

TO THE RIGHT HON. JOHN BRIGHT.

24 June, 1882.

On Thursday I had the pleasure of breakfasting with Mr. Gladstone, and had after breakfast a quarter of an hour's talk with him concerning the Anti-Aggression League. He expressed his entire sympathy with its aims. He felt the need for it, saying, to use his own words, that the Peace Society had "botched the matter" by its impracticable principle; and he recognized the fact that our aims were in harmony with the progress of Liberalism at large.

In consequence of this conversation I next day forwarded to him a copy of the report of our inaugural meeting, and drew his attention to the address setting forth the aims of the League. . . . He has written me himself a note in which he expresses, to use his own words, "not literally or formally concurrence, but very hearty sympathy."

He asked me whether I had communicated with you on the matter, and I said that you had expressed yourself sympathetically.

Now I think that under these circumstances there is encouragement to decided action. If you will speak to Mr. Pennington you will find from him that sundry of those who, besides himself and Mr. Samuel Morley, wish to aid us are deterred by the fear of hampering the ministry—especially now that the Egyptian business complicates matters. Now if it could be known among such that not only do you sympathize with us, but that Mr. Gladstone does so too in respect of our general aims, the difficulty would disappear and we should at once have ample and probably energetic aid.

It would be difficult to say which feeling was stronger—that roused by the aggressions of the Government on weaker nationalities, or that roused by the aggressions of the State on the liberties of citizens. He counselled co-operation between different societies to protect the individual liberties of citizens. Writing to Mr. W. C. Croft in December, 1881, he said:

In our day Toryism and Liberalism have become confused, and the line between them has to be drawn afresh. Toryism stands for the coercive power of the State *versus* the freedom of the individual. Liberalism stands for the freedom of the individual *versus* the power of the State. At present the Liberal party have lost sight of their essential principle, and a new Liberal party has to be formed to re-assert it.

No documents can be found with which to supplement the account of the visit to America given in Chapter LXII.

of the *Autobiography*. It is true, we have the diary, which on more than one occasion, has helped to complete the narrative. When one turns to it, however, it soon becomes apparent that the chapter describing the visit to America must have been dictated with the diary in his hands, nothing of interest being left for the biographer. As for the absence of documents, that is explained by the cessation of his ordinary correspondence while he was away. At most only a few letters passed between him and his friends and acquaintances who offered their services with a view to render the visit as comfortable, enjoyable, and instructive as possible. The managers of the great railways vied with one another in offering him luxurious travelling facilities. Hotel proprietors showed in every possible way their desire to welcome him as an honoured guest. Friends heaped upon him and Mr. Lott unbounded private hospitalities and unwearied kindnesses. And, to crown all, there was the banquet given to him at Delmonico's by leading representatives of American thought and enterprise, the remembrance of which, he said in the speech he delivered on the occasion, would "ever continue to be a source of pleasurable emotion, exceeded by few, if any, of my remembrances."

That Spencer was deeply touched by the genuine warmth of the welcome he received wherever he went in the United States and Canada is certain. No one regretted more than he did that he could not avail himself to a larger extent of the facilities for enjoyment so freely placed at his disposal. The pity of it was that he could not throw off that morbid dread of social excitement, the imagination of which, in this instance as in many others, did him more harm than the reality would have done. Mr. Lott had, one can well believe, a very trying time acting as "buffer" between his friend and interviewers, not even finding time to visit his own relatives in Chicago, though that was one of the objects he had in view when he offered to accompany Spencer as far as New York. Spencer's dislike to being lionized showed itself on his arrival at Liverpool. Immediately on landing he took train to London: thus depriving Mr. Robert Holt and others of the pleasure they had looked forward to of giving him a complimentary

dinner as a welcome home and as an expression of their warm regard and admiration.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

25 November, 1882.

You were amused, I daresay, to find that I was actually interviewed after all; just at the last moment on board the "Germanic." A *Herald* reporter got hold of me, and, before I was aware who he was, managed to get some remarks out of me which I probably should either not have made, or should have expressed differently if I had been on my guard. I suspected immediately afterward what had happened. . . .

I find I have lost about half a stone in weight. I was worn while with you, more than I have been these many years; and was conscious that among other evil effects of my nervous debility, there were aberrations of word and deed in various small matters which annoyed me very much afterward to recall.

12 December.—This morning I got the copy of the pamphlet.<sup>1</sup> . . . I have glanced through the parts which were new to me; and have found my nerves somewhat tried by the amount of eulogy. I am not without fear that it may cause, in some minds, a reaction. However, in America you are so accustomed to having things strongly put, that I suppose such an effect is not so likely to be produced as it would be here.

Now, as always, you have in your own remarks seized all the essential points and presented them in the clearest way. I know no one who has the art of saying in so brief a space that which most needs saying. You know I never pay a compliment with an "i." Mine is always a complement with an "e"—that which is due. . . .

I join in the great regret for Draper's death, when he was just getting into conditions for doing his best work. The scientific world has been very unfortunate this year. Jevons, Balfour, Draper—all men from whom much was to be hoped.

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<sup>1</sup> *Herbert Spencer on the Americans, and the Americans on Herbert Spencer*. New York: D. Appleton and Co. This gives a complete report of an "interview" pre-arranged between Dr. Youmans and himself, which was published in the New York papers of October 20. It contains also an account of the banquet given in his honour at Delmonico's on November 9, with full reports of the speeches delivered on the occasion, as well as of speeches not delivered, and letters of regret for absence from distinguished men in different parts of the United States. The "interview" and Spencer's speech were afterwards published in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1883; and were finally included in the *Essays* (iii., 471).

## CHAPTER XVII.

## A POLITICAL CREED FOR TRUE LIBERALISM.

(January, 1883—December, 1885.)

THE year 1883 opened not very hopefully, though, as far as health was concerned, things were not so bad as he thought. A visit was paid to a Hydropathic establishment at Tunbridge Wells, "not with a view to the ordinary treatment, but with a view rather to fresh air and a pleasant place for passing the time." It did not prove such a "pleasant place" after all; the entries in the diary for the three nights he spent there being—"very good night," "poor night," "very bad night."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

9 January, 1883.

I enclose some pages from the *Medical Times and Gazette* [6 Jan.], sent to me the other day by Dr. Hughlings Jackson. The initiative he made years ago by applying the doctrine of dissolution to interpretation of nervous disorders—an initiative that is now being followed and in that direction—seems likely to lead to other results. The paper is very clearly and conclusively argued; and is to me just as much a revelation as was that which Hughlings Jackson made of the doctrine.

Yesterday I received a copy of Savage's sermon, from which you made a quotation. The part I had not seen is remarkably good, and puts very clearly and eloquently the points on which Fiske also had insisted. I think something ought to come out of the movement of which Savage appears to be the most distinct head.

Gratified by Spencer's endorsement of his attempt "to re-construct religion and ethical teaching on the basis of Evolution," Mr. Savage sent copies of the sermon to London for distribution. About this Spencer wrote to Professor Huxley and other friends:—

It is long since I have been so excessively annoyed as I was yesterday on learning that Mr. Williams, my publisher, has been sending to some of my friends copies of a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Savage, of Boston. He has done it entirely without any authority from me, and without giving me the slightest reason to suppose that he was about to do it. Otherwise I should have given him a very peremptory interdict.

The fact was, Spencer never felt quite at ease with the demonstrative activities of some of his American admirers, and often reminded them that things which would be considered matters of course on the other side of the Atlantic, were viewed in a different light on this side.

One of the "excitements" of which he complains arose from the Kantian Revival and criticisms connected with it.

TO RICHARD HODGSON.

16 January, 1883.

I wish you would look at some of the writings of the Neo-Kantians, who are becoming dominant, and who, as for example, Watson, think they have made unanswerable attacks upon Evolutionary Empiricism. Their policy throughout appears to be to evade or ignore entirely the criticisms made on Kant, and to pass on to raise other issues. I have nowhere met with any attempt whatever to meet the objections I have made to the Kantian doctrine of Space, set forth in the *Psychology*.

Moreover, there is another very effectual movement of attack to be made against them. They deliberately ignore the position which I have insisted upon, that every scheme of philosophy must set out by taking for granted such data of consciousness as are involved in the very action of intelligence; since thought cannot stir a step towards any conclusions whatever without positing these, any more than the body can move without using its limbs. Disregarding this truth, the Kantian critique sets out without asking what are the things involved in the very first act of judgment which must be made in positing any fundamental proposition in philosophy, and without recognizing the truth that the validity of this act of judgment cannot be proved by anything preceding it, but must be subsequently justified by the congruity of all results that are subsequently arrived at in conformity with this first act. I have, as you may remember, pointed out that the fundamental question is—why is one dictum of consciousness accepted as true rather than some counter-dictum?—finding the answer to this question in the testing of the relative cohesions among states of consciousness. Clearly this necessary determinant

of choice among judgments must precede in authority all such judgments as those with which Kant sets out. But the Kantists ignore this truth, and suppose themselves to have undisputed authority for the primary judgments they start from—do not apparently suspect that their authority for them may be challenged by asking why the deliverance of consciousness which yields them, must be held valid rather than the opposite deliverance of consciousness.

The Kantians think they have gone behind other philosophies. The thing to be done is to go behind them, and to show [that] the true "form of thought," is a relation between states of consciousness, and the true process of thought a survival of the more coherent relations in the struggle for existence.

TO G. CROOM ROBERTSON.

22 January, 1883.

Probably you have already looked at an article in the current number of the *Edinburgh* on the "Kantian Revival." Joined with some other incentives which have arisen of late, as, for instance, the criticisms contained in the work of Professor Watson, I feel prompted to say a few words about the matter in so far as it concerns myself.

My notion is not that of entering into any controversy at present, but simply to draw attention to my own objections to the Kantian philosophy, and to ask for answers to these before I proceed further. I am perfectly prepared for the issue raised by Watson and others; but before thinking it worth while to meet it I propose that they shall meet the issues I have raised.

To Dr. Youmans he writes: "I enclose you a copy of a page of the *St. James' Gazette* (14 February), in which I recently published a letter which you will find there. I was glad to have the opportunity of giving the *Edinburgh Review* a wipe; and I was not sorry to have the occasion of publicly repudiating Mr. Henry George." In this letter to the *St. James' Gazette* he says:—

I suppose that now, when, after I have been publishing books for a third of a century, "the leading critical organ" has recognized my existence, I ought to feel thankful. . . . But such elation as I might otherwise be expected to feel is checked by two facts. One is that the *Edinburgh Review* has not itself discovered me, but has had its attention drawn to me by quotations in the work of Mr. Henry George. The other is that . . . the reviewer . . . is apparently unconscious that

I have written other books, . . . that the last of them, "Political Institutions," contains passages concerning the question he discusses. Writers in critical journals which have reputations to lose usually seek out the latest version of an author's views.

His speech at the banquet at Delmonico's was still being discussed in the American Press. Not only the soundness of the dictum—"Life is not for learning, nor is life for working, but learning and working are for life"—but even its originality, was called in question. "We have had somewhat too much of the gospel of work," Spencer said. "It is time to preach the gospel of relaxation." In a book on "American Nervousness" Dr. George M. Beard, had already urged that "the gospel of work must make way for the gospel of rest." In a pamphlet on "Herbert Spencer on American Nervousness: A Scientific Coincidence," he now drew attention to the similarity of Spencer's much talked of maxim to his own published opinion. Dr. Youmans had no difficulty in showing how slight the coincidence was, and also mentioned having "heard Mr. Spencer give expression to the main idea of his address long before the name of Dr. Beard was ever publicly heard of. It was an early outcome of his evolution studies."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

8 March, 1883.

The incident is very annoying. Had I known that he had used an antithesis so like that which I have used I should most carefully have avoided it. The phrase—"gospel of relaxation" was first used by me in the course of a discussion with Mr. Garrett when we were at Montebello; and at the time of using I thought I will try and make that stick. As to my general view you say very rightly that it is of long standing. I am glad you remembered that many years ago I contended (somewhat to your surprise, I think, at the time) that the æsthetic element in life would in the future, take a larger development than now.

One outcome of his speech was the formation in New York of the Twilight Club, of which he accepted an honorary membership. "I would, however, remark that the reports of your proceedings seem to imply rather more gravity of speech in your conversations than is altogether consistent with the 'expectation of relaxation.'"

At Birmingham a movement was on foot that had

important consequences, leading to friendship with Mr. W. R. Hughes and Mr. F. Howard Collins, and years of unstinted services on the part of the latter. The Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society, of which Spencer was an Honorary Vice-President, had decided to form a Sociological section, the opening meeting of which took place in May.<sup>1</sup> When this was brought to the notice of Dr. Youmans as an example to be imitated, it elicited the remark: "This matter of an organization in New York has been much on my mind, but I have not seen my way to move in it. It is the easiest city in the world to start anything; the hardest to continue anything."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

12 April, 1883.

Your reference to the cheap edition of the "Data of Ethics" reminds me by the title of an interesting bit of information I had the other day from the Japanese Minister over here, to the effect that they have issued a translation of it in Japanese. I was rather amused to think of the amount of bother they would have to render some of the words; and also bethought me that their furniture of ideas, apart from the difficulty of translation, would scarcely enable them to follow the argument. However, they are a sharp people.

