

in an interval of forty years, this topic came up once more to be dealt with in the light of the results which had then been reached. No essential changes of the views set forth in *Social Statics* proved needful; but there came to be recognized a deeper origin for its fundamental principle. The assertion of the liberty of each limited only by the like liberties of all, was shown to imply the doctrine that each ought to receive the benefits and bear the evils entailed by his actions, carried on within these limits; and Biology had shown that this principle follows from the ultimate truth that each creature must thrive or dwindle, live or die, according as it fulfils well or ill the conditions of its existence—a principle which, in the case of social beings, implies that the activities of each must be kept within the bounds imposed by the like activities of others. So that, while among inferior creatures survival of the fittest is the outcome of aggressive competition, among men as socially combined it must be the outcome of non-aggressive competition: maintenance of the implied limits, and insurance of the benefits gained within the limits, being what we call justice. And thus, this ultimate principle of social conduct was affiliated upon the general process of organic evolution.

“Negative beneficence” was recognized as a needful supplement to Justice. While society in its corporate capacity is bound to enforce Justice to the uttermost, there falls on each individual, acting independently, the obligation to refrain from doing some things which the law of equal freedom warrants him in doing. This special obligation follows from the general obligation of each to discharge his debt to the society which has fostered him: doing this by aiding in its improvement—by cultivating a sympathy such as will not tolerate the taking of every advantage strict justice accords. But it was held that this qualification of the dictates of justice by those of negative beneficence must be left to the private judgment of each.

In the final division “Positive Beneficence,” not passive altruism was enjoined, but active altruism. In the chapter on “The Evolution of Conduct,” it was shown that the highest life, and consequently the highest happiness, can be reached only when “all the members of a society give mutual help in the achievement of ends”; and, by implication, can be reached only when they give mutual help in the avoidance of evils. In this final division it was contended that, while there is an indirect obligation on each to maintain and improve that social state which gives him the facilities of living he enjoys, he gains by cultivating the feelings which cause fulfilment of this obligation; since the sympathy which prompts alleviation of others’ pains is the same sympathy which makes possible the participation in others’ pleasures, and therefore exalts personal happiness.

March, 1899.

## APPENDIX C.

## LIST OF HERBERT SPENCER'S WRITINGS.

## THE SYNTHETIC PHILOSOPHY.

- First Principles.* First edition, 1862 ; second edition, 1867 ; third edition, 1875 ; fourth edition, 1880 ; fifth edition, 1884 ; sixth edition, and finally revised, 1900. Reprinted with an additional appendix and a new index, 1904.
- Principles of Biology.* Vol. i., 1864 ; vol. ii., 1867 ; revised and enlarged edition, vol. i., 1898 ; vol. ii., 1899.
- Principles of Psychology.* First edition, 1855 ; second edition, vol. i., 1870 ; vol. ii., 1872 ; third edition, 1880 ; fourth edition, 1899.
- Principles of Sociology.* Vol. i., first edition, 1876 ; second edition, 1877 ; third and enlarged edition, 1885. Vol. ii., Part IV., 1879 ; Part V. 1882. Vol. iii., Part VI., 1885 ; Parts VII. and VIII., 1896.
- Principles of Ethics.* Vol. i., Part I., 1879 ; Parts II. and III., 1892. Vol. ii., Part IV., 1891 ; Parts V. and VI., 1893.

## OTHER WORKS.

- Social Statics.* First edition, 1855 : abridged and revised edition, 1892.
- Education.* First edition, 1861 ; cheap edition, 1878 ; sixpenny edition, published by the Rationalist Press Association, 1903. Reprinted 1905.
- The Study of Sociology.* International Scientific Series, first edition, 1873 ; second to seventh editions, 1873-78 ; library edition, 1880.
- The Man versus the State.* First edition, 1884 ; reprinted with abridged and revised edition of *Social Statics*, 1892.
- Essays.* First Series, 1857. Second Series, 1863. Third Series, 1874. Revised edition in three volumes, 1890.
- Various Fragments.* First edition, 1897 ; enlarged edition, 1900.
- Facts and Comments.* 1902.
- Descriptive Sociology* :—
- English.* 1873.
- Ancient American Races.* 1874.
- Lowest Races, Negrito Races, and Malayo-Polynesian Races.* 1874.

