Spencer had the misfortune that what he wrote that was valid and fruitful has been absorbed and incorporated into modern thought with very little awareness of whence it came (and its source forgotten). But what he wrote that was erroneous or has been outdated or has been rejected, but with continued recollection of who said it.

"Much of the truth which Spencer expounded has now passed into the framework of the scientific universe of discourse; part, perhaps, has still to be incorporated; and not a little, bound up with "use-inheritance," will probably have to be rejected altogether." (Anonymous, "Biography of Spencer," review of The Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer, edited by David Duncan, Nature, Vol. 79, pp. 122-125, 1908, P. 124)

"I sometimes think that we Platonists and Idealists are not half so industrious as those repulsive people who only 'believe what they can hold in their hands,' Bain, H. Spencer, & c., who are the very Tappers of philosophy and yet have gained for themselves fame & name." (Letter from Benjamin Jowett to Edward Caird dated January 5, 1875. In Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Arranged and Edited by Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, John Murray, London, 1899. P. 190)

"I sometimes think that we Platonists and Idealists are not half so industrious as those repulsive people who only believe what they can hold in their hands. Baynes', Thomas Spencer, 1823-1887, English philosopher, editor of 9th edition of Encyclopaedia Britannica/ H. Spencer, etc., are the very Tappers of philosophy." [Tupper was a very popular but very pedestrian philosopher of the period.] (Benjamin Jowett, as quoted by Alfred W. Tillett in Herbert Spencer Betrayed, P. S. King & Son, Ltd., London, 1939. P. 36)

"But I strongly think that we are suffering, and shall suffer for some time to come, until the world recovers its balance, from the ideas of physical science. There is a fellow named Herbert Spencer ... [this elision occurs in the book, suggesting that Jowett used stronger language in referring to Spencer than his editors thought seemly to include] who knows a little of physical science, and gives back to the scientific men their own notions in a more general form. Of course they worship him as a god, and instead of being thought an empty sciolist, he is regarded by them as the philosopher of the future. I hope that we shall some day put a spoke in his wheel at Oxford, but at present he is rather swaggering and triumphant." (Letter from Benjamin Jowett to R. B. D. Morier dated January 26, 1875. In Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Arranged and Edited by Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, John Murray, London, 1899. P. 195)
"I have tried to set Thomas Hill Green to fight with the Philistines--Bain, H. Spencer, &c., and he seems well disposed. He takes a year of holiday ... next year, so that he will have time to make the attack." (Letter from Benjamin Jowett to Edward Caird dated January 5, 1875. In Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Arranged and Edited by Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell, John Murray, London, 1899. P. 191)

"Only cosmic minds can appreciate or measure Spencer. How then can he be measured by academic minds which are neither cosmic nor even cosmopolitan, but donnish and cliquish? The twenty-fifth century will do him full justice." (Grant Allen, Personal Reminiscences of Herbert Spencer, The Forum, Vol. 35, pp. 610-628, 1904. P. 628)

"It is no wonder that many conventional schoolmen in the English-speaking world read his philippics with mingled feelings of disgust and dismay. If Spencer was right, they were wrong; if his teaching should triumph, theirs would go, and they likewise. Teachers of the classics especially looked upon him as the chief of the Philistines, and with tongue and pen sought to punish him for what they called his pedagogic presumption and wickedness." (W. S. Sutton, Herbert Spencer's Individuality as Manifested in His Educational Thinking, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, pp. 225-230, St. Louis, Mo., 1904. P. 227. Sutton was Professor of the Science and Art of Education at the University of Texas)

"Vir [John Viriamu Jones, a fellow-student at Oxford] had but a poor opinion of Herbert Spencer, whom he described as 'parent of a philosophy dead before it was born.' The stimulus and enthusiasm aroused by Spencer's writings had been to me a great educational force from the age of seventeen onwards, and I could not accept his sweeping denunciation, although in later years, from the new point of view which we owe to August Weismann, I became convinced that the great / intellectual superstructure of the synthetic philosophy was founded not even upon the sand." (Edward Bagnall Poulton, John Viriamu Jones and Other Oxford Memories, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1911. Pp. 81-82)