. . . I am beginning quietly to take measures for preparing a final edition of my *Essays*. . . My method is simply to take with me to the Athenæum a sheet for revision, and to do half an hour's work upon it in the course of the afternoon. . . This will get me through at such rate that by the time other things are out of hand the three volumes will be ready for the press. . . . When I speak of other work being out of hand, I refer more especially to a new edition of the first volume of the *Sociology*, to which there will be appended the complete references. . . . I am making an engagement with an expert—the librarian of the Athenæum Club, a very clever and very erudite young fellow—to go through them all and verify and correct all details.

The following has reference to an article by Lord Pembroke in which some of Spencer's views were criticized.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nature*, 19 April and 17 May. A letter from Spencer, dated 20 March, is printed in the *Midland Naturalist*, June, 1883.



TO THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

2 May, 1883.

I am much obliged by your letter of explanation and the manifestation of kind feeling implied by it—and all the more so because I do not know that in its absence I should have felt any explanation required. Having myself never allowed personal considerations to prevent me from candidly expressing in a public way my criticisms upon others, I, of course, always expect to be dealt with in like manner, and so far as I remember, have never felt aggrieved by criticisms however trenchant when fairly made. Indeed regarding it as a duty to express my own dissent from the views of others on important matters, I necessarily recognize it to be a duty on the part of others to express dissent from my views where the question at issue is of moment. And I fully recognize the fact that those, who like yourself, hold positions which call upon them to act and therefore to form definite judgments are bound by public duty to oppose beliefs which they think erroneous, and, where the matter is important, to freely state, for the benefit of others, their reasons for doing this. I have ever insisted that things will go well when each utters and endeavours to get accepted that which he thinks to be the truth, leaving the average opinion produced to work out such results as it may.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

17 May, 1883.

I lately took up a book at the Athenæum entitled *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, by Henry Drummond. I found it to be in considerable measure an endeavour to press me into the support of a qualified theology, by showing the harmony between certain views of mine and alleged spiritual laws. It is an interesting example of one of the transitional books which are at present very useful. It occurs to me that while the author proposes to press me into their service, we might advantageously press him into our service. Just look at the book and see.

By this post I send you a copy of yesterday's *Standard* in which you will see a leading article concerning my election to the French Academy. I affix also at the top of the page a cutting from the *Pall Mall Gazette* giving a different version of the election, which I suspect is the true one. If it is the true one, which I am taking steps to ascertain, then it appears that while the vacancy in the higher grade of membership made by the death of Emerson is filled by the promotion of Sir Henry Maine from the lower grade to the higher, I am invited to accept the vacant place left by this promotion of Sir Henry Maine. If I accept, it seems to me that I am by

implication recognizing the propriety of this estimate of relative claims. Sir Henry Maine is my junior by two years, and he is in his standing as an author my junior by ten years; so that no plea of seniority can be alleged: it comes unquestionably to a judgment of our respective positions. . . .

I have been hesitating for a day or two. . . . Seeing that as the majority by which I was elected was so great (27 to 2), and that it might be ungracious to refuse this, which is in some sort an international courtesy, I felt somewhat inclined to commit the inconsistency of accepting that which I had in previous cases refused. But if it turns out that I am asked to authorize and endorse that academic judgment which ranks me as lower than Sir Henry Maine, I feel very strongly inclined to take the course I originally intended.

24 May.—I am sending off to-day my letter to the French Academy, declining the so-called honour they have done me, in electing me a correspondent. . . .

I received from the Secretary of the Academy an official letter which runs as follows:—

“Sir, I have the honour to inform you that at the meeting to-day, May 12, the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences elected you correspondent in the section of Philosophy, in place of Mr. Tappan deceased.”

. . . In any case the fact is that Emerson's death having made a vacancy in the class of associates, Sir Henry Maine is promoted from the list of correspondents to fill his place; and into that list of correspondents I am drafted to fill the place of Mr. Tappan. “Who is Mr. Tappan?” will be the general question. . . .

The whole transaction is, I think, so thoroughly absurd, that it affords a good opportunity for a trenchant criticism, not upon the French Academy alone, but upon academic selections generally.

TO JULES SIMON.

May, 1883.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication informing me that the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques has elected me a correspondent in the section of philosophy, in the place of Mr. Tappan, deceased. Along with my thanks for the intended honour, will you please convey to the members of the Academy the following reasons which oblige me to decline it. The first of them may conveniently be given in the words used by me when, some twelve years ago, I declined an honorary degree offered to me here:—

“Certain convictions which have been long growing up in me, respecting the effects of honorary titles, will, however, I

fear, stand in the way of my acceptance of the degree which the Professors kindly suggest should be conferred upon me. I have come to the conclusion that such honorary titles, while they seem to be encouragements to intellectual achievement, do, in reality, by their indirect influences, act as discouragements.

“If, supposing due discrimination were possible, men of much promise received from a learned body such marks of distinction as would bespeak attention from the world at large, I can well imagine that such men would be greatly helped, and would oftentimes be saved from sinking in their struggles with adverse circumstances in the midst of a society prepossessed in favour of known men. But there ordinarily comes no such aid until the difficulties have been surmounted—supposing, that is, that they have not proved fatal.

“Probably it will be said that because honorary titles do not commonly yield benefits so great as they might yield if given earlier, it does not therefore follow that when given they are otherwise than beneficial. I think, however, that if, instead of considering their direct effects on those older men who have received them, we consider their indirect effects on those younger men who have not received them, we shall see that to these they become, practically, an additional obstacle to success. Always the impediments in the way of one who, without authority, enters the field of intellectual activity, in competition with those having established authorities, are sufficiently great. The probability that he has nothing to say worth listening to, is so strong, that he is almost certain to receive for a long time scarcely any of the attention he may well deserve. But this unavoidable difficulty is made artificially greater when, bearing no stamp of value, he has for competitors those who, to the advantages of known achievements, add the advantage of officially-stamped values. The larger reading world, and the narrower critical world which leads it, are greatly biassed by whatever bespeaks respectful consideration. And if the presence of an honorary title gives this positive advantage to one bearing it, its absence involves a positive disadvantage to one not bearing it.”<sup>1</sup>

The evils resulting from this system (which, were it allowable to adopt a word from sportsmen, might be called inverse handicapping)—these evils which, during the earlier part of my career, were revealed to me by personal experiences, are not the sole evils caused. Even leaving out of consideration those who do not receive these honorary titles from Universities and Academies, and limiting our attention to those who do receive them, it may, I think, be shown that the distribution inevitably involves both personal injustices and

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<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 233.

public mischiefs. It must do this whether the choice of those to be honoured is ideally good or whether it is such as we actually see.

Supposing that the selection is made with perfect fairness and the best judgment, it is manifest that the number of those at any time existing who bear these marks of honour, is so great that there must be an immense contrast between the claims of the few higher in the group and the claims of the many lower, who are nevertheless made to appear equally worthy of being distinguished from the mass of cultured persons. If society at large is at all influenced by these titles (and if not they are wholly futile), then, inevitably, the tendency is to equalize in public estimation those who bear them; and while unduly raising the inferior, to do this at the expense of depressing the superior.

But it must, I think, be admitted that the distribution is *not* guided by either correct appreciation or unbiassed feeling. Besides the personal favouritisms and antipathies which occasionally influence it, the selection is inevitably influenced very greatly by the religious bias, and in a considerable degree by the political bias. It is further swayed by the bias which the leading men of a University or an Academy have in favour of this or that school of thought, scientific or literary. And since every established body tends to become conservative, the titles it confers are tolerably sure to be distributed in such way as to encourage the upholders of traditional views and to discourage the advocates of those newer views which are in course of replacing them.

The perversions of choice resulting from the co-operation of all these causes are notorious. Any one who, in our English and Scotch calendars, reads the five hundred and more names to which are affixed LL.D. or D.C.L., can scarcely avoid smiling at the irony of fate which has united under the same badge men so distinguished with men so undistinguished. And though in the groups of those who bear titles given by Academies on the Continent the differences in respect of capacities or achievements may not be so extreme, still they are sufficiently striking.

But it is not only, or chiefly, the effect upon individual *status* which is objectionable, the effect upon public opinion is even more objectionable. The mass of men accept their beliefs on authority; and beliefs which bear the endorsement of a University or an Academy appear to them more acceptable than those which are avowedly or tacitly rejected by it. Hence, during each transition period, occupied in the conquest of old ideas by new, honorary titles accorded by such a body to the defenders of the old, and long withheld from the propagators of the new, necessarily retard the change.

I may add that these evils are increased when Academies

separate the foreign members affiliated to them into two ranks ; since by thus giving judgment, or appearing to give judgment, respecting the comparative merits of men elected, now to the higher and now to the lower rank, they affect the public estimate of the comparative authorities of their opinions or writings. For reasons like those assigned above, these academic estimates of relative worth are not unfrequently erroneous, and are therefore misleading to the public at large.

Beyond these general reasons which sway me, there is a special reason. Already on three successive occasions I have declined a correspondentship accorded to me by a foreign academy. Manifestly, I cannot now accept a correspondentship from the French Academy without passing a deliberate slight upon each of these three academies. As it would be improper to do this, there remains no alternative for me but to persist in the course which I have already pursued, and again to decline.

Conscious as I am that the Members of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, in electing me by so large a majority, have testified in a marked way their sympathy, and, in a measure, their approval, I regret that I am obliged thus to respond in what seems an ungracious manner. But, as will be seen, the motives which prompt me are strong, and the last of them peremptory.

For a time Dr. Youmans was disinclined to meddle with such high and delicate personal matters. When he did take it up, it was mainly because "it seemed to be an opportunity to reinforce a view that I am more and more inclined to regard as important. The erroneous view of your relation to Darwin is very wide-spread." On this Spencer remarked (3 September, 1883) :—

I see that you have turned the incident into "capital" with great effect : making, indeed, much more of it than I had thought of. It has been an early custom in various parts of the world, and was the custom even in the highlands, for chiefs to have official orators. Somebody will be noting the fact, and saying that I must have appointed you as mine ; and that a most eloquent one you are. Certainly no man ever had another who set forth his claims so persistently or effectually.

The first half of July he was at Inveroran, disappointed with the fishing—not catching even one salmon to send with congratulations to Professor Huxley on election as President of the Royal Society.<sup>1</sup> After a few weeks at Ard-

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Professor Huxley*, ii., 53.

tornish he turned homewards, travelling *via* Fort William, Kingussie, Grantown, Edinburgh and Derby.

TO MISS FLORA SMITH.

EDINBURGH,  
11 August, 1883.

As I came away from Ardtornish I gazed with sad eyes on the scenes where I had known such kind friends and passed so many happy days—my presentiment being that I was seeing them for the last time ; for I fear that I am on the way to become a wreck, fit for nothing and for no society. The chief qualification to my melancholy was the thought of the genuine sympathy and the anxiety for my welfare which you had shown. I shall always remember them with gratitude.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

LONDON, 21 August, 1883.

The same post lately brought me three letters from the antipodes—one from an ardent disciple in Australia, and the others from Collier and from Sir George Grey, in New Zealand, both describing the growth of influence out there.<sup>1</sup> . . .

Such small amount of work as I have been doing since I left town, is devoted to revision of my *Essays*. . . . There will be an important supplement to the Essay on the "Origin and Function of Music." . . . In it, while defending my own view *versus* that of Darwin, I shall make a general criticism on the Darwinian Hypothesis, which will flutter the strict Darwinians considerably. I have for some time contemplated this, but was arrested in my intention by his death, which made the writing of such a criticism undesirable for a time. It will probably be a year before I fulfil the intention.

After two weeks at Standish, where he had "plenty of out-door games—lawn tennis, bowls, and quoits—with billiards in the evening," he told Miss Beatrice Potter :—  
"The game-cure joined with other agencies has done much, and as I was saying at the Huxley's yesterday, if I were a young man and a speculator, I would set up an establishment to treat patients by it."

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<sup>1</sup> About New Zealand Mr. Collier informed him "that a range of mountains in Nelson province bears, and for twenty years has borne, your name." He had heard from Lady Dalhousie that his books were much read in New Zealand, "although," she added, "as Dalhousie remarked, there is no country where your teaching is less acted upon."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

September, 1883.

I have now to break off this [the *Autobiography*] for the purpose of preparing a second edition of "Ceremonial Institutions." Some alterations in the plates are needful, for I have to tackle Tylor's criticisms, or rather his elaborate attack on me, which was given as a lecture at the Royal Institution, and published in *Macmillan* [May, 1882]. One only of his criticisms is, I think, valid.<sup>1</sup>

3 October.—We are on the highway to Communism, and I see no likelihood that the movement in that direction will be arrested. Contrariwise, it seems to me that every new step makes more difficult any reversal; since the re-active portion of the public seems likely to become weaker and weaker.

13 November.—I shall probably commit myself to a series of four political articles. For some time past I have been getting more and more exasperated at the way in which things are drifting towards Communism with increasing velocity; and though I fear little is to be done I am prompted to make a vehement protest, and am intending to say some very strong things. Oddly enough, yesterday while exciting myself over it, as I have been doing lately, the editor of the *Contemporary Review* called on me, wanting me to take up the question, which has just been raised in a very startling way by an article of Lord Salisbury's on the dwellings of the industrial classes. Though I have not yet committed myself I shall probably do so. Of course I do not like to suspend other work, but the matter is pressing and important, and, in a sense, permanent; for, these four articles I contemplate, dealing with the questions not after a temporary, but after a permanent manner, will have their future value.