- African Races.* 1875.  
*Asiatic Races.* 1876.  
*American Races.* 1878.  
*Hebrews and Phœnicians.* 1880.  
*French.* 1881.  
*Autobiography.* In two volumes, 1904.

ESSAYS, ARTICLES, AND LETTERS PUBLISHED IN MAGAZINES AND  
 NEWSPAPERS.

1836.

- Crystallization. *Bath and West of England Magazine* for  
 January.  
 The Poor Laws. *Bath and West of England Magazine* for  
 March.

1839.

- "Skew Arches." *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* for May.  
 (*Autobiography* i., 517.)

1840.

- "A Geometrical Theorem." *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal*  
 for July. (*Autobiography* i., 520.)

1841.

- "A New Form of Viaduct." *Civil Engineer and Architect's*  
*Journal* for July.  
 "The Transverse Strain of Beams." *Civil Engineer and Archi-*  
*tect's Journal* for September.  
 "Scale of Equivalentents." Written for the *Civil Engineer and*  
*Architect's Journal*, but not published. (*Autobiography*, i.,  
 525.)

1842.

- "Architectural Precedent." *Civil Engineer and Architect's*  
*Journal* for January.  
 Letter on above. *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* for  
 March.  
 "Velocimeter." *Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal* for July.  
 (*Autobiography*, i., 522.)  
 Letters "On the Proper Sphere of Government." *Nonconformist*,  
 15, 22 June ; 13, 27 July ; 10 August ; 7, 21 September ;  
 19, 26, October ; 23 November ; 14 December.

1843.

- "Effervescence—Rebecca and her Daughters." *Nonconformist*,  
 28 June.  
 "Mr. Hume and National Education." *Nonconformist*, 2 August.

"The Non-Intrusion Riots." *Nonconformist*, 11 October.  
Letter about the Derby flood of April, 1842. *Architect, Engineer,  
and Surveyor* for October.

1844.

"Imitation and Benevolence." *Zoist* for January.  
"Remarks on the Theory of Reciprocal Dependence in the  
Animal and Vegetable Creations, as regards its bearing on  
Palæontology." *Philosophical Magazine* for February. (*Auto-  
biography*, i., 533.)  
"Situation of the Organ of Amativeness." *Zoist* for July.  
"The Organ of Wonder." *Zoist* for October.  
Various Articles. *Birmingham Pilot*, September to December.

1846.

"Justice before Generosity." *Nonconformist*, 30 December.

1847.

"The Form of the Earth no proof of Original Fluidity." *Philo-  
sophical Magazine* for March. (*Autobiography*, i., 546.)

1848.

Article on "Political Smashers." *Standard of Freedom*, June or  
July.

1851.

"A Solution of the Water Question." *Economist*, 20 December.  
(*Various Fragments*, p. 229.)

1852.

"Use and Beauty." *Leader*, 3 January. (*Essays*, ii., 370.)  
"The Development Hypothesis." *Leader*, 20 March. (*Essays*, i., 1).  
"A Theory of Population." *Westminster Review* for April.  
(*Principles of Biology*, i., 577.)  
"The Bookselling Question." *Times*, 5 April. (*Various Frag-  
ments*, p. 1.)  
"A Theory of Tears and Laughter." *Leader*, 11 October.  
"The Sources of Architectural Types." *Leader*, 23 October.  
(*Essays*, ii., 375.)  
"The Philosophy of Style." *Westminster Review* for October.  
(*Essays*, ii., 333.)  
"Gracefulness." *Leader*, 25 December. (*Essays*, ii., 381.)

1853.

"The Value of Physiology." *National Temperance Chronicle* for  
February.  
"The Valuation of Evidence." *Leader*, 25 June. (*Essays*, ii.,  
161.)

"Over-Legislation." *Westminster Review* for July. (Essays, iii., 229.)

"The Universal Postulate." *Westminster Review* for October.

"The Use of Anthropomorphism." *Leader*, 5 November.

1854.

"Manners and Fashion." *Westminster Review* for April. (Essays, iii., 1.)

"Personal Beauty." *Leader*, 15 April and 13 May. (Essays, ii., 387.)

"The Art of Education." *North British Review* for May. (Education, chap. ii.)

