

“you can hardly have taken the pains to read the words you have quoted—they speak, as you will see on perusing them, of a third person—and they run thus; ‘*it would seem that is his view.*’ . . . That which I describe as the opinion of the man I am condemning, you quote as my opinion.”

TO W. E. GLADSTONE.

14 January, 1874.

I greatly regret that any act of mine should have called for your letter of the 12th—regret it alike for the reason that your valuable time has been thus expended, and for the reason that you have found just cause of complaint against me.

Let me at the outset, however, draw your attention to the fact that, having forwarded to you before it was printed, a proof of the addition I proposed to make to the volume, it is manifest that such misrepresentation as is chargeable against me, however otherwise blameworthy, was not committed consciously. . . .

But now proceeding to the points at issue, let me say that I by no means admit all that you allege against me. A large part of the allegation is founded on an oversight almost as remarkable as that which I have myself made. . . . For the “new passage” which I am said to have “introduced” into the volume, and which directly and by implication is said not to have been in the *Contemporary Review*, was in the *Contemporary Review*. . . .

But now having, as I think, conclusively shown that one of the two complaints against me is unfounded, I go on to admit that the other is well founded. . . . How I came so to misconstrue the sentence as to ascribe to you that conception of the attitude of Science towards Providence which you ascribe to another, I do not know. It was a piece of stupidity which, when I read your letter at the Athenæum, I could scarcely believe I had been guilty of; and it was not until I returned home and referred to the volume, that I became convinced I had been thus careless where I ought to have been specially careful.

With respect, however, to the *essential issue*, I cannot see that I have misapprehended or misstated your position. . . .

Returning, however, to the immediate question, I will forthwith erase the final paragraph of my comment on your letter, and in its place put one apologizing for the misconstruction of the sentence referred to. . . .

Hoping that you will forgive me for having unintentionally entailed on you so much trouble and annoyance.

It was now Mr. Gladstone’s turn to apologize. Even were he inclined, he said, to push matters to extremes he

felt that he had forfeited all title to do so by having himself committed an oversight which he thought quite equal, to say the least, to Spencer's. "I am glad," he added, "a correspondence has occurred which proves your anxiety not to wound or misrepresent, and I shall be further glad if circumstances should, with your permission, allow our acquaintance to be improved." To this Spencer responded: "It is almost superfluous on my part to say that I very gladly reciprocate the wish with which you obligingly close your note."

The *Descriptive Sociology*, upon which he had drawn largely in writing the *Study* was making increasing calls upon his time and his purse. His friends in America wished to relieve him of the cost of Dr. Scheppig's volumes, but their proposals were declined owing to his annoyance at reports respecting the aid which had been rendered by Americans and the embarrassments from which he had been rescued by them. While holding this decision to be mistaken, Dr. Youmans felt that "there is nothing for me but acquiescence under the circumstances, but I do not agree to it as a final thing." "I am not certain about the general policy to be pursued, having been a good deal demoralized by your refusal of the movement we had planned." Eager and energetic as usual, he was ready to undertake any amount of work to promote the sale. But Spencer would neither himself push the sale at home, nor sanction arrangements proposed for pushing it in America.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

11 July, 1873.

The undertaking gives me an immense amount of worry and trouble, and seriously hinders other work, and I cannot entertain any plans that will involve re-arrangements and give further trouble. You must just do the best with the thing as it comes to you. If it is profitable, so much the better. If not, it cannot be helped. The first consideration with me is to have this organization of materials available for my own use; the second, that of making it available for general use. The third consideration, of a greater or smaller amount of profit, weighs with me but little.

15 July.—I fear that my last letter, written in a hurry, was somewhat too directly expressed, and that the negation of your

proposed plans may have been a source of annoyance. Pray forgive me if it was so.

27 September.—I am quite content to give my labour for nothing. I am content even to lose something by unrepaid costs of authorship ; but it is clear that I shall not be able to bear the loss that now appears likely.

12 November.—Referring to the business arrangement of the *Descriptive Sociology* in America, I shall prefer to have it on a mercantile basis ; and believe that on the terms I proposed, I shall be able to carry it on, if not without loss, still without greater loss than I can bear. I have carried it on thus far single-handed ; and I purpose to continue it in the same way.

The interval between the completion of the *Study of Sociology* and the beginning of the *Principles of Sociology*, offered an opportunity for carrying out the intention, referred to in the first paragraph of the article on Mr. Martineau, of dealing with the chief criticisms that had from time to time appeared on the general doctrine of Evolution as set forth in *First Principles*. While he was engaged on this the *Quarterly Review* for October, 1873, had an article, "respectful, though antagonistic." Simultaneously there appeared in the *British Quarterly* an article also antagonistic, but, as he thought, not respectful. These led him to write a postscript dealing with the new points raised. Of this he says to Dr. Youmans (12 November) : "I enclose the postscript to the 'Replies to Criticisms,' which runs to a greater length than I intended. It is desirable, however, that these attacks in the *Quarterly* and *British Quarterly* should be effectually met. That in the *Quarterly* is clearly by Mivart, and that in the *British Quarterly* is by a man named Moulton (a senior wrangler, I hear)." A portion of the proof of the reply to the *British Quarterly* was kept back to be used or not at the discretion of his biographer.<sup>1</sup>

A rejoinder by the *British Quarterly* reviewer led to another from Spencer when issuing his Replies in the form of a pamphlet. Before this, however, he had told Dr. Youmans : "You will see that the reviewers are both pretty

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<sup>1</sup> The "Replies to Criticisms" is reprinted in *Essays*, ii., 218 ; for the postscript dealing with the Quarterlies, see p. 258.

effectually disposed of. Tyndall and Hirst have both verified my position against the *British Quarterly*. Tyndall thinks that Tait will very likely show fight. I hope he will, I shall be down upon him still more heavily if he does." Professor Tait did "show fight." His letter in *Nature* of 26 March, 1874, initiated a correspondence in the pages of that journal, on the nature and origin of physical axioms, which continued for months, even after the original combatants had retired from the contest.<sup>1</sup>

A few matters of interest, more or less outside his main pursuits, may be gathered from the correspondence.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

16 February, 1872.

On Friday I had the latest news of Huxley. He wrote from Malta and was beginning to get over his depression. We are using influence to get out to him a peremptory official order *not* to return in time to finish his course of lectures, as he had intended to do.

22 March.—The publishers here have done what I expected they would do—make a counter-move trying to commit the authors to combined action with them. They have hooked a few, and leave no chance unused to hook others; for they have actually written to me to join their Committee!

8 April.—Tyndall is obviously nettled by my attack on the men of science in the *Contemporary* article—<sup>2</sup>taking it as personal; which, indeed, remembering some discussions we have had, he has some ground for doing. He says it is well for me that his hands are full; betraying, at the same time, an amusing unconsciousness that it is possibly well for him also.

9 December.—Huxley is beginning decidedly to improve. He has been building a house, and migrates to it next week.

This migration was the occasion for one of those interchanges of expressions of mutual regard that go so far to sweeten life.<sup>3</sup> In replying to Spencer's reference to their long-standing friendship, Professor Huxley wrote: "You

<sup>1</sup> *Nature*, 26 March, 1874; 2, 16, 23, 30 April; 7, 14, 21, 28 May; 4, 11, 18 June; 20, 27 August. *Essays*, ii., 298.

<sup>2</sup> *The Study of Sociology*, chapter i.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Professor Huxley*, i., 385.

do not set a greater value on our old-standing friendship than I do. It has been the greatest pleasure to me to see the world in general gradually turning to the opinion of you which is twenty years old in my mind." A further proof of Spencer's affection was shown in the active steps he took along with other friends to enable Professor Huxley to take a much needed rest.

TO CHARLES DARWIN.

26 April, 1873.

I rejoice with you that our plot has succeeded so well—beyond expectation, indeed.

One thing, I think, remains to be done. Huxley talks of taking a long holiday "in the summer." I think he must not be allowed to postpone taking it. He must go away at once, and to that end we ought to put pressure on Foster.

I have been to see Tyndall about it, and he agrees in my proposal to write and ask your opinion.

We might send a joint letter to Foster (which you would write) giving emphatic expression to our opinion in the matter; and judging from what Farrar said when I saw him, there will probably be no difficulty.

The death of Mr. J. S. Mill in May of this year brought Spencer "a serious deprivation." In an obituary notice in the *Examiner* (17 May), he gave expression to his sense of the public and private loss sustained by the passing away of one, distinguished alike by the force and perspicacity of his intelligence and by the loftiness of his moral character.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 247, 506.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## DISTASTE FOR HONOURS AND CEREMONIAL.

*(January, 1874—December, 1877.)*

SPENCER'S "abortive attempt to keep a diary" during 1874, affords little help to his biographer. The entries, few and meagre, occur only in January and March. On 4 March, there is an entry: "Breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone"—a carrying out of the wish expressed by both at the conclusion of their controversy.

Efforts were being made to induce him to join the Royal Society.

To J. D. HOOKER.

28 March, 1874.

Since our brief conversation some two months ago, I have repeatedly considered your kindly expressed wish that I should join the Royal Society; and, that I may not fail in treating the overture with due appreciation, I have decided to set down my thoughts on paper.

When, on several occasions during recent years, the like suggestion has been made to me, my response has, I doubt not, seemed eccentric. I have a dislike, perhaps morbid in degree, to the tendency shown in the Royal Society, as in the community at large, to hang on to the skirts of the titled class. The maintenance of special facilities for the admission of peers, and the appointment, as Presidents, of men who, but for their rank, would not have been thought of as appropriate, have always seemed to me to imply a disrespect for science which the Royal Society should, above all bodies, have avoided showing. When, not very long since, a nomination to the Council was advocated by Sabine, then President, on the ground that the nominee had induced two peers to become Fellows, the continued existence of this feeling was clearly proved, and it was the continued existence of this feeling which I remember

giving as my objection, the last time the question of my joining the Society was raised at the X (Asa Gray being, I remember, our guest on the occasion). Since then, there has doubtless been a great improvement. Your own election as President, in preference to the Duke of Devonshire, has illustrated it in a striking way ; and the pending proposal to alter the rule respecting the admission of peers, further shows it. So that, were there no other reasons, this would now be no deterrent.

Other reasons, however, remain. In the case of the Royal Society, as in the case of other learned bodies, there grows up, in addition to the first purpose, a second purpose, which eventually becomes predominant. Co-operation for the advance of knowledge is the original purpose ; the wearing a badge of honour is the derived purpose ; and eventually the derived purpose becomes more important than the original purpose. Now badges of honour of this kind are beneficial or mischievous according to circumstances. When given to men early in their careers, they serve them as authoritative endorsements ; and thus diminish the difficulties to be contended with. When, contrariwise, they are not given, an increase of these difficulties results. Absence of the endorsement becomes an additional hindrance. The world at large, little capable of judging, and led by marks of this kind, thinks lightly of those who do not bear them, and pays relatively less attention to anything they do. There arises, in fact, to use a sporting metaphor, a kind of inverse handicapping—a system under which those who, from youth or other causes, are already at a disadvantage, are artificially disadvantaged still more ; while those who have already surmounted their difficulties have their progress artificially facilitated. Evils arise from this, of which my own experience has made me conscious. If, within a moderate time after the publication of the *Principles of Psychology* in 1855, a proposal to join the Royal Society had been made to me, it is possible that the hope of having my path made somewhat easier might have over-ridden the feeling described above. But during the long period throughout which I was frittering away what property I possessed in publishing books that did not pay their expenses, there came no such aid. There came, rather, the hindrance which, as I have said, results from the non-possession of a mark of distinction possessed by others—a hindrance shown at home by the long neglect of my books by the press, and abroad by the absence, until recently, of translations. The natural difficulties, which are quite great enough and often prove fatal, and were more than once nearly proving fatal in my own case, are thus made greater than natural. That many aspirants should be killed off in the struggle to gain recognition, may be, on the whole, salutary ; though, among them, adverse circumstances probably extinguish some of the best. But I think it undesirable that the natural struggle should be made artificially more

severe for those whose circumstances are already unfavourable. I do not by any means intend to imply that the Royal Society has not, in many cases, endorsed men at those early stages when its endorsement was valuable. So far as it has done this, let the fact be recognized; and so far as it has not done this, let the fact be recognized; so that there may be a balanced judgment respecting the extent to which the presence or absence of its endorsement is to be taken as a test.

Yet a further motive, more exclusively personal than the last, weighs with me—the motive which prompted my remark to you that “I thought it was too late.” Next year, my career as an author will have extended over a quarter of a century. Were I now to become a candidate for the Royal Society, and to be elected, the interpretation generally put upon the fact would be that only now, after this long period, has the propriety of such an election become manifest. A tacit admission to this effect, I feel disinclined to make. And in addition to the feeling which disinclines me to make it, I have a suspicion that it might not be altogether politic; so tardy an election would, I think, be rather damaging to me than otherwise.

Thus you see that I have sundry motives for still holding back. Though my great respect for you, personally, and the desire to yield to your friendly overture, led me for a while to waver; yet, after repeatedly thinking the matter over, my original reasons and feelings have reasserted themselves. I regret that it is so; and that I am obliged thus to make what I fear you may regard as an ungracious response.

The English translation of Dr. Cazelles' Introduction to *First Principles* was now (May, 1874) ready for the press. It had at one time been intended that Mr. Fiske should prepare it; “but,” wrote Spencer in May, 1871, “a reason has occurred to me for not asking him. The name is doubly odious here just now—not only because of your finance schemer of that name, but also because the name is also that of an American who is implicated in a horrible scandal now before our courts.” The title selected for the translation may cause surprise to one who has in mind the correspondence a year or two before about the title “Synthetic Philosophy.” “‘Synthetic Philosophy’ would be a damper to most, even when it was intelligible, which it would be to but few. ‘Evolution Philosophy,’ will, on the contrary, be attractive, and will convey some idea of the book.”