12 January.—The programme of the forthcoming number of the *Edinburgh* I see contains an article on "The Spencerian Philosophy." I expect it will be civilly dissentient.

28 January.—I went yesterday to look at the article to find a sentence which would serve my purpose, and found one on the last page admirably fitted, which I inclose. I am going this week to issue advertisements of *First Principles* in all the leading papers, to which I shall fix this adverse opinion of the *Edinburgh* by way of showing my contempt for it.

The advertisement accordingly appeared with the selected sentence: "This is nothing but a Philosophy of epithets

<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, ii., 80a, new edition.

and phrases, introduced and carried on with an unrivalled solemnity and affectation of precision of style, concealing the loosest reasoning and the haziest indefiniteness." A copy was sent "to the editor and another to the contributor, who, I find, is Sir Edward Beckett."

The entry in the diary for New Year's Day, 1884, was a bad omen: "Had to decline dining at Huxley's New Year's Day dinner—feared effects." "Resumed the practice which I began before Christmas, of going to Kensal Green every morning and playing quoits, at intervals between games getting some work done and deriving benefit." The work done under this "eccentric arrangement," was the writing of the political articles: the benefit was of a mixed kind. Playing quoits in January, with intervals of dictation, had a result that might have been looked for—an attack of lumbago. This was no sooner got rid of than he reverted to quoits, and was again incapacitated. After a time he was saved the drive to Kensal Green through the kindness of Mr. George Howard, M.P., who gave him the use of a field in Palace Gardens. Spencer "arranged with the lodge-keeper for a room in which to work between games—good little room with fire." So runs the diary, in the keeping of which, be it noted, he was getting to be extremely lax. The "game cure," carried out in these more favourable conditions, hardly had a fair chance before it was given up in favour of an opposite regimen. On his return from a second visit to Brighton, he adopted the course of driving daily to the Athenæum and back all the way in a cab; thus taking no exercise and avoiding exposure. "*I greatly improved*" (the italics are his own).

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

15 February, 1884.

"The New Toryism" [the first of the four political articles] has caused a considerable sensation here, and has brought a hornet's nest about my ears in the shape of criticisms from the liberal journals. . . . most of which make fun of me. Oddly enough I am patted on the back by the conservatives, which is a new experience for me; and by the Roman Catholic organ, the *Tablet*. It is droll to see that whereas a few weeks ago the article on Religion was by it labelled "Dangerous," "the New Toryism" is quoted from with approbation. I am well



forward with the third article, which will astonish people still more than the previous ones.

On the retirement of Mr. P. A. Taylor from the representation of Leicester in Parliament, Spencer was asked to allow his name to be put forward as a candidate. His mind having been for many years made up on the question of entering Parliament, there was no need to deliberate on the answer, which was in fact given the day following.

TO REV. J. PAGE HOPPS.

21 *February*, 1884.

While I am gratified by the compliment, and by the manifestation of sympathy, implied in your proposal, I fear that I cannot respond to it in the way you wish. Several reasons, each of them sufficient, deter me.

In the first place, my health is such that discharge of Parliamentary duties would be impossible. . . . The labours implied by active political life, could I bear them, would make it impossible for me to do other work. As I regard such other work as by far the more important—as I think I can do more good by endeavouring to complete what I have undertaken than by occupying myself in listening to debates and giving votes; I should not feel that I was doing right in exchanging the one career for the other.

Far too high an estimate is, I think, made of the influence possessed in our day by a member of Parliament. Now that he has come to be, much more than in past times, subject to his constituents—now that the House of Commons as a whole is more and more obliged to subordinate itself to public opinion—the implication is that those who form public opinion are those who really exercise power. It is becoming a common remark that we are approaching a state in which laws are practically made out of doors, and simply registered by Parliament; and if so, then the actual work of legislation is more the work of those who modify the ideas of electors than of those who give effect to their ideas. So regarding the matter, I conceive that I should not gain influence, but rather lose influence, by ceasing to be a writer that I might become a representative.

But, apart from these general reasons, there is the more special reason that, if chosen by the electors of Leicester, I should prove a very impracticable member. My views on political matters are widely divergent from those of all political parties at present existing. That which I hold to be the chief business of legislation—an administration of justice such as shall secure to each person, with certainty and without cost, the maintenance of his equitable claims—is a business to which

little attention is paid ; while attention is absorbed in doing things which I hold should not be done at all. As I could not agree to be merely a delegate, voting as was desired by those who sent me, but should have in all cases to act on my own judgment, I should be in continual antagonism with my constituents ; most of whom, Liberal as well as Conservative, hold opinions from which I dissent, and who would wish me to support measures which I entirely disapproved of. Hence, even if elected, I should be quickly called upon to resign.

Nor have I even now enumerated all my reasons. There is a further one, which many will doubtless think more anomalous than the last. Not only should I object to the oath required on taking my seat, if elected, but I should object to make even the affirmation, were that allowed in place of it. Neither constituents nor their representatives appear at present to recognize any impropriety in being bound by the judgments of remote ancestors. They are quite ready to bind themselves not to change certain institutions which their great-great-great &c., grandfathers decided would be good for them. Were I called upon to make such a promise I should refuse to do so ; holding myself free, as I should, to seek the change or abolition of such institutions if I did not think them beneficial. Quite irrespective of any opinion concerning the particular things to which the promise bound me, I should object on principle to being bound at all.

You will thus see that the choice of me as a candidate would be extremely impolitic, even had I no reasons of a personal kind for declining to stand.

The letter was published with the omission of the paragraph about the oath. There was a widely-expressed opinion that philosophers had not proved a success in the House of Commons, and a general agreement in thinking it of more importance that Spencer should continue his work than that he should enter Parliament. The soundness of his own characterization of himself as "a very impracticable member" was questioned by few. Curiously enough, about the time Spencer declined a proffered seat in the House of Commons, Lord Tennyson took his seat in the House of Lords. As one newspaper said : "We have secured our poet, but not our philosopher."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

14 March, 1884.

There is quite a chorus of comment on my letter, and nearly all of it is favourable. . . . To-day the *Times*, *Spectator*, and *Saturday Review* have leaders, particularly dissentient. I will send you that of the *Times* in a day or two along with my reply to it.

20 *March*.—I did not, as I thought of doing, write a letter to the *Times* showing what I conceived to be the fallacy of the inference drawn in their article that costless administration of justice would immensely increase litigation, and arguing that were justice prompt, certain and costless, the result would be not increase but decrease ; since the larger amount of civil aggression results from the belief that it will not bring any penalty. My reason for changing my intention was that controversy with an editor is a bootless business and is sure to end unpleasantly ; since he has the advantage of stopping discussion when he pleases, and is sure to leave one apparently in the wrong.

An invitation to join the Liberty and Property Defence League was declined for reasons stated in the following letter :—

TO THE EARL OF WEMYSS.

1 *March*, 1884.

Were there none but the immediate issues to be considered, I should have pleasure in yielding to your request, but there are remoter issues, and consideration of these deters me.

I think it would be politic neither for the League nor for myself that I should join it. Rightly or wrongly it has acquired the repute of a Tory organization ; and as I have recently been exasperating the Liberal party by my criticisms, were I to join the League the inference which would be drawn, and apparently with very good ground, would be that I had turned tail. Now were this inference to be drawn and widely asserted as it would be, such effect as may be presently produced by papers I am now writing would be in large measure destroyed. The press of the Liberal party would have a seemingly valid reason for pooh-poohing all that I say.

Not only would this be a result I should greatly regret, alike on public and private grounds, but, as I have implied, in so far as it would tend to diminish what influence these forthcoming papers may have on the development of individualistic ideas and feelings, it would tell against the progress of the League, by causing men to turn a deaf ear to arguments against the meddling policy, which they would otherwise listen to.

The letters to New York about this time are concerned mainly with the political articles and the controversies arising out of the article on "Religious Retrospect and Prospect." Here are some of the references to the former :—

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

15 April, 1884.

The remaining article ["The Great Political Superstition"] . . . is altogether revolutionary in its view, and will greatly astound people, perhaps even more in America than in England, since its essential principle is the denial of the right of the majority save within certain definable limits. The argument is working out even more satisfactorily than I expected; and the whole politico-ethical theory is presenting itself in a more complete and harmonious form than I ever before perceived it could have. . . . It is amusing to find myself patted on the back by the Tory papers. Had I been asked in times gone by whether such a thing could have happened I should have regarded it as quite impossible.

13 May.—This [the last of the articles —“The Great Political Superstition”] will, I think, end what I have to say about political matters. Beginning in 1842 and returning from time to time to the topic in the interval, with further developments, I now in 1884 reach what seems to me a sufficiently completed view—the politico-ethical doctrine set forth in this article being a presentation in a finished form of the theory gradually developed during these forty-two years. It will, I think, eventually form a new departure in politics. The definite conclusions reached, alike concerning the legitimate powers of Governments and majorities, and the reason why, beyond a certain range, their powers cannot be legitimately exercised, and along with them the definite conception presented of the nature of true Liberalism for the future, may, I think, serve presently to give a positive creed for an advanced party in politics. At any rate, I have now done all that I can to make the matter clear; and what little energy remains I shall, I think, in future devote wholly in other directions. [He was disappointed with the reception accorded to the paper on “The Sins of Legislators,” which had at first been intended to form part of the final paper.] A reason for dividing it was that I was anxious not to distract attention from the special group of facts it contained, showing that legislation was to blame for the immense evils that have, during the last six months, been a current topic—the evils set forth in the Bitter Cry of the Outcasts of London. I thought that the exposure of the causes of these evils would create a considerable sensation; but one is habitually wrong in these cases. Next to nothing has been said about the fact that the whole mischief is of governmental production. I suppose in part it may be that the facts tell alike against both political parties; and neither party consequently likes to say anything about them.

15 *May*.—The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which has taken the lead in emulating the American papers in introducing “interviewing,” is apparently inclined to emulate them in unscrupulousness. The enclosed verses will show you what amount of conscience exists among journalistic leaders of opinion over here. . . .<sup>1</sup>

“ Let Evolution fight its destined fight  
Unchecked through Competition’s strain and stress.”

But there is a great demoralization in public life here. I could never have believed that in our day political parties, and more particularly the Tories [the Liberals afterwards behaved as ill or worse. H. S.<sup>2</sup>] would have behaved so vilely as they have done. I am beginning to feel a certain satisfaction in the thought that I shall soon be out of it all, and leave no posterity.

All through July, 1884, he was busy seeing through the press the political articles, under the title—*The Man versus the State*. A bust for which he had given sittings to Mr. Boehm in 1883, and replicas of which he was now presenting to his more intimate friends, furnished some distraction from the engrossing topics of politics and religion.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

6 *October*, 1884.

I am glad that you are pleased with the bust. It has been by most thought very good, though not by all. The Huxley family are pretty unanimous in their condemnation—Mrs. Huxley going so far as to say that she should like to take a hammer and smash it. One remark of theirs was that there was a want of character in it, and John Collier (the son-in-law) said that it looked more like the portrait of a speaker than a thinker. I incline to think that there is some truth in the remark made by Westmacott, a member of the Athenaeum and the son of the sculptor, who said to me that he thought it was too incisive. However, Boehm has a marble bust, which I commissioned him to do for me, in hand, and I may perhaps get him to somewhat soften down this undue salience of traits.

14 *November*.—Having got rid of all my controversial botheration, I am now making preparations to go on with permanent work again quietly. . . . I should already have

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<sup>1</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 *May*, 1884, “Laissez Faire!—A Sermon in Spencerian Stanzas.”

<sup>2</sup> Inserted by Spencer at a later period in a copy of the letter left among his papers.

made some way with "Ecclesiastical Institutions" had it not been for the considerable amount of trouble consequent upon another piece of work [the revision of the first volume of the *Sociology*]. . . . I am at the same time, while erasing some superfluous illustrations, adding here and there others; especially in chapters dealing with disputed questions—the chapter on Animal Worship, and that on Nature Worship, both of which are greatly strengthened.

At the beginning of 1885 he thought he had now entered upon smooth waters, and would speedily reach his next port. Little did he foresee the storm to be raised over the republication in the United States of the controversy with Mr. Frederic Harrison, nor had past experience taught him to make allowance for the many uncertain currents which might cause him to drift from his prescribed course, now in one direction, now in another. One of these side currents was due to Rev. T. Mozley's *Reminiscences*.<sup>1</sup> Another arose out of Mr. Martineau's new book, Spencer being dissatisfied with the distinction drawn between his own and Mr. Darwin's presentation of the principle of evolution.<sup>2</sup>

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

23 March, 1885.

I hope you will be getting your breathing apparatus into better order down south. Why have you not let me know something of the results of the change? I daresay you find it difficult to kill time away from your work; but this is better than to let time kill you while at your work, as you will inevitably soon do if you go on without taking constant and great precautions. . . .

The Belgian economist M. Emile de Laveleye has written an article in the *Contemporary Review* under the title of "The State *versus* the Man, a reply to Herbert Spencer." The editor brought to me a proof the other day with the implication that I might say something in reply.

The following is from M. de Laveleye after seeing Spencer's reply.

FROM EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

LIEGE, 2 April, 1885.

I think the one really important point in our dissent is your opinion, borrowed from orthodox economy, that, under existing conditions, if free contract were but established, labour would

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, i., 44, Appendix K., p. 549.