"The Genesis of Science." *British Quarterly Review* for July. (Essays, ii., 1.)

"Railway Morals and Railway Policy." *Edinburgh Review* for October. (Essays, iii. 52.)

1855.

"An Element in Method." A chapter in *Principles of Psychology*. (Various Fragments, p. 3.)

1856.

Letter to Editor on charge of Atheism. *Nonconformist*, 23 January.

1857.

"Progress : its Law and Cause." *Westminster Review* for April. (Essays, i., 8.)

"The Ultimate Laws of Physiology." *National Review* for October. (Essays, i., 63.)

"The Origin and Function of Music." *Fraser's Magazine* for October. (Essays, ii., 400.)

"Representative Government : What is it good for?" *Westminster Review* for October. (Essays, iii., 283.)

1858.

"State Tamperings with Money and Banks." *Westminster Review* for January. (Essays, iii., 326.)

"Moral Discipline of Children." *British Quarterly Review* for April. (Education, chap. iii.)

"Recent Astronomy and the Nebular Hypothesis." *Westminster Review* for July. (Essays, i., 108.)

"A Criticism of Professor Owen's Theory of the Vertebrate Skeleton." *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for October. (Principles of Biology, second edition, ii., 548.)

1859.

"The Laws of Organic Form." *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for January.

- "The Morals of Trade." *Westminster Review* for April. (*Essays*, iii., 113.)  
 "Physical Training." *British Quarterly Review* for April. (*Education*, chap. iv.)  
 "What Knowledge is of most Worth." *Westminster Review* for July. (*Education*, chap. i.)  
 "Illogical Geology." *Universal Review* for July. (*Essays*, i., 192.)  
 Letter on Mr. J. P. Hennessey's paper read at the meeting of the British Association. (*Athenæum*, 22 October.)

1860.

- "Bain on the Emotions and the Will." *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for January. (*Essays*, i., 241.)  
 "The Social Organism." *Westminster Review* for January. (*Essays*, i., 265.)  
 "The Physiology of Laughter." *Macmillan's Magazine* for March. (*Essays*, ii., 452.)  
 "Parliamentary Reform: the Dangers and the Safeguards." *Westminster Review* for April. (*Essays*, iii., 358.)  
 "Prison Ethics." *British Quarterly Review* for July. (*Essays*, iii., 152.)

1862.

- "Theological Criticism." *Athenæum*, 8 and 22 November.  
 "On Laws in General and the Order of their Discovery." Part of the first edition of *First Principles*. (*Essays*, ii., 145.)

1864.

- "The Classification of the Sciences." Published as a brochure in April. (*Essays*, ii., 74.)  
 "Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte." Appendix to the foregoing. (*Essays*, ii., 118.)  
 "What is Electricity?" *Reader*, 19 November. (*Essays*, ii., 168.)

1865.

- "The Constitution of the Sun." *Reader*, 25 February. (*Essays*, i., 182.)  
 "The Collective Wisdom." *Reader*, 15 April. (*Essays*, iii., 387.)  
 "Political Fetichism." *Reader*, 10 June. (*Essays*, iii., 393.)  
 "Mill *versus* Hamilton—The Test of Truth." *Fortnightly Review* for July. (*Essays*, ii., 188.)

1866.

- "On Circulation and the Formation of Wood in Plants." *Transactions of the Linnæan Society*, vol. xxv. (*Principles of Biology*, ii., 567.)

1870.

- "The Origin of Animal Worship." *Fortnightly Review* for May. (*Essays*, i., 308.)

1871.

- "A New Fishing Rod." *Field*, 14 January. (*Autobiography*, ii., 504.)
- "Morals and Moral Sentiments." *Fortnightly Review* for April. (*Essays*, i., 331.)
- "Mental Evolution." *Contemporary Review* for June.
- "Specialized Administration." *Fortnightly Review* for December. (*Essays*, iii., 401.)

1872.

- "Survival of the Fittest." *Nature*, 1 February.
- "Mr. Martineau on Evolution." *Contemporary Review* for June. (*Essays*, i., 371.)

1873.

- "Replies to Criticisms." *Fortnightly Review* for November and December. (*Essays*, ii., 218.)
- "Obituary Notice of J. S. Mill." *Examiner*, 17 May. (*Autobiography*, ii., 506.)