"By men whose conception of the sphere of knowledge has not been shaped at the English Universities, Spencer's life-work has repeatedly been described at the greatest effort ever made to give that sphere a comprehensive chart." (J. M. Robertson, Explorations, Watts & Co., London, ca. 1923, P. 113)

"And in the end Spencer will be remembered and admired, and they [Spencer's English academic critics], for the most part, forgotten." (J. M. Robertson, Explorations, Watts & Co., London, n.d. (ca. 1923). P. 116)
"The academic opposition to Spencer, therefore, was in large part the outcome of the pre-scientific habit of mind." (J. M. Robertson, Explorations, Watts & Co., London, n.d. (ca. 1923). P. 118)

"... the academics continue to this day to belittle Spencer because they are the products of an education still mainly shaped by the light of the Middle Ages, and but slightly modified by the unifying science which he [Spencer] sought to compass." (J. M. Robertson, Explorations, Watts & Co., London, n.d., (ca. 1923). P. 119)

Robertson suggests that one reason for opposition to Spencer was that his writings carried "... a general suggestion that academic minds were everywhere ill prepared for a system of thought in which the objective is always Causation." (J. M. Robertson, Modern Humanists Reconsidered, Watts & Co., London, 1927. P. 180)

"... on the whole the academics, until recent years, at least in England, have maintained a professional attitude of superiority to Spencer, who was revolutionizing opinion without taking them into account." (J. M. Robertson, Modern Humanists Reconsidered, Watts & Co., London, 1927. P. 183)

Spencer "... was to clash with a then prevalent hostility, especially in academic circles, where he was never forgiven for being self-trained." (J. M. Robertson, Modern Humanists Reconsidered, Watts & Co., London, 1927. P. 189)

"... the subsequent English academic reaction against his [Spencer's] philosophic doctrine ... Men who had never opened their mouths against the utter falsities of the traditional carried were eager, after Spencer's death, to detect and proclaim—indeed to invent—error in the greatest of modern cosmological constructions. This was but the revenge of academically trained men upon the fame of one who in the past had dwelt on the general absence of the concept of causation from all their thought, and the invalidity, thus proved, of their discipline in the past. Their very criticism was a fruit of the intellectual impulse he had given, and it leaves only the clearer the fact that this man had been a force for sheer truth such as the house of religion had never harboured. In the (J. M. Robertson, A History of Freethought in the Nineteenth Century, Watts & Co., London, 1929. P. 439)

"On the contrary, they [the English reading public] were paying considerable attention to Herbert Spencer, who was anathema at Oxford ...." (Robert R. Marett, A Jerseymen-at Oxford, Oxford University Press, London, 1941. P. 96)
"Philosophy I found tremendously exciting and absorbing, so much so that for a time I seriously toyed with the idea of giving myself to it permanently. But such conclusions as I formed ran altogether counter to the prevalent trend of thought in the Oxford of my day [he was there from 1892 to 1897 or later]. This was very much dominated by the German philosophers, more particularly Hegel, and by English thinkers like T. H. Green, Bosanquet and Bradley who seemed to me essentially of the same school. Inductive thinking, as represented by Bacon and Mill, and the whole evolutionary conception, as embodied in Herbert Spencer's works, were hardly regarded as deserving serious consideration." (L. S. Amery, My Political Life, 2 Vols., Hutchinson, London, 1953. Vol. 1, pp. 49-50)

"The hostility to Spencer among ordinary English academics, then, so far from supplying a measure of his power, is simply the measure of their restrictions. They cannot judge his work as a whole because they have never assimilated it; cannot survey it because they have never stood as high as his point of view. And of this restriction they have no suspicion. Brought up, with hardly an exception, not on the modern evolutionary gospel but on the old theosophic one, living in a perpetual compromise with endowed superstition, trained in institutions ruled by priests and shaped to priestly ends, reducing philosophy at every opportunity to a rehabilitation of creeds grown more or less incredible, how shall they appraise the original performance of a great pioneer, whose constructive work begins where their appreciations end?" (J. M. Robertson, Explorations, Watts & Co., London, n.d. (ca. 1923). P. 117)