<sup>2</sup> *Types of Ethical Theory*, ii., 344.

be equitably remunerated. I maintain what you demonstrate in your *Social Statics* (chap. ix.) that when primary rights are violated, *i.e.*, when the labourer or the tenant, deprived of all property, is forced to choose between the wages offered him by his employer or the owner of the land and starvation, he is no more free than the traveller when requested to deliver up his money or his life.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

4 May, 1885.

I presume that you have seen Dr. McCosh's criticism on me. . . . The criticism, in parts which I have looked at, is of the loosest, and almost, in some cases, puerile kind. He has been justifying the name which was given to him in Scotland—Dr. McBosh.

21 July.—I have finished "Ecclesiastical Institutions" . . . and I shall take the whole of the remainder of the manuscript to the printer on Thursday before leaving town, which I do on Friday morning. After ten days or a fortnight with my friends the Potters, on the banks of Windermere, I shall probably go north, and try to get some fishing, as well as some bracing air in Sutherlandshire. Probably I shall be back about the beginning of September, or soon after.

31 August.—The result of my excursion to Scotland was disastrous instead of beneficial. Wear and tear of travelling, joined with some over-exertion the next day, knocked me down utterly—so utterly that I had to return home; and not daring to undertake the worry of travelling by myself, had to telegraph to London for Mr. Hudson [his new Secretary] to come and take charge of me. However, by taking the journey home in short stages, and stopping here and there for a few days, I have got back greatly improved, and am now not so much below par as I expected to be.

30 September.—What little I am now doing is devoted to the Essay, or rather Essays, which I named to you, in criticism of the Darwinian view. It is growing greatly in importance as I collect memoranda and material, and will, I think, tend to put a different aspect upon the whole question, which has at present been considered very partially. The Essays will I think produce some sensation, or even among some, consternation.

The new edition of the first volume of the *Sociology* was published soon after his return from Scotland; and by the beginning of October "Ecclesiastical Institutions" was ready. He at once began the "Factors of Organic

Evolution." As setting forth his relation to Mr. Darwin, Mr. Grant Allen's little book, *Charles Darwin*, was opportune, as well as welcome.<sup>1</sup>

The necessity of husbanding his energies was in itself sufficient reason for declining the presidentship of "The Sunday Society" in succession to the Duke of Westminster, as well as requests from Hull and Cork to lecture. Following on correspondence with Lord Dysart on Home Rule, a letter was sent to the *Times* on "Government by Minority," protesting against allowing the Irish Party in the House of Commons, by a system of organized obstruction, to stop all legislation until Home Rule had been granted. "Hitherto I have never said anything about the politics of the day," he told Dr. Youmans, "but I felt prompted to do so on this occasion. You will see that the leading article refers to the letter; and the editor of the *Quarterly* yesterday told me that he had cut it out and sent it to one of his contributors, who was writing a political article; so that the hour spent in writing it was not thrown away." A request from the Hon. Auberon Herbert for a brief summary of his attitude about the land, led to the writing of the following letter, a copy of which he came upon during the controversy on the land question in 1890.<sup>2</sup>

TO THE HON. AUBERON HERBERT.

13 October, 1885.

The views on land tenure set forth in *Social Statics* five and thirty years ago, were purely ethical in their derivation, and belonged to a system of what I have called absolute ethics, in contradistinction to that relative ethics which takes into account existing arrangements and existing men. When writing them I had no conception that the question of State-ownership would be raised in our time, or in any time near at hand; but had in thought a distant future when a better adaptation of human nature to social life had arisen, and purely equitable social arrangements had become practicable.

The conclusion reached was forced on me partly when seeking a valid basis for private property (the ordinary basis alleged by Locke and others being invalid), and finding none that was satisfactory save one originating in contract between the individual as tenant and the community as land owner,

<sup>1</sup> *Memoir of Grant Allen*, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* chap. xxii.



and it was partly forced on me by the contemplation of such anomalies as that which we see in the Scilly Islands, the owner of which may, if he pleases, make residence in them conditional on accepting his own religious creed, and conforming to any modes of life he dictates ; a state of things which ethically considered is indefensible.

That any economic advantage would be gained by such a change as that indicated is not obvious. All that can be said to belong by right to the community is the land in its original uncleared, unfertilized state. The value given to it during centuries of cultivation, which (excluding town lands) is nearly all its value, belongs to the existing proprietors ; nearly all of whom have either themselves paid for that artificial value, or are the representatives of those who did. The equivalent of this value would, of course, have to be given in compensation if the land were resumed by the community ; and the interest on the required purchase money would, at present rates, absorb as much as, or more than, the community would receive in the shape of rent from its tenants.

Moreover, there is the difficulty that administration of landed property by the State, would be bad administration, economically considered ; since there is no reason to suppose that public machinery would work better in the land-managing department than in any other department. Whether future increments of increased value, which would accrue to the public, would compensate for the loss caused by inferiority of administration may be doubted.

As will be seen by any one who reads the chapter on property in "Political Institutions," my views respecting land tenure are by no means settled—there being a difficulty, out of which I do not see my way, in reconciling the ethical view with the economical view.

But as is shown in the last lines of the chapter, I regard communal proprietorship of land, if established at all, as a system to be established when the industrial type has reached its full development ; and I am distinctly opposed to the question being raised at present, because it is clear that any such change, if made, would be made in the interests of Communism.

A note of sadness pervades the letters to Dr. Youmans and Mr. Lott towards the end of the year. To the former he writes : "The fact is we are all beginning to break up in one way or other. Of the members of the X Club, which, in Huxley's phrase, reached 'its majority' yesterday, one is gone, and of the remaining eight, there are only two in good health. My poor friend Lott is in a bad way."

TO EDWARD LOTT.

10 November, 1885.

Your letter has made me sad on various accounts—more especially of course on your own. . . . On my own account also it was a disappointment. For I had been cogitating over a scheme for taking a house on the South Coast in some salubrious place . . . where I might come at intervals and spend perhaps a third of the year with you. . . . As it is, however, it is obvious that migration from Derby is out of the question for you ; so that my plan, from which I hoped all of us would benefit, is knocked on the head.

By a fortunate coincidence it happens that I am just revising my will, and perhaps it may not be amiss to say that I have left £300 to you, or to Phy [Mr. Lott's daughter] if you die before me. This may serve slightly to diminish your anxieties on her behalf.

Being at Brighton he could not attend the X dinner of 3rd December. Professor Huxley wrote next day.

We were very sorry to miss you yesterday—were reduced to five ; but we contrived to keep our spirits up and positively sat till after ten o'clock—all except Lubbock who had to go to the Linnæan. I don't think that anything of a very profound character was said—in fact, in your absence, I am afraid we inclined to frivolity.

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

7 December, 1885.

And so you sat till 10. Well, really, this is too bad. Considering that I am always the one to protest against the early dissolutions that habitually take place, that you should seize the occasion of my absence for making a night of it, is adding insult to injury. It would really seem from the fact which you deliberately bring before me, that I have hitherto been the cause of the prompt breakings up of the party ! I shall have to bring the question before the next X, and ask what it is in my behaviour which leads to this obvious anxiety to get away as soon as possible when I am present.

I am very glad to hear of Lord Iddesleigh's letter, and the intimation conveyed in it. It is an immense point in life to have no anxieties about resources ; and now that you are free from these and all official cares of moment, we may look for a good deal of original work, joined with bouts of fighting, the occurrence of which goes without saying.

I got hold of the *Nineteenth Century* [for December] as soon as it made its appearance here, and chuckled over the article ;<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Interpreters of Genesis and the Interpreters of Nature."

which, as usual, exemplifies the hand of iron in the glove of velvet.

Acting on a suggestion of Mr. Howard Collins, the Sociological Section of the Birmingham Natural History Society proposed to prepare indexes to Spencer's books—a proposal which was gladly accepted. As far as the carrying out of this proposal was concerned, that happened which usually happens when a duty is undertaken by several—the work before long lay entirely upon the shoulders of one man. Even such assistance in the way of criticism and suggestion as Mr. Collins had looked for from Spencer was not forthcoming. Former offers to index his books, made by the present writer and others, had not been taken advantage of “for the reason that all these things entail upon me business of one kind or other, and my energies are so narrow and are so continually being frittered away by letter-writing and transactions with printers, &c., that I get scarcely any work done.”

## CHAPTER XVIII.

## RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION : A SUPPRESSED BOOK.

*(March, 1883—December, 1885.)*

IN the foregoing chapter we have seen how Spencer thought he had arrived after forty-two years of meditation within sight of "a positive creed for an advanced party in politics." In the chapter we are now entering upon we shall be concerned mainly with what he intended to be "a kind of final expression" of his views on religion. Though the events about to be narrated coincided in point of time with those set forth in the last chapter, they have a special interest of their own which justifies a separate chapter being devoted to them.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

12 April, 1883.

I have just finished the first chapter of "Ecclesiastical Institutions." It deals generally with the religious idea, beginning by showing that it does not exist naturally, that there is no such intuition as theologians tell us, and then goes on to recapitulate in another form and briefly, with fresh illustrations, the argument elaborated in the first volume, winding up by drawing a detailed parallel between the origin and evolution of the present creed and those of other creeds, and showing how complete is their correspondence. It is dreadfully destructive.

Writing to Miss Beatrice Potter (October 8) he says : "If you should some day get hold of a book just published by a clergyman, the Rev. W. D. Ground, *An Examination of the Structural Principles of Mr. Herbert Spencer's Philosophy*, you will be astonished to find it suggested that I am very possibly 'called' to reconstruct the Church of Christ!!!"

TO REV. W. D. GROUND.

12 October, 1883.

To meet with a work, which, like yours, deals with the doctrine of the Synthetic Philosophy as a whole, and with an obvious desire to deal justly, affords me pleasure. I quite agree with your statement that the general doctrine of Evolution is independent of these ontological views which I have associated with it; and I am not sorry to have this fact insisted upon. . . . I may, however, draw your attention to certain passages, the full meaning of which I think you do not recognize, concerning the view I hold respecting the Ultimate Power.

In March, 1885, he drew the attention of Dr. Youmans to the work of another clerical author with similar aims.

There has just been published here a book entitled *Can the Old Faith live with the New?* by the Rev. George Matheson, D.D.—evidently a Scotch presbyterian, for he dates from Inellan, on the Firth of Clyde. It is a very remarkable book, having a drift something like that of Ground's book, but written in a way which will I think be more attractive to the mass and more appreciable. It is really a very clever attempt to show that the evolution doctrine is not irreconcilable with the current creed, . . . I should think Beecher would rejoice over it and take its doctrines as texts.

During 1883 little progress was made with "Ecclesiastical Institutions." For months, however, he had been thinking over the concluding chapter, and in the autumn this was written and put in type, proofs being sent to Professors Huxley and Tyndall in November. Six months were to be allowed them for perusal and criticism; but within a day or two he changed his mind and decided on immediate publication. Hence a note to each of them with the remark: "It is absurd after giving you six months, to want your criticisms in as many days."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

13 November, 1883.

I enclose you a proof of a chapter entitled "Religious Retrospect and Prospect," which is the closing chapter of my next division, "Ecclesiastical Institutions." I began to write it in advance of the others some time during the summer and only recently finished it: the reason why I thus began having been at first simply that it was one I could dictate

out of doors, because it did not involve reference to collections of materials. Having written it thus in advance, I thought it well a short time since to have it set up in type, so that it might be well considered and subject to the criticisms of friends before publication, seeing that it is a kind of final expression of my opinion; and I lately sent copies to Huxley and Tyndall.

As implied, my intention was until recently to reserve it until all the other chapters of the Part were written, and then to let it appear for the first time along with the new volume. . . . Within this day or two, however, on re-thinking over the matter I have come to the conclusion that the advantages of immediate publication are such as to more than counterweigh this consideration. In the first place, it is a long time since I have made any sign, and it is important to publish something. In the second place, the chapter, if published separately here and with you, will be far more widely diffused than if it were reserved for the volume and limited to the circulation that would attain. In the third place, the question is a burning one, and one in respect of which it is desirable to be clearly understood.

17 November.—Knowles is going to publish this "Religious Retrospect and Prospect" in the *Nineteenth Century*. Hitherto he has always made the simultaneous publication in America a ground for refusal. But, as I wished to have the widest diffusion for the article here, I wrote to him asking whether he still maintained his interdict, telling him that simultaneous publication in America is a *sine quâ non* and that I must go elsewhere if he did not assent. He replied, the temptation is too great and he would yield.

22 November.—If this reaches you in time, please insert the note I enclose. It is to meet a possible criticism pointed out by Huxley.<sup>1</sup> Huxley has read the article twice and Tyndall three times, and both coincide. So that the argument may be taken as an expression of advanced scientific opinion.

19 January, 1884.—It is curious to hear that the American press has so generally shied at the article. . . . Here there has been a considerable amount of attention. . . . And various papers have been sent to me containing articles, mostly expressing interest, and in some cases "pain and disgust." There is, however, a marked absence of the bitterness which characterized such notices in years gone by. Knowles tells me that he had had quite a hailstorm of communications about it,

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<sup>1</sup> *Principles of Sociology*, iii., 166, note.

some being from clergymen who declined to take the *Nineteenth Century* any longer ; and he tells me that Gladstone had a letter asking him how he could contribute to a periodical which contained such an article. I also have had a great many letters and books ; aiming to show me the error of my ways, but all without ill-temper.