1874.

- Correspondence relating to Physical Axioms. *Nature*, March to June. (*Essays*, ii., 298-314.)

1875.

- "Professor Cairnes's Criticisms." *Fortnightly Review* for February. (*Various Fragments*, p. 14.)

1876.

- "The Comparative Psychology of Man." *Mind* for January. (*Essays*, i., 351.)

1877.

- "Views concerning Copyright." Evidence given before the Royal Commission. (*Various Fragments*, p. 18.)
- "A Rejoinder to Mr. McLennan." *Fortnightly Review* for June. (*Various Fragments*, p. 63.)
- "Mr. Tylor's Review of the Principles of Sociology." *Mind* for July.

1878.

- Letter on the toast of "The Fraternity of the two Nations" proposed at a dinner in Paris. *Standard*, 30 May.
- "Consciousness under Chloroform." *Mind* for October. (*Principles of Psychology*, i., 636.)

1879.

- Letter to M. Alglave about the "Lois Ferry." *Revue Scientifique* for July.

1880.

Letter on the feeling in England about the time of the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States—written in 1869, but not then published. *New York Tribune*, 28 June. (*Autobiography*, ii., 497.)

“Professor Tait on the Formula of Evolution.” *Nature*, 2 and 16 December. (*Various Fragments*, p. 75.)

Letter disclaiming having had to do with “George Eliot’s” education. *Standard*, 26 December.

1881.

“Replies to Criticisms on the Data of Ethics.” *Mind* for January.

“Views concerning Copyright.” Speech delivered at a meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, held in May. (*Various Fragments*, p. 57.)

“Professor Green’s Explanations.” *Contemporary Review* for February. (*Essays*, ii., 321.)

1882.

Letter on “The Anti-Aggression League.” *Nonconformist and Independent*, 2 March.

“Professor Goldwin Smith as a Critic.” *Contemporary Review* for March.

Pecuniary liberality of Mr. J. S. Mill. *Daily News*, 27 March.

“Concerning the Misstatements of the Rev. T. Mozley.” *Athenæum*, 22 July. (*Autobiography*, i., 549.)

“Ability versus Information.” (*Various Fragments*, p. 91.)

“Book Distribution.” (*Various Fragments*, p. 93.)

1883.

Letter on the *Edinburgh Review* and on the Land Question. *St. James’ Gazette*, 14 February.

“The Americans.” *Contemporary Review* for January. (*Essays*, iii., 471.)

1884.

Political Articles. *Contemporary Review* for February, April, May, June and July.

Letter on a misquotation in the Duke of Argyll’s *Unity of Nature*. *Athenæum*, 16 February.

“Mental Evolution in Animals.” *Athenæum*, 5 April.

“Retrogressive Religion.” *Nineteenth Century* for July.

Letter repudiating the opinion attributed to him that we should be all the better in the absence of education. *Standard*, 8 August.

“Mr. Herbert Spencer and the Comtists.” *Times*, 9 September.

“Mr. Herbert Spencer and Comte.” *Times*, 15 September.



"Last Words about Agnosticism and the Religion of Humanity." *Nineteenth Century* for November.

1885.

"A Rejoinder to M. de Laveleye." *Contemporary Review* for April. (*Various Fragments*, p. 98.)

Letters on the Spencer-Harrison Book. *Times*, 1 3, 4 and 6 June. *Standard*, 10 and 13 June.

"Government by Minority." *Times*, 21 December. (*Various Fragments*, p. 110.)

1886.

"The Factors of Organic Evolution." *Nineteenth Century* for April and May. (*Essays*, i., 389.)

1888.

"A Counter Criticism." *Nineteenth Century* for February. (*Essays*, i., 467.)

Letter with Reference to his Opinions on Painting. *Architect*, 24 February.

"The Ethics of Kant." *Fortnightly Review* for July. (*Essays*, iii., 192.)

1889.

Rev. J. Wilson's Statements about articles on "Sociology" in the *Birmingham Pilot*. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 12 April.

Letters on the Land Question. *Times*, 7, 11, 15, 19, 27 November.

1890.

"Absolute Political Ethics." *Nineteenth Century* for January. (*Essays*, iii., 217.)

"Reasoned Savagery so-called." *Daily Telegraph*, 7 February.