The following refers to a lecture by Dr. Youmans before



the Liberal Club, New York, on "Herbert Spencer and the Doctrine of Evolution."<sup>1</sup>

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

20 June, 1874.

Of course, I cannot but rejoice at the complete success of your address and exposition.

But while it is a source of satisfaction to me to have such able defence and advocacy, I see abundant reason to congratulate *you* upon the clearness and power of that which is wholly your own. Your sketch of the pre-existing state of opinion, and of the irrational compromise which had been made by scientific men is admirable; and you bring into a vivid light their failure to recognize the changed position of things that had grown up, and the necessity for a total reorganization of thought. So well have you put the matter that everyone who reads may see that such a change was impending; and that the last generation of scientific men, narrowly disciplined by their special studies, were incapable of seeing it.

You have put in immense claims for me; and doubtless greatly astonished your audience, and will greatly astonish also the more numerous readers of your address. . . .

I see you finally decided to have your say about Emerson. It is very pungent, and will, I should think, cause considerable sensation. If as you say, controversy has been growing hot, we may expect it to grow hotter, now that you have added to it these burning criticisms.

His persistent defence of his originality and independence was associated with an equally persistent repugnance to anything that had the appearance of blowing, or conniving at blowing, his own trumpet. His dislike of self-advertisement made him hesitate as to the publication in London of Dr. Youmans's eulogistic lecture either separately or as an appendix to the English translation of Dr. Cazelles' Introduction. Written, as its author said, for the meridian of New York, it might, Spencer feared, compromise him if published in the meridian of London. Similarly, when towards the end of the year he learnt that some verses "gracefully written and eulogistic in a high degree," which Mr. Grant Allen had sent him,<sup>2</sup> had also been sent to Mr. Morley for publication in the *Fortnightly Review*, he decided

<sup>1</sup> *Edward Livingston Youmans*, p. 325.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoir of Grant Allen*, p. 55.

that it would never do to have them published with his cognisance.

“Pray do not fail to reach Belfast by August 19,” he wrote to Dr. Youmans, in view of the Meeting of the British Association there, under the presidency of Professor Tyndall. This meeting cut down his holiday in Scotland to about one month. The earlier portion was spent with Mr. and Mrs. Holt at the Dell of Abernethy, on Speyside, and the latter portion at Ardtornish.

TO MRS. HOLT.

ARDTORNISH, 5 August, 1874.

By the time this reaches the Dell, I suppose you will have returned to that comfortable nest where you left your little ones—finding them, I hope, all well.

My journey went on without hitch—weather good and times fitting as intended. The drive along the shores of Loch Laggan was well worth having—quite new to me and bearing comparison with other fine scenes which Scotland offers.

. . . I have spent the time in fishing, with tolerable success. Not to you perhaps, but to Mr. Potter . . . it may be worth stating the results:—Saturday, 13 sea-trout weighing 15 lbs., and Monday one salmon of 7 lbs. and 15 sea-trout weighing 9 lbs. . . . I hope it has been different on the Spey, and that your papa has done better than I did. Mr. Holt, too, has, I hope, not come home empty-handed three times running!

My best way of thanking you for your kind hospitalities will be to tell you how very much stronger I found myself than I expected. On Monday my 8 hours continuous fishing, which would have quite exhausted me a fortnight ago, did not make me more than pleasantly tired—all the result of life at the Dell.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

28 August, 1874.

You would have enjoyed the Belfast meeting. It went off very well, and Tyndall's address, though it called forth many sermons, was otherwise well received. Huxley's lecture, too, was a great success. The occurrence of the two together is regarded as a throwing down the gauntlet.

6 November.—I suppose that with you, as here, the formation of opinion is increasing at a great rate. Tyndall's address has greatly added to it. The newspapers make it a topic, letters are published, pamphlets issued; and there is a continual increase of magazine-essays and books, dealing with one or other aspect of the general question. The results are coming

to be altogether incalculable. There seems to be no knowing what a few years might bring forth.

One of the most remarkable signs is that Mivart is commencing in the *Dublin Review* a most elaborate examination of the *Principles of Psychology*. He is actually taking it chapter by chapter, and proposes, in successive articles, to go thus through the whole of it! So far as I have seen, his criticisms are the merest quibbling; which, besides being baseless, do not in the least touch the general issues. But I am quite content: he will doubtless aid in the further diffusion of the work. The current number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* had an article by M. Janet, of the French Institute, on the *Study of Sociology*. I have not yet had time to read it; but see that it is appreciative, though critical. Morley, too, tells me that he is going to have an article on it in the *Fortnightly* by Professor Cairnes.

One of the results of the awakened interest alluded to was the starting of a journal of mental science by Professor Bain—a project in which Spencer took a great interest, and in the initiatory stages of which he assisted Professor Croom Robertson with his counsel.

It is time that something was said about the *Principles of Sociology*, for the writing of which the way seemed clear in the spring of 1874. The protracted course of the *Psychology* had come to an end; the exciting episode of the *Study of Sociology* had attracted the notice of a wider public than any of his previous books; the "Replies to Criticisms" had squared accounts with opponents; and the sociological materials he had been accumulating by proxy for the past six years were now in a sufficiently advanced state for use. It is true that his anxieties about the *Descriptive Sociology* had not grown less as the work progressed. Its importance urged him to push on; the outlay urged him to hold back. His letters on the subject took their colour from whichever of the two feelings happened to be uppermost at the time. "Sir Rutherford Alcock, our late minister in Japan, who is preparing an article on Japan for the next *Quarterly*, told me that he had found it [the 'English'] of immense service in comparing Japanese feudalism with English feudalism." "I begin to hope that eventually, though slowly, the cost of production will be repaid, or at any rate nearly, so that I shall not be prevented from going on." This fear of being "prevented from going on" was at the bottom of his

anxiety. About one of the schemes that emanated from Dr. Youmans's fertile brain he writes in August, 1874: "The matter is too marvellously involved to allow of my clearly understanding all the bearings of the proposal you give in the space of a single sentence." The "marvellously involved" scheme arose out of a generous offer of £500 from Mr. Edwin W. Bryant, of St. Louis.<sup>1</sup> "The anticipation that I should have to stop or to lose has, of course, as you know, been my own anticipation. But, as you know, I do not care for this if I do not lose more than I can bear. The miserable ambition of merely scraping together money, is one with which I have so little sympathy that I can scarcely comprehend it." In January, 1875, he was hopeful, "My other books are prospering so well that I shall be able to carry on. . . . So that I am in good spirits, notwithstanding the heavy drafts on my resources." Next month the other feeling was uppermost. "It is clear that, as things now look, I must stop." The volumes already begun must be published; "but after this is done I shall be disinclined to sacrifice further large sums and give myself continued trouble for the benefit of so incredibly stupid a public."

When he mentioned in the spring of 1873 that he did not expect to issue the first number of the *Principles of Sociology* before going on his holiday, he little thought that March of 1874 would find him with only about sixty pages of manuscript ready. About the second instalment he writes in November: "I am delighted with the piece of work I now have on hand. The genesis of superstitions has been slowly improving with me into a coherent doctrine for years past, and has now become quite clear and complete." The third instalment was out in February, 1875. They were now appearing too rapidly for Dr. Youmans, who, as editor of a journal appealing to the general public, was finding their destructive character somewhat embarrassing; more especially seeing that the "great irritability in the theological mind, since Tyndall's bomb-shell" had not yet been allayed. Occasionally the heterodox ideas were met by ridicule in place of censure, as

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 268.

in the instance alluded to by Spencer in a letter of 22nd January, 1875: "I enclose you two *jeux d'esprit* which will amuse you. The one from *Punch*<sup>1</sup> is admirably witty. I wish Tyndall had done what I urged him—asserted more emphatically that the atom is but a symbol."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

14 April, 1875.

You are quite right as to withholding from the *Monthly* the chapters I sent you [chapters xvii. to xx.]. I sent them merely because you requested it. I have often had qualms as to the policy of making the *Monthly* a propagandist organ to so large an extent; and I am rather glad than otherwise that you are limiting this use of it. Especially it is, as you think, wise to do so in respect of these present chapters; and the forthcoming ones are still stronger. Indeed, I am beginning myself to have some fears as to the effect; for, as you will by and by see, this constructive set of chapters is so utterly destructive (far more so than is manifest at present) that it leaves nothing standing. I cannot see how the so-called orthodox can fail to be made furious by it. But the thing has to be done.

Among the extra bits of work this year was the revision of several chapters of *First Principles* to meet the criticisms of Professor Tyndall.

TO JOHN TYNDALL.

24 March, 1875.

I send the enclosed, thinking that if it reaches you before you leave town for Easter, you may perhaps find time, during the recess, to cast your eye over the more important of the changes I have made; and to add to my already heavy obligations, by telling me whether you think your objections have had the desired effect.

You need not, I think, trouble yourself to re-read the chapter on the "Indestructibility of Matter." I have duly attended to all the points noted in it, and have put at the end of it a sufficiently emphatic note concerning the meaning of *a priori*. The chapter on the "Continuity of Motion" is, most of it, quite transformed; and is now, I think, not so far from what it should be. I am very glad you have persisted in making me think it over again, and recast it. It is now at any rate very much better than it was.

Respecting the chapter on the "Persistence of Force," I still find myself unable to take the view that "Conservation"

<sup>1</sup> 16 January, 1875, "Address to an Atom."

is a good word, and that "Energy" suffices for all the purposes. By an added sentence or two, I have sought to make this point clearer.

Mr. Sidgwick's representation in the *Methods of Ethics* of some of the views contained in *Social Statics* he could not accept as correct.

TO HENRY SIDGWICK.

12 January, 1875.

In the chapters from which you quote—"Derivation of a First Principle"—it is, I think, sufficiently manifest that my purpose is not to assert the law of the freedom of each limited only by the like freedom of all, as a sufficient guide for individual action. It is represented as a first principle to be subsequently limited by secondary principles—a "law of right *relationship* between man and man"; to be qualified by further restrictions originating in the judgment of the individual. It is concluded that in drawing "deductions respecting *the equitable constitution of society*, we may safely assert in full this liberty of each limited alone by the like liberty of all"; but it is not thereby concluded that this liberty to exercise the faculties bounded only by the like liberty of others, is a sufficient guide for the individual—the contrary is indicated. The aim of the chapter is to assert the basis of *justice*. But justice is not alleged to comprehend all ethical restrictions: there are distinct statements to the contrary. The purpose is to establish what claims of the individual are to be held valid against the claims of other individuals (*i.e.* society) to control them. And it leaves the actions of the individual to be further controlled by his own judgment—does not in the least assert that he ought to give free play to all his instincts regardless of the dictates of reason. My assertion that this free play of the whole nature within the assigned limits may be safely left to mould the character by adaptation, through the experiences of pleasures and pains, is not in the least the proposal that "reason is to abdicate in favour of instinct," as you state. The assertion is that within the assigned limits of equal freedom, the accumulation of experiences by the individual, suffering and benefiting by his own conduct, and checking himself by his own judgments (wise or foolish as the case may be), will work out a beneficial adaption more certainly than will the enforcing of additional restraints by the *reason of society* as embodied in *law*—a reason inevitably vitiated by the ignorance and defective sentiment of the time.

I quite recognize the fact that in ascribing to me "a negation of the natural supremacy of reason over impulse," you are presenting a paradox which elucidates your argument; but it is somewhat too much at my expense.

In May, 1875, he began to write the *Autobiography*. His thoughts naturally turned towards his boyhood.

TO GEORGE HOLME.

14 May, 1875.

I was very much pleased to hear some time ago, that you had been elected Mayor of Derby. It was a well deserved recognition; and I am glad that it was not longer delayed. It crowns very satisfactorily that long career of deserved prosperity which, beginning gradually in the days when we first knew one another, has gone on with increasing speed. Little did we suspect what the future would bring forth on the day when you saved me from being drowned. Little did the spectators, who saw a dripping youth conducting home a half-drowned boy, think that the one would rise to be chief magistrate of the town, while the other would become—well, somewhat widely known. The recollection must ever continue to be a source of satisfaction to you as of gratitude in me.

In an article written for *Nature*, Mr. D. A. Spalding drew attention to an inconsistency arising out of Spencer's assumption "that feelings stand in a causal relation to bodily movements."

TO D. A. SPALDING.

5 July, 1875.

The implication of your argument seems to be that I identify motion as it actually exists with motion as manifested to our consciousness. Did I do this there would be the inconsistency you allege in the supposition that feeling is transformable into motion and motion into feeling. . . . But that transformation which I assume to take place (though without in the least understanding how) is the transformation of the subjective activity we call feeling (unknowable in its ultimate nature) and the objective activity we call motion (also unknowable in its ultimate nature). . . .

Simply stated, my position everywhere implied is that the objective activity is inscrutable, the subjective activity is inscrutable, and the relation between the two is inscrutable. But looking at the facts of nervous organization and function I find myself obliged to hold that the two are in some way related, though I cannot conceive how. I find myself also obliged to recognize the fact that they are quantitatively related; and the fact of quantitative relation implies transformation.

In December of the following year this question of the relation between mind and body came up again, in a corre-

spondence with Professor Höffding, who had translated a selection from the *Essays* into Danish.

FROM HARALD HÖFFDING.

COPENHAGEN, 14 *December*, 1876.

I beg leave to ask you for some information with regard to some places in your works, in which I, after repeated study, believe to find an inconsistency. . . .

