal for reader action.

6.4 Objecting to Orthodoxy: Food Reform as Counterculture

Veg(etari)an practice has almost always been animated by anti-establishment ethos; in fact, Potts and Armstrong call it "a form of resistant biopolitics" (2018, 396). Thus, not surprisingly, abstention from meat has usually been regarded as fringe, abnormal, or deviant (Boyle, 2011; Taylor, 2012), especially in meat-centric populations. To combat this image of deviance and promote their message, vegetarians and vegans have had to resort to a vast array of rhetorical strategies targeting various motivations for meat consumption and animal use and abuse in general. (Hanganu-Bresch, 2023: 4)

As suggested by the above extract, the rhetoric of life reform, and particularly of alternative approaches to diet, draws heavily on strategies which create distance between the recommendations of food reformers and those of orthodox groups. Medical historian Porter (1999: 389) remarks that 'the nineteenth century was distinctive for introducing new healing movements based on the principled rejection of orthodox medicine in favour of alternative healing philosophies.' Within this thesis, I use the term 'counterculture' to refer to resistance to both the establishment and mainstream vegetarianism. Though vegetarianism can be considered, on the whole, to adopt counterculture discourses given its deviation from the norm, the analysis of Miles's texts (particularly in Section 5.2) has illustrated his resistance to the dominant perceptions and activities of vegetarians; for this reason, counter-vegetarianism is included in my analysis of counterculture arguments. The centrality of counterculture to Allinson, Miles, and the wider life reform movement warrants a focused examination of how this distance was rhetorically constructed, with the current section being

guided by RQ3: How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically negotiate their relationships with the establishment and mainstream groups? Kideckel (2018: 45) argues that '[a]ppplied to food, the anti-intellectual style often appears as reverence for intuition and nature.' These themes are core to Allinson's and Miles's arguments, with the desire to empower individuals and champion natural approaches recurring across the texts. In this sense, the discussion of moral evaluation in Section 6.2 prefaces ideas of counterculture. On Allinson's rejection of orthodoxy, Bae (2022: 10) highlights that he drew significant public attention with his writings, particularly his *Answers to Correspondents* column, with condemnation of orthodox practices being prevalent across his texts. This suggests, alongside the texts analysed in Chapter 4, that counterculture was core to Allinson's rhetoric, with distance from the mainstream medical community being integral to many of his arguments. Likewise, Miles constructed an identity in opposition to mainstream vegetarianism, also disregarding aspects of mainstream science and medicine in his writings (e.g. Section 5.3.3). The case study texts analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 show delegitimation strategies being core to the authors' rhetorical identities, and this section further considers the theme of counterculture in their rhetoric.

Both Allinson and Miles draw on counterculture discourses by constructing an us versus them dichotomy through a combination of writer- and reader-oriented strategies. Both authors contrast their use of self-mention, repeatedly using first person singular pronouns, with abstract references to outside groups. For example, this strategy is seen in Allinson's distinction between his own identity and that of 'drug doctors' (Section 4.3.3), as well as in Miles's distancing from 'haphazard "vegetarians"' (Section 5.2.3), with both examples working together with negative evaluation of these groups. The analyses show Allinson and Miles distancing their own personal identities from out-groups within the texts, and simultaneously drawing the reader in-group by using engagement strategies, thereby bringing the reader into a counterculture community; this is built around the authors' construction of individual identities in the texts, which was discussed in Section 6.3. The positive self-presentation enacted by the authors is connected to the wider reading community through reader-oriented strategies, thus forging an in-group identity built upon the delegitimation of orthodox groups. Examples of engagement strategies which bring the reader into this imagined community, such as inclusive pronouns, synthetic personalisation, personal asides, and questions, are repeated across the case studies analysed in Chapters 4 and 5. These features work alongside the use of evaluation, with positive and negative evaluations deepening the ideological divide between alternative and orthodox approaches to diet and health. However, it is important to recognise that the relationship these two

authors have with orthodoxy is much more nuanced than a harsh in-group versus out-group distinction, with the rhetorical construction of this divide allowing them to draw on key aspects of mainstream knowledge whilst remaining on the fringes of society. This careful balance aims to ensure they are not disregarded as cranks by their imagined community of readers, amidst an ever-growing marketplace of voices engaging in health discourses, many of whom were dubious.

Writing on the construction of identity and print culture towards the end of the nineteenth century, Jackson (2000) notes that it was not feasible for the individuals behind the publications to have a direct and meaningful relationship with their audiences. However, figures such as Newnes, and later Allinson and Miles, ‘attempted to recreate the old communal relations of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain,’ fostering ‘reading communities’ which were characterised by ‘shared values and experiences’ (Jackson, 2000: 24). This also links back to O’Hagan’s (2021b: 2) point, quoted in Section 6.3, about ‘thick’ and ‘thin’ networks, with individuals increasingly entering into communities with experts. This fostering of communities of readers was coupled with the interpersonal nature of the publications to create solidarity through shared assumptions and common concerns. In the cases of Allinson and Miles, building these communities enabled them to generate an in-group identity which opposed the mainstream, grouping their readers on the fringes of society. As has been discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, both Allinson and Miles conjured in-group identities for their reading communities through communal address terms and in-group identifiers such as ‘my readers’ (Section 4.3.4) and ‘my Health-Pupils’ (Section 5.3.4). These communal identities are attached to positive representations of alternative health, whilst out-group labels are evaluated negatively. This results in an us versus them argument structured around ideological polarisation between the orthodox and the alternative. Moreover, discussing the journalistic use of the pronoun ‘we,’ Salmon (2000: 33) argues that ‘the attempt to forge a homogenous collective identity, both for the journal and for its readers, can only be seen as an attempt to conceal particular private interests which all journals inevitably represent.’ This argument about hidden ‘private interests’ also applies to individual authors, with Allinson’s and Miles’s commercial interests being entangled in a discourse of collectivism.

Allinson’s separation from mainstream medicine is formally signalled through his use of ‘Ex-L.R.C.P.’ after his name (see further Section 2.7.3), and in terms of expertise and diet discourses, Shapin (2007: 181) argues:

What is, however, crystal clear is that membership in an academic institution, or in a credentialed expert community, is not, in this specific case, much of a public warrant of expertise and may even count as a liability. One of the most pervasive tropes one finds in popular dietetic literature is a studied disavowal of credentialed expertise.