Proofs of the article had been sent to France, Germany, Italy, Hungary, Russia, India and Japan, as well as to New Zealand, where Sir George Grey took steps to have it published without loss of time, wishing "that an independent public opinion should be formed on it before people would have had their judgments interfered with by the articles from Europe." In Australia, Mr. Caddy, one of Spencer's disciples, had great difficulty in getting an editor to look at it ; one of them saying "that he could not print Mr. Spencer's wild speculations in a paper which every week supplied one of Spurgeon's sermons." Of America Dr. Youmans had to admit : "Evidently there is more religious independence of thought in England than here. For your critics, at any rate, take interest in the subject, while there is too much timidity here to venture upon either side of the discussion."

Meanwhile, the storm was beginning to gather, though as yet the cloud was no bigger than a man's hand. Mr. Frederic Harrison's article on "The Ghost of a Religion" appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* for March.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

6 March, 1884.

You see Harrison is aiming to turn my article on Religion to account in furtherance of the worship of Humanity. It is rather droll to see how, considering he sets out with the statement that he is not about to criticize my argument, he should end by what is practically a ferocious assault upon it. I suppose I ought to answer him ; but, if so, [I] must postpone it until these political articles are out of hand.

I feel prompted to answer him not only because he quite mistakes my view, besides making sundry other statements of a baseless kind, but also because I feel inclined now to make a trenchant criticism on the Religion of Humanity. As I think I told you I intended years ago to do this, and it was to form part of the article on "Religion : a Retrospect and Prospect," which I have published. But . . . I thought on the whole it

might be well not to arouse the animosity of the Positivists. Now, however, that Harrison's article practically challenges me, I feel very much inclined to have my say in the matter. What do you think?

14 June.—Herewith I send you proof of the article on "Retrogressive Religion" which is my reply to Harrison, and in part as you will see by its last section, to the more recent attack of Sir James Stephen. . . .<sup>1</sup>

[It had not at first been his intention to hasten the reply.] When, however, there came out on the first of the month Sir James Stephen's criticisms on Harrison and myself, and when at the same time there was published a kindred attack in the *National Review* by Mr. Wilfred Ward,<sup>2</sup> (which I have not yet seen, but which is referred to in the press, and especially in an article in the *Saturday* called "A Quadrangular Duel,"<sup>3</sup>) it seemed to me that it would not do to postpone longer the publication of my reply.

22 July.—I am glad you like the "Retrogressive Religion." It has done considerable service here, especially in making people understand better what the Agnostic attitude is. It is rather amusing to find myself patted on the back by sundry of the religious papers, as I have been—Church, Roman Catholic, and Dissenters. It will doubtless be serviceable in the same way with you.

Harrison has a reply in hand, but I gather that it is not likely to appear on August 1.

The controversy was viewed with concern by one, at least, of the Positivists.

FROM RICHARD CONGREVE.

9 July, 1884.

I have not read either the attack on you or your reply in the *Nineteenth Century*, which, I hear, is a strong attack on our religious system. But I hear also that you express yourself as not having wished to make that attack, but rather, from a friendly feeling, personally to have wished to put by your objection. In response to that friendly feeling, (I write, as you see, on hearsay), I wish to say that I regret the attack made on you. Better quietly work out our own work and leave it to time for the decision between them. I have no faith in such discussion on the highest subject of human interest. . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Nineteenth Century*, June.

<sup>2</sup> *National Review*, June.

<sup>3</sup> *Saturday Review*, 7 June.



May I add that for another reason I regret anything which tends to alienate you. Your utterances on social and, especially imperial questions have been of a nature to obscure other differences between us.

He left for Scotland on August 1, having as his guests Miss Lott and her cousin, Miss Glover. After a few days at Kinloch Rannoch, they went by Kingussie and Fort William to Oban. London was reached early in September.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

9 September, 1884.

I inclose you something which will, I think, make you rub your hands and laugh. Harrison, evidently made revengeful by my treatment of the Religion of Humanity, has seized the occasion of the anniversary of Comte's death to deliver an address which he has sent to the daily papers. . . . I inclose a report of his address, as well as my own reply. [*Times* and *Standard*, 9 September.] Never was a man more completely "hoist with his own petard." He intended to do me an immense mischief; instead of which he has done an immense mischief to himself and an immense benefit to me.

You will see that he has given me an occasion for bringing out incidentally, and quite naturally, a correction of the current notion respecting my relations to Darwin; that he has afforded me the opportunity of giving an account of the genesis of the Synthetic Philosophy; and further, that he has enabled me to publish Mill's testimony, which I could not otherwise have published. . . . Nothing more fortunate for me in the shape of rectification of errors could, indeed, have happened.

15 September.—Herewith I enclose you a second letter published this morning in the *Times* and the *Standard* in reply to a skilfully written letter of Harrison's.

I send it partly because you will be interested, and partly because you may find use for the second part of it, which gives a brief sketch of the origin and nature of the Synthetic Philosophy. This will serve to give people in small space a dim conception how the thing originated and what it is as a whole. It is a further piece of good fortune; since it enables me to circulate among multitudes of people a general notion which would otherwise never reach them.

FROM RICHARD POTTER.

15 September, 1884.

I have just read your letter in to-day's *Times* and *Standard*. I congratulate you upon a complete success. You have proved your case, and, better than that, you have conquered your adversary by superior temper and by perfect courtesy. . . .

Don't give him any further notice. . . . If you add magnanimity to courtesy your victory is still more conspicuous. Now, you know full well, that I am a disinterested spectator and not a partisan of either Philosophy. I have a powerful affection for you and none for Harrison, and I have a deep interest in your good name and happiness, but I am not one of the disciples or believers in your Philosophy, nor in Comtism either. I am unable to accept either the one or the other as a substitute for the Christianity which I have been reared in.

Like several others, Dr. Youmans feared that the controversy as to his relation to Comte, coming as it did before the discussion on religion had died away, was going to cost too much, however advantageous it might be in some respects.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

6 October, 1884.

The Harrison business, as you say, has been a sad loss of time, and I almost regret having said anything about it. . . . However, the thing is over now. . . .

The result of this second controversy on the back of the other, was that I was so far delayed in completing the article for the *Nineteenth Century* that it did not make its appearance this month. . . . The whole matter will in so far as I am concerned (and I think also in so far as Harrison is concerned) be ended by this next article.

The second controversy, affording as it did an opportunity for giving an outline of the nature and origin of the Synthetic Philosophy, suggested the expediency of publishing the portion of the *Autobiography* dealing with his education and with the various steps that led eventually to the conception of evolution. The letter proceeds to weigh the reasons for and against present publication.

I feel more and more the difficulty of publishing the thing during my own life. . . . And yet, on the other hand . . . there are such strong reasons for not delaying the publication of the essential parts until after my death. There is first of all the educational effect. Now that the pestilent cramming system and the pestilent mechanical methods are becoming more and more organized and made universal by our State-system, which threatens to include all classes and put everybody under inspection, I feel more and more the importance

of placing before people a picture of the opposite system and its effects ; and it seems to be a pity that the publication of such evidence as might modify their views should be postponed perhaps ten or fifteen years until I am gone. And then there is the better understanding of the general doctrine of Evolution which would result from placing its successive stages of growth before people in the biographical form. . . . So that apart from the rectification of erroneous conceptions respecting supposed relations to Darwin and Comte, I feel that there are strong reasons for not delaying. And yet on the other hand, as I say, I neither feel that I can properly suspend other work, nor can I with satisfaction to myself publish a full Autobiography.

30 *October*.—In a day or two I shall send you a copy of the pamphlet I am re-issuing—"Reasons for dissenting from the philosophy of M. Comte." Under existing circumstances I have thought well to detatch this from the *Essay on Classification*. . . . Now that I have got through all my fights and worries—for my last words with Harrison are coming out in the *Nineteenth Century* just about to be issued—I am hopeful of being able to set to on my permanent work with tolerable vigour. I shall rejoice to get to it, for it has been standing idle and I am weary of distractions.

FROM E. L. YOUMANS.

11 *November*, 1884.

In regard to the Harrison controversy and his forthcoming book, it seems to me that your policy is to entirely ignore it from this time on. . . . I recognize the force of all you say respecting the desirableness of bringing out the full account of the genesis of the Evolution Philosophy, and to reinforce those views of education to which present tendencies give undoubted importance. Yet I think no question of a few years' advantage should be allowed a feather's weight against the far greater advantages of developing as far as possible, your main work. . . .

Every further step in the exposition of the Synthetic Philosophy will be a permanent gain to the world, and transient considerations should not be allowed to interfere with it.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

3 *January*, 1885.

I find lying for me the last number of the *Popular Science Monthly*. You make a telling presentation of the question between Harrison and myself ; as usual, seizing the essential points very clearly. . . .

I enclose a leaf from the *Journal of Education* containing a paragraph which will amuse you.<sup>1</sup>

13 *January*.—The long interval since I heard from you leads me to fear that you are ill, or at any rate suffering seriously from the cold weather. Pray go South. If it is a question of money, take possession of the half year's balance due to me. I do not want it.

On the same day the anxiously looked for letter came. In it Dr. Youmans broached the question of the republication of the controversy with Harrison.

FROM E. L. YOUMANS.

2 *January*, 1885.

And now we have something of a new embarrassment upon which I must consult you. There is a pretty sharp demand for the publication of your controversy with Harrison in a separate form, and the publishers favour it. The question is not simply whether it is desirable, for we cannot control it. There is danger that it will be done by others, and if that should occur it would be construed as a triumph of the Harrison party—the Spencerians having declined to go into it.

If I thought no one else would print the correspondence I should be in favour of our not doing it. In the first place, for general effect Rhetoric against Reason counts as about ten to one. The Comtists are reviving—Harrison is coming over to lecture in this country, and much will be made of his brilliant conduct of the controversy. In the next place, he has this advantage of you. Your main work bearing upon the issue is to be sought elsewhere, while Harrison had accumulated all the materials of his assault and gives his whole case, so that the popular effect could not fail to be much in his favour. To the narrower circle of readers, who can really appreciate the discussion, the republication would undoubtedly be an excellent thing, and I suppose after all it is only these that we should much care for. On the whole it may be politic to reprint—What do you think about it?

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

14 *January*, 1885.

After sending you off my note yesterday in some anxiety about your state, I was glad to get a letter from you this morning which relieved me a little, though not fully, for it

<sup>1</sup> This referred to the award of a prize given by the *Journal* "for the best list of the seven greatest living English Educationists." Spencer heads the list to which the prize was awarded. He also had the highest number of votes, Professor Bain being next.

appears that the winter is telling upon you, if not in a renewed pulmonary attack, still in other ways.

Why will you, against your better knowledge, yield to this American mania of sacrificing yourself in trying to do more work? You accept in theory the gospel of relaxation; why can you not act upon it? What is the use of both abridging life, and making it full of physical miseries, all in the hope of achieving a little more; and eventually being baulked of your hope by the very eagerness to achieve? You have done quite enough already in the way of working for the public good. Pay a little regard to yourself and let things drift. . . . Excuse my plain speaking, but it is grievous to me to see you deliberately killing yourself.

I quite agree to the reprinting of the Harrison controversy. I have telegraphed to you to-day suggesting the announcement of the reprint forthwith, and saying that I will send you some notes. Many points in his articles, . . . it is worth while to rectify now that there is an opportunity.

15 *January*.—I send herewith the chapters to be reprinted, with sundry notes to one of them—notes which are most, if not all of them, rectifications of Mr. Harrison's misstatements.

I presume that though you do not feel up to writing an introduction, yet you will think it desirable to affix a brief preface, stating the reasons for republication. I should like this to be done, because I do not want to let it be erroneously thought that the republication is at my own instance. If you say, as you tell me, that there has arisen a demand for the articles in a permanent form, and that, in the absence of a publication by the Appletons, there would shortly have been an issue by another publisher; if you say that, finding this to be the case, you applied to me for my assent, it will meet the requirement. Further, you might add that having agreed to the republication, I had furnished you with the materials for some notes to one of the chapters, rectifying sundry of Mr. Harrison's misstatements.<sup>1</sup> These notes I give you in such form as occurs to me; leaving you to modify the form as you please. As I thus simply draw your attention to the errors and rectifications, you may, if you recast the notes, see well to put your initials to them.

I send you not only the article to which I have appended these notes, but also all the articles; that they may be reprinted from the originals as printed here.

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<sup>1</sup> Note by Spencer.—“Because, though I had originally not noticed them, from lack of space, I did not agree to further diffusion of them in a permanent form without correction.”

21 *January*.—It occurs to me that in the absence of careful instructions, the printers may make some mistakes with regard to the order of the articles, and that therefore it is well just to put the contents of the proposed republication in what seems to me the proper order, with what I propose should be the prefixed and affixed portions.

FROM E. L. YOUMANS.

27 *January*, 1885.

I deeply appreciate your solicitude about my imperilled health, and your generous offer of means to go into safer conditions. But that is not my difficulty; so long as I hang on to the *Monthly* my living is assured. . . . I was very glad of your decision. In two hours after its reception, the articles were on their way to the printers. . . . We have letters inquiring for them. I think it will be well to issue them at the end—on general grounds.