(1) In your *First Principles*, § 71 [ed. 1867], you teach: "The law of *metamorphosis*, which holds among the *physical forces*, holds equally between them and the *mental forces*." In the same work, § 194, it is said to be "a necessary deduction from the law of correlation that what exists in consciousness under the form of feeling, is *transformable into* equivalents of all the other forces which matter exhibits." In the *Principles of Psychology*, § 47 [ed. 1870], the relation between a physical change and the psychical change accompanying it is compared with the relation between heat and motion.

(2) But in "Corrections and Additions" to the first volume of the *Principles of Psychology* it is said: "Of course I do not mean that material actions thus *become* mental actions. . . . I am *merely* showing a *parallelism* between certain physical changes and the correlative psychical changes." With this agrees *First Principles*, § 143, *Principles of Psychology*, § 221 and § 469. It is here said, that the evolution of consciousness follows the general law of evolution, but that it cannot be explained by deduction from the persistence of force, while such a deduction is possible with regard to its obverse, the development of physical changes in a physical organ.

As for me, I believe that these last-named places explain the real state of the problem. I also believe that [they] express your real doctrine.

TO HARALD HÖFFDING.

LONDON, 18 *December*, 1876.

Your letter of the 14th needs no apology on the score of giving me trouble. Contrariwise I feel indebted to you for drawing my attention to the inconsistency you name. It is due partly to the fact that some qualification of the view originally expressed in *First Principles* has actually taken place, as was stated in the earlier part of the *Psychology*; and it is in part due to imperfection of expression which I did not observe. Until now that you draw my attention to the fact, I had forgotten that it was needful to make some modification of statement in the passage to which you refer, in *First Principles*, so that it may harmonize with the more detailed exposition set forth in the *Data of Psychology*. And it did not occur to me



that the quotation you make from the "Corrections and Additions" is so expressed as to seem incongruous with what had been previously stated. As you may infer from various other passages, my conception, inadequately expressed by the word "parallelism," is better expressed by describing the subjective states as forming an *obverse* to those objective states described as physical changes. And by "parallelism" I meant to indicate the fact that throughout these changes, physical on the one face and psychical on the other, there is maintained a definite relation such that the increases and decreases of the one are accompanied by increases and decreases of the other. The word parallelism, however, is misleading to a certain extent, inasmuch as it supposes that the series of psychical changes is outside of, and separate from, the series of physical changes. This, however, is not my view. I conceive the mental force manifested in consciousness to be the actual correlate of the physical forces which arouse it, and of the physical forces which it thereafter initiates; not, indeed, as I have explained in the *Data*, a quantitative correlate, either of the change initiated at the place where the stimulus is applied, or of the quantity of motion evolved in a muscle: but the quantitative correlate only of such nervous discharge as is produced *in the centre of sensation*. My view of the relation between the mental force we know as consciousness, and the physical forces which initiate it on the one side, and which it initiates on the other, may be best understood by the analogy which I have sometimes used in discussing the matter with friends. If you cut the copper wires which join the positive and negative poles of a galvanic battery, and between the two ends interpose a piece of platinum wire, then when the circuit is completed, the galvanic current passing through the copper wires without sensible change in them, raises the interposing piece of platinum wire to white heat (supposing the current is strong enough). If, now, we suppose that the one piece of the copper wire represents an afferent nerve, and the other piece of copper wire an efferent nerve, while the interposed piece of platinum wire represents the sentient centre to which the stimulus is brought and from which the motor impulse is discharged, then this raising of the platinum wire to a state of incandescence by the passage of a current through the entire arc, may be taken as symbolizing the evolution of consciousness in the sentient centre that accompanies the entire nervous discharge, constituted on the one side by the sensory impulse, and on the other side by the motor impulse. Of course this is simply a symbol, inasmuch as you are well aware that I do not regard the nervous discharge as in any sense electrical; but it seems to me conceivable that the form of force which in us constitutes consciousness, is correlated with the force which in shape of an afferent stimulus initiates it, and with the form of force which it afterwards initiates as

a motor discharge, in a way similar to that in which this incandescence is correlated with the strength of the electric discharge. Thus looking at the matter, it is possible dimly to see how consciousness is related both to the physical force which initiates it, and to the physical force which it initiates; and how it varies in intensity with each of them, at the same time that it remains incomprehensible how the transformation takes place, and what the force constituting consciousness is. And it becomes also possible to conceive how the psychical action is the obverse of the physical action which initiates it, and again of the physical action which it initiates. Consciousness may, from this point of view, be regarded roughly as a kind of transverse section of the entire arc of nervo-motor change. It occurs at a place in the arc where there is a certain resistance to a passage of the physical discharge (and this we see to harmonize with the fact that repetition of the discharge until it becomes automatic ends in cessation of consciousness. So regarding the facts we may say that that form of the ultimate force which we symbolize as motion (and this is to be regarded simply as our *symbol* for a certain form of the ultimate force) is under certain conditions presented by a sentient nervous centre, changed into that other form of the unknown ultimate force which constitutes a state of consciousness, and that this, subsisting for a moment, becomes again instantly transformed into the previous state of the unknown force which we symbolize as motion. This view must be joined with the view which I have repeatedly elsewhere expressed, that both these forms of force are in themselves but symbolic of the Unknowable Power of which they are both manifestations, and that the distinction between them is essentially this: that what we call our consciousness is a circumscribed portion, while that which we think of as unconscious or physical, is simply that which lies outside the circumscribed portion called consciousness. Thus regarding the matter we shall not be perplexed by the supposed impossibility of the transformation of the physical into the psychical.

I am, as I say, obliged to you for pointing out these incongruities of statement, and will take care in subsequent editions to modify the expressions so as to avoid them.

The passages referred to were modified in subsequent editions. As regards the above letter, Professor Höffding informed the present writer in 1904 that he could not at the time, "and cannot yet find it quite clear."

After spending August, 1875, at Ardtornish, he went to Llandudno. The day after his arrival he wrote to his late hostess.

TO MRS. SMITH.

LLANDUDNO, 29 August, 1875.

I need not say literally where I am—I say it pictorially. The representation serves a further purpose; that of showing you how judiciously I let myself down gently from the glories of Scotch scenery to the ugliness of London streets. The contrast would be too violent without the intermediate picturesqueness.

I did not reach this till yesterday—a day later than I intended. This was all due to the crowded state of the “Iona.” How so? you will ask. Well, the sequence is not very manifest, but it happened thus. The multitude of passengers led to a crush at dinner; the crush involved difficulty in getting what was asked for; inability to get whisky led me to take beer; the beer gave me a headache; the headache made me decide that I was unfit for a night journey; this decision determined my stay in Glasgow for the night, and hence I could not take the Liverpool route and had to come by Chester. So you see the causation is quite clear—almost as clear as that which I was thinking of the other day when lying on the river-bank at Acharn after eating my lunch; namely, that had not Mr. Smith seen the advertisement of the Achranich estate, the thoughts of a good many people in America, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and other places would not have been quite the same.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

29 November, 1875.

The new edition of Bain has reached me.<sup>1</sup> I think it greatly improved and though he takes to the doctrine of Evolution in rather a gingerly way, still, he has made a great step for one brought up under the *régime* of pure empiricism. The book is admirable from a natural history point of view. I met recently a very promising young biologist, Mr. Romanes, who had been making some important and highly instructive researches on the nervo-muscular actions of the medusæ. He brings out facts which he says justify in a most remarkable manner the speculations respecting the genesis of the nervous system set forth in the fifth part of the *Psychology*.

When intimating his approaching marriage, which was to take place in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, Professor Tyndall wrote: “I should like to see you, but you may have scruples that I know not of. So I

<sup>1</sup> *The Emotions and the Will*. Compare Bain's *Autobiography*, p. 324.

shall not be angry if you abandon me." And abandon his friend he did, though not without a wrench.

TO JOHN TYNDALL.

24 February, 1876.

I wish you were going to be married by registrar. It would delight me extremely on all accounts, and I would, in such case, travel from John o'Groats to be with you.

But as it is—Well, I have repeatedly tried to reconcile myself to the idea of being present, but without success.

Pray forgive me. None the less heartily shall I wish you every happy sequence to the wedding, though I am not present at it.

In February, 1876, he was elected a foreign correspondent of the Accademia dei Lincei.

TO THE COUNCIL OF THE REALE ACCADEMIA DEI LINCEI.

11 March, 1876.

The diploma and accompanying letter, informing me of my election to foreign membership of the Roman Academy, reached me a few days since.

That this recognition by the countrymen of Galileo, and by the members of a learned body which dates from his time, is a source of gratification to me—a gratification in large measure due to the implied fact that the views with which I am identified are obtaining attention—scarcely needs saying.

Of course, along with this satisfaction of an impersonal kind, there is joined some personal satisfaction; it is impossible for me not to receive pleasure from a mark of esteem given by so select a society. This expression of pleasure I desire to emphasize the more, because I must join with it the explanation that I have, up to the present time, not availed myself of any scientific distinctions, or marks of honour—of a kindred kind. I entertain the belief that all titles which are not descriptive of functions, are, in the end, injurious—that the effects which seem directly beneficial are more than counter-balanced by indirect effects that are detrimental.

Too large a space would be required were I to state in full the reasons which have forced this belief upon me and have led me to decline scientific honours in England. I may, however, give the chief reason by quoting a passage from my reply to the President of the Royal Society, on the last occasion on which I was invited to become a candidate for fellowship [see p. 169, paragraph beginning "Other reasons"].

The conviction which prompted me to take the course thus intimated, not with respect to the title of F.R.S. only, but

with respect to other titles, is one which I still entertain, and in conformity with which I must continue to act. If, therefore, it is observed that on the title-pages of my books, my name appears without intimation of that corresponding membership which the Roman Academy has honoured me by according, it must be observed that its absence is accompanied by the absence of all other titles.

In the following year, under the impression that the Roman Academy had not conferred upon him the highest honour in its power, he addressed the Secretary (24 September, 1877), requesting his name to be removed.

Being, as implied by the facts I named, indifferent to academic honours in general, it may naturally be supposed that if honours of the first class did not effectually attract me, honours of an inferior class would be wholly unattractive. . . . Had I understood the matter at the time when I received the offer of the distinction . . . I should without hesitation have declined it. What I should at once have done then, I am anxious to do now without further delay. Will you therefore oblige by directing that my name be erased from your list, and that any other steps requisite for cancelling my election be taken forthwith?

Signor Quinto Sella, the President of the Academy, hastened to remove the misapprehension. "Your letter impressed me painfully" (he wrote October 1, 1877). "I fear you have thought that the Fellows of the Roman Academy have not for you and your highest services to science and humanity the esteem that you and they deserve. But such a thought is quite contrary to the truth." The distinction between *soci stranieri* and *soci corrispondenti* did not, he explained, indicate the Academy's estimate of scientific merit. By its statutes the number of *soci stranieri* was limited to ten, and there was a natural wish, if not a duty, to show special recognition in the first place, to those who had devoted themselves to old Roman history, institutions, and language, or who had rendered important services to modern Italy. "The task was easier for the election of the *correspondenti*. The number is greater, and they are divided by the statutes between the different branches of knowledge. The first election of *correspondenti stranieri* in the class of moral sciences ended February 7, 1876. Three Fellows

were to be elected, one for historical, one for philosophical, and one for social and political sciences. Your name came out in the first election with the utmost votes, *i.e.*, seventeen votes upon twenty-one voters *scattered in the different parts of Italy.*" An election with such a result, Signor Sella considered so high an honour, that he felt justified in urging Spencer not to insist on the purpose expressed in his letter of September 24. His retirement would "give to the distinction between *soci stranieri* and *correspondenti* a character which is not the intention of the Fellows of the Academy," and would "be the source of troublesome embarrassment. Certainly your wish is not to damage those who honestly intended to show to you their highest esteem." Signor Sella added that he had requested a colleague of the Academy, the Marquis Menabrea, the Italian Ambassador, to seek an interview with Spencer in order to remove the erroneous impression.

TO QUINTO SELLA.

October, 1877.

When proposing to take the step indicated in my recent letter, which seemed to me called for by regard for my position, I did not, of course, wish in any way to give offence to the members of the Roman Academy, still less to entail on them any such difficulty with respect to the distinction of classes as that which your letter of the 1st indicates; and I should regret to pursue a course which should have these results. . . .

Your letter by its details sufficiently shows me that there was not on the part of the Roman Academy any intention to make such a distinction as that which the classification nominally expresses. . . .

As, however, I should be reluctant to create any disagreeable feeling and further difficulty, and as I gather from General Menabrea that this inclusion in the second class is not likely to be permanent, I yield to your representations and agree not further to press the request made in my letter to you.

In July of the following year he was transferred to the class of *soci stranieri*.

He had been invited in 1874 to stand for the Lord Rectorship of the University of Edinburgh, and in the following year for that of Aberdeen. Though in both cases he declined the honour, his refusal was not so unqualified as in the case of St. Andrews. In his reply to the overtures from Edinburgh he said :—

If, as seems not improbable, I should, in years to come, be capable of undertaking more work than at present, I might, should the wish be expressed by many of the students, assent to a nomination as candidate for the Rectorship, and in the event of being honoured by their choice, should gladly avail myself of the opportunity afforded of doing what I could towards educational reform.

To the Aberdeen Committee his answer was more encouraging still :—

I should like very much to respond affirmatively to your question and to accept the implied invitation of your fellow-students. There are some views fit for an inaugural address, which I should gladly find an occasion to set forth. I must, however resist the temptation.

A renewal in October, 1876, of an invitation to lecture at the Royal Institution met with the same response as before.

As years go by I feel more and more that life is short and philosophy is long. . . . Were there no such reason I should very willingly yield to your suggestion, and if I decline I must beg you to interpret my decision as entirely due to this peremptory requirement that I shall economize my time and energies to the uttermost.