Though Shapin's (2007) discussion is of late twentieth century diet discourses, this trend of rejecting 'credentialed expertise' is highly relevant to Allinson's rhetoric, as he has been shown to make virtue of his separation from the mainstream across his texts. However, Shapin's argument above does not account for the nuance of Allinson's relationship with his retracted credentials, as he does not overtly reject the title, given his continued use of it in potentially ambiguous terms (see further Section 2.7.3). The analysis also shows Allinson identifying with his orthodox colleagues, suggesting that his continued use of credentials is a way to signal his medical training, rather than fully reject it (see further Section 4.4.3). By carefully negotiating his relationship with mainstream medical professionals, Allinson is able to claim legitimacy by means of expert authority, rooted in his medical training and experience as a doctor. Allinson is careful to separate himself from mainstream medicine by continually contrasting his advice with orthodox medical advice, 'I know most doctors advise nursing women to take these drinks, and I know that many ladies think they cannot get a "draught" into their bosoms unless they take some kind or other of malt liquor. This idea is a gross error' (Allinson, 1910: 121). In an essay titled 'Stop Drugs,' which provides further evidence of Allinson's counterculture arguments, Allinson (1900: 19) equates mainstream medical treatments with poison:

If there is one subject on which I am bitter it is drugs. If I could dip my pen in a mixture of gall, wormwood, aloes, and the strongest acids, I could not write in too bitter a manner against them. The sooner the people learn to get cured without their aid the better it will be for themselves. All medicines must be looked upon as poisons, and like poisons must be put where they can never be taken.

In the above extract, Allinson expresses his disagreement with mainstream medicine in no uncertain terms, conveying his attitude towards the subject through repetition of the adjective 'bitter,' along with the repetition of 'poisons,' framing medicine in dangerous terms. In an essay titled 'Stop! What are you eating?' Allinson (1905c: 12) even presents a 'challenge' to orthodox medical professionals to prove that their treatment is more successful than his. This builds on the analysis in Chapter 4, which shows Allinson characterising orthodox medicine as violent and dangerous (e.g. Section 4.3.3). Miles similarly delegitimises

orthodox medicine and science by using scare quotes and negative evaluation to frame these mainstream groups as harmful (e.g. Section 5.3.3). This sentiment has parallels with Hammontree's (2023: 62) analysis of modern food reform discourses; he argues that '[...] the WFPB [Whole Foods Plant-Based] movement takes on the mantle of an outlier, appealing to an anti-elitist ethos as a means of setting itself up against "Big Medicine."' The above extract from Allinson also points to the importance of self-help in counterculture arguments, which is the focus of the Section 6.5.

In terms of distancing himself from those he characterises as outgroup, Miles rejects the supposed dogmatism of mainstream vegetarians throughout his texts, speaking against the laying down of health advice in a didactic manner. In *Muscle, Brain, Diet*, Miles (1903: 17) speaks of one of his other texts, *Avenues to Health*, noting, '[t]he same spirit permeates both works: there is no dogmatism, there is only suggestion.' Indeed, in *Avenues to Health*, Miles (1902b: 13) makes explicit the fact that what he writes is unorthodox:

Emphasis has also been laid on those avenues which seem to be most successful, especially after certificated doctors have failed to cure. No emphasis is laid on any avenue merely because it is orthodox! This book has nothing to do with orthodoxy. There are already plenty of books about the orthodox treatments.

However, Miles's rejection of orthodoxy does not amount to a total rejection of science, as was indicated by the use of external expertise mentioned in Sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3. In *What Foods Feed Us*, in which Miles (1905: xii) stresses 'this is not the fad of a crank' (xii), he argues:

And if only science paid attention to taste, gave a fair estimate of its present state of ignorance, and acknowledged a wide range for individuality, there would be far less objection to it than there is at present.

Such as it is, I have endeavoured to set it forth clearly and fairly, gathering it from the very highest authorities, and especially from the standard works of Dr. Robert Hutchison and Professor Atwater. The two Anglo-Saxon nations owe these and other scientists a deep debt of gratitude for their impartial and whole-souled search for useful principles based on actual facts. (1905: xxi)

In the above extract, Miles suggests that science does not allow for individuality, alluding to the fact that his own approach lays emphasis on individual differences and self-help principles. Whilst Miles rejects science for its lack of individuality, he simultaneously shows respect for the scientific knowledge of select individuals to advance his own case. As such, like Allinson, Miles's relationship with the establishment cannot be said to be entirely antagonistic, but rather carefully rhetorically negotiated to specific persuasive ends. In the cases of both Allinson and Miles, the use of engagement strategies, investing in the lifeworld ethos, works closely alongside the aspects of scientific authority they choose to draw upon. The combination of both the lifeworld ethos and scientific ethos enables the authors to strike a persuasive balance, distancing themselves from orthodoxy whilst maintaining enough credibility to persuade readers of the value of their system. This balancing act was crucial amidst the simultaneous rise in the power of science and of the interpersonal. What emerges in this discussion is the importance of in-group identity and engagement in forming a strong argument against orthodoxy, with the strategies used to bring readers into this community, constructed around the authors' individual identities, of utmost importance for the maintenance of credibility. As has been suggested above, this element of credibility was rhetorically vital amidst a complex environment of faddism, cranks, and unscientific advice.

Furthermore, Miles's explicit distancing from the mainstream vegetarian community is by no means isolated to the arguments presented in the case study texts analysed in Chapter 5; in *The Food Reformers Companion*, he argues:

Genuine Food Reform has suffered more at the hands of ignorant and unscientific enthusiasts than at the hands even of the most abusive opponents of Food Reform; and it may be as well if I outline briefly a few of the chief mistakes of the haphazard "vegetarians" [...] But in order to separate myself from their often ridiculous claims, I must point out their faults. (Miles, 1910: viii)

As with the text examples analysed in Chapter 5, Miles distances himself from mainstream promoters of vegetarianism by using scare quotes, refusing to attribute the term and its popular connotations to his own system. The use of inverted commas gains more rhetorical power when accompanied with the negative evaluation of this group, '[f]ew of the haphazard "vegetarians" realise the vast harm they have done by their dogmatism' (Miles, 1910: x). In *Ten Rules of Health*, Miles (1908: 5) notes, '[t]he keynote of the book is the word sensible. It would be the highest compliment that the reader could pay to the book if at the end of it he said, "This is not dogmatic and cranky, but is marked by practical common-sense and

reasonableness.” This example contributes to Miles’s ongoing efforts, throughout his writings, to contrast positive self-presentation with negative other-presentation, creating a dichotomy between ‘dogma’ and ‘common-sense,’ and between the ‘haphazard’ and the ‘reasonable.’ Thus, evaluation and the negotiation of in-group and out-group labels is a key rhetorical strategy employed to make counterculture arguments. As with Allinson’s rhetoric, this aligns with Hammontree’s (2023: 63) exploration of the rhetoric of the modern Whole Foods Plant-Based (WFPB) movement; he argues, ‘WFPB health advocates create a bounded in-group identity that sets itself apart from both a wider vegan community as well as mainstream nutrition and medicine.’ Furthermore, Miles (c. 1900-1920: 21) similarly uses scare quotes to set distance between his own writings and the work of orthodox professionals: ‘[a]lready a few “experts” make a practice of blood-analysis, and prescribe accordingly. This should be the strictly scientific plan, but it is not within the powers of ordinary people. And several so-called “experts” do not understand the real science.’ This suggests that Miles believes in the value of science, but rejects many scientists on the basis that they are not knowledgeable enough. It has been shown that Miles distances his advice from both mainstream vegetarianism and mainstream science, although these counterculture arguments are by no means clear-cut.