The volume was published by Messrs. D. Appleton and Co., under the title "The Nature and Reality of Religion," a copy being sent to Mr. Harrison, who forthwith wrote to Spencer (26 May): "As I shall have something to say about this publication, I ought first to ask you, whether it has been made with your knowledge, or has your approval; and in particular whether you know anything of the notes and matter appended to my articles, or if you now adopt them." In his reply next day Spencer stated the circumstances which led to the publication, and his own connexion with it and responsibility for it. Mr. Harrison could not see that there was anything in this explanation to justify Spencer in being a party to the reprint of his articles without his knowledge or consent. "May I ask if it is proposed to hand you the profits of a book of which I am (in part) the author, or are these to be retained by your American publishers and friend?" This letter, appearing in the *Times* (29 May), made it necessary that Spencer should now publish the letter he had written to Mr. Harrison two days before. In doing so he referred to the imputation of mercenary motives. "Asking whether I have any share in the profits, Mr. Harrison, not only by this, but by his title—'A New Form of Literary Piracy'—tacitly suggests that I have. . . . If three gentlemen appointed in the usual way decide that under the circum-

stances, as stated to me by Professor Youmans, I was not justified in the course I took, I will, if Mr. Harrison wishes it, request Messrs. Appleton to suppress the book and destroy the stereotype plates, and I will make good their loss to them." And on the 2nd June, on which date Mr. Harrison intimated in the *Times* that he would not pursue the matter further, nor would insist on Spencer's fair offer to submit it to arbitration, Spencer telegraphed to the *Times* from Clovelly: "Rather than have any further question with Mr. Harrison, and rather than have it supposed that I intentionally ignored his copyright claim, I have telegraphed to Messrs. Appleton to stop the sale, destroy the stock and plates, and debit me with their loss." This was followed next day by a letter to the *Times* (4 June), in which he acknowledged that he was wrong in assenting to the republication. "My mind was so engrossed with the due presentation of the controversy that the question of copyright never occurred to me. . . . Hence my error. But my error does not, I think, excuse Mr. Harrison's insult. By cancelling the rest of the edition and the plates, I have done all that remains possible to rectify the effects of my mistake."

On reading this Mr. Harrison disclaimed any intention of bringing against Spencer a charge of desiring money profit out of the reprint, and regretted the use of any words which produced that impression. Meanwhile Spencer wrote to Dr. Youmans, sending him copies of the correspondence.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

ILFRACOMBE, 2 June, 1885.

You were doubtless greatly astonished by my telegram to the Appletons telling them to stop selling the Harrison book. You will be less astonished after reading the enclosed. The thing as you see has had very awkward results here. I ought to have foreseen them.

8 June.—I have nothing further to say respecting the Harrison business, except that on the part of many it has produced a greater cordiality of behaviour to me than they have ever shown before.

9 June.—I returned home last night, and early this morning learnt that in the *Standard* of Saturday last, there was, in

a telegram from New York, a statement to the effect that Messrs. Appleton decline to destroy the stock and plates of the reprinted controversy (as I had telegraphed them to do) on the score that the book would be reprinted by some other publisher. In this expectation they are probably right. . . .

One word respecting the proposal of the Appletons to share the author's profits between Mr. Harrison and myself. If any have at present accrued, or if, in consequence of refusal to do as I have above requested, any should hereafter accrue, then I wish to say that having been, and being now, absolutely indifferent to profit in the matter, I shall decline to accept any portion of the returns.

This last letter was sent to Mr. Harrison to be posted by him after perusal. A telegram from New York, stating that the book had been suppressed, was supposed by Spencer to be "the last act in this disagreeable drama." Mr. Harrison had also expressed the hope that "time may re-establish friendly relations."

TO FREDERIC HARRISON.

13 June, 1885.

On Thursday night I received a telegram from America, containing the words—"Book suppressed on receipt of first telegram." Whence it appears that the correspondent of the *Standard* was in some way or other misinformed.

Referring to your note received on Thursday, I will do my best to think no more of what has passed, though I shall have considerable difficulty in doing this. You are possibly unaware of the chief cause of the feeling which was aroused in me last year, and has survived down to the present time. Most likely you have thought of it as an effect of controversial antagonism, which I have too persistently manifested. But this is not so. That you may understand the cause of alienation, I must set before you a series of facts.

After giving an account of the origin of the *Descriptive Sociology*, of the time and labour bestowed on it and the heavy financial loss involved—absorbing all the surplus proceeds of his literary work during fourteen years, and compelling him to deny himself comforts he could otherwise have afforded, the letter goes on to say:—

For all these sacrifices I got no thanks. . . . But I little foresaw that they would bring to me something very much the reverse of thanks. I little dreamed that the time, labour, health, and money I had expended for the benefit of others,



would become the occasion of a reproach. When you spoke of this "medley" of tables as "a pile of clippings made to order"—when by this and by your comparison to the lawyer you conveyed the belief (a belief which was circulated in America) that I was dishonest enough to present the world with a garbled body of evidence, and foolish enough to suppose that I could in that way bolster up false conclusions, you gave me a deep wound. Such a wound, given even to one who had not in various ways injured himself for good ends, would be sufficiently severe; but coming on one who, for so long a time, had suffered various evils to discharge an honourable obligation and achieve a public benefit, was too serious to be easily healed.

The recent incident has of course not tended to further the healing, and you can hardly suppose that I can forthwith establish anything like cordial relations with one who has inflicted on me immeasurably more pain than has been inflicted by any other man. But I will do my best; and time may obliterate the impression produced by what has passed.

Mr. Harrison hastened to express regret that he had caused annoyance by his remarks about the *Descriptive Sociology*. "Nothing was further from my thought than that you had in any sense garbled the evidence, or had any object other than the honourable pursuit of truth. What I said referred solely to the philosophic value of a particular method of proof. . . . But where you have given so much to the cause of truth, I can reckon the 'Tables' as amongst the least of your gifts."

The course adopted by Spencer was very disconcerting to his friends in New York. "All the newspaper demonstrations have been regularly cabled to us with tormenting incompleteness," wrote Dr. Youmans. "I am profoundly sorry about the transaction, and that any agency of mine should have got you into so annoying and disagreeable a position. I care nothing about it for myself, but I care something for the rights and justice of the case; and as at present advised I shall not be satisfied to leave it where it is left by your order of suppression."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

23 June, 1885.

The thing has been a series of blunders from the beginning. If instead of telegraphing you at once in reply to your letter in January, I had duly thought all round the matter, I might have known that something of the kind which has happened

would be likely to happen. . . . The essential reason why I took the course I did was, that in consistency I felt bound to respect an equitable claim to copyright, and not to countenance a transaction which implicates me in disregard of that claim. As I have explained, I was so engrossed at the time by the thought of the correct presentation of the controversy, which threatened to be incorrectly reproduced, that the notion of copyright never entered into my head—so little did it do so that the publication of Harrison's letter, for the first time revealed this to me as a grievance. . . . But having been reminded that this was a ground of complaint, I admitted it; since I cannot consistently contend for international copyright without myself recognizing the claim to international copyright, even though the law does not; and consequently I ought not to implicate myself in any transaction which ignores it. I therefore felt that I had made a mistake (quite unconsciously) in overlooking this claim, and that for that reason I ought properly to signalize the fact by suppressing the book.

On learning that Dr. Youmans was preparing a vindication of the conduct of Spencer, the Appletons, and himself throughout the transaction, he intimated that "it would be undesirable to let it be issued here—very undesirable. The matter has dropped through."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

STOTT PARK, ULVERSTONE, 28 July, 1885.

I got the proofs just as I was leaving town. . . .

I do not see why you are so dissatisfied with the article. I think it very clear and effective, and so do my friends here. When I wrote in reply to your previous two letters, and said that, however good it might be, its republication here would be impolitic, I was too egotistically occupied with my own share in the matter. I did not bear in mind that you and the Appletons have good reason to wish for the publication as a means of justifying yourselves to the English public.

If this can be done in such way as to leave me out of the question, I shall be glad; but I continue averse to anything which may look like a revival of the matter in my interests.<sup>1</sup>

A cheque sent to Mr. Harrison for his proportion of profit on the sales made before the book was suppressed

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Youmans's vindication appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly* for August, and has been reprinted in *Edward Livingston Youmans*, pp. 562-83. It includes the correspondence between Mr. Harrison and Spencer published in the *Times*.

served to rekindle the dying embers of the controversy. In a letter in the *Times* (7 October) Mr. Harrison declined the cheque, while recognizing the honourable motives of Messrs. Appleton. Spencer thought the occasion a good one for a letter from Dr. Youmans. The aim of this letter, which appeared in the *Times* of 16th November, was to correct certain mistaken impressions and to point out difficulties experienced by fair-minded American publishers. "Until international copyright comes we cannot have its salutary fruits." In a more or less dissentient leader the *Times* thought that Dr. Youmans rather unduly enhanced the publisher's liability and effaced Mr. Spencer's.

As was expected, the suppressed book could not be suppressed. The first intimation Spencer had of its re-issue was towards the end of October, in a letter from Dr. Youmans, to whom he wrote: "Respecting the re-issued volume it is very well that you did not let me know anything about it, so I am left free from any kind of responsibility." A few days before Christmas he got a copy of *The Insuppressible Book*, edited, with comments by Gail Hamilton, and published by S. E. Cassino and Co., of Boston.

With all this turmoil and vexation it is surprising that he was able to complete "Ecclesiastical Institutions," which was published in the autumn of 1885.

The death of "George Eliot" in December, 1880, revived the rumours, already heard occasionally in this country and frequently in the United States, that Spencer had been in love with her. These stories had for years caused him great annoyance. Feeling that he could not himself do anything to contradict these absolutely untrue statements, he laid the matter in strict confidence before his friends, Professors Huxley and Tyndall, Mr. Potter, and Dr. Youmans, in order that they, knowing the facts, should, if the rumour were repeated in their hearing, privately contradict it, leaving such private contradiction to have what effect it might in checking its further circulation. The forthcoming *Life*<sup>1</sup> of "George Eliot" seemed to furnish a

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<sup>1</sup> Published early in 1885.

suitable opportunity for giving an authoritative denial to the report, and he was anxious that a note to this effect should be inserted in the book. Mr. Cross at first agreed, but eventually, after some correspondence, no such note was inserted. The reasons for its omission are thus referred to by Spencer :—

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

4 February, 1885.

*George Eliot's Life* has just come out, and is being read by everybody—satisfactory enough in so far as concerns myself in many respects, it is unsatisfactory in that respect about which I wrote you some years ago—the report that I had been in love with her.

After consulting with friends here at the time I wrote you—Huxley, Tyndall and Potter, to whom, as to you, I told the actual facts of the case in strict confidence—I, acting on their advice, requested Cross, as the least thing that could be done, to put in a note denying this report. To this he assented, being able fully to do so, not on the basis of my authority only, but on the basis of her authority. When the time came, we differed with regard to the wording of the note: I wishing a simple denial of the report, and nothing more; he wishing to frame it in another way, but a way to which I was obliged to object, because it would imply something that was not true. Eventually, a note vaguely worded, repudiating all of whatever reports had been in circulation, was agreed to; but when the book was passing through the press, and the proofs were seen by Lord Acton and Sir Charles Bowen (the judge), this note was objected to by them as one which was likely to cause gossip. Of course he [Mr. Cross] was master of the situation, and as he would not so far modify it as to make it simply the denial I wished, and as the form which he reluctantly would have assented to, was one which made the matter still more liable to the misinterpretation I wished to exclude, the note was finally abandoned.

Cross argued that the indirect evidence would amply suffice to refute the report. I think when you come to look at the state of the case, and such extracts as are given from April 1852 onward, you will see that this is by no means the fact, and that any one who had previously accepted the report, would find nothing to dissipate his belief in it.

As I said to Cross in the course of a correspondence we had at the time when the note was finally cancelled, he had the opportunity of saying by a few words which he could give on double authority, that the statement, as it had been

current, was utterly unfounded ; and yet he deliberately has not done this, and has left it to remain current, if not even to be confirmed ; for it seems to me that some may take the facts as they stand rather as verification than otherwise. . . . Though he was able with facility to rectify the matter, I cannot do so ; and had no means of correcting such absurd misstatements as those which you told me had been current in America, and, so far as I see, shall never have the means of doing this.

Spencer's relations with "George Eliot," and his very high appreciation of her character and mental endowments have been dealt with in the *Autobiography* (i., 394-9).

## CHAPTER XIX.

## THE FACTORS OF ORGANIC EVOLUTION.

*(January, 1886—September, 1889.)*

THE working out of what he regarded as his final addition to the general doctrine of evolution was well advanced by about the middle of January, 1886.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

19 *January*, 1886.

The first of the Darwin articles, which will appear under the title of "The Factors of Organic Evolution," I expect to take to the printers to-day, and the other is commenced. As there will be a good deal of biological detail in it, I shall submit it for criticism to some experts—Flower and Michael Foster among others. Whether I shall ask Huxley and Hooker to look through it, I do not know; for they are somewhat my antagonists in the matter; having always been opponents of the belief that there is inheritance of functionally-produced modifications—or rather, having always slighted the belief as one for which there is no adequate evidence.

To his German translator he thus states the purport of the articles.

TO B. VETTER.

19 *January*, 1886.

They will be in the main a criticism upon the current conception of Mr. Darwin's views; showing that this conception is erroneous in ignoring altogether one of the beliefs set forth by Dr. Erasmus Darwin and by Lamarck—the belief that the inheritance of organic modifications produced by use and disuse, has been a cause of evolution. The thesis of the first paper will be that this cause has been all along a co-operative cause, and that in its absence, all the higher stages of organic evolution would have been impossible.