"The Inheritance of Acquired Characters." *Nature*, 6 March.

"Panmixia." *Nature*, 3 April.

"Our Space Consciousness." *Mind* for July. (*Principles of Psychology*, ii., 717.)

"The Moral Motive." *Guardian*, 6 August. (*Principles of Ethics*, ii., 446.)

"The Origin of Music." *Mind* for October.

1891.

"From Freedom to Bondage." Introduction to *A Plea for Liberty*. (*Essays*, iii., 445.)

"The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children." *Pall Mall Gazette*, 16 and 28 May.

"The Origin of Music." A discussion. *Mind* for October.

1892.

Letter to *Figaro* about his unfamiliarity with M. Renan. *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 October.

Letter on the sales of his books. *Daily Chronicle*, 3 December.

## 1893.

- "Social Evolution and Social Duty." (*Various*] *Fragments*, p. 119.)
- "The Inadequacy of Natural Selection." *Contemporary Review* for February and March. (*Principles of Biology*, i., 602.)
- "Professor Weismann's Theories." *Contemporary Review* for May. (*Principles of Biology*, i., 633.)
- "A Rejoinder to Professor Weismann." *Contemporary Review* for December. (*Principles of Biology*, i., 650.)
- "Evolutionary Ethics." *Athenæum*, 5 August. (*Various Fragments*, p. 111.)

## 1894.

- "Obituary Notice of Professor Tyndall." *Fortnightly Review* for February.
- "Parliamentary Georgites." *Times*, 20 February. (*Various Fragments*, p. 122.)
- Letters relating to the Land Question Controversy. *Daily Chronicle*, August to September.
- "Weismannism Once More." *Contemporary Review* for October. (*Principles of Biology*, i., 671.)
- "A Record of Legislation." *Times*, 24 November. (*Various Fragments*, p. 125.)
- "The Booksellers' Trade Union." *Times*, 26 October. (*Various Fragments*, p. 161.)
- "The Book Trade." *Times*, 30 October and 6 November. (*Various Fragments*, pp. 163, 167.)
- "The Bookselling Question." *Times*, 21 November. (*Various Fragments*, p. 169.)
- "Publishers, Booksellers, and the Public." *Times*, 24 October. (*Various Fragments*, p. 156.)—*Athenæum*, 24 November. (*Various Fragments*, p. 171.)—29 December. (*Various Fragments*, p. 174.)—*The Author*, December. (*Various Fragments*, p. 177.)
- "Origin of Classes among the 'Parasol' Ants." *Nature*, 6 December. (*Principles of Biology*, i., 687.)

## 1895.

- "Herbert Spencer on the Land Question." (*Various Fragments*, p. 196.)
- "The Antiquity of the Medical Profession." *Nature*, 27 June.
- "Mr. Balfour's Dialectics." *Fortnightly Review* for June.
- "The Nomenclature of Colours." *Nature*, 29 August.
- Note on the Ethical Motive. *Nineteenth Century Review* for September.
- "American Publishers." *Times*, 21 September. (*Various Fragments*, p. 236.)

- "Heredity Once More." *Contemporary Review* for October.  
 Letter on Canadian Copyright. *Times*, 21 October.  
 "Lord Salisbury on Evolution." *Nineteenth Century Review* for November.  
 "The Board of Trade and Railway Station Boards." *Times*, 2 December. (*Various Fragments*, p. 235.)  
 On Mr. Howard Collins' letter suggesting a portrait. *Times*, 14 December.

## 1896.

- "Dr. Bridges's Criticisms." *Positivist Review* for January.  
 "Anglo-American Arbitration." Letter read at a meeting in Queen's Hall, 3 March. (*Various Fragments*, p. 128.)  
 "Against the Metric System." *Times*, 4, 7, 9, 25 April. (*Various Fragments*, p. 130.)  
 Letter on Mr. Bramwell Booth's charges of Inconsistency. *Times*, 17 December.

## 1897.

- Clearing himself of seeming implication of "positive or negative defect of quotation." *Fortnightly Review* for January.  
 "The Duke of Argyll's Criticisms." *Nineteenth Century* for May.