6.5 Avoiding a ‘Follow my Leader’ Mentality: Diet and Self-Help

Working together with counterculture ideas, another central theme of life reform discourses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is self-help. Miles (1910: ix) argues that the ‘haphazard “vegetarians” seldom allow for individuality’ and points to the deeply interconnected nature of rejecting orthodoxy and advocating for an individualist approach. In *Exactly How to Begin a Change in Diet*, Miles (1912: 8) states that ‘*individuality is the most important principle in Food Reform*’ [italics in original]. Just as Miles argues that many scientists did not allow for individuality, he also argues that mainstream vegetarianism is limiting in this regard, illustrating the ties between counterculture and self-help arguments. On this basis, this section is governed by RQ4: How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically construct notions of self-help within their texts? Addressing this research question provides historical context for a genre which remains prominent today.

As has been introduced in Section 2.2, self-help discourses were intertwined with wider discussions surrounding national efficiency; for example, an extract from Miles’s (1902b: 8) *Avenues to Health* states, ‘[e]ach reader must settle with his own conscience how far it is his

duty to work for better and fuller health; only let him remember that his particular experiences, whether successful or not, and especially his particular devices, may prove of the greatest possible service to others.’ In *Self-Health as a Habit*, Miles (1919a: 43) refers to the Infant Welfare Movement, arguing for a similar focus on the health of adults:

Side by side with the most excellent movement of modern times, to make and keep babies and children healthy, there should be another movement to make and keep healthy the adults, whose ever-increasing experience will help all others—including the children—to avoid mistakes and to choose whatever is best all round.

Both Allinson and Miles stress the importance of empowering individuals to take control of their own health, manifesting this agency in the ability to subject their various suggestions to fair trial, and placing the onus on the reader to judge the results for themselves. What is particularly intriguing from a rhetorical perspective is Allinson’s and Miles’s advocacy for self-help whilst simultaneously promoting a specific kind of system through which individuals can engage in such self-governance. In this regard, it is important to reiterate the fact that they both had commercial interests, meaning that they were attempting to sell the reader not only ideas, but their own health foods (see further Sections 2.7.4 and 2.8.3). Therefore, there exists a tension between the promotion of self-help principles and the unavoidably commercial nature of the health food market.

Though Miles’s monograph *Muscle, Brain, Diet* was selected for analysis in Section 5.4, there are numerous other publications which can further exploration of self-help ideology. In particular, Miles’s book *Self-Health as a Habit* focuses entirely on this theme of self-help, encouraging readers to become strong and independent by implementing healthy habits. In the text, Miles (1919a: 39) argues:

It cannot be insisted on too often that I am not speaking here of a state in which one depends on certain localities or drugs or other outside influences for the cure of one definite trouble—say rheumatism or indigestion. I am speaking of a positive and powerful and nearly independent state of body and mind, free from the handicap of any disorders, and with as decided a tendency to keeping clean, sane, efficient, and happy as the sea has a tendency to keep wet and salt.

The above extract points to Miles’s belief that a healthy individual should engage in preventative health measures to avoid the need for external factors. This aligns considerably

with Allinson's philosophy of hygienic medicine, which similarly focuses on enabling individuals to have agency and self-sufficiency in terms of their health. O'Hagan (2021a: 9-10) acknowledges the similarities between the rhetoric of the physical culture movement, which 'drew on Victorian self-help ideology,' and the ideology of neoliberalism, 'which encourages citizens to take responsibility for their own health to limit the burden they might place upon society (Cederström and Spicer 2015).' This rhetoric was also rooted in the principles of *mens sana in corpore sano*, in its championing of a healthy mind in a healthy body (see further Section 2.2).

Central to Miles's messaging across his texts is a rejection of dogmatism, as has been discussed in Section 6.4. Whilst this is intricately related to counterculture notions, it also ties into discourses of self-help through the insistence that Miles is not didactically instructing readers but rather presenting them with options. This sentiment manifests in the texts by means of lower deontic modality combined with emphasis on Miles's own personal experience (e.g. Section 5.4). Similarly, in *Avenues to Health*, he argues that his suggestions contain '[n]o dogmatism—only suggestions of what *may* be useful; no one single path for all—but many paths from which each individual may select his own; no guarantee of immediate success, rather a plea for fair personal trial before a verdict is passed' (Miles, 1902b: 5) [italics in original]. The way Miles presents many options for his readers resonates with what Crowe (2021: 202) has found with modern examples, arguing that '[t]he top-down model of expertise that tells patients what to do is pushed aside in favor of an a-la-carte menu that gives them choices about their health within a free-market paradigm.' However, the range of these choices is rhetorically limited by the restricted range of options that the author chooses to present to readers; in Miles's case his stance is made clear by means of strong evaluation and evidentiality markers, making his position difficult for the reader to disagree with. This relates back to Hanganu-Bresch's (2021: 115) argument about food discourses inevitably involving a 'rhetoric of control and selection,' with the guise of reader choice being underpinned by highly rhetorical control of the discourse. Miles's rejection of dogmatism presents his view that he is simply a mediator, providing the reader with a range of options; he argues that 'the most he can do is to mention various avenues, and various ways of walking within them, and then to leave to the individual reader the task of trying for himself, and thus of deciding for himself' (Miles, 1902b: 9).

Where Miles rejects the dogmatic tone of much of the vegetarian literature circulating at the time, Allinson is less committed to an anti-didactic stance. In terms of Allinson's construction of authority and positioning in the text, he differs from Miles by means of his

prior medical training and experience with patients. On this basis, the relationship between Allinson and his readers is that of expert-novice, with Allinson's strong recommendations being presented in the best interests of readers; Hartelius (2010: 13) argues that 'self-help gurus of all kinds build credibility by insisting that their recommendations are in their followers' best interests.' There appears to exist a paradox between a guise of self-help and telling people what they should eat, with advice being underpinned by strong views on health and diet. It is important to reiterate that both Allinson and Miles were ultimately commercially motivated, with the sale of their health food products depending upon the success of their persuasion. As with other themes analysed within this chapter, Allinson and Miles were able to draw on existing discourses of self-help to make their advice appear in the best interests of the public. The tension between self-help principles and commercial interests is highlighted by the analysis of the *Milestones* (Section 5.3), which shows Miles's advocacy of reader choice appearing in close proximity to advertisements for his health food product Emprote (see further Section 5.3.2).

Despite varying degrees of didacticism in the two case studies, both authors encourage self-help by imbuing their writing with paradox. On the one hand, the authors advocate choice for their readers, with both suggesting that readers subject their proposed system to fair trial in order to come to their own decision about its effectiveness. On the other hand, both Allinson and Miles draw on an abundance of rhetorical strategies, such as moral evaluation and in-group identification, in order to make it difficult for readers to disagree with their propositions. One key component of self-help discourses is the ascribing of positive values to readers, encouraging them to consider things for themselves, as in the below example from *Dr. Allinson's Vegetarian Cookery Book*:

I have tried to make this a hygienic cookery book; but there are a number of dishes introduced which can hardly claim to be hygienic; it has to be left to the good judgment of the readers to use them on rare occasions only, and it will be better for the health of each individual if the plainer dishes only are prepared for the daily table. (Allinson, 1910: 10)

Miles (1907: 2) also makes clear his desire for individuals to possess agency and not be dependent, arguing in *The Eustace Miles System of Physical Culture*:

The great fault I find with almost all Systems is that they do not work for independence; they do not aim to make a man normal and master of his conditions; they aim to make him abnormal and helplessly dependent on something or other.