The second paper will have for its object to point out that besides the factor of "natural selection," now exclusively

recognized, and besides the factor previously alleged, which has of late been improperly ignored, there is yet a third factor, preceding the other two in order of time, and universally co-operative with them from the beginning, which has to be taken into account before all the phenomena of organization can be understood—a factor which has to be recognized before organic evolution is rightly conceived as forming a part of evolution at large.

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

26 January, 1886.

Here is something to exasperate you. There has never been any sympathy between us in respect of the doctrine defended in the accompanying article ; and I remember within this year an utterance of opinion which seemed to imply that there was not much chance of approximation.

Regarding you as in this matter an antagonist, I felt for some time a good deal of hesitation as to the propriety of submitting lucubrations of mine to your criticism. But I have finally concluded that to break through the long standing usage, in pursuance of which I have habitually submitted my biological writing to your castigation, and so often profited by so doing, would seem like a distrust of your candour—a distrust which I cannot entertain. I therefore, as in times long gone by, beg of you such attention as is needed to glance through the inclosed proof, and let me benefit by any objections you have to make.

FROM T. H. HUXLEY.

31 January, 1886.

Mind, I have no *a priori* objection to the transmission of functional modifications whatever. In fact, as I told you, I should rather like it to be true. But I argued against the assumption (with Darwin as I do with you) of the operation of a factor which, if you will forgive me for saying so, seems as far off sufficiently trustworthy evidence now as ever it was.

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

3 February, 1886.

Pray accept my apology along with my thanks for the benefit of your criticisms, sundry of which I am utilizing to guard myself against objections.

You will see, however, from this admission that I remain substantially “ a hardened unbeliever ”—believer, I mean. And now see how good deeds bring their evils. Here is a batch of comments as long as, or longer than, your criticisms. However, you are not obliged to read them unless you care to do so. I write them to show why on sundry points I still think the positions taken are defensible.

With the first revise proof of the second of the articles he wrote to Dr. Youmans: "This, I suspect, will be my last addition to the theory of Evolution. After sixty-five one cannot expect to do more than write out one's ideas previously arrived at." He advised Professor Huxley when criticizing the second article to confine himself to marginal notes—suggesting that perhaps "there needs only one marginal note."<sup>1</sup>

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

23 March, 1886.

Thank you heartily for your criticisms, "captious and cantankerous," as you admit them to be. But what a lover of fighting you are! Here you confess that you castigate my heterodoxies with a view to better fitting them to disturb the orthodox.

Various of your criticisms lead me to make alterations that shall shut the door to mis-apprehension; and sundry alterations of more substantial kinds. While I make them, I jot down for my own satisfaction, certain comments which you may or may not read as you please.

When sending this article as finally revised he told Dr. Youmans (24 March):

Flower made no objections at all; Michael Foster none of any moment. Huxley has badgered me in detail a good deal, and hence most of the alterations contained in this proof. But, though he does not commit himself to my view, he has not said anything which tends to undermine it.

On reading the articles Dr. Arthur Downes was struck by the bearing on Spencer's views of some original work which he and Mr. Blunt had published in the Proceedings of the Royal Society in 1877 and subsequent years. Two or three of these papers were sent to Spencer.

TO ARTHUR DOWNES.

10 May, 1886.

The marked passages, of course, were specially interesting to me as shewing experimentally and in a specific way, the occurrence of an effect which I had inferred *a priori*.

The two articles as published in the *Nineteenth Century*



were written with the intention of republishing them in a permanent form after such interval as the editor agrees to: and I should very well like to make an appendix of some of the passages contained in your two papers, as verifying certain parts of my argument.

In consequence of pressure of space, the editor of the *Nineteenth Century* induced me to abridge the articles. Among passages which I had to take out, were two in which I have commented upon a fact to which I see you in another way refer: namely that protoplasm is habitually found inside of a protecting envelope. . . . These passages I cut out will, of course, be restored in the permanent form of the articles. I name them now because otherwise it may seem to you that I have utilized certain suggestions contained in your papers without acknowledgment. I cannot send you as I should like to do, a proof of the article in its unabridged form: for, when the abridged proof came back from the *Nineteenth Century*, I threw it into the waste-paper basket as done with. But the printer has the type standing, and no doubt has also impressions at hand of the articles as they stood before abridgment. If you care to do so, I should very well like if you would some day when it is convenient, call upon me at the Athenæum, and go with me to the printers to see that this is so.

When sending the present writer a copy of the above, Dr. Downes remarked that it "seems to afford a curious proof of his careful attention to detail, and of a highly scrupulous and punctilious character. I was unable to call upon him and never saw him, but I wrote to thank him and to say how unnecessary was the proposed visit to the printer."

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

19 March, 1886.

The copyright question is being revived here. There exists a body, . . . consisting of publishers and authors, for advancing the question, and a few days ago it sent a deputation to Mr. Mundella. . . . Their aim is to get an international copyright recognized in such form as that they can purchase the author's copyright here and with it include the copyright abroad. . . . If this is allowed, the author will get scarcely anything more for his copyright than if there were no international copyright. . . . The American bill should enact that no copyright, save one held by the foreign author, can be recognized in America, . . . and directly or by implication, enact that copyright negotiations must be direct between the foreign author and the American publisher.

Spencer's depression about this time was extreme. Many of his most intimate friends were, like himself, ill. Professor Tyndall was not far from the truth when he said: "It would seem as if we were all breaking up together." In a letter to Professor Huxley in March Spencer mentions that he had been to see Professor Tyndall.

In the course of conversation I suggested that yachting would be the thing—yachting about the coasts with the ability to go into port every night so as to get quiet rest. Afterwards thinking about this, it occurred to me that such a thing would be admirable also for you and for me. We all three of us want a lounging life in the open air, with just enough variety to keep us alive, and the exhilarating effects of a little pleasant company. I do not see, too, why the thing would not suit my friend Potter. What do you say to our chartering a yacht for a couple of months . . . and going hither and thither about the coasts of the English Channel, including Jersey, Guernsey, the Scilly Islands, &c.

Recalling the Nile expedition, one feels inclined to say that had the suggestion been carried out Spencer would have been the first to run away. When this idea had to be given up he took rooms near the Crystal Palace. But the move did him no good. Another project was unfolded to Miss Flora Smith. "A while since I had hoped to profit by taking up my abode at the Pavilion Hotel, Folkestone, and going backwards and forwards to France every day for the benefit of the sea air, motion and liveliness. But I was balked by the opening of the Folkestone Exhibition." His idea now was to get Mr. and Miss Lott to join him at some sea-side resort. This also came to nothing owing to the illness of his friend having taken an unexpected turn for the worse.

TO EDWARD LOTT.

1 July, 1886.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,—When I saw you, the last Christmas but one, I little thought it would be the last time we should shake hands.

It is grievous to me to think of losing my oldest and best friend; and now that I am myself very much invalided, the consciousness of the loss will make me feel that life, not very attractive to me now-a-days at the best, is made less attractive

than before. It has been clear to me that for months past the pains you have had to bear, bodily and mental, have greatly outbalanced such small satisfactions as the days brought; and now the sad accounts I receive of you, show me that your hours, passed in almost continuous suffering, must make life a great burden.

If as I fear, there is now no hope that I shall ever hear from you again, and have the pleasure of responding, pray accept this as the last good-bye of your sorrowing old friend.

[If in time, to be read to him or not, according as is thought best.]

Before this letter arrived Mr. Lott had breathed his last. Beginning before Spencer's career as a writer was thought of by Mr. Lott, or was more than a vague possibility to Spencer himself, the friendship between them had never wavered during five and forty years.

While mourning the loss of one friend, he was full of apprehension about another; who, with a loyal devotion rarely equalled and never surpassed, had stood by him for over a quarter of a century.

FROM E. L. YOUMANS.

5 July, 1886.

All the indications are decisive, that I can hold on but a little longer and must leave things much as they are. I wish I could write you about many matters that have heretofore been of interest between us, but it cannot be, and is perhaps just as well. Good or bad, whatever is done is done. I was very much touched by the slip you sent me in your note of May 8, from your Autobiographic sketches,<sup>1</sup> speaking so highly of the work I have done. The recognition is most gratifying, and I thank you for your kindness and generosity in making it. I have done nothing myself that will have any claim to survive; but I shall be fully content to be remembered through this noble tribute from a man of justice, who knows the purposes by which I have been animated in my life-work.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

20 July, 1886.

I was much saddened yesterday to receive a verification of the fears I have been for some weeks entertaining, that your silence was due to illness. . . .

It is well, however, that you can take so calm a view of the matter as your description and reflections imply; and it may

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 53.

be that when life has to be carried on under the conditions you describe, the desire for continuance of it may fitly decrease. . . .

This is the view taken by the relatives of one who has just left us—my old and valued friend Lott. . . . You saw enough of him to know what a fine nature he had. . . .

However, I, like you, take a calm view of the matter. I value life for little else than my work ; and had I finished it, I should care little about the issue. . . .

Whatever comes, we may at any rate both of us have some satisfaction in the consciousness of having done our work conscientiously, prompted by high motives ; and whenever it ends, the friendship between us may be looked back upon by the survivor, as one of the valued things of his life.

But more letters may still pass between us, my dear old friend ; and in that anticipation I continue yours with very affectionate regards.

The *Autobiography* was a godsend, giving him the necessary occupation without overtaxing him. When returning the proof of Chapter XXV. Professor Huxley wrote:—

I am immensely tickled with your review of your own book [*Social Statics*]. That is something most originally Spencerian. . . . How odd it is to look back through the vista of years ! Reading your account of me I had the sensation of studying a fly in amber. I had utterly forgotten the particular circumstances that brought us together. Considering what wilful tykes we both are (you particularly), I think it is a great credit to both of us that we are firmer friends now than we were then.

By September he had made up his mind not to face the winter in town. The choice lay between Brighton and Bournemouth, the chief attraction of the latter being the presence there of Mr. Potter and several members of his family, “for I pine for lack of those I care for.” Eventually, however, he decided in favour of Brighton. He was interesting himself about this time in an article Miss Beatrice Potter was writing, one of her points being that any theory of economics that overlooks pathology is useless.

TO MISS BEATRICE POTTER.

2 October, 1886.

So far as I understand them the objections which you are making to the doctrines of the elder political economists, are a good deal of the kind that have of late years been made, and, as I think, not rightly made. . . .

Physiology formulates the laws of the bodily functions in a state of health, and absolutely ignores pathology—cannot take any account whatever of functions that are not normal. Meanwhile, a rational pathology can come into existence only by virtue of the previously established physiology which has ignored it: until there is an understanding of the functions in health, there is no understanding of them in disease. Further, when rational pathology has been thus established, the course of treatment indicated by it is the course which aims as far as possible to re-establish the normal functions—*does not aim to readjust physiology in such way as to adapt it to pathological states.*

Just so is it with that account of the normal relations of industrial actions constituting political economy properly so called. No account can be taken by it of disorder among these actions or impediments to them. It cannot recognize pathological social states at all; and further, the understanding of these pathological social states wholly depends upon previous establishment of that part of social physiology which constitutes political economy. And, moreover, if these pathological states are due to the traversing of free competition and free contract, which political economy assumes, the course of treatment is not the readjustment of the principles of political economy, but the establishment as far as possible of free competition and free contract.

If as I understand you, you would so modify politico-economical principles as to take practical cognizance of pathological states, then you would simply organize pathological states, and things would go from bad to worse.

If he could not enter upon a controversy himself he would contrive to induce one or other of his friends to do so, as when he got Professor Huxley to reply to Mr. Lilly's article on "Materialism and Morality."<sup>1</sup>

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

11 December, 1886.

I may be proud of what you called my "diabolical plot." Notwithstanding your characterization, I think that, considering the result, I may say contrariwise that it has succeeded divinely. I was greatly amused by your article, which was admirably adapted to its purpose.

The friendship between Professor Huxley and Spencer had, during all these years, withstood the disintegrating

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<sup>1</sup> *Life of Professor Huxley*, ii., 144.

effect of diversity of opinion on many subjects. Writing in January, 1887, the former mentions having been asked to become an honorary "something or other" of "a body calling itself the London Schools League (I think)," Spencer and Mrs. Fawcett being also honorary members. "Now you may be sure that I should be glad enough to be associated with you in anything—but considering the innumerable battles we have fought over education, vaccination, and so on—it seemed to me that if the programme of the League was wide enough to take us both for figure heads—it must be so elastic as to verge upon infinite extensibility; and that one or other of us would be in a false position." The body alluded to was the London Liberty Club. On learning that he "was about to be conspicuously bracketed with Mrs. Fawcett," he tells Professor Huxley, "I forthwith wrote to decline the honour, and as I cannot well give the cold shoulder to a body which adopts my own particular views of the functions of government, I have written to exchange my honorary membership for a paying membership."

The year 1887 had not gone far on its course when he was overtaken by a great, though not unexpected, bereavement.

TO E. L. YOUMANS.

BRIGHTON, 1 *January*, 1887.

It is a long time since I heard anything about you and I am getting anxious to have a report. Pray let me know how you have fared during the cold weather. . . .

Though the day suggests it, it is absurd for me to wish you, or for you to wish me, a happy New Year. There is not much happiness remaining in store for either of us.

Pray dictate a few lines when you get this.