Ceremonial functions had no attractions for him. Towards some of them he had indeed an invincible repugnance, nurtured in early life by the precept and example of his father, and adhered to in after life on principle. In May, 1874, he was invited to an "At Home" at the Foreign Office, "To have the honour of meeting His Majesty the Emperor of Russia;" but regretted that he could not avail himself of the invitation. "The necessity of wearing a levee dress, to which Mr. Spencer has an insuperable objection, compels him to decline the offered pleasure." On being informed that Lady Derby would be sorry to be deprived of the pleasure of his company from a question of costume, and suggesting that he might come in ordinary evening dress, he wrote again.

Mr. Herbert Spencer is greatly indebted to the Countess of Derby for her kind concession. Not having foreseen any such

contingency, Mr. Spencer finds himself in a position for which he was not prepared.

While in the habit of disregarding conventions in ways not *too* obtrusive, Mr. Spencer feels that to make himself a solitary exception in so conspicuous a manner on such an occasion would be even more repugnant to him than conformity itself. Further, he sees that his act, inevitably ascribed to other motives than the true one, would subject him to the disagreeable comments which a wrong interpretation would excite. Thus explaining his difficulty, Mr. Spencer hopes that the Countess of Derby will not regard him as perverse if he does not avail himself of her kind permission. . . .

Fearing lest his course may seem to imply an undervaluation of the privilege conceded, Mr. Spencer yet trusts that the least unfavourable construction will be put upon it.

A few extracts may be given from a memorandum of his doings during the holiday of 1876 :

July 22.—Corran Ferry. Read by daylight at 10 at night.

August 5.—Reached the Dell. While at the Dell continued reading McLennan.

16.—Left for Kingussie and Fort William.

17.—Drive from Banavie to Arisaig—the most beautiful drive in the kingdom, as far as I have seen.

24.—Reached Mrs. Mitchell's at Laidlawstiel. Stayed till August 31. Walking, talking, driving, playing lawn tennis, and making memoranda of Domestic Institutions.

TO MRS. HOLT.

*Steamer "Iona," 22 August, 1876.*

I am, as you see, on my way south. The fishing [on the River Morar] was a delusion. The alleged  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles of river specified in the *Sportsman's Guide* dwindled to 1 mile. I gathered on approaching the place that only half a mile was worth fishing; and on inspection this half mile shrank to 150 yards! Further, in this 150 yards there were but three practicable casts; and in all but one of these, you were more likely than not to lose your salmon when you had hooked him! When with this was joined the lowness of the water and the continual fineness of the weather, you may understand why I so soon changed my address.

I had, however, some compensation in the beauty of the scenery my journey carried me through. Though the cost of posting more than forty miles gave me a prospective pain in the pocket, yet I was quite reconciled by what I saw. The drive from Banavie to Arisaig exceeds in number and variety of picturesque views any drive in Scotland I have seen; and that is



saying a great deal. If you should ever be in that region, pray do not forget it. I am about to write to my friends at Ardornish, suggesting that they should go in their yacht to Banavie, drive across, and be taken up by it on the other side.

Early in 1874 Spencer had urged, as a reason for Dr. Youmans coming to London, that the International Scientific Series "evidently wants a spur—some of the authors are lagging, and it is quite time that measures were taken for finding successors to them." A difference of opinion had also arisen between the publishers and the London Committee. The relations of this Committee to the publishers on the one hand and to authors on the other had never been defined. According to Spencer, "we are bound as a Committee to see that the understanding with authors who wrote for the series should be fulfilled. . . . I shall have a talk with Huxley and Tyndall upon it." Dr. Youmans reminded him that Professors Huxley and Tyndall "at the outset declined to have anything to do with the matter if it involved the slightest correspondence or business, or anything more than the giving of an opinion now and then in regard to the competency of writers. So, to protect the Committee from annoyance that would have been sure to follow publicity, I carefully refrained from having their names published." He feared, therefore, that any attempt to get them to move in the matter "might lose us the moderate benefits we now derive from them." Dr. Youmans had already begun to weary of an enterprise which at the outset was so full of promise. "The 'Series' seems to be in a very bad way (internationally), and I don't know but we shall have to let it go; it was a quixotic project and I doubt if it is worth much further attention."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

7 October, 1876.

I daresay you have observed in the two last numbers of the *Contemporary Review* two ferocious and utterly unscrupulous attacks on Huxley, Tyndall, and myself by Dr. Elam. The misrepresentations are throughout of the most unblushing kind. I was very nearly in the last number publishing a brief letter giving a sample, and indicating others, but was dissuaded by Tyndall and Lewes from taking notice of them. He evidently was shown a proof of my letter before I withdrew it, and has in consequence put an apology to his second article—an

apology, however, which really, unawares, commits him to a still more serious predicament. It is possible that I may still take up the matter in a general article under the title of the "Ethics of Theologians" or the "Ways of Theological Critics," giving examples from Kirkman, Mivart, Elam, and probably also from Canon Birks, who, I see, has just announced a book in which he avowedly makes an attack on *First Principles*.

The purport of the letter referred to, which was withdrawn after he had corrected the proof, may be gathered from the following sentences :—

Much space would be required to expose all Dr. Elam's misrepresentations. I should have to instance words put within quotation-marks in such a manner as to seem mine, which are not mine. I should have to instance sentences quoted alone, which derive all their significance from the adjacent sentences omitted. I should have to instance cases where that which is shown by the context to be a supposition is, by detachment from the context, made to appear an affirmation.

When on a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Potter in November Spencer saw a good deal of Bishop Ellicott, for whom he had a great regard.

TO E. L. YOUMANS,

25 November, 1876.

You would have been amused had you heard the conversation. As I was saying afterwards, he is a typical sample of religious opinions of the advanced type at the present time, which reminds me very much of the condition of a piece of furniture that has been attacked by white ants, which are said to honeycomb and eat out all the interior, and leave the exterior apparently unchanged—the result being that eventually the whole thing some day suddenly comes down with a crash.

The first volume of the *Sociology* would before now have been completed but for the fact that as he proceeded it dawned upon him that he had made a serious omission in not having included "Domestic Relations" in his original scheme. He had been working at this since some time before he went on his holiday in 1876; but the subject had grown upon him, and November found him some way from the end. He was "undecided what to do. There are four chapters which I ought to add to the part on 'Domestic

Relation' to complete all that I intended to say, and which seem to be called for by the requirements of the subject." Nevertheless, he decided to issue the volume in December without these four chapters. Exaggerated rumours about his health had spread both here and in America, calling forth many letters of sympathy: one being from Professor Bain, who was himself the object of regretful references in the United States early in the following year.

FROM E. L. YOUMANS.

9 February, 1877.

We had a great scare about the death of Bain. It was cabled over, and as there was no Alexander Bain in the Cyclopædias but him of Aberdeen, our friend was obituarized next morning in all the papers of the country. We all felt very badly about it, of course, and I wrote an elaborate leading article for the *Monthly*, which was just ready to stereotype, when we learned that it was the wrong man. I wrote to Bain that I was quite disgusted at having to throw away so much excellent work, and cudgel out something else at the last moment.<sup>1</sup>

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

14 March, 1877.

I write immediately on the receipt of your letter, which reached me this morning, *apropos* of your remarks concerning Appleton's article on "Copyright" in the *Fortnightly*. Pray write a brief letter to the *Fortnightly* rectifying his misstatements. It is important to do so especially at the present moment. There is now sitting a Copyright Committee which is entertaining some most monstrous proposals, going far to abolish copyright; and it is needful to do everything which tends to resist these proposals. I am myself giving evidence before it—have given part and have yet more to give. I hope we shall succeed in smashing the scheme, but it will not do to let any effort be neglected.<sup>2</sup>

26 May.—I ought to have written sooner. . . . But I have been very shaky. I have had to postpone many things. Among other distractions there has been the need for rectifying Tylor's statement in *Mind* [April, 1877], and there has also been the need for replying to McLennan's two articles in the *Fortnightly*,

<sup>1</sup> The Alexander Bain who died in 1877 was the author of several important telegraphic inventions.

<sup>2</sup> *Various Fragments*, p. 18.

which I have done in some papers appended to the last of them. Yesterday I took to the printers the last few pages of the *Sociology*, all which will be in type this evening.

With a view to remove the impression conveyed in *Mind* that in his Ghost theory he had adopted Mr. Tylor's views and had done so without acknowledgment, Spencer sent the editor a few pages for the next number, showing that he had not adopted Mr. Tylor's opinions. The correspondence with Professor Croom Robertson, the editor, continued till about the middle of June,<sup>1</sup> Spencer's replies being sent to Mr. Tylor before publication, and Mr. Tylor's to Spencer. In June Spencer writes: "My reply to Mr. Tylor, . . . while I think it completely rebuts his charges, establishes more clearly than before my own independence, and brings out with increased distinctness the inconsistencies in Mr. Tylor's statements of his own views." When forwarding this to Mr. Tylor, the editor expressed the opinion that Spencer "does in his second rejoinder establish his independence, and I shall be very glad if the controversy can be dropped." To the same effect a few days later: "You will let me repeat my opinion that in the statement Spencer establishes his independence, and I confess I shall be somewhat surprised if you can bring decisive evidence to the contrary. If you cannot, I am still of the same opinion I before expressed that you can, when there is no question as to your independence, well afford to make a frank allowance of his." Apparently this was what Mr. Tylor did not see his way to. "My belief," he wrote, "is strengthened the more I examine Spencer's writings, that his memory quite misleads him about where he gets his ideas."

The additional chapters of the first volume of the *Sociology* being off his mind only a short time before the end of May, it was a question how to spend to best advantage the weeks intervening between then and his annual holiday. Having as yet made no plans, a letter from Mrs. Smith inviting him to Ardtornish was welcomed. His stay there from the middle of August to the middle of

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<sup>1</sup> *Mind* for July, pp. 415-29.

September fully realised his expectations as to enjoyment and health.

TO MRS. SMITH.

LONDON, 17 *September*, 1877.

I may say that I think I am stronger than I have been since this time last year. Thanks in great measure, and I think chiefly, to Ardtornish and all its pleasures, indoor and outdoor, for this. Again I have to thank you for many happy days in addition to those enjoyed in years gone by. Should any one hereafter use the materials of a biographical kind which will be left behind me, he will probably find clear enough evidence that the most of the happiest days of my life have been spent at Ardtornish. And not only in respect of pleasure and health, but, as a consequence, in respect of working power, I feel my indebtedness. As with parents it ultimately becomes the chief object of life to rear their children and put them forward prosperously in the world, so, as an author's life advances, the almost exclusive object of anxiety becomes the fulfilment of his literary aims—the rearing of the progeny of the brain.

The needful data for "Political Institutions" not being yet ready for use, he made up his mind to take up the division dealing with "Ceremonial," publishing the successive chapters in the *Fortnightly Review*. By the end of the year arrangements were being made for their simultaneous appearance in the United States, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and Hungary. When 1877 closed, everything seemed favourable for uninterrupted progress.

## CHAPTER XV.

## THE SECULARIZATION OF MORALS.

*January, 1878—October, 1879.*

WITH the new year he made another attempt to keep a diary. The entry on January 1, 1878, runs: "'Presents.' Business. Club. Dined at Huxley's: Morley, Waller, Mr. Smalley." The entry "Presents," referring to the chapter so headed in "Ceremonial Government," occurs for the first eight days, except the 5th and 6th, when he was revising. Ninth—"Unwell—in bed all morning. Dictated introduction to 'Consciousness under Chloroform,' and memo. for Principles of Morality." Ethics was entered upon just now in the fear, as stated in the *Autobiography* (ii., 314), that he might never reach it in the ordinary course.

On the 13th began what he describes as "about the most miserable time that I can recall in my experience."

13th.—Wretched night—pain and no sleep. Indoors all day after getting up at 1. Rather better in evening. Mr. Bruce came in the morning and prescribed. 14th.—Wretched night. No sleep, but less pain. Indoors all day. No appetite. Sciatica, &c., pretty well gone. 15th.—Another dreadful night. Only sleep was while sitting in a chair by the fire in the middle of the night. 16th.—Wretched night. Took chloral. Very weak. In bed all day. No sleep. Little better appetite. 17th.—Horrible night again. Better, however. Down room after breakfast. Revised some proofs by hearing them read. Walshe came to consult. Appetite better. Lord A. Russell called. 18th.—Bad night again after taking quinine. Revising proofs by hearing read. A little appetite. Temperature still too high. 19th.—Another wretched night. Finished proofs. Walshe came again. Gave up quinine and prescribed bromide of potassium. Lewes called. 20th.—Better night. A little work—revising. Lewes called to see me. Temperature still too high. 21st.—

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NOTE.—*Autobiography*, ii., chaps. liv., lv., lvi.

Still better night. Revising. Sent proofs of Chapter III. to translators. Lewes and Mrs. Lewes called and spent an hour. Temperature lowering. 22nd.—Very good night. Improved generally. Letters and dictating Autobiography. Temperature lowering. 23rd.—Night not so good. Temperature nearly normal. Appetite fair. At 4.30 left Victoria—Brighton at 5.30. Reached Bristol Hotel without damage. Slept fairly by aid of chloric ether.