Both of the above extracts place emphasis on individual agency, with readers being encouraged to exercise ‘good judgement’ and become a ‘master of [their] conditions.’ Self-help ideology also underpins Miles’s (1902b: 7) arguments in *Avenues to Health*, in which he asserts:

Yet health is pre-eminently and abundantly worth while for every individual. Who in the wide world would not give time and trouble if, let us say after six months or a year or even two years, he could have (and really feel that he had) a pure and strong and enduring and active and prompt and attractive body, with its almost if not quite inevitable sequel, a pure and strong and enduring and active and prompt and attractive mind; if he could know that healthy blood and healthy thoughts were his, well earned and henceforth well assured?

The above extract draws on some of the moralised discourses which have been highlighted, relating to socially significant values such as purity and physical strength. Through Miles’s ideas about self-health and self-suggestion, he seeks to offer his readers a variety of different avenues to health so that they can see what works best for them, emphasising in no uncertain terms that everyone is different. In doing so, he also rejects anyone who suggests that there is a one-size-fits-all approach to health.

With the empowerment of readers being central to self-help ideology, it is important to acknowledge the ways by which Allinson and Miles achieved this rhetorical purpose. Both authors are shown to draw on popularisation strategies in the case study texts, including analogies and code-glosses; the use of such strategies is particularly prevalent in their serial publications (Sections 4.3.4 and 5.3.4). By drawing on these reader-oriented strategies, the authors work to help the reader understand the health and diet issues being discussed, sharing knowledge within the reading community so as to encourage individual agency. The use of popularisation strategies works alongside other reader-oriented strategies, such as synthetic personalisation, which foregrounds the reader as an individual and emulates direct communication between the authority figure and the audience. In Allinson’s case, readers are bound into an expert-novice relationship, where Allinson holds the authority to advise readers, seemingly with their best interests in mind. Whereas in Miles’s case, readers are

drawn into a community where he presents himself as a role model with expert backing, constructing himself as *primus inter pares*. In both instances, readers are drawn into a reading community which is bound to the authority of the writer, and through this they are subject to the assumptions and beliefs of the author.

6.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has shown how Allinson and Miles drew on a variety of contemporary discourses to rhetorically construct their own identities within the alternative health food market. The two authors offer a powerful depiction of how identity was negotiated in the early Edwardian wellness market, with their use of rhetorical strategies being tied to a much wider discursive context with a variety of key social influences.

This chapter has highlighted some of the ways by which food and diet can be imbued with social and moral meanings, and how key stakeholders in the health food market can capitalise on these discourses in different ways; in this way, this chapter has been underpinned by Fairclough's (1989) third dimension, by focusing on the relationship between the texts and the wider social context. With moralised discourses as a foundation, Allinson and Miles constructed authority and, as such, identity within a marketplace of competing voices. Aligning with key discursive developments, such as the advent of New Journalism and its encouragement of proximity between author and audience, the authors were able to become recognisable personalities in their texts, acting as leading figures for their respective communities of readers.

In constructing who they were, Allinson and Miles were also thorough in their approach to constructing who they were not. Distancing themselves from the establishment and mainstream groups, Allinson and Miles carved out their own respective spaces in which to deliver their ideas on health and diet. Moreover, the combination of different rhetorical strategies adopted by Allinson and Miles worked towards constructing a narrative of self-help. The paradox between empowering individuals to make their own choices, whilst also presenting highly rhetorical arguments for a particular lifestyle, is underpinned by the unavoidably commercial aspect of self-help.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion and Modern Relevance

7.1 Chapter Introduction

Eating and talking are universal human traits. Every healthy human being eats and talks; every society or group eats and talks. Both language and food are culturally dependent and vary according to factors such as gender, age, or situational context, or even lifestyle. (Gerhardt, 2013: 3)

The above quotation captures the essence of food discourses as being inherently rooted in context. Given the social nature of both language and food, a rhetorical analysis of historical diet texts promises a deeper understanding of the society in which the texts were published and, crucially, the individuals who produced them. This thesis has undertaken such an inquiry, critically analysing the rhetorical construction of the writer-reader relationship by two prominent food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such, this thesis contributes to the growing body of research into the historical origins of food discourses. This final concluding chapter first summarises the thesis and its value, before explicitly answering the research questions set out in Section 1.5. The over-arching research question governing this thesis has been: How do Allinson and Miles use rhetorical strategies to legitimise their claims about diet and promote lifestyle changes? Given the nature of the thematic analysis in Chapter 6, Section 7.3 provides summarised responses to the four sub-research questions, which are repeated from Section 1.5 below:

- RQ1. How do Allinson and Miles draw on discourses of moral value to legitimise their alternative approaches to health and diet?
- RQ2. How do Allinson and Miles draw on different manifestations of authority in order to legitimise their claims about health and diet?
- RQ3. How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically negotiate their relationships with the establishment and mainstream groups?
- RQ4. How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically construct notions of self-help within their texts?

Following on from the research questions, Section 7.4 of this chapter then accounts for the modern relevance of this research, aligning with the thesis aims by drawing connections

between historical and modern diet discourses. The research aims are reiterated from Section 1.5 below in order to suitably frame this final chapter:

This thesis aims to identify and evaluate rhetorical strategies adopted by food reformers to make arguments about healthy lifestyles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in conducting a deeply contextualised analysis, this research aims to contribute an original and insightful linguistically informed history of two prominent food reformers. In this capacity, this thesis also aims to provide a linguistic perspective on historical discourses which remain relevant today, making an important contribution to the transhistorical understanding of these discourses.

Following a discussion of the modern relevance of this research, possible directions for future research in this area are considered in Section 7.5. Finally, Section 7.6 concludes the thesis, highlighting its contribution and significance.

7.2 Thesis Summary

In this thesis, I have analysed the rhetoric of two prominent food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through a multi-theoretical approach and an in-depth account of the historical context, I have examined the ways by which Allinson and Miles constructed a persuasive writer-reader relationship within a burgeoning wellness market, calling into question how they commercialised on the zeitgeist. This research has shown that the rhetoric used by these key food reformers was firmly rooted in context, taking account of both wider social factors and individual identity in producing arguments for their respective health ideas. This thesis has also demonstrated the insight to be gained from analysing diet discourses using a multi-theoretical approach; this includes aspects of legitimation, which have been said to be prominent in lifestyle discourses (van Leeuwen, 2007), yet have not been analysed in varying historical contexts and in terms of different prominent individuals advocating lifestyle changes.

The period during which the majority of Allinson's and Miles's texts were published, stretching from the 1880s to the 1920s, was characterised by a significant number of changes, both in terms of health and the discursive landscape. These important elements of the zeitgeist were accounted for in Chapter 2, which aligned with the aims of the thesis by enabling a deeply contextualised analysis of texts written by food reformers during this time.