"Both "the snarl which pretends to be a smile," and "malice" disguised as concern for science memarably illustrated in the conflicts with Spencer of the late Professor P. G. Tait, who figured as poorly under Spencer's criticism of his account of "Force" as in his own crass display of odium theologicum. His joyful resort to the support of the Rev. T. P. Kirkman's Philosophy without Assumptions (1876), on the ostensible ground that its author was a mathematician, set up in some minds thenceforth an indestructible suspicion of the philosophic competence of mathematicians as such. On retrospect, most of the frontal attack on Spencer is now very plainly discredited—is indeed wholly disregarded. But the animus shown is to be historically noted. That of Jowett, unable to reach any save sentimental conclusions, is markedly spleenful and unscholarlike. (See Facts and Comments, p. 108.) Later, the remaining orthodox animus of the "educated" classes, pitifully exhibited in the acclamation of the worthless work of Benjamin Kidd on Social Evolution, gave a joyful reception to the attack on Professor James Ward. The whole series constitutes a distressing cumulative proof of the lowness of the standards of much English academic thinking, and of the correlative poverty of moral tone. We seem to face a survival of the malice of the cloister." (J. M. Robertson, Modern Humanists Reconsidered, Watts & Co., London, 1927. P. 190n.)
"At our oldest Universities there is a strong disposition to believe that the general treatment of social phenomena can never go beyond a philosophy of social life, and that therefore a department or chair of Sociology is unnecessary." (E. J. Urwick, "Sociology and Social Progress," The Sociological Review, Vol. 2, pp. 137-149, 1910. P. 137)


"While our own universities made themselves snug and smug in the half-way houses of Kant and Hegel, foreign nations were accepting England's great philosopher as of more value than the Germans." ("W.", "Herbert Spencer," The Athenaeum, No. 3972, pp. 794-795, December 12, 1903. P. 795)

"One drawback certainly was attached to Spencer's exclusion from university life. He was compelled to face not only a hostile public, but the insidious opposition of university cliques, who could not bear to see a new thinker of commanding power step forward into the intellectual arena without the hall-mark of university culture. Had Spencer been the centre of an admiring group of university disciples his system would have come into vogue much earlier; it would, in other words, have become fashionable. As it was, after the gradual decay of home-made philosophies, Hegel became the idol of university circles, and Spencer was left a voice crying in the wilderness." (Hector Macpherson, Spencer and Spencerism, Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1900. P. 13)

"Those who have seen much of English university life will not have failed to realise the spirit in which is name is held in many circles in opprobrium even at this present day." (John Butler Burke, "Herbert Spencer and the Master Key," The Contemporary Review, Vol. 89, pp. 783-794, 1906. P. 784)

"The great mass of his Spencer's work is concerned with a unification of science-- .... But this is obviously outside the sphere of writers such as T. H. Green, James Ward, Bradley, Case, and Caird./The Oxford school has had to confine itself to that small section of the synthetic philosophy with which its limitations permitted it any manner to deal. Such writers could not attack the Principles of Biology, to take an instance, for reasons too obvious to name." (C. W. Saleebey, Evolution The Master-Key, Harper & Brothers Publishers, New York, 1906. Pp. 332-333)
"It is a subject worthy of speculation as to why sociology, as such, should have taken such slight root in England. There are doubtless many reasons. Academic sociology is a symptom of contemporaneity in curriculum and pedagogical ideals. With the notable exception of the University of London and a few other recently established municipal universities, British education is still primarily medieval or humanistic, being concerned chiefly with the classics and dialectic and metaphysics. The ideal is still to train a cultured gentleman in terms of the older criteria of culture and learning. The objective is to prepare one to move easily and urbane-ly in formal social circles rather than actually to understand the processes of human society—to be in "society" rather than to understand social life. The more aristocratic groups in the colleges look forward to public life, and here the rhetorical and dialectical technique is viewed as the main avenue to success. Men are trained to argue with charm and lofty detachment rather than to investigate with precision. The whole process is a dignified and seductive flight from reality. The generalized approach to nature and society is through dialectics and metaphysics—Platonic rather than pragmatic and empirical." (Harry Elmer Barnes, "The Fate of Sociology in England," American Sociological Society, Papers and Proceedings, Vol. 21, pp. 26-46, 1926. Pp. 45-46)