He remained at Brighton for over a week, improving daily. On return he plunged at once into social engagements. The social distraction cure had long been a favourite remedy, and he seemed bent on now giving it a fair trial. In the diary for March one reads: "Called on Mr. Gladstone, Sir H. Thompson and Mrs. Smith." "Fancy ball at the Huths. Went in plain dress to look on." "Gaiety Theatre." "Globe Theatre." "X dinner." "Exhibition of Old Paintings at Royal Academy." Another visit to Brighton. A "Paper by Bell at Anthropological on the Gesture-Language of Deaf Mutes." "Dined with Debus at the Saville Club." "Went to Hemming's for billiards." "Afternoon concert . . . pupils of Blind School." It was the same during April. One day he lunched with the Leweses, afterwards going with them to Herschel's concert; another day he dined at A. Sellar's, where he met Mr. Grant Duff, Smalley, and T. Sellar. On the 12th he wrote a letter to Mr. Froude for *Edinburgh Review* about copyright. On the 16th he gave a dinner at the Club to "F. Harrison, Morley, Pelly, Busk, Debus, Rutson and Frankland." Two days after he went to Standish, where he stayed a week, unwell most of the time. To the Adelphi Theatre on his birthday; to the wedding breakfast of Professor Huxley's eldest daughter on 4th May. Took Mr. Lott to the Royal Academy on 17th; and on evening of same day "dined at Spottiswoode's and went with them to the R.I. to hear Graham Bell." Next day he was off to Paris with Mr. Lott, taking with him a little work to revise. On 24th called on Baillière, the publisher. Next day "Dined chez Brébant with a party of 16 professors, journalists and deputies, invited by Baillière to meet me." Replying to the toast of his health he proposed "The Fraternity of the two nations," commenting on the great importance of cordial relations between France and England.

By the month of June he had come to the conclusion that the interest shown in the articles on "Ceremonial Government" was not sufficient to justify their continuance in the *Fortnightly*. The concluding chapter was begun, but put aside in favour of the "Data of Ethics," several chapters of which were now rough sketched in Kensington Gardens. Of this he writes to Dr. Youmans (5 July):—

I am quite satisfied with the working out of it; and when issued it will be a good piece of work done, and will, moreover, I think, be useful for the cause at large, as showing its moral bearings, and as disposing pretty effectually of all those reprobatory views which the theological party continually utter. I hope to begin writing it soon after my return to town in the autumn.

The following are further extracts from the diary:—

*2nd July.*—Italian Ambassador called to say that the Roman Academy had elected me a member. *5th.*—To Kew to Hooker's garden party. Dined with Potters to meet Prof. Marsh. *6th.*—Gave picnic at St. George's Hill, Weybridge, to four Potters, two Busks, two Harrisons, two Crosses, Lewes, Prof. Marsh. Tea at Oatlands. Went off very well. *14th.*—Called to enquire of Mrs. Smith—not likely to live through the day. *16th.*—Dined with Sir H. Thompson: Huxley, Trollope, Lord A. Russell, Prinsep, Knowles, Marks, &c.

The death of Mrs. Smith must have brought vividly to his mind the shock he had experienced in 1871, when her husband passed away. "The consciousness," he then wrote to Mr. Valentine Smith, "that the friendly grasp of his hand is one that I shall never again feel, already makes, and will continue to make, an appreciable difference in my world of thought."<sup>1</sup>

TO W. VALENTINE SMITH.

18 July, 1878.

I sympathize deeply in your feelings and in those of the family at large, and I enter the more into your griefs, as Mrs. Smith's death is a grief to me also. By her countless kindnesses, she is associated in my thoughts with my happiest days; and the world is the poorer to me, now that she has passed away from it.

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 229.



As you well know, I am not given to exaggerations ; so that I may be understood literally when I say that in all my experience I have known no one so sweet-natured, and in all ways so admirable, as your mother. There would be something like a justification for the Comtist religion—"the worship of Humanity"—if there were much humanity like hers.

Leaving town in the last week of July he spent a few days in Liverpool with Mr. and Mrs. Holt, and then went to Inveroran. The weather being too dry for fishing, the first eleven days of August were spent in rambling, revising, and reading Bain's *Mental and Moral Science*. Note the boyish satisfaction implied in the concluding remark in the diary for each of the next three days :—

12th.—Fishing. River up. Got two salmon : one of 20 lbs. weight, one of 12 lbs. Three other fishermen caught nothing. 13th.—Fishing. A flood. One grilse of 5 lbs. Three other fishermen caught nothing. 14th.—Fishing. No sport. Three other fishermen caught nothing. 17th.—Reading and revising in the morning. Afternoon at 3.30 began fishing. Lost four salmon in succession.

He was back in London on the 23rd, at least two weeks earlier than he intended. "My holiday has not been a success," he writes to Dr. Youmans from Carlisle on his way south, sending him also the paper on "Consciousness under Chloroform," being the experiences of a university graduate under chloroform, to which Spencer began dictating on 9th January what he calls an introduction, but which was really an appendix or summing up, showing how those experiences "furnished remarkable verification of certain doctrines set forth in the *Principles of Psychology*."<sup>1</sup>

On the 3rd September he wrote to Professor Tyndall, who was in Switzerland : "I send you from to-day's *Times* a leading article containing a passage which concerns you and which, being considerably to your disadvantage, alike as a man of science and as a logician, I think you ought to rectify." Taking as its text an address by Virchow on the necessity of caution in receiving and still more in teaching

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<sup>1</sup> *Mind* for October, 1878. Also *Popular Science Monthly* for October. *Principles of Psychology*, i., 636.

to the young some of the doctrines of modern science, the *Times* maintained that such problems should be reserved for one who will "devote himself to research in silence." Professor Tyndall does not appear to have responded to Spencer's suggestion; but the article led to letters in the *Times* from Prof. Ray Lankester and Mr. Richard Proctor.

While engaged in putting the rough sketch of the "Data of Ethics" into shape, he had been trying to persuade Dr. Youmans to join him in a proposed sojourn in the south of France.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

27 September, 1878.

I intend to take with me a good quantity of MS. to occupy me in revision. . . . If you could make up your mind to come with me and do a little idling in pleasant places, I am convinced that you will find it in the long run a great economy of time. As to not seeing how such things are possible, I hold it to be an instance of the absurd fanaticism of men like yourself, who think that the one thing impossible is to let business go, and that the only thing possible is to sacrifice health and life to it.

30 October.—My going abroad will very much be determined by your answer. . . . For once in your life resolve to take a little leisure and relaxation. You have not so very great a length of life left that you can with wisdom put it off. You should remember that you have not only got to do your work, but you have got to live; and, ever since I have known you, you have been thinking only of the work and never of the living. . . . I hope you will be able to arrange for your sister to come with you.

A few weeks before starting for the south of France, he had to mourn the loss of his oldest intimate literary friend—Mr. G. H. Lewes—to whose burial he went on December 4th. This (like the funeral of Mr. Octavius Smith in 1871) was one of the few instances in which he made an exception to his usual practice of avoiding funerals.<sup>1</sup>

Spencer and Dr. Youmans left London a few days before Christmas. Their time on the Riviera was divided

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 318.

between Hyères, Cannes, Nice, Cimiez, and Mentone. Mentone "is a charming place, far preferable to any of the others along the Riviera. . . . The multiplicity of beautiful walks is almost incomprehensible—how so much can be put in so small a space. The place, however, like nearly all the others in that region (I except Cimiez), is decidedly relaxing." From Mentone excursions were made to Ventimiglia, Bordighera, San Remo, Monaco and Monte Carlo. Here are some of the entries from the diary :—

9 January, 1879.—Rained at night and all day. Very cold—could not keep warm with fire in room night and day. Revising. Indoors all day. One day.—Excursion up one of the valleys, Youmans on an ass, I walking. Next day.—Long walk with Oscar Browning and Youmans. Another day.—Wet night and rainy day. A good deal of revising, very little walking. Returned Lord Acton's call. Feb. 11th.—Finished all my revising. 14th.—Wet morning. Reading Sidgwick. Found that Lord Acton had called with Sig. Minghetti. Returned Sig. Minghetti's call—out. 15th.—Went to station 10.40. Lord Acton brought Sig. Minghetti and M. Lavallie to the station to introduce, just before I started. Left at 11. Dined at Marseilles about six. Travelled in the Wagon-lit. Got very little sleep. 16th.—Reached Paris at 10, not much the worse. . . . Youmans exhausted. 17th.—Called on Baillièrè and arranged about the translation of *Ethics* and retranslation of *Education*. Left Paris at 1.20. Got home at 11.30.<sup>1</sup>

Hitherto he had escaped the attentions of *Vanity Fair*, but on 30 April he wrote: "You will laugh at *Vanity Fair* which I send you, and in which I am gibbeted this week. The biographical sketch is about as absurd as the portrait."

While correcting proofs of the last chapters of the "Data of Ethics" he spent a few days at Wilton. The diary runs :—

9th June.—Got to Wilton at 5. Cordially received by Lord and Lady Pembroke. Guests : Hon. S. Littleton, Mr. Wheatley. 10th.—Revising proofs. Walking. Afternoon played lawn

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the journey to and sojourn in the south of France from his companion's point of view, the reader is referred to Dr. Youmans's racy letters to members of his family, printed in *Edward Livingston Youmans*, pp. 350-61.

tennis. Drove with Lady Pembroke and her sister. Lord and Lady Vesey arrived, and Mr. Val Prinsep. 11th.—Bad morning: lounged and talked. Afternoon took a long walk alone to escape talking. Lady Lothian, sister of Lady Pembroke, arrived—a disciple of mine. 12th.—Bad day. Lounging and talking. Afternoon walked and played lawn tennis. Mr. and Lady Constance Lawley, a disciple of mine, came.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

20 June, 1879.

The "Data of Ethics" was issued on Tuesday. . . .

If you could cultivate a more "devil-may-care" attitude of mind, it would be a very good thing for you, and would eventually conduce to doing a great deal more. Now that I am not with you and cannot play the bully over you daily, I see you are relapsing into your old malpractices. . . . However, it is no use saying anything.

Dr. Youmans intended to write an introduction to the American edition of the "Data of Ethics," so as to "give a pretext to copyrighting it, and at all events mark it as a kind of authorized edition that could not be fully reproduced. . . I have worked upon the matter, though the result will not answer." The proposed introduction was afterwards amplified and altered, and appeared as an article in the *North American Review* for August. At home the book was welcomed with many private expressions of approval.

FROM WILLIAM E. H. LECKY.

20 June, 1879.

I am glad to gather from your prospectus that you mean in the ensuing parts to deal with the different groups or classes of virtues separately, describing, no doubt, their genesis, their relations to one another, their limitations and their proportionate value. Most books on moral philosophy seem to me almost worthless because they do not deal sufficiently in the concrete, do not divide or distinguish the different kinds of moral action and show how frequently they conflict with one another, and how trains of circumstances which foster one class of virtues will often inevitably depress another. . . . I think a great deal has still to be written on the filiation of moral qualities, on the history of moral types—the proportionate value which different qualities bear in the ideals of different ages.

FROM MRS. LEWES.

27 June, 1879.

I rejoice not in the cause, but in the fact of your having broken the contemplated order of your series for the sake of securing this portion of your Ethics, and if I did not believe it to be an impertinence to tell an author what one would wish him to do, I should say a little more of the value that many would attach to a continuation of this web as something more needed than even the completion of the Sociological portion. Of course, as you predict, you will be partly misunderstood and misrepresented. That is destiny unshunnable. All one must care about is that some grains of corrective knowledge or useful stimulus will be here and there swallowed and digested.

I have an evil pleasure in observing that you have as good a crop of little misprints as I should have left myself.

FROM THE EARL OF DERBY.

30 June, 1879.

Lord Derby is glad to have the opportunity . . . of expressing to Mr. Spencer personally his sense of the intellectual obligation under which he lies to a writer whose thoughts he has for many years endeavoured to understand and follow. It is neither his wish nor his right to pay compliments; but he may be allowed to acknowledge a debt.

FROM ALFRED R. WALLACE.

2 July, 1879.

I must express my admiration of the complete way in which you have developed the *true nature* of Ethics. On that aspect of the question I agree with you unhesitatingly throughout. . . . But I *doubt* if evolution alone, even as you have exhibited its action, can account for the development of the advanced and enthusiastic *altruism* that not only exists now, but apparently has always existed among men. . . . If on this point I doubt, on another point I feel certain, and that is, not even your beautiful system of ethical science can act as a "controlling agency" or in any way "fill up the gap left by the disappearance of the code of supernatural ethics."

French appreciation of Spencer's writings did not always take a form so agreeable as that described in the *Autobiography* (ii. 326). A reactionary member of the Chamber of Deputies had invoked Spencer's opinion against one of the two "Lois Ferry"—the one excluding from the superior council of public instruction the representatives

of the clergy. Spencer mentions this in a letter to Dr. Youmans (July 26).

If you happen to see the *Times* of the 24th (I think it was) you will see, in the letter of the Paris correspondent, indication of the fact that, in the Chamber of Deputies, the clerical party have been trying to support their views by quotations from one of my books, and that I have had to write to Algave a letter, which he has published [*Revue Scientifique* for July], correcting their misapprehension. The *Times* correspondent rightly remarks, however, that I am clearly opposed to that part of the "Ferry" bill which negatives private initiation of teaching.

During August and the greater part of September he was on holiday—at Inveroran, Ardtornish, Laidlawstiel, and Russland. At Laidlawstiel he had a great deal of discussion. "As both Lord and Lady Reay are very stimulating companions I did an amount of talk which over-tired my brain."

TO MISS FLORA SMITH.

LIDLAWSTIEL, 9 September, 1879.

There had been a great clearance here the day before my arrival—chiefly of French friends ; and there remained only Mr. Rollo Russell, the second of the late Earl's sons. On Sunday two local notabilities came—two of the Cecils, Lord Arthur and Lord Lionel—who have taken to sheep-farming ; one of them having married the daughter of a Northumberland farmer under whom they studied farming. They are very pleasant and intelligent, and surrender themselves completely to their careers. Since their departure yesterday, I have been the sole guest, and have had a dreadful amount of talking to do. . . .