## 1898.

- Letters on "Primitive Religious Ideas." *Literature*, 5 and 19 February. *Spectator*, 23 July.  
 "A State Burden on Authors." *Times*, 9 and 16 February. (*Various Fragments*, p. 220.)  
 Letter on "Mr. Mallock's Representation of his Views." *Literature*, 2 April.  
 The *Times* Art Critic on the Herkomer portrait. *Times*, 5 May.  
 "Cell Life and Cell Multiplication." *Natural Science* for May.  
 "Stereo-Chemistry and Vitalism." *Nature*, 20 October.  
 "Asymmetry and Vitalism." *Nature*, 10 November.  
 "What is Social Evolution?" *Nineteenth Century* for September. (*Various Fragments*, p. 181.)

## 1899

- "The Duke of Argyll and Mr. Herbert Spencer." *Nature*, 12 January.  
 "Prof. Meldola's Explanation." *Nature*, 26 January.  
 Mr. Crozier's Charge of Materialism. *Literature*, 21 January and 11 February.  
 "Publishing on Commission." *Literature*, 4 February. (*Various Fragments*, p. 217.)  
 "The Metric System Again." *Times*, 28 March, 4, 8, 13 April. (*Various Fragments*, p. 205.)

"Professor Ward on 'Naturalism and Agnosticism.'" *Fortnightly Review* for December.

Letter on a misrepresentation of Spencer's Ethics. *Spectator*, 16 December.

Letter to Mr. Leonard Courtney on the South African War. (*Various Fragments*, p. 223.)

1900.

On the South African War. *Speaker*, 13 January; *Morning Leader*, 5 February. (*Various Fragments*, p. 224.)

"Professor Ward's Rejoinder." *Fortnightly Review* for April.

"An Inhumanity." *Times*, 25 July. (*Various Fragments*, p. 225.)

"Genesis of the Vertebrate Column." *Nature*, 25 October.

1901.

Letter on Space Consciousness, with reference to Dr. Tolver Preston's statement. *Mind* for January.

1902.

"The Spread of Small Pox." Signed "Observer," *Daily News*, 18 January.

"Ethical Lectureships." *Ethics*, 1 March.

The Education Bill. *Daily News*, 8 April.

Sir Michael Foster as M.P. for London University. *Times* 28 May.

## APPENDIX D.

ACADEMIC AND OTHER HONOURS.<sup>1</sup>

1871.

University of St. Andrews. Lord Rector.  
 University of St. Andrews. Doctor of Laws.  
 St. Andrews Medical Graduates Association. Honorary Member.

1874.

Royal Society. Fellow.  
 University of Edinburgh. Lord Rector.

1875.

University of Aberdeen. Lord Rector.

1876.

Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rome. Member.  
 London Dialectical Society. President.

1880.

Royal Academy of Sciences, Turin. Correspondent.

1882.

Royal Society of Naples. Correspondent.

1883.

Institut de France. Correspondent.  
 Institucion Libre de Enseñanza, Madrid. Honorary Professor.  
 Amercian Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Fellow.  
 Twilight Club, New York. Member.  
 Birmingham Natural History and Microscopical Society. Vice-  
 President.

1885.

Society of Physiological Psychology, Paris. Correspondent.

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<sup>1</sup> With a few exceptions these proffered honours were declined. In cases where a mark of honour had been conferred before obtaining his consent, he made no use of the distinction.

1888.

University of Bologna. Doctor of Philosophy and Letters.  
Neurological Society of London. Honorary Member.

1889.

Royal Danish Academy. Member.

1891.

Royal Academy of Belgium. Associate.

1892.

Scientific Society of Athens. Member.

1895.

Royal Order "Pour le Mérite."  
Imperial Academy of Vienna. Member.  
Royal Lombardian Institute, Milan. Member.

1896.

University of Buda Pesth. Doctor.  
Associazione Educativa Spenceriana, Rome. Honorary Pre-  
sident.

1897.

Psychological Society of Moscow. Member.  
University of Cambridge. Doctor of Science.  
University of Edinburgh. Doctor of Laws.  
International Peace Association—Lombard Union. Honorary  
President.

1901.

British Academy of Letters.

1903.

University of London. Doctor of Literature.