"... at Oxford he [J. B. S. Haldane] gave the Herbert Spencer lecture. He could hardly spare the time for its preparation, "but in view of the totally anti-Herbert Spencer attitude of most of the lectures, I think I should," he wrote to his sister. He rejected the idea of speaking on the philosopher's economic and political ideas since he would, he said, "have to choose 'Marx and Spencer' as my title, which could have been misunderstood."" (Ronald W. Clark, J B S: The Life and Work of J. B. S. Haldane, Coward-McCann, Inc., New York, 1969. Pp. 217-218)

"There was a time when the great universities of Europe were called upon to resist the progress of astronomy in the name of Christianity. Later, they were again called upon to resist the progress of geology in the name of Christianity. And now our colleges are called upon to resist the progress of sociology, in the name of Christianity. The demand, futile in the former cases, is now ridiculous. It is an anachronism, and serves only as a register of the survival of bigotry." (Edward L. Youmans, "Sociology and Theology at Yale College," The Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 17, pp. 265-269, 1880. P. 269)

"... T. H. Green, whose influence, together with that of the late Master of Balliol [ ], was dominant in Oxford and in the English and Scottish Universities generally in the Eighties and early Nineties. In this philosophy there seemed to many to be a way of escape not only from a barren individualism but from the whole philosophy of evolutionism. An adaptation of German metaphysics, a modified Hegelianism, or a form of Kantianism in which what was best in the Hegelian criticism was incorporated, might maintain itself against science and justify a spiritual conception of human life and of the entire world order." (L. T. Hobhouse, Development and Purpose, Macmillan and Co., Limited, London, 1913. P. xvii)
"As you know, the admiration of John Fiske, Youmans, and many others have for him [Spencer] is not shared by English philosophers; still less by English historians, who think that there is nothing at all in his historical work, and think he was absolutely uncritical. Who shall decide?" (Letter from James Bryce to Henry Holt, written probably in April, 1920. Quoted in Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923. P. 318)


Herbert Spencer "... was widely studied, not in universities where he was always despised ...." (D. C. Somervell, English Thought in the Nineteenth Century, 5th ed., Methuen, London, 1947. P. 137)

"I recently asked a student of Oxford, here [in Washington, D.C.] for a few days on his winter vacation, how Spencer was regarded at Oxford, and he told me that although his name was rarely spoken and then only in a whisper, as if, on Pope's theory of vice in general, its very utterance might lead to closer acquaintance, nevertheless Spencer was the unseen but overshadowing presence that surrounded the university and which it was considered necessarily to guard against and drive back." (Lester F. Ward, "Spencer-smashing at Washington," The Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 44, pp. 856-857, 1893-94. P. 857)

"Yet these works [of Spencer] are introduced and freely used in the English universities. Alike in England, Scotland, and Ireland, students are required to be acquainted with the contents of the "Psychology"; and in some universities Spencer's philosophical treatises are used as text-books. Oxford led the way a dozen years ago with the "Biology" as well as the "Psychology," and even went so far as to allow Spencer's works to be given as prizes." (Edward L. Youmans, "Sociology and Theology at Yale," The Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 17, pp. 265-269, 1880. P. 269)

"The reaction from the greatest age the world ever saw (unless Shakespeare was tremendous enough to make his age the greatest) has included a reaction against the greatest philosopher the world ever saw." (Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923. P. 52)
"From the evolutionary philosophers, I have learned little; although I admit that, however hurriedly their theories have been knocked together, and however antiquated and ignorant Spencer's First Principles and general doctrines, yet they are under the guidance of a great and true idea, and are development it by methods that are in their main features sound and scientific." (Charles Peirce, Philosophical Writings of Peirce, selected and edited with an introduction by Justus Buchler, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1955. P. 2)
"In his search for an understanding of his country's difficulties he turned to the evolutionary science of Darwin and Spencer, which was then, apparently, providing answers to the problems in so many fields of knowledge." (Thornton Anderson, Brooks Adams, Constructive Conservative, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1951. P. 191)