And now let me say how much I have enjoyed my stay at Ardtornish—more happy days added to the countless happy days of past years. When I look back on my life, I feel that the part of it which I would willingly live over again, is the part made up of my many visits to your Highland home.

Pray accept, and give to your brother, my thanks for unceasing kind attentions.

On his return to town what remained of September and the whole of October were occupied mainly with giving the final touches to "Ceremonial Institutions" (the name he had substituted for "Ceremonial Government"), in arranging his memoranda for the next division of the *Sociology*, and in writing the first chapter of "Political Institutions."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

1 October, 1879.

I have already seen the *Nation's* review [of the "Data of Ethics."] . . . It is not much amiss save in being rather too jaunty in its style.

The other reviews have been quite satisfactory—the one in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the one in the *Academy* being, like that in the *Athenæum*, careful analyses. I feel alike surprised and gratified at this new turn reviewers are taking, in occupying the space not so much in giving their own opinions as in giving the author's. Bain's review in *Mind* is just issued, and is extremely satisfactory. It, too, is essentially analytical, with a small amount of criticism expressing no dissent of an important kind ; and, coming as it does from an adherent of the old utilitarian view, and from one who has familiarized himself so completely with the whole field of Ethics, with all its controversies, it is entirely what I could wish. He really, I think, behaves very well considering that I have on so many occasions been rather unsparing in my criticisms of him.

6 October.—I have just received a volume attacking me, entitled "On Mr. Spencer's Formula of Evolution." You may judge the character of it from my acknowledgment sent to the author, which was as follows :—"Mr. Spencer is obliged to Mr. Guthrie for the copy of his work. Mr. Spencer is not obliged to Mr. Guthrie for his elaborate misrepresentations."

8 October.—Your letter of the 26th has just reached me, and in the course of two or three hours afterwards, the copy of the *North American Review*. Many thanks for both. I am glad you have made use of the notice which you proposed to affix to the American edition of the "Data of Ethics." On the whole it is more appropriate, and will be of much greater service, where it is.

It is capitally done, I think, . . . The taking as a text of the initial sentence of the "Data of Ethics"—the relations between the part and the whole—is very happy, and is especially true in its relation to the Synthetic Philosophy. I was glad also that you dwelt upon the great perversion of opinion that has resulted from the strange, almost universal, tendency to take the negative part of *First Principles* as the characteristic part ; ignoring the positive essential part constituting the theory of evolution. It is a wonderful illustration of human perversity. One never gets over the tendency to suppose that if things were clearly put before people, they will somehow or other see them ; but one ever gets repeated proofs that no matter how conclusive the demonstration, no matter how abundant the

illustrations, they will persist in some absurd misapprehension or other.<sup>1</sup>

10 *October*.—I enclose you something to astonish you. Imagine my name being received with cheers at a Church Congress! After such a sign of the times as this, what may we not expect? The fact may serve you upon occasion to throw at the heads of your theologians in the United States.

The enclosure was a report, in the *Times* of October 10, of a meeting of the Church Congress at Swansea, at which a paper was read on "Religious Benefits from Recent Science and Research." In the discussion that followed, the Rev. Professor Watkins, of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, speaking of the Evolution theory, said that "he felt sure that when the history of this century came to be written from the standpoint of the future, the name of Herbert Spencer would be found in the very first rank among English speakers and thinkers (Cheers). In ultimate principles he differed from Spencer *toto coelo*, but he was therefore the more anxious to acknowledge the greatness of his work and the philosophical spirit in which it had been conducted." Another clergyman of the Church of England—the Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, sent him an Inaugural Address. "It will show you how greatly I value your works on Evolution and how deeply I am indebted to you in my studies on sociological subjects. . . . I am not a solitary instance of belief in Evolution among my *confrères* in the ministry." From Nonconformists came similar proofs of an open-mindedness, the absence of which among the clergy Spencer was too ready to assume.

FROM E. L. YOUMANS.

29 *October*, 1879.

Thanks for the slip from the *Times* which did astonish me. There was an American Church Congress in session in Albany, and Appleton's country parson, Mr. Wylde, was secretary of it. Mr. W. H. Appleton posted the slip to him as soon as it came, and it was passed around and produced a great

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<sup>1</sup> About this constant complaint of misunderstanding or misrepresentation a critic remarked: "Whether that is a just reproach to his critics or to himself, as being the author of a system so liable to be misunderstood, may well be considered."



deal of gratification. Rev. Mr. Wylde said on his return, "We are coming over to you just as fast as we can get there."

What you said about the anti-military movement<sup>1</sup> interested me much. I have thought a good deal about it. But will it really be worth while for you to move in the matter? Will not the burden of such a thing fall very much on yourself, and have you an ounce to spare from your legitimate work, which in the long run must tell more widely and powerfully upon public sentiment than any organised agitation could do.

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<sup>1</sup> In a postscript to letter of October 10, quoted in *Autobiography*, ii., 329-30.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## EGYPT AND AMERICA.

(November, 1879—December, 1882.)

HITHERTO Spencer's farthest journeys abroad had been the visits to Italy in 1868, and to the south of France in 1878. His friends in the United States had for years been pressing him to come to America, but, while continuing to treat it as a probable event, he had from time to time put it off on one pretext or another. And now, towards the end of 1879, he suddenly made up his mind to go—not to America, but to Egypt. This step would, he felt sure, astonish his friend in New York.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

5 November, 1879.

You will be startled by the intelligence that in a few days hence I start for Egypt—having agreed to join a party up the Nile. The intention is to be away for four months; so that it will probably be the beginning of March before I come back. I hesitated some days because, not being able to take an amanuensis, my work will be retarded; for I have no MS. ready for revision as I had last winter. However, I have decided that I must revert to primitive practices and be my own amanuensis while on the Nile; where, as I hear, there is plenty of leisure.

The volume of "Ceremonial Institutions" will be out of my hands before I go next Tuesday.

P.S.—I enclose you an inaugural address of Calderwood, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh. It is a piece of poor fumbling. But it is a good sign of the times.

The following are extracts from the diary:—

30th October.—Went to see Kate Potter about going to Egypt. 31st.—Decided to go to Egypt. 6th November.—

Letter from Mrs. Potter proposing that Margaret should go with me to Egypt. . . . Called on W. Cripps (Margaret's brother-in-law) to see whether he thought Mrs. Grundy would frown. He pooh-poohed my qualms. 9th.—Finished revising proofs of "Ceremonial Institutions." George Holme and his son Charles called and lunched with me. . . . Went to say good-bye to Huxley, Mrs. Lewes, Busks. . . . Called at Meinertzhagens. 10th.—Final preparations. Seeing last revise. 14th.—Got to Bologna. 15th.—Started at 9 sight-seeing. Saw San Petronio and San Dominico; the University and the gallery des Beaux Arts. 16th, Sunday.—Went up the great tower of Bologna. Saw more churches. 20th.—Arrived at Alexandria. Took guide and went with Margaret round bazaar. Saw the remaining obelisk cased for journey to America. 21st.—Arrived at Cairo. After dejeuner saw howling dervish worship. Saw mosques of Sultan Hassan and Muhammad Ali. Tomb of kings and cemetery. 26th.—Started with party to the Pyramids. Did not ascend, but perambulated all of them. Examined various tombs. Much impressed. Day to be remembered. 27th.—Arranging memo. for chapter on "Political Organization." In afternoon walked with Mr. Barnett to old Cairo. Back on donkeys. 28th.—Went to dancing dervishes and to ancient mosque salon. 29th.—Went with our party to decide on boat. Fixed on the "Hedwig." 30th.—Saw two mosques by permission; also Arab University (!) and bazaars. 1st December.—Moonlight ride with party on donkeys to see the tombs of the caliphs. [Mariette Bey was read and re-read during a visit to Helouan from the 5th to the 9th.] 6th.—Wandered over adjacent desert. . . . Struck by marks of denudation. Recent storms and great torrents. 12th.—Started about 11. 13th.—Saw the step-pyramid, the tomb of Tih and the Serapeum. 22nd.—Beni-Hassan. *Ice on deck at night.* 23rd.—Good sailing day. Reached Assiout at about 4 in the morning. Sailing all night that I might catch the train and return. 24th.—Bade good-bye to Barnetts and Potters and left at 8 for Cairo. At 10.15 three carriages thrown off the rails by a buffalo. Started again at 12.15. [This sudden resolve to return home, of which no mention is made in the *Autobiography*, was due to his having fallen into a state of health such as that described in the *Autobiography*, "in which fancies, afterwards seen to be morbid, took possession of me." After seeing Dr. Grant and two days' rest at Cairo, the morbid fancies vanished.] Decided to rejoin my friends. 28th.—Started at 8. Got to Assiout at 7. Mr. Miles gone. Taken on board the "Vision" by Mr. Darrell. 29th.—Telegraphed to Mr. Barnett that I am coming. Blew a gale, could not leave our moorings. [Left on 30th, doing forty miles that day, and twenty the last day of the year. In the diary for 1880, across the first five days one reads:] Not having my new diary with

me, could not fill up these days, during which I was travelling on towards Luxor with Mr. Darrell and Mr. Wroughton. 6th January.—Arrived at Luxor at 2 o'clock. Got on board the "Hedwig." Friends absent. Went to the temple of Karnak and spent the afternoon there. 8th.—Saw the temple of Esneh. 9th.—Saw the temple of Edfou. 11th.—Assouan. Went to see the semi-detached obelisk. 13th.—Got to Philæ. Scenery around very fine. Interesting day. 14th.—Spent day at Philæ and adjacent shores. Disappointed with remains, but not with the scenery. 16th.—Excursion to Assouan and island of Elephantine. None but small donkeys which I would not ride, disliking to overtax them. Walked through desert both ways. 17th.—Friends started for second cataract and I went on board Cook's steamer. Found there Professor Sayce. 20th.—Across desert to Assouan, partly riding, partly walking. 21st.—To Luxor. Went to see Karnak by moonlight. 23rd.—Excursion to Abydos, very instructive, with Professor Sayce as cicerone. [On the 25th he was at Cairo, where he stayed till 28th, when he went to Alexandria, embarking on 29th for Venice, which was reached on 4th February.] 5th.—Along various small canals, and saw sundry churches and the Accademia. Up the Campanile of St. Mark, and gondola round the Giudecca in afternoon. 6th.—Saw Chiesa della Salute, St. Giorgio Maggiore, the Arsenal, the north shore of Venice, the Doges' Palace, and into St. Mark again. 7th.—Got to Milan. Glanced into Duomo and walked about admiring the town. 8th, Sunday.—Heard part of mass in Cathedral. Gallery of the Brera. Explored town. Evening at La Scala. 9th.—Went to the gallery of paintings at the Brera. Went again to admire the cathedral. 10th.—Reached Paris. 11th.—Called on Baillière, saw Ribot and Marion. 12th.—Got to London. Heartily glad—more pleasure than in anything that occurred during my tour.

His experiences he thus sums up: "At my age I feel more and more that the game is not worth the candle." "However, I have gathered some valuable information and gained some valuable impressions." One of these impressions he describes with genuine and deep feeling in the *Autobiography* (ii., 342). The materials he had taken with him, intending to write some chapters of "Political Institutions" on the Nile, were brought back unused. He was therefore anxious to go on with this at once, but hesitated in view of the need for adding to the *Psychology* a new Part—on "Congruities."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

23 February, 1880.

While I have been away in Egypt my affairs have been going on swimmingly. . . .

I am just now in an undecided state whether forthwith to go on with "Political Institutions," or whether to add a new division to the *Principles of Psychology*. . . .<sup>1</sup> Possibly I may first write some two or three chapters of "Political Institutions" which I have pretty well thought out, and which may suffer by delay, and then turn to this addition to *Psychology*.

Dr. Youmans was decidedly of opinion that the *Psychology* should be attended to first. "The repetition and concert of attack at this point with no reply are construed as a victory of criticism. So that just now it seems more important to strengthen the discussion than extend it. A reply at this time, and bringing out the congruities you originally thought of, would be very telling." This advice was not followed, probably for the reason given above that his mind was already occupied by the ideas to be set forth in "Political Institutions," the earlier chapters of which were written during the excitement of a general election.

TO EDWARD LOTT.

8 April, 1880.

Let us shake hands over this immense political change. I expect you are even more surprised than I have been, judging from the discouragement you were under when you were with me. I suspect we have none of us sufficiently appreciated the great effect of late years produced in divorcing provincial opinion from London opinion by the growth of the provincial daily press. The result of this has been that whereas in past times the provincial towns took their tone from London daily papers, now they in large measure take their tone from their own daily papers.

The chapters he was writing and the political situation were probably responsible for his again raising the question of the feeling towards America at the time of the Civil War.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Youmans would fain have shelved the matter altogether, but, fearing that Spencer would not agree to that, he pleaded

<sup>1</sup> For the omitted portion of the letter see *Autobiography*, ii., 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, chap. xii., p. 145.

for postponement. "There would certainly be less objection to its publication now than formerly. But there are special reasons why it should not appear now. The public are occupied with you now in another relation, and it would be inexpedient to divide, or divert, attention. I send you some papers illustrative of the row at Yale College." The "row" had arisen out of the use of the *Study of Sociology* as a text-book by Professor Sumner; President Porter objecting to the use, in a college "intimately associated in its history and constitution with the Christian religion," of a book the tone of which was calculated to diminish respect for Christianity. When the excitement had died down, the letter was sent to Dr. Youmans "with the commission to give the *Tribune* the alternative of either publishing it entire or not at all." It appeared in full in the *Tribune* of June 28, 1880, accompanied by a dissident leading article, in which it was said :—

"Any letter which Mr. Herbert Spencer addresses to the American people will be read with respect and interest. . . . There is less misconception of the facts, on this side of the water, than Mr. Spencer imagines. . . . Mr. Spencer's citations refer to a time so long before the actual outbreak of war that they cannot be considered of great value. Perhaps we can best learn the state of English sentiment in 1861 by consulting an English statesman who knows his countrymen much better than we do, and better than even Mr. Herbert Spencer." Quoting from Mr. Bright's speeches the *Tribune* goes on to say: "It is interesting to remark how differently the hasty recognition of confederate belligerency struck Mr. Spencer and Mr. Bright. . . . If Americans were becoming irritable toward Great Britain, Mr. Bright could not help admitting that many things had been said and done in England to justify the feeling—even to make England cordially hated. That is now a thing of the past; but if our English friends will discuss it they must hear the truth."