In terms of taking a CDA approach, characterising the zeitgeist in Chapter 2 allowed for ‘connections’ to be drawn between wider contextual factors and specific linguistic features of the texts analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 277). In Chapter 1, I used the classical rhetorical term *kairos* to discuss the notion of rhetoric being fitting for the situation and delivered at the ‘right moment.’ Accounting for the historical context enables an understanding of the *kairos* of Allinson’s and Miles’s rhetoric, situating the texts within their contemporary social environment. Widespread food adulteration in the nineteenth century, coupled with the Victorian obsession with health and anxieties surrounding illness—including the sentiment of *mens sana in corpore sano*—paved the way for life reformers to capitalise on this *kairos* and market a better life to the public. This was accompanied by the concerns surrounding physical deterioration, which were taken up by the physical culture movement.

Moreover, Chapter 2 also accounted for some of the key discursive developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which saw the interpersonal become increasingly important; the analysis of Allinson’s and Miles’s rhetoric has shown them to draw on this trend to their own ends. As the changing industrial landscape saw relationships become increasingly impersonal, both in terms of sellers and consumers, and doctors and patients, Allinson and Miles joined other writers in fostering group relations within a textual environment (see Section 2.6). The regularity of both consuming food and engaging with regular publications meant that the authors could operate rhetorically at the intersection of these two activities, which are both imbued with cultural value. It is important to highlight that this thesis has gone beyond the consideration of the interpersonal—or more specifically, the principles of New Journalism—in serial publications, and has built on the work of social historians by demonstrating how this trend manifests in other genres, such as monographs and pamphlets. Additionally, building on the characterisation of the zeitgeist, Sections 2.7 and 2.8 outlined the personal backgrounds of the individual authors, providing relevant contextual information prior to the textual analysis. Within these sections, key differences between the authors were highlighted, outlining their differing foundations for constructing authority and interacting with readers.

Rooted in the historical context and personal backgrounds of the authors outlined in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 detailed the text selection process and the multi-theoretical analysis framework adopted. In line with Jeffries (2000: 8), in Chapter 1 I claimed to be a ‘floating voter’ when it comes to drawing on ‘useful insights’ of theories. Chapter 3 described the framework for analysis, drawing together aspects of individual theories in order to analyse the construction

of the writer-reader relationship in the texts. Both author identity and relations with the reader underpin the four interrelated themes driving the research questions, meaning that analysing writer- and reader-oriented strategies, both separately and together, has led to conclusions about how these themes appear in the texts. In Chapter 3, I expressed agreement with van Leeuwen (2005: 95) on the importance of analysing ‘*different* texts about the *same* aspect of reality’ [italics in original], as well as Giddens’s (1991: 54) argument about the construction of identity being rooted in ‘the capacity to keep a particular narrative going.’ Selecting a range of texts from different genres has enabled an analysis of the authors’ construction of identity, or “‘story” about the self” (Giddens, 1991: 54), across different examples of their written works. Importantly, the texts selected as case studies for Chapters 4 and 5 have not previously been subjected to rhetorical analysis, thereby pointing to the original contribution of this thesis. In Miles’s case, I have built on the insightful work of O’Hagan (2021a), who has taken a multimodal CDA approach to some of Miles’s advertisements, but not yet his written works. Alongside this, I have explored new avenues of inquiry stemming from the body of sociohistorical research on late nineteenth and early twentieth century health, including some existing work on Allinson and Miles, demonstrating the ways by which they commercialised on social factors, as well as influenced diet and health discourses. As discussed in Section 3.4, this relates to the ‘dialectical relationship’ which is at the heart of CDA research (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258).

Prefaced by Chapters 2 and 3, which provided essential historical context and explained the multi-theoretical approach to the texts, Chapters 4 and 5 presented the central linguistic analysis for this thesis. Both authors have been shown to use writer-oriented strategies to portray an explicit author presence across their texts, with the use of the first-person providing author visibility; this shows a desire to entrench their own identities in their written works. Furthering this, both authors use their names and portraits for their publications and ephemera, with their commercial enterprises being firmly rooted in their identities. Throughout this thesis, I have argued for the importance of analysing individual identities within historical diet discourses, and this study has highlighted that such discourses are not only rooted in the zeitgeist, but also the personal backgrounds of the authors.

The analysis of Allinson’s texts in Chapter 4 built on aspects of his personal background detailed in Section 2.7, such as his removal from the medical register and his commitment to the principles of naturopathy. On this basis, Allinson was shown to primarily draw on expert authority in his texts, making virtue of his prior medical training whilst at the same

time delegitimising orthodox approaches to medicine. Allinson combines high modality with first-person pronouns to convey a strong image of himself as a medical expert, also drawing on role model authority by means of testimonies of his own experiences. Contrasting with Allinson, to an extent, the account of Miles's personal background in Section 2.8 demonstrated his position as an educated layman and celebrity athlete. The analysis of his texts in Chapter 5 showed him to draw primarily on his own role model authority, supplementing this with references to external experts where needed. Unlike Allinson, Miles delegitimised mainstream vegetarianism in no uncertain terms, using scare quotes and negative evaluation across his publications to characterise them as out-group.

Building on the construction of their individual identities, which involves both legitimation and delegitimation strategies, both writers have been shown to adopt reader-oriented strategies to pull their readers into the texts and characterise them as in-group. As has been mentioned above, both authors constructed their own identities in opposition to mainstream groups. By means of engagement strategies, including reader pronouns, questions, and personal asides, the authors have been shown to draw their readers in-group, resulting in an us versus them dichotomy built upon the principles of food reform. The multi-theoretical approach to analysing writer- and reader-oriented strategies, first separately and then together, enabled me to first establish how the authors separated their individual identities from mainstream groups, before then going on to analyse the ways by which they drew readers into this dynamic. Allinson and Miles were powerful individuals in the Edwardian health food market by means of their ability to control a particular narrative of food reform, with a large portion of this narrative being built through carefully negotiated relations with the mainstream.

Following Chapters 4 and 5, with their individual examinations of Allinson's and Miles's texts, respectively, Chapter 6 turned to a thematic discussion of the four themes underpinning the research questions—moralised discourses, authority construction, counterculture, and self-help. This chapter included supplementary examples from the wider collection of texts, enabling further exploration of these interrelated themes. Overall, the structure of this thesis has enabled a linguistically informed history, in line with the thesis aims, being informed by historical context and also creating new knowledge in terms of the rhetorical negotiation of key historical issues by specific individuals. As such, this thesis has made a valuable contribution by providing a linguistic perspective on under-researched historical food reform discourses, showcasing the value of taking such a case study approach.

7.3 Answering Research Questions

This thesis set out to answer the following research question: How do Allinson and Miles use rhetorical strategies to legitimise their claims about health and diet? Based on the historical context, four sub-questions were identified, with summaries presented below in response to these questions. These summaries are brief owing to the detailed exploration of these four interrelated themes in Chapter 6.

RQ1. How do Allinson and Miles draw on discourses of moral value to legitimise their alternative approaches to health and diet?