This letter reached Dr. Youmans on the 17th. Next day Miss Youmans wrote: "Yours of January 1st reached us last night, and when I read it to him he spoke very tenderly of your case and said, 'I will dictate a few lines to Mr. Spencer to-morrow'; but before the morning had fairly dawned he had ceased to breathe." Thus ended one of the purest and most steadfast friendships the world of letters has ever seen. From the day on which his life came first into contact with Spencer's, Dr. Youmans devoted

himself with rare unselfishness to the promulgation of evolution doctrines, which were identified in his estimation with the highest good of humanity. An earlier American friend than Dr. Youmans was Mr. Silsbee; but as far as one can form an opinion from the perusal of the correspondence, the help rendered by the latter in introducing Spencer to the American public was inappreciable. In the proof slip from the *Autobiography* (ii., 53), sent to Dr. Youmans on May 8, 1886, Spencer must have placed a higher value on Mr. Silsbee's efforts than is implied in the passing reference to him in the passage as finally adopted. A month or two after her brother's death, Miss Youmans endeavoured to correct Spencer's misapprehension.

FROM MISS YOUMANS.

13 April, 1887.

In getting the '86 letters for the copyist I came upon the slip concerning Edward, from your *Autobiography*, sent him with such tender forethought last summer. On reading it at the time, your statement about Mr. Silsbee's early efforts in your behalf surprised me. I afterwards spoke of it to Edward, and he confirmed my impression that you were in error, but when I proposed to tell you about it he said "Oh, it's a very small matter," in a tone that discouraged the attempt. . . . The circular you sent to Mr. Silsbee, he gave to his townsman Rev. Mr. Johnson, whom Edward shortly after met at Mr. Manning's in Brooklyn. Edward started the subject of your writings which had taken great hold of him, and being thus reminded of the circular in his vest pocket, Mr. Johnson at once gave it to Edward saying that Mr. Silsbee, who gave it him, knew Mr. Spencer personally. . . . Within a week from the time he met Mr. Johnson, he went to Salem to learn what he might about you. He found Silsbee, and he told me last summer that while Mr. Silsbee spoke admiringly of you, he manifested no enthusiasm about your ideas—did not seem acquainted with them, and up to the time of Edward's visit, had done nothing but hand your circular to Mr. Johnson; and in Edward's opinion he would not of his own accord have made a movement in the matter. Influenced by Edward, he did take hold of the work, going to Boston and Cambridge to get influential names for the subscription; but (and I mention it because it bears on the case) Edward said he was never able to undo the mischief Silsbee wrought in Boston and its suburbs by his unfortunate aggressive manner of approaching people.

He said he never met Dr. Holmes afterward but that gentleman alluded to the disagreeable experience—the way he was assailed by Mr. Silsbee in your behalf.”<sup>1</sup>

This was Jubilee year. He was invited by Mrs. Jose, with whom his Aunt Anna lived, to contribute towards “a very mild feast for the Hintonians as a public commemoration.” This he was unable to do.

TO MRS. JOSE.

BRIGHTON, 30 *May*, 1887.

Do not suppose, however, that . . . I am unwilling to contribute towards the pleasures and, I hope, the benefits of the Hintonians. I presume the Hinton library still exists. If so, I will . . . send you a cheque for ten guineas to be spent in books (chiefly works of science, and voyages and travels) to be added to the Hinton library. On the inside of the cover of each of these books I propose to have pasted the following inscription.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF  
THE REV. THOMAS SPENCER, M.A.  
FOUNDER OF THE HINTON LIBRARY  
AND OF OTHER  
INSTITUTIONS FOR THE BENEFIT OF HINTON  
THIS VOLUME  
IS PRESENTED BY  
HIS GRATEFUL NEPHEW  
HERBERT SPENCER.

Owing to circumstances over which he had no control, it was not till the beginning of 1895 that the gift was bestowed.

With improved health came the wish for change of surroundings. Yachting about the Channel was again thought of. He longed also for the company of children. In answer to his pleading, Mrs. W. H. Cripps not only sent him two of her own, but volunteered to get her married sisters to spare him one or two of theirs. In this way began a custom which continued for years—cementing still more closely the bonds of affection between him and the family of Mr. and Mrs. Potter. In November he went to Bournemouth. “I have got rooms in the same house as

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<sup>1</sup> See also *Edward Livingston Youmans*, p. 105.



the Potters, where I shall have the occasional companionship of three generations."

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

1 December, 1887.

The black border on your letter of last week made me open it in hurried alarm, remembering what you had said respecting your wife a few days previously. To say that I was relieved on reading it seems strange considering that it announced the death of your daughter. But I coincide with the feeling that you expressed that, considering the hopeless state in which she has long been, and the probability of continued painful decay, it was better that the end should come as it did.

But it is sad to think of so promising a career so early blighted—much successful and enjoyable achievement, joined, as one may infer, with a great deal of domestic happiness, closing so early after so much suffering.

He returned to London on the last day of January, 1888, after eighteen months absence, greatly improved in health, though not perhaps coming up to Professor Huxley's description of him—"as lively as a cricket." At the same time there appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* an article on "The Struggle for Existence in Human Society," which Professor Huxley feared had "made Spencer very angry—but he knows, I think he has been doing mischief this long time."

TO T. H. HUXLEY.

38, QUEEN'S GARDENS, 6 February, 1888.

I have nothing to object, and everything to agree to. In fact, the leading propositions are propositions that I have myself enunciated either publicly or privately. It was but the day before leaving Bournemouth that I was shocking some members of the circle upstairs at Kildare by insisting on the non-moral character of Nature—immoral, indeed, I rather think I called it; pointing out that for 99 hundredths of the time life has existed on the Earth (or one might say 999 thousandths), the success has been confined to those beings which, from a human point of view, would be called criminal.

So, too, with the equal readiness of Nature to retrogress as to progress: see my reply to Martineau and the first part of the *Principles of Sociology*.

Last spring I began to set down a number of leading thoughts, which I intended to incorporate in the *Inductions of Ethics* if ever I lived to write it, and in the course of it was

pointing out that same progression from brute ethics to human ethics which you have well insisted upon.

The remaining dominant point in this first division of your article is one in respect of which I fancy you thought I had overlooked an important consideration. When, sometime ago, in a speech, or address I think it was, you referred to those who insisted on the evils of war, and the need for peace as a means to higher civilization, and when you pointed out that the war of the sword had to be followed by the war of the loom (as one might call it), I fancied that you had me in your thought. But, I have long ago insisted on the same truth, as you will see in the *Study of Sociology* (page 199), where after admitting that war of the primitive kind by killing off the inferior races produces a balance of advantage during the earlier stages, I have gone on to insist that later "the purifying process, continuing still an important one, remains to be carried on by industrial war."

But while I am at one with you in this preliminary argument, I dissent from the conclusion drawn and from the corollaries. So far from believing that there is more misery now than there has been, I think there is less, and that there is no pressing need for the measures you allege. The mere fact that the rate of mortality has been diminishing, seems to me alone sufficient proof of this. The current impression with regard to the distress of the lower classes reminds me of a number of other untrue impressions. During the time when the mass of the people were profoundly ignorant there was no recognition whatever of their ignorance; but when they became partially instructed there arose an outcry that the nation was perishing for lack of knowledge, and that State agency was needful to spread it. Similarly with drinking. While drunkenness was extremely general there were no protests, but when sobriety had made considerable advances, there came an outcry that drunkenness was the root of all evil, and that the State must step in to prevent it. So, too, with the position of women. While they were slaves and during the long ages when they were ill-treated, not a word was said about their rights, now that they have come to be well treated the screaming sisterhood make the world ring with their wrongs, and they scream loudest in America, where women are treated with the greatest regard. So, I say, is it with the matter of the distress. Now that the distress is far less than it used to be, there comes an outcry about its greatness, and predictions that things will come to a crash unless it is stopped.

From your proposed measures of course I dissent. I feel strongly tempted to write an essay under the title "The Struggle for Existence—another Programme." But I must resist the temptation, and economize what little power I have:

a further motive for refraining being that my criticisms might cause a coolness between us which I should greatly regret.

10 *February*.—My anticipation of possible evils, referred not to some first stage of a controversy as to probable second stages ; for when once a controversy is commenced there is no knowing how it will end. We are both of us combative, and I regarded it as tolerably certain that to my criticism there would come a rejoinder from you, and again another from me. The danger of some disturbance of harmony might in such case become considerable. In oral controversy I have so often had reason to be vexed with myself for having said things which I had not supposed I should say at the outset, that I am getting a little cautious how I run the risk.

The improvement in health, begun in Bournemouth, was continued in London. Nevertheless when the X dinner for March came round he had to stay away. In reply to Professor Huxley's banter that "if young men from the country will go plunging into the dissipations of the Metropolis, nemesis follows," he wrote (10 March):—

It was not that "life in London" "came over" "the young man from the country"; but he was come over by another "young man from the country." I had been dining at the Athenæum with Galton, and had quite enough talking, when suddenly Masson made his appearance. I was very glad to see him. He joined us at the same table, and there followed half an hour's animated talking, laughing, and story-telling. . . .

Never mind your strength running to hair instead of to brains, so long as you are thereby kept out of mischief. If, following out the parallel of Samson (about whom you seem to think I know nothing), we could blind you for a while to all save novels, it might not be a bad thing—furthering at once your own welfare and the peace of mind of your antagonists.<sup>1</sup>

It was a curious coincidence that about the time he was submitting proofs of certain paragraphs of the *Autobiography* containing criticisms on Art to Mr. Philip H. Calderon, R.A., and to Mr. John Brett, A.R.A.,<sup>2</sup> the *Architect* (27 January) had a reference to his opinions on Art. Hence a disclaimer in a letter to the editor (24 February). "In my published writings I have not anywhere expressed

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Professor Huxley*, ii., 194.      <sup>2</sup> *Autobiography*, ii., 195.

either the opinions ascribed to me or any other. Necessarily, therefore, some utterances of mine, either to friends or to an amanuensis, must have originated the statement. In its general drift the statement is correct, but, as might be expected, it is incorrect in detail." When it was pointed out that the paragraph in question was reprinted from his own essay on "Precedent in Architecture," published in January, 1842, all he could say was: "I never dreamed that the reference was to a letter nearly fifty years old."

A proposal was made by Miss Beatrice Potter on behalf of an American gentleman that he should sit to Millais for his portrait. To this he at first consented, but next day drew back.

TO MISS BEATRICE POTTER.

5 May, 1888.

Yesterday I quite forgot myself, or rather forgot one of my strong opinions, when I gave my consent to the project for a portrait.

The practice of getting up subscriptions for this and the other purpose has grown into a grave social abuse, against which I have of late years more and more protested. People are blackmailed for all kinds of purposes. Among other subscriptions raised are those for testimonials and testimonial portraits; and against such subscriptions also I protest.

On one occasion I voluntarily subscribed without being asked, because I felt under a personal obligation (the case of Sir Andrew Clark), but on sundry other occasions I have, when asked to subscribe for the painting of portraits, felt that I was under a kind of moral coercion, which I did not like. Having been asked I felt obliged to subscribe because of the feeling that would have arisen had I declined.

Now as I dislike being myself put under coercion of this kind, I dislike having other persons put under such coercion in respect of myself. I dislike the thought that any one should be asked to tax themselves with a view to raising a fund for painting a portrait of me. I feel that some might give willingly, but many reluctantly, and most would regard the thing as a nuisance. I therefore must decline agreeing to the project which you named to me.

The prospect of improved health and working power with which he had come to London at the end of January, became clouded before many months. By midsummer he had made up his mind that a radical change in his

mode of life must be attempted. Hence an urgent request that Mr. and Mrs. Grant Allen should take him as a boarder, which, at considerable inconvenience to themselves, they consented to do. The move to Dorking took place in June. But the bad weather, keeping him indoors, produced great depression of spirits. He was, in fact, getting confirmed in that state which became more and more pronounced as year succeeded year—a state of restless longing for society when it was away from him, and shrinking from it when it was within his reach.

His anti-aggression sentiments remained as pronounced as ever, though he had been compelled to stand aside from the public position he had occupied in 1882. Since then he had published "Ecclesiastical Institutions," in which the clergy are taken to task for their indifference to, or support of, the aggressive policy of the nation.

TO THE HON. AUBERON HERBERT.

DORKING, 30 *September*, 1888.

I wish you would instigate Mr. Bradlaugh (with whom I see you have been expressing sympathy) to commence a crusade against the abominable filibustering which is now disgracing us. Since the annexation of Burma we have had Zulu-land, New Guinea, North Borneo, East Africa, as well as the now current and pending aggressions in Sikkim and the Black Mountain, which doubtless will end by and by in annexations there. Now there is a talk too of Bechuana-land. To me the whole thing is atrocious and horrible, and so far from being likely to stop, it goes on faster day by day, resulting in a re-barbarization of the nation.

Bradlaugh would, I think, be a good man to initiate an agitation of a pronounced kind against the whole policy. There are several strong positions capable of conclusive proof and illustration which he might take up.

First, that the whole policy ends in national loss, since the alleged commercial advantages never compensate for the cost of perpetual wars joined with the cost of official administration, and that from this loss the working class, along with other classes, eventually suffers.

Second, that the whole process is utterly demoralizing, as a continual fostering of those sentiments which, joined with development of militant organization, end in destruction of free institutions and despotism.

Third, that it will inevitably result in an increased demand for increased armaments to defend the greater number of