## APPENDIX E.

## THE NEBULAR HYPOTHESIS.

To the Editor of *The Fortnightly Review*.<sup>1</sup>

SIR,—Often in the heat of controversy things are said which, whether true or not, should be left unsaid. Somewhat irritated by Professor Ward's expression "A fugitive essay," I named some facts in a way suggesting interpretations which I overlooked. Only when I saw the note after publication did I perceive the construction that would be put upon it. What mental lapse caused so great an oversight I cannot understand; but a shattered nervous system entails countless evils—failure of judgment being one.

Though the note cannot now be cancelled, it is not too late to correct one of its expressions. It is between forty and fifty years since the period referred to, and I was incautious enough to speak from memory. I said that the belief that the nebulae are remote galaxies was current among astronomers. I should have said *some* astronomers. As will be seen on turning to the essay, I quoted a relevant passage from Humboldt's *Cosmos*. As he was in touch with Continental astronomers, and was in fact presenting the current astronomical conclusions, his representation of nebulae as remote galaxies was manifestly held by at least some of them. Doubtless it was the wide circulation of *Cosmos* during the fifties (I quoted from the seventh edition) which diffused this belief, and caused its acceptance as one which astronomers had established. Hence it happened that in 1857-8 any one who still adhered to "the Nebular Hypothesis" was smiled at. It was this which prompted the essay in question, and gave its original title

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<sup>1</sup> See Chap. xxvi., p. 445, note 2. It was arranged that this letter should be put in type, but that it should not be published in the *Fortnightly* if Professor Ward did not make a move. The occasion for its appearance in the *Review* not having arisen, it is now published for the first time.

"*Recent Astronomy and the Nebular Hypothesis*" : its primary purpose being to show the illegitimacy of the inferences drawn from Lord Rosse's disclosures. This should not, indeed, have needed showing. As far back as 1849, Sir John Herschel, in a description of the nebulae, had put together facts which, when duly considered, sufficed to show the fallacy of the current belief. But he made no reference to this belief; and though its untruth was readily to be inferred, the inference was not generally drawn. In the essay just named I quoted this passage from Sir John Herschel, appending the remark that it furnished "another *reductio ad absurdum*" of the belief. Let me add that the question at issue was not one of mathematics, nor of mathematical physics, nor of physical astronomy. It was simply a question of general reasoning.

There is an error in the closing part of my last letter which I must rectify. I had referred to a passage from Sir John Herschel's *Outlines* expressing the belief that in clusters of stars having partially opposing impulses there must occur collisions; but that after such collisions there must ultimately arise a circulation of a permanent character. Since globular clusters, like others, are formed of stars which, so far as appears, have opposing impulses, I assumed that all of these were included in the statement. I had before me at the time the second volume of Dr. Isaac Roberts's *Photographs of Stars, Star-Clusters, and Nebulae*, in which, at pp. 1730-8, it is shown, both by the photographs and the descriptions, that those called globular clusters are in course of concentration—that is, are not in moving equilibrium (globular is a misleading word, since it connotes a definite limit, which nowhere exists); and I was the more led thus to regard them by Sir John Herschel's own statement respecting diffused and globular clusters, that "it is impossible to say where one species ends and the other begins" (*Outlines*, p. 639). Hence, it never occurred to me that he assumed some of the globular clusters to be already in a state of moving equilibrium; nor do I understand now for what reason (save the theological one named) he thus assumed them. This, however, is beside the question, which is whether he did so assume them; and here closer study of his words obliges me to admit that I was wrong.

This admission, however, does not in the least touch the main issue. In opposition to a view I had expressed, Professor Ward said that "the little that is known concerning the distribution and motion of our Sidereal System points clearly to the existence of stable arrangements comparable to that of the Solar System, but of greater complexity"; and he asserts that, in the passage I have quoted, "this view is maintained" by Sir John Herschel. My reply was that the passage makes no reference to our Sidereal System, either directly or by implication, but only to extremely minute components of it—telescopic



star-clusters. And now to this negative proof of misrepresentation I have to add positive proof ; for on pp. 630-1, Sir John Herschel discusses the speculations that had been ventured respecting the rotation of our Sidereal System, and after rejecting the only definite one named, that of Mädler, expresses his own neutrality, and thinks that an opinion can be formed only after some thirty or forty years of a special class of observations.

HERBERT SPENCER.

*Brighton,*  
*April 18th, 1900.*

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