Chapter 2 demonstrated the cultural value attached to purity and adjacent values, stemming from concerns surrounding food quality and the yearning for the simple life amidst rapid industrialisation and widening choice. It has been asserted throughout this thesis that the historical context is essential for an understanding of the moralised discourses available to Allinson and Miles, and that the rhetorical use of moral values is primarily a reader-oriented strategy. In undertaking a linguistic approach to historical food reform texts, this thesis has highlighted the value of analysing evaluation strategies in sociohistorical research, considering the social factors underpinning specific discourses of moral value.

Words such as ‘simple’ and ‘pure’ became buzzwords which enabled Allinson and Miles to capitalise on contemporary concerns, rooting these values in the ideology of food reform and attributing them to their own products. This was an appropriate strategy given the popular perceptions of both wholemeal bread and the vegetarian diet. In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, both Allinson and Miles were found to draw on these moral values, creating a dichotomy between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ living as part of a ‘knowledge-building agenda’ (Hunston, 2011: 26). This research therefore builds on O’Hagan’s (2020) study of the use of purity as a rhetorical device, showcasing the ways by which Allinson and Miles rhetorically drew on socially situated discourses to further their arguments. In addressing RQ1, this thesis has contributed a deeply contextualised understanding of the use of moralised discourses by two successful entrepreneurs in the Edwardian health food market, adding to the transhistorical trajectory of marketing lifestyles in relation to contemporary concerns.

RQ2. How do Allinson and Miles draw on different manifestations of authority in order to legitimise their claims about health and diet?

Building on the first research question, RQ2 considered how Allinson and Miles built on the foundation of moralised discourses and constructed authority. It was important for these authors to establish legitimacy because trust became a valuable commodity towards the end of the nineteenth century, with a variety of competing voices occupying a burgeoning health and wellness market. Using commendation authority terms from van Leeuwen's (2007; 2017) legitimation model, Allinson and Miles were found to draw on a combination of different types of authority. It is important to reiterate their differing personal backgrounds (accounted for in Sections 2.7 and 2.8), as both authors had different grounds for authority construction. Although Allinson was removed from the medical register, he possessed medical expertise by means of his prior medical training and ongoing work with patients. Conversely, as a celebrity athlete, Miles did not have the same medical qualifications. This difference was apparent in the analysis of authority, with Allinson drawing primarily on his own expert authority, whilst Miles relied more on external expertise to support his claims. In terms of his own personal authority, Miles drew on role model authority to legitimise his claims, and this was also adopted by Allinson to an extent, as both individuals attempted to emulate an ideal for their readers to imitate.

Moreover, in answering RQ2, it is useful to reiterate Stead's (1886: 663) contemporary assertion that '[t]o influence men you must be a man, not a mock-uttering oracle.' In line with the discursive spirit of the turn of the century, both authors were found to draw heavily on writer-oriented strategies to present an explicit identity and author presence in their texts. Section 6.3 furthered the analysis by showing how the authors manifested their identities visually, as well as textually. The authors were also found to draw on the scientific ethos, capitalising on the growing authority of science to lend efficacy to their claims. Taking an interdiscursive approach to the construction of writer identity, blending scientific features with the lifeworld, both authors were able to simultaneously index their knowledge and increase proximity with readers. As with the use of moralised discourses, these rhetorical strategies relating to authority were found to be bound up with key historical factors outlined in Chapter 2, such as life reformers' rhetorical use of success stories, and the growing power of science in marketing. In light of these findings, I emphasise the importance of analysing the written works of key diet and wellness figures throughout history, having showcased the differences in Allinson's and Miles's construction of authority within the writer-reader

relationship. Undertaking such an enterprise deepens understanding of how different powerful individuals navigated the health and wellness market at any given time, combining factors relating to their own identities with elements of the zeitgeist.

RQ3. How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically negotiate their relationships with the establishment and mainstream groups?

Characteristic of the overall life reform movement, Allinson and Miles engaged in counterculture discourses and separated themselves from mainstream groups. This built on their use of moralised discourses (RQ1) as well as their construction of identity (RQ2). In the context of this thesis, the orthodox groups that the writers primarily oppose include mainstream medical/scientific professionals (for both authors) and mainstream vegetarians (for Miles). One of the ways by which Allinson and Miles signalled their relationship to orthodox approaches was through the creation of an us versus them dichotomy, characterising their readers as ‘in-group’ through the use of engagement strategies and in-group identifiers. In doing so, they built on their own personal construction of identity in the texts, drawing the reader into an area of agreement between writer and reader which was underpinned by ideological polarisation.

Analysing the writer-reader relationship by means of both writer- and reader-oriented strategies enabled an understanding of how the authors constructed their own writer identities through delegitimation of outside groups, as well as how they brought readers into this dynamic using engagement strategies. These findings build on existing research on identity and print culture towards the end of the nineteenth century, providing a linguistic perspective on the construction of communities of readers (see Section 2.6). Both individuals spoke out prolifically against the mainstream, evaluating them as ‘out-group.’ Both authors used strong negative evaluation to further the ideological divide between mainstream approaches and their own systems, such as Allinson’s derogatory use of ‘drug doctors’ and Miles’s condemnation of ‘haphazard “vegetarians,”’ with the use of scare quotes highlighting Miles’s rejection of the label. Van Leeuwen (2017: 219) has argued that both legitimation and delegitimation contribute to persuasion, and through an analysis of counterculture discourses this thesis has demonstrated how Allinson and Miles engaged in both aspects of this ‘persuasive function of legitimation’ (van Leeuwen, 2017: 219). In answering RQ3, it is also important to emphasise that both authors had nuanced relationships with mainstream groups. This was seen through Allinson’s use of his retracted credentials, both signalling his prior connection to mainstream medicine and marking him as separate.

Similarly, whilst Miles was shown to reject some aspects of mainstream science, he also drew on various named experts in support of his claims. As such, both authors negotiated a careful rhetorical balance in terms of their relationships with orthodoxy, enabling them to claim more legitimacy and lend greater authority to their commercial enterprises.

RQ4. How do Allinson and Miles rhetorically construct notions of self-help within their texts?

The construction of self-help discourses within the texts was found to be intertwined with counterculture notions, with the creation of in-group identity resting partially on the empowerment of individuals within this group to possess agency in terms of their own health. These discourses were created by presenting readers with the illusion of choice, rooted in the authors' commercial interests. I call this an illusion because, despite encouraging readers to exercise agency in their dietary choices, the texts have been shown to present strong rhetorical arguments favouring certain choices, thus presenting readers with a restricted range of options. The authors engaged in this convenient paradox by drawing on existing self-help discourses, grounded in the rise of preventative medicine and the principles of *mens sana in corpore sano*, in order to market a lifestyle which aligned with these ideas.