Of the reception of the letter Dr. Youmans writes (3 July) :—

It does not seem to have made any public impression. . . . I have seen several of your old and staunch friends, who expressed emphatic regret at its appearance. The strain of comment being as follows: "The first weak thing with which Spencer's name has publicly been associated"; and "So Spencer is beaten for the first time"; "A bad introduc-

tion for Spencer's forthcoming Political Discussion"; "Happily it has fallen so dead it cannot do much mischief." I have simply replied that it was an honest piece of work that Spencer thought important and wished published, and it is therefore best that it should be printed. He will care little how it is received.

As for Anglo-American copyright, it was becoming a crying necessity.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

27 April, 1880.

I regret that the copyright question stands in so little hopeful a position; for I quite agree with you that in the absence of popular opinion in favour of a change, there is little chance of making an effectual one. I regret to hear that Matthew Arnold's absurd article is doing mischief with you. It did not occur to me that any one would pay much attention to it. I will glance at it and see whether it may not be effectually dealt with in a short space, and may, in such case, possibly say something about it.

6 October.—Knowles tells me that your representative over here, Lowell, has drawn up a form of treaty, the basis of which is giving copyright to authors if the works are reproduced in the United States—such reproduction allowing of the transmission of stereotype plates. This seems to be all that is wanted, if the details are not such as to hinder the working of it.

In July, 1881, Dr. Youmans was hopeful of the result; but after a visit to Washington in December, along with Mr. Appleton and Mr. Harper, he wrote in a tone of deep despondency. The visit "amounted to nothing, and I was fairly ashamed of the whole transaction."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

10 January, 1882.

Your accounts of copyright negotiations and of the condition of the publishing business are certainly very unsatisfactory. . . .

I wish your American public could be made to feel the utter viciousness of the plea commonly put in in defence of your piratical system—that it is essential for your institutions that the people should have access to knowledge, unrestrained by regard for the author's claims. The truth which, instead

of this, should be impressed upon them, but which I fear nothing will make them recognize, is that free institutions can exist and work well only in virtue of an all-pervading equity. The coercive form of government, itself implying an over-riding of men's rights, is capable of maintaining a tolerably stable social state among citizens whose regard for one another's rights is comparatively small : force does what conscience fails to do. But in proportion as a government becomes non-coercive, and is the concomitant of a social system based upon contract and the working together under voluntary co-operation, things can go well only in proportion as citizens have such natures as prompt them to respect one another's claims.

Already the well-working of your institutions is perturbed in all kinds of ways by dishonesty. Any increase of dishonesty will eventually, in some way or other, cause their collapse ; their only salvation is increase of honesty. Hence, so far from its being needful, as your people allege, that the necessity is diffusion of knowledge at the expense even of honesty, it is, contrariwise, needful that there should be a diffusion of honesty, even should there be some consequent impediment to the spread of knowledge. It is, I suppose, hopeless to try to make them see this.

To return to the spring and early summer of 1880. Mention is made in the diary of meeting M. Renan and Mr. Robert Browning at dinner at Mrs. Lecky's ; of being at Professor Huxley's lecture on "The Coming of Age of the *Origin of Species* ;" of meeting M. Vambéry at Mrs. Huxley's, and Mr. Gladstone and a "distinguished party" at Lady Reay's. Of work on which he was engaged he mentions a reply to Mr. Guthrie, a postscript to the *Study of Sociology*<sup>1</sup> and a preface and appendix to the fourth edition of *First Principles*. He was also in correspondence with Mr. William De Morgan, who was annoyed that in the *Study of Sociology* his father had been charged with "recklessness of misrepresentation." To avoid giving offence Spencer offered to modify the passage in the International Scientific Series edition and to suppress it in the library edition. Mr. De Morgan preferred, however, that the passage should be left as it was, Spencer adding his reasons for the charge.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Library edition, p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> *Study of Sociology* (I.S.S. edition, p. 412 ; library edition, p. 426).



TO E. L. YOUMANS.

8 July, 1880.

Grant Allen is busy with the article "The Ways of Orthodox Critics." The materials for it, which I have furnished for him, are abundantly strong, and will, if rightly put together, form a very telling response to their attacks. . . . I shall probably send you, in a few days, proof of a portion of the Appendix to *First Principles*, in which I am making a rejoinder to Tait and Kirkman in respect to a criticism on the formula of Evolution. It will, I think, prove somewhat amusing.

Yesterday, in pursuance of an appointment made with him, I had an interview with Lord Derby for the purpose of enlisting his sympathies in favour of a professorship of Sociology which I want to get established at Liverpool. They are about to form at Liverpool a college, and have raised some £70,000. Lord Derby has subscribed £10,000 to found one of the chairs, and until I saw him I was unaware that he had decided what the professorship should be. It seems, however, that he has settled that it is to have a chair for Natural History, so that my hope that he would at my instigation establish a chair of Sociology is balked. . . .

Just now I am writing the additional part of the *Psychology*, promised some years ago under the title "Congruities," and hope I may get through it before I leave town. So long a time has passed since the subject was out of my hands that I feel somewhat slow in my thought on returning to it, and am perplexed how to present the leading facts in adequately small compass, and at the same time in a sufficiently clear way.

16 July.—I received a day or two ago a work on Protection and Free Trade from a Spaniard at Barcelona, in which he lays my various books under contribution, and especially the general ideas of the social organism, by way of supporting the protectionists' doctrine! . . .

A curious incident, and one of considerable importance to me, occurred a few days ago. You remember my old antagonist, Moulton, and our tremendous fight. I do not know if I ever told you that not long after, he made, as I perceived by the signs, various endeavours to establish friendly relations, and after a time, by force of getting to meet me at dinner parties, succeeded in doing so, and ever since then he has been very civil.

The "curious incident" had reference to information from Mr. Moulton bearing on the Nebular Hypothesis.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Infra.* chap. xxvi.

Reports even more absurd than usual were going the round of the Press, both at home and in America. One was to the effect that he was about to marry an American heiress, whom he was said to have met at Cairo. Another that he was about to "make the tour of the world by the United States and Japan route. He will devote two years to it, take 'sociological observations' at the more important points, and be accompanied by one or two scientific friends and one of his secretaries."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

8 September, 1880.

How the false statement has originated I have not the remotest idea. Commonly, for these gossiping paragraphs, absurd as they mostly are, I can discern some origin; but in this case I know of none whatever. Nothing that I have said or done, so far as I know, gives the slightest foundation for the statement. . . .

I had a call from Mr. Savage, the Boston minister, the other day. He seems to be an intelligent and broad-minded man.

6 October.—I am just about to commence a reply to the criticisms of Sidgwick and others on the "Data of Ethics," to be published in the January number of *Mind*. After this is out of hand, I shall have done all my fighting for the present, and shall resume work quietly on the "Political Institutions."

8 November.—Tait made my criticism upon him the subject-matter of his inaugural lecture to the students at Edinburgh this year. . . . He is, as I hear, about to publish the lecture in *Nature*, and in that case we shall have a fight. If there is nothing in his lecture better than appears from this report, he will, I fancy, have to repent breaking silence.

Some little time ago a Mr. Richard Hodgson, Jr., a perfect stranger to me, a graduate of St. John's, Cambridge, wrote to me saying that he had been allowed, on his own request, to take as a subject, . . . the examination of Green's articles in the *Contemporary* of some two years ago, in which he made an attack upon my metaphysical doctrine. Mr. Hodgson offered to send me his paper, and did so. It was very good in substance but too diffuse and unorganized; and after suggesting various omissions and a second time sending it back to him for further revision and abridgement, it has been reduced to a satisfactory form and is, I think, very telling. It has been sent to the *Contemporary*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review*, December, 1880.

30 *November*.—I have just got through my various small hindrances, including, among other things, the new division of the *Psychology*, . . . Unless Tait makes his threatened attack in *Nature*, for which I have been waiting for several weeks, I shall have done with my critics for some time to come, I hope, and shall be able to get on with my work more satisfactorily.

2 *December*.—Tait has been showing fight at last, and fired off his gun in the last number of *Nature*. . . . There will probably reach you, simultaneously with this, my rejoinder.

17 *December*.—In your copy of *Nature*, which I suppose will reach you at the same time with this letter, you will see the end of the Tait business. As I told you before the controversy began, I suspect he will repent having moved further in the matter.

10 *January*, 1881.—I thought I had finished my fighting for the present and pretty well settled all my critics. Still, there is something remaining to be done. Professor Green has answered Mr. Hodgson in the last number of the *Contemporary*, and I think it will be needful to take up the matter briefly myself.

The other day I found lying for me at the Athenæum a letter containing a copy of some verses *à propos* of the fight with Tait. By way of amusement I send a copy.<sup>1</sup>

14 *February*.—I am just getting through a chapter on "Compound Political Heads"—the most perplexing chapter I had to write on any topic. When I have got it to my satisfaction I feel that I shall have done the hardest bit of work in this division. You saw the reply to Green in the *Contemporary*, I

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<sup>1</sup> On a recent encounter between a great Counter and a great Accounter.

"Like braying ass doth Spencer bray,"  
Cried Tait to raise the laugh.

"Nay, what he sells as wholesome wheat  
Is simply wind-blown chaff."

When Spencer sharply pinked him for't,  
Tait bawled, his class to cozen,

"He smites because I dared term six,  
What he terms half-a-dozen!!"

When Spencer this poor fiction called,  
What then did P. G. say?

"My facts called fictions, I shan't stand,"  
He howled and ran away.

suppose. He has written to Strahan saying he does not intend to continue the matter, and requesting that his letter should be sent on to me. In it, while he does not confess that he is wrong in his representations, he apologizes for the expressions he had used, which he admits to have been altogether out of taste. This controversy having come to an end I now feel free, and hope to avoid all such wastes of time for the future—especially as my critics are all as quiet as mice.

The following are from the diary at the end of 1880 :—

19th December. — Called on Mrs. Cross and Lady Claud Hamilton. [On 20th he went to Hastings on a visit to the Busks.] 24th — Saw announced the death of Mrs. Cross. Telegraphed to Cross. Later, at his request, to the Dean of Westminster, and to Huxley and Tyndall. 29th—"George Eliot's" funeral at Highgate. Large gathering, though very bad day.

The day before he called on Mrs. Cross she had written to him.

FROM MRS. CROSS ("GEORGE ELIOT").

4, CHEYNE WALK,

18 December, 1880.

I have been slow to thank you for the kind present of your latest publications, of which I have made ample use, having re-read with Mr. Cross your "Data of Ethics," and the *Study of Sociology*. We saw that you had left your card at the Priory, and therefore we hope that you will find your way to this new home, where you would certainly be welcome.

At the foot of the above Spencer has written :—

I believe this was the last letter she wrote.<sup>1</sup> I called the next afternoon (Sunday) and had a long, pleasant talk with her—thought her looking worn, but she did not seem otherwise unwell. I little thought I should never see her more! She was taken ill that night, and I heard nothing of it until, at Hastings, I saw it announced in the papers that she had died on Wednesday night. Alas!

As "one of the very oldest and most valued of her friends," Spencer was the one to whom Mr. Cross naturally turned for assistance in carrying out his wife's wish to be buried in Westminster Abbey. Professor Tyndall warmly

<sup>1</sup> But see *George Eliot's Life*, iii., 438.

pressed her claims ; but on hearing from Dean Stanley that the movement had been abandoned, he wrote to Spencer : "Between you and me I think this wise. Better far to bury her with silent reverence at Highgate, than to raise a clatter of tongues as to her claims to be buried in the Abbey." But the "clatter of tongues" was heard both in this country and in the United States, with reference to the part which Spencer had taken in her education. This erroneous statement, which had been repeated at intervals for many years, was at once rectified by a letter to the papers.<sup>1</sup>

During a week at Brighton, in March, he met the Leckys almost daily, played billiards most evenings with Mr. William Black, and was twice photographed by Mayall. It was probably with reference to one of these photographs that Professor Huxley wrote : "There is just a touch of severity in the eye. We shall hang it up in the dining-room, and if anybody is guilty of exaggerated expressions or bad logic (five womenkind habitually sit round that table) I think they will feel that that eye is upon them." From the diary may be culled the following items :—

27th April.—Finished by dictation memo. on the Physiology of Character. 9th May.—Club. Annual meeting. My service on the Committee ends, after seven years (two threes and a year on joint Committee). 12th.—To breakfast with Gladstone. 19th.—Gave Dinner at Club to the Japanese minister, Bain, Masson, Morley, Frankland, Sir H. Thompson, and Lord Arthur Russell.

Owing to the articles on Political Institutions not meeting at home with the appreciation he had looked for, he urged Dr. Youmans, if he found their popularity decreasing in the United States, not to continue to publish them. Dr. Youmans assured him that "we cannot get enough of this kind of discussion in our Magazine. There is no salvation for this continent except in the acquirement of some proximate scientific conception of the nature of Government." "There have been a few bursts of impatience, and one unhappy man in Pennsylvania wrote as follows: 'I sent you five dollars for the *Monthly* some months ago; either stop those stupid articles of Spencer or stop my subscription.'"