Both authors used a combination of commendation authority and markers of solidarity with readers to present their advice as being in readers' best interests. Underpinned by the self-help ideology implicit in their respective health philosophies, both authors have also been shown to draw on popularisation strategies in order to empower readers with knowledge relating to health and diet. In encouraging self-help principles, Miles adopted lower deontic modality, relying on the persuasive power of his role model authority and the use of strong evaluation to present himself as *primus inter pares*. Conversely, Allinson forged an expert-novice dynamic, adopting a didactic tone which was portrayed as being in the best interests of the reading community. In terms of the critical analysis of historical food discourses, this thesis has highlighted the tension involved in Allinson's and Miles's promotion of self-help principles, with their commercial interests relying on readers following their advice and buying their products. In taking a linguistic approach to the inherent paradox of self-help discourses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I have contributed a valuable historical perspective on a genre which remains prominent today.

7.4 Modern Relevance

As was suggested in Chapter 1, and implicit in the research aims (Section 1.5), this thesis has considerable modern relevance. Though the primary aim of this thesis is to provide a historical perspective on discourses which remain prominent today, it is also necessary to reconnect this historical perspective with scholarship situated in the modern context. Book releases within the last decade, including *The Wellness Syndrome* (Cederström & Spicer, 2015) and *Ultra-Processed People: Why do We All Eat Stuff That Isn't Food... and Why Can't We Stop?* (van Tulleken, 2023), highlight the ongoing prevalence of wellness and diet discourses in our current society. In a saturated health marketplace of competing voices, questions surrounding expertise and authority remain prevalent. In terms of the modern state of diet discourses, the rise of influencer culture has seen individuals from a range of expert and non-expert backgrounds gain the ability to reach wide audiences, causing concerns around misinformation and pseudoscience.

The findings from my analysis resonate with modern studies, highlighting the transhistorical nature of these discourses, and the need for further historical research of different time periods, and of different influential figures. Underlining the modern relevance of my research, Crowe's (2021: 189) analysis of Gwyneth Paltrow's brand Goop examines 'the language promoting "clean eating," "detoxes," or "cleanses"—diets premised on the idea that the modern world has overwhelmed our body with toxins that need to be flushed out.' This is particularly reminiscent of the rhetoric of life reformers at the turn of the twentieth century, which saw their advice framed as an antithesis to modern industrial capitalism and its ill effects on health (see Section 2.3). In line with the discussion of self-help discourses in this thesis, Crowe (2021: 190) comments on the fact that 'Goop devotees are given the "choice" to realize the healthy, thin, appetite-free body that they are told to achieve.' The rhetorical parallels between Paltrow and the authors analysed within this thesis are striking and urge more historical analysis of this kind, in order to further contextualise these present-day discussions. Within this thesis, I have discussed the rhetorical prowess involved in balancing connections to orthodox science with distancing and reader empowerment, and this balancing act is similarly observed in Paltrow's rhetoric:

Paltrow harnesses this tension and provides clarity to readers within the confusing landscape of nutrition science by curating her own experts in ways that build on existing trust in science—but she also creates space for scientific skepticism and

empowers readers to “ask questions” and decide for themselves what is right. (Crowe, 2021: 191)

Although science has progressed even further since the early twentieth century, it is intriguing that present-day wellness gurus engage in a similar rhetorical balancing act to those a century earlier. Crowe (2021: 200) finds that ‘[t]he Goop PhD articles embody tension in their simultaneous use of scientific style and authority and personal, plain address—both of which help Paltrow navigate the tension between her readers’ skepticism of and trust in science.’ This juxtaposition of styles has similarly been observed in the analysis of Allinson’s and Miles’s use of both the scientific ethos and the lifeworld ethos, using interdiscursivity in line with the conventions of New Journalism. Both authors have been found to draw simultaneously on scientific authority and reader engagement in their rhetorical construction of the writer-reader relationship. Furthermore, author presence and interaction with readers are also shown to be prominent in Paltrow’s rhetoric:

While the reader and writer of traditional scientific prose are typically absent from scientific texts, we see here an invocation of these identities—the personal “we” and “you”—as the writer steps out from behind the citation-heavy prose to speak directly to readers and help them find their way. (Crowe, 2021: 200)

In Section 2.3, the use of personal success stories and experiences to sell fad diets to the public was highlighted, and this thesis has shown testimonies of the authors’ own experiences to be a prevalent rhetorical strategy in terms of writer identity. This aligns with Crowe’s (2021) evaluation of personal presence on the Goop website, as well as Yochim and Silva’s (2013: 407) argument surrounding the power of the ‘expertise of the everyday,’ which they argue ‘elevates the experiential elements of life as the evidence for particular choices and interventions that individuals make as they work to improve their lives,’ demonstrating that this trend in lifestyle discourses has remained. Wilson *et al.* (2004: 575) similarly found this rhetorical strategy being used in internet discussions about vegetarianism and veganism, ‘[a]necdotal examples and personal experience were used as evidence in support of the health of a vegetarian diet.’ This use of personal experience as a persuasive tactic is bound up with issues of identity and authority. Hammontree (2023: 70) argues, ‘[b]y speaking to a health conscious public receptive to a healthy lifestyle message, the WFPB [Whole-Foods Plant Based] diet advocates find themselves captive to the pressures of role model authority.’ This suggests a relationship between lifestyle discourses and role model authority, particularly in relation to health. This thesis has highlighted that

the use of role model authority in discourses of health and diet has a long history, with Allinson and Miles both drawing heavily on author presence and testimonies of their own experiences.

Furthermore, modern diet discourses continue to be characterised by counterculture sentiment, distancing from mainstream groups; for example, Hammontree's (2023: 63) study of the Whole-Foods Plant Based (WFPB) movement finds that they foster an 'in-group identity' which is distanced from the 'wider vegan community as well as mainstream nutrition and medicine.' Crowe (2021: 195) similarly finds, in Paltrow's rhetoric, that some of the text dismisses 'elements of mainstream science.' In terms of these counterculture ideas, Hammontree (2023: 71) argues, '[t]he narrative becomes one of alternative care practitioners working against the establishment for the benefit of an alienated public.' Within this analysis, I found similar sentiment in terms of Allinson's and Miles's rhetoric, with the two individuals negotiating a careful balance of distance and proximity with mainstream groups in order to both resist orthodoxy and still claim legitimacy. These counterculture arguments were shown to be intricately connected to discourses of self-help. In the same regard, Hammontree (2023: 71) notes, '[a]s the traditional and alternative health and lifestyle advocates are more inclined to focus on individualized, neoliberal influences [...], it is the ideological pull of individualism that drives the rhetorical messaging.' It is further noted that, '[p]romoting veganism with a focus on health and lifestyle plays into a larger cultural ethos of individualism and the ideas of personal responsibility when it comes to the control an individual has over healthy practices (i.e., diet)' (Hammontree, 2023: 75). This thesis has illustrated some of the ways by which Allinson and Miles both distanced their ideas from the mainstream and, in doing so, promoted self-help ideology rooted in food reform and natural living.

Many modern studies of diet discourses, including of meat-free eating, foreground health as being of utmost importance, echoing the Victorian sentiment of health as an ideal and signifier of 'excellence' (Haley, 1978: 4). In a study of arguments for adopting a vegetarian or vegan diet, it is found that '[t]he desire to follow a healthy diet and concerns about the safety of foods appear to be potent motivators for dietary change' (Wilson *et al.*, 2004: 568). This preference for arguments rooted in health reasoning is contrasted with alternative arguments for such a dietary choice, such as animal welfare or religion. The authors argue:

Given the non-normative meat-abstention position, there are pressures on the respondent to account for their position in ways that mark their decision as rational

and legitimate. Depending on the context, vegetarianism as a health concern may be a more desirable position than others (ethical concerns, environment, etc). (Wilson *et al.*, 2004: 570)

It is further noted that '[d]espite considerable points of disagreement between the pro and anti meat-eating positions there was one assumption or bottom line position that both camps shared—that health is important (Wilson *et al.*, 2004: 571). Crowe (2021: 189) expresses similar evaluation of 'the way that food and diet are represented as pathways to health.' In this regard, diet arguments grounded in health are by no means a new phenomenon. Wilson *et al.* (2004: 569) further argue:

From a rhetorical perspective, articulation of health as an explanation for adoption of a particular diet does not necessarily reflect something about that person or their dietary choice, but that health is an important and desirable concept, and one that can be used to justify observable behaviour (and not just diet).

Chapter 2 (particularly Section 2.2) of this thesis emphasised that the concept of health was of utmost importance to the Victorians, who engaged in a range of health-related activities. This transhistorical importance of health as an ideal persists in present day discourses. Allinson and Miles were found to champion total health, in line with *mens sana in corpore sano*. Furthermore, the below extract echoes a similar sentiment to Miles's condemnation of the 'vegetarian' label:

Campbell was an early proponent of replacing "vegan" with "Whole Foods Plant-Based," arguing that he and other cancer researchers "were reluctant to use the words *vegetarian* and *vegan*, or assign a particular value to the ideology that lies behind much vegetarian and vegan practice [...] however noble they may be" (Campbell and Jacobson 2013, 288). (Hammontree, 2023: 74)

This points to the power of labelling when it comes to dietary choices, with deep ideological structures underpinning the language used to talk about these choices. This thesis has explored the ways by which Allinson and Miles drew on highly moralised discourses in their rhetoric. Wilson *et al.* (2004: 569) write,

Persuasive arguments are those that draw upon the shared understandings of their audience, particularly notions of common sense and morality—invested as they are

with obvious values of right and wrong (Billig, 1991). Therefore, convincing arguments about diet are going to be those that draw upon common-sense notions, such as health and morality, and these notions are used because they are accepted as legitimate and rational.

This relates to O'Hagan's (2020: 1) argument about buzzwords and their long historical trajectory, '[g]reen, natural, eco-friendly, clean, pure... walk down the aisles of any supermarket today and you will see such food buzzwords plastered across packaging. Yet, these buzzwords are nothing new.' This again demonstrates the significance of moral values in diet discourses, and the importance of exploring their use during different time periods.

Studies of modern diet and wellness discourses focus heavily on questions surrounding authority and credibility, particularly how expertise is constructed. In relation to Paltrow's texts, Crowe (2021: 209) explains that 'the use of the voices of experts and of experience create a growing din of noise that seems to collectively empower viewers to find out how to address their own health conditions through dietary choices.' Crowe (2021: 212) also notes that, '[w]ith Paltrow's particular focus on food and diet as the key—or "reset button"—for health ailments, she is able to both take advantage of and borrow from the sometimes-confusing body of nutrition science.' In other words, using health as the basis for arguments enables individuals to draw on scientific evidence to bolster their authority, and using such scientific evidence can by association lend more rhetorical power to the individual's account of their own experiences. Moreover, Hammontree (2023: 62) finds, in a 2011 documentary titled *Forks Over Knives*, which 'was influential in bringing the vegan or Whole Foods Plant-Based (WFPB) diet debate into popular public discourse,' that influencers who are 'promoting a lifestyle' are attributed more credibility by the doctors who 'lend legitimacy to the overall group' (2023: 68). The analysis of Allinson's and Miles's rhetoric, including the wider thematic analysis in Chapter 6, found that they drew on external authority, such as medical and scientific professionals. Hammontree (2023: 68) argues that '[a]n audience grants legitimacy based on the authority it gives the expert, including personal authority, expert authority, and role model authority.' My research has provided a rich analysis of how these forms of authority were adopted by food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

7.5 Directions for Future Research

The complexities, long history, and wealth of textual evidence pertaining to food discourses means that it is necessary to consider what comes next in this fast-growing area of study. The merits of taking a multi-theoretical, interpretative approach are not without their respective limitations. Whilst this qualitative approach to a smaller set of texts has yielded valuable insights in relation to the aims and research questions, there remains a wider wealth of texts which has not been subjected to such close analysis. Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 279) argue that ‘interpretations and explanations are never finished and authoritative; they are dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information.’ Moreover, whilst justification has been made for the inclusion of Allinson and Miles as the two case studies for this thesis, informed conclusions about the rhetoric of food reform can only be made with respect to these two case studies. I encourage future researchers to continue conducting individual case studies of other prominent individuals in order to build a larger picture of the rhetoric of food reform at this time, including continuing to contribute to the transhistorical narrative of the discourse of food reform. It should be highlighted that, though the case study approach limits the scope at which comments on the wider movement can be made, it was necessitated by the importance of identity during this time. Section 7.4 comments on some of the parallels between the rhetoric of Paltrow and the authors studied within this thesis; the fact that these individuals are separated by a century calls for further work on life reformers over the past hundred years, questioning the persistence and development of key themes in diet and health discourses. Furthermore, the work of social historians has been invaluable for contextualising the analysis within this thesis. Drawing on this work has been essential, particularly owing to my primary expertise as a linguist, rather than a social historian. Future work would benefit from more collaboration between social historians and linguists, in order to draw rich conclusions from an interdisciplinary combination of expertise.

7.6 Conclusion and Overall Significance

Overall, this thesis has provided an insightful linguistic perspective on historical discourses of food reform in terms of two prominent individuals, who both had commercial interests and engaged in regular publishing of health works. Historians of diet have recognised the intricate relationship between diet and society (Gregory, 2007; Oddy & Miller, 1976), and this thesis has demonstrated the value of taking a linguistic approach to this history. Taking a case study approach, I have established the ways by which Allinson and Miles legitimised

their claims surrounding health and diet by drawing on a variety of socially situated discourses, as well as rhetorically constructing their identities within these contexts. Close analysis of the writer-reader relationship through a multi-theoretical approach has highlighted the persuasive complexities of historical food reform discourses, and this research has significant modern relevance. I have emphasised the need for more historical-linguistic research in order to avoid hyper modernising the discussion of the rhetoric of diet and health. Diet discourses are fraught with tensions which are rooted in a multitude of factors, ranging from scientific authority to self-help ideology. As was indicated in Section 1.6, language ‘gains power by the use powerful people make of it’ (Wodak, 2001: 12). The analysis in this thesis has illustrated the connections between the historical context and the rhetorical strategies used by food reformers, deepening understanding of how Allinson and Miles capitalised on social conditions to market their ideas about food reform. In doing so, this thesis has contributed a valuable linguistic perspective on historical issues which remain prominent today, revealing the rhetorical activities of two powerful food reformers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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