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 363.

Thinking that Professor Goldwin Smith had denounced scientific doctrine as tending to give a charter to personal and political selfishness and tyranny, he induced Miss Bevington to reply.

TO MISS L. S. BEVINGTON.

18 May, 1881.

To the passage you copy from Goldwin Smith's article, which is evidently consequent upon a protest I made to him personally when we met at Buxton, and when I reproached him for this misrepresentation, you might make a very effectual reply. In the first place, you may remark that this assertion that their [men of science] conduct was due to the lingering effect of their theology is purely hypothetical. He has not a particle of evidence that such is the fact. And then, passing over that, you may remark that if it be as he alleges, then we have the remarkable anomaly that whereas the class of men who not only have been brought up under the old theology, but still adhere to it, show relatively little humanity, relatively much humanity is shown by those who, brought up under it, have abandoned it. That is to say, the effect of the alleged cause is the greatest where it has ceased to be in operation. Those on whom it continually acts show less of this effect than those on whom it long ago ceased to act.

"The Inhumanity of the Orthodox" was suggested by Spencer as a title, but Miss Bevington thought that would be "too pugnacious, and would assuredly offend many half-way minds." The article appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* for August, under the heading "The Moral Colour of Rationalism." Professor Goldwin Smith's answer to it in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1882, was dealt with by Spencer in the March number of the same review.

His holiday movements are alluded to in a letter to Mr. Lott, dated, Ardtornish, 10 July.

I went to Ballater and Braemar,<sup>1</sup> not having before seen that region, and having the option of subsequently going to Dr. Priestley's place on the Spey, and having some fishing there. However, on Friday last, I got Valentine Smith's letter asking me here, and I started next morning, having seen something of the Grampians, but not having explored the chief places of interest. The only picturesque mountain I saw is Lochnagar.

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 371.

I stay here till the close of the month and then go to the British Association. I had not intended to go, but two invitations—to Escrick Park and to Fryston—which promise to make the week or ten days pass agreeably, have turned the scale.

TO MISS FLORA SMITH.

ESCRICK PARK,  
3 September, 1881.

Escrick is very tame after Ardtornish. Undulating green-sward does not adequately replace rock and moor; and herds of fallow-deer constantly seen are less interesting than red-deer seen occasionally. However, the internal attractiveness is considerable if the external is not. The circle is agreeable; our hostess charming as ever; and our host . . . pleasant and cordial. Since Wednesday, Association proceedings have absorbed all the time, and this is the first morning on which I have found time for writing.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

21 September, 1881.

I am glad to hear that you are gaining strength,—not so glad to hear that you are “more in the spirit of work.” If instead of this you would write “more in the spirit of play,” it would be very much better. . . .

I am glad that you like the two chapters on the “Militant Type” and the “Industrial Type.” They are, in fact, the culminating chapters of the part, and, indeed, of the whole work, in point of importance.

8 October.—I count Fairbairn’s attack<sup>1</sup> as having been decidedly advantageous in virtue of its sequence in the shape of your article in the number of the *Monthly* just received. . . . It adds but another to the many illustrations of your admirable faculty of exposition, at once lucid and popular, and especially showing the aptitude for seizing the cardinal points.

The visit to America was now assuming definite shape. What he dreaded most was “the bother of having to see so many people, but I suppose I must make up my mind to go through it as well as I can.” While his New York friend was planning how to make the proposed visit pleasant and profitable, Spencer was thinking over various measures for enabling Dr. Youmans to tide over the

<sup>1</sup> *Contemporary Review* for July and August.

ensuing winter. "In furtherance of my advice to go south for the winter, I wish you would appropriate, in advance, the proceeds of my next half-year's account with the Appletons, which will, I suppose, be something over £100. If you agree to this it may facilitate your plans, and will put you under no obligation. It will still leave me immensely your debtor." Though not accepting this offer, Dr. Youmans was grateful for the generosity that prompted it. "I am already indebted to you for the funds advanced when we went to the Mediterranean, and if I have said nothing about its payment, it is not because I have forgotten what I owe you." When pressing his offer again in November, "not as a loan, but as an acknowledgment of obligation," Spencer added: "As for Riviera expenses, I never dreamed of the present position of things being changed—as you would soon find if you proposed to reimburse me."

About the middle of 1881 Mr. Alfred R. Wallace had tried to interest him in the Land Nationalization Society, which was an outcome of Mr. Wallace's reading of *Social Statics*. Looking upon *Social Statics* as "having in some degree ploughed the ground for his own book," Mr. Henry George had expected Spencer to welcome *Progress and Poverty*. Early in 1882 they met at a reception given by Mrs. Jeune (now Lady St. Helier). The meeting was a great disappointment to Mr. George. Here were probably sown the seeds of the virulence with which he attacked Spencer some years later.

The announcement of the cessation of the *Descriptive Sociology* led to a generous offer being made by Mr. Hegeler, of La Salle, Illinois.<sup>1</sup>

TO B. HEGELER.

14 February, 1882.

I have this morning received your sympathetic letter with its enclosed Bill of Exchange for £204. . . . I thank you very cordially, and admire very greatly the generosity which has prompted your gift; but you must excuse me if I do not accept it. . . .

It is interesting and encouraging to find here and there men

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 351, 372.



whose interest in the diffusion of advanced ideas, and whose care for what they hold to be the welfare of the race, prompts not only so much active generosity, but also personal efforts of a more active kind. These are above all wanted. The great deficiency on the part of men is that the feeling enlisted on behalf of their convictions is not sufficiently strong to prompt any sacrifice of time and labour in spreading them.

On hearing of the proposed visit to America Mr. Hegeler asked to be allowed to pay all the expenses incurred by Spencer and Mr. Lott there and back—an offer which was also gratefully declined. Mr. Hegeler was, moreover, one of the first to furnish capital to push the sale of the *Descriptive Sociology* in the United States. For this object Dr. Youmans had several plans, though he had said little about them, because, as he wrote, “the tenure of my strength is insecure, and because, even when stronger, I could never half carry out my plans. My career is so strewn with the fragments of unexecuted projects that I think it time to stop talking at least.” All he asked Spencer for was a free hand. Capital could be secured to move the work vigorously, if the price could be reduced. “But everybody agrees that between its ugly form and its large cost it is commercially impracticable.”

In 1880 Spencer had been invited to join in an address to be presented to Lord Kimberley “on the native question in South Africa,” arising out of the disarming of the Basutos. The memorialists were in favour of removing the Government of Basuto territory from Cape Colony to the Home Government.

TO F. W. CHESSON.

18 November, 1880.

I should have been glad to join in the manifestation of opinion to be made by the Deputation to which you invite me to-day, had I been able to agree in the special proposal made. But in the face of multitudinous experiences, it does not seem to me that the transforming the Basuto and other such territories into Crown Colonies would permanently secure the end in view. So long as it is felt by colonists that when they aggress on natives and get into quarrels, the home government will come to their defence, and so long as men who initiate aggressive policies, which end in the annexation of territory, get titles and honours, notwithstanding their unauthorized actions

and even their disobedience to orders, the filibustering policy with all its atrocities will continue.

Looking about for a powerful pen to stir up the national conscience he bethought him of Mr. Swinburne.

TO ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

8 March, 1881.

Some two years ago I obtained with considerable difficulty a copy of your "Word of an English Republican on the Muscovite Crusade"—wishing to foster it as something worthy to be preserved as an example of magnificent writing. The other day, after reading some passages of it to a friend and evoking from him also great admiration, it occurred to me that your marvellous powers of expressing well-justified anger might be fitly used at the present time in condemnation of our filibustering atrocities all over the world. You have, I doubt not, been in a chronic state of indignation daily intensified, by our doings in Afghanistan, in Zululand, in the Transvaal, and on a smaller scale in other places. There never was, I think, an opportunity for a more scathing exposure of the contrast between our Christian creed and pagan doings, our professed philanthropy and our actual savagery, and I long to see the traits of the matter presented with that extreme power and pungency with which you exposed Mr. Carlyle's creed and his absurd inconsistency. I cannot imagine anything more telling than a pamphlet by you, written after the same manner, and holding up to the English people a glass in which they might rightly see themselves and their doings.

Pray consider the matter, and if you can do so, yield to my suggestion.

Mr. Swinburne was "sincerely and deeply gratified" on learning that what he had written "on a practical question of national politics" had seemed to Spencer deserving of a different notice from that vouchsafed by the press. But he did not see his way to come forward at that time with a volunteer's contribution to the political literature of the day. Mr. Swinburne's refusal was a great disappointment to Spencer, who needed all the help he could summon in the crusade he was about to enter upon.

A motion by Mr. Henry Richard in the House of Commons respecting the conduct of civil and military agents in the Colonies, suggested to Spencer that the time

had come for action. Steps were taken to secure the co-operation of those whose sympathies were supposed to be in favour of the movement. A circular was drawn up, the rough draft of which in Spencer's own handwriting, and dated 16 June, 1881, was "done under pressure in forty minutes."

TO JOHN BRIGHT.

2 July, 1881.

When some six weeks ago I had the pleasure of a conversation with you at Lord Airlie's on the subject of the antagonism between industrial progress and war, I stupidly forgot to name the fact that I had been for some time past contemplating an attempt to gather together the large amount of diffused opinion against our aggressive policy, which now tells but little because it is unorganized.

My leading idea was and is that the efforts of the Peace Society are practically paralysed by its identification with the principle of non-resistance. . . . My belief is that all the difficulties hence arising may be excluded by having in place of the principle of non-resistance the principle of non-aggression, which for all practical purposes would prove equally efficient.

At a meeting held on July 11 Spencer's circular of June 16 was discussed, and slightly modified before being sent out in search of adherents. Many subsequent meetings had to be attended, and much correspondence carried on between that date and the end of the year. Suffice it to say that the reception given to the circular was sufficiently favourable to justify the convening of a public meeting early in 1882, with a view to which an address, setting forth the principal objects of the proposed League, was drawn up by Spencer. As the date of the meeting came nearer he felt more and more out of sorts. The diary says :—

19th February.—Getting worried with A.A.L. matters. 20th.—Anti-Aggression League arrangements. 22nd.—Much business. Feared should collapse, but did not. Anti-Aggression League meeting took place quite successfully. I spoke well, and was much complimented.

Until he saw how little attention was given to the movement by the London press, he had hoped to interest

French liberal papers in it. But the day after the meeting he wrote to Dr. Cazelles, expressing disappointment with the reports. "The tremendous disturbance in the House of Commons about the case of Mr. Bradlaugh had the double effect of keeping away very many members of Parliament who had promised to attend, and the further effect of occupying so large a space in the papers as to leave little room for the report of the meeting." As evidence of the popular estimate of the relative importance of events, he mentions that the *Times* of February 23 had no notice of the meeting at all, and that the *Daily Telegraph* devoted half a column to a report of the meeting, and about three columns to Jumbo, the elephant. Three weeks later (March 15) the *Times* published Tennyson's English and Colonial song—"Hands all Round." Two of the lines near the end ran—

"Pray God our greatness may not fail  
Through craven fears of being great."

Spencer himself tried his hand at a poem in reprobation, under the title, "The Craven Fear of being Great," but got no further than two stanzas. At the foot of these he has pencilled: "I was made very angry by some verses of Tennyson's having the above burden, and began to write a reply."

The writing of a paper of "Anti-Aggression League Memoranda," describing the origin of the movement, and the policy which in his opinion should be pursued both in Parliament and in the country, in carrying out its aims, drove him back to Brighton on March 15. Turning to the diary one reads:—

16th March.—Train to Arundel. Spent morning in Park. Some revising. . . . Evening, billiards with Black. 17th.—Walked with Bridge [his Secretary], sitting down to dictate occasionally. Evening with Black. 18th.—Walking and dictating to Bridge in morning. Afternoon walking. Evening with Black playing billiards. 19th.—Evening, billiards with Black and Lockyer. [To London on 22nd.] 24th.—Ended chapter on Political Retrospect and Prospect. Finished vol. ii. of the *Sociology*, SO ENDING HARDEST BIT OF WORK. Dined at Huxley's.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

29 March, 1882.

You will rejoice with me that this division of my work is now completed. I regard it as by far the most difficult piece of work I have had to do, and now that I am through with it I feel that what is to come is comparatively plain sailing.

The diary for April 26 says: "Attended Darwin's funeral at Westminster Abbey." Some misunderstanding gave rise to the following letter:—

TO GEORGE DARWIN.

4 May, 1882.

Thank you for your explanatory letter. I regret that any misunderstanding should have entailed on you the trouble of writing it. I fancy some remark of Huxley's (made probably to Galton and then to you) to the effect that my very pronounced non-conformity in the matter of ecclesiastical ceremonies (which he knew had prevented me from being present at Tyndall's marriage) might perhaps be an obstacle to my attendance. But I felt the occasion of your father's funeral to be so exceptional that I could not let this feeling prevent me from manifesting my great respect. . . .

If anything could serve as adequate consolation to Mrs. Darwin and yourself it would be the immense manifestation of sympathy—a manifestation which I should think has never been paralleled in the case of any man of science.

The League continued to involve much correspondence and many interviews. Efforts were made to adjust terms of union with other societies, such as the International Arbitration Co-operative Society, and Mr. Cremer's Workman's Peace Association. The Egyptian imbroglio was taken up—a Memorandum on "The crisis in Egypt" being prepared by Spencer, embodying the substance of a circular addressed to the members of the League by the Executive Committee. Spencer thought that the opportunity should be taken "to express somewhat more sympathy with the Government in the difficulty of its position than has thus far been done." "If, while advocating a non-aggressive policy, the League could be represented as sympathizing with the Ministry in its difficulties, much might be done towards conciliating those whose aid is important."