"The intellectual history of the last quarter of the nineteenth century--in America as well as elsewhere--in its teleological aspects is the history of the shift from the benevolent evolutionism of Spencer to the mechanistic materialism of Haeckel, with all the dislocations and readjustments involved in the cataclysmic change; and The Education of Henry Adams, that curiously suggestive study in disillusion, is saturated with the pessimism that followed upon the transition--a pessimism exuding from the contemplation of the bleak unity of a mechanistic universe." (Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Vol. 3: The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America: 1850-1920, Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York, 1930. P. 203)

"After talking of Herbert Spencer for an entire evening with a very literary transcendental commission-merchant, she could not see that her time had been better employed than when in former days she had passed it in flirting with a very agreeable young stockbroker ...." (Henry Adams, Democracy, An American Novel. A Meridian Classic, New York, 19 . P. 13. [The character described is Mrs. Lightfoot Lee, perhaps the heroine of the novel])

"I return the Spencer. [The "Philosophy of Style"]/ It has disappointed me. If his other works are not better thought out, they must have very little sound method to recommend them." (p. 261) [After taking specific issue with some of Spencer's contentions in that work Adams says:] "In short Spencer's essay seems to me to be neither philosophical nor accurate. I am not encouraged to read his larger works." (p. 262) (Letter from Henry Adams to Henry Cabot Lodge dated June 25, 1874. In Letters of Henry Adams (1858-1891), edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1930)
"Ever the tendency is towards congruity between beliefs and requirements. Either the social arrangements are gradually changed until they come into harmony with prevailing ideas and sentiments; or, if surrounding conditions prevent change in the social arrangements, the necessitated habits of life modify the prevailing ideas and sentiments to the requisite extent." (Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Ethics, Vol. 1, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1904. P. 136)

"... the biological truth that everywhere faculties adjust themselves to the conditions of existence, in such wise that the activities those conditions require become pleasurable." (Herbert Spencer, "Replies to Criticisms on The Data of Ethics," Mind, Vol. 6, pp. 82-98, 1881. P. 85)

"Spencer called that same day, before the dinner, and spent an hour with me. He said I was not a bit too hard on Agassiz in my arti / cle. He said, as Huxley did, that while Agassiz deserves great credit as an indefatigable collector and observer, he is of no weight at all as a philosophical naturalist. And Spencer says to put him as high as Dr. Asa Gray or Jeffries Wyman is to put him too high, and Spencer "ought to know." This is the general opinion over here; they wonder why it is that Americans think so much of Agassiz. They all think Agassiz was in a way an obstruction to science in America." (Letter from John Fiske to Abby Morgan, November 22, 1873. Quoted in The Letters of John Fiske, edited by Ethel F. Fiske, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. 274-75)
"This difference was to furnish towards the close of the nineteenth century with the triumph of the world of heterogeneous quality and subjective valuation over that of quantity, of the historic vision over the mechanical conception. In the system of Spencer we find the welding of the two worlds and the attempt to make the historical process of development fit into the Procrustean bed of formulae of universal mechanics. In this welding of two opposite conceptions which are ill-fitted for lying together, lies the crisis of scientific intellectualism, which finds its expression in agnosticism. At bottom it is a confession of the impossibility of enclosing within mechanical schemes the life of the experience in its richness, and of comprehending and exhausting in one finite concept the inexhaustible dynamic infinity of the spirit and of the universe." (Antonio Aliotta, "Science and Religion in the Nineteenth Century," in Science Religion and Reality, ed. by Joseph Needham, pp. 149-186, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, N.Y., 1970. [Originally published in 1925] P. 160)

"The general effect of his [Spencer's] philosophy was in the direction of agnosticism and materialism, in spite of the fact that somewhere in his work these extreme positions were relieved by qualifying statements ...." (p. 181) "Even though he was thus ultimately an agnostic, his agnosticism was of the comfortable sort which finds so much of interest and value in the knowable that the oulying marginal region may be neglected and forgotten." (p. 182) (George Perrigo Conger, New Views of Evolution, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929. Conger was Associate Professor of Philosophy at the U. of Minnesota when he wrote this.)

But Spencer always thought of himself as an agnostic, not an atheist. (See his The Unknowable in First Principles.)

"Atheism is just the negation of all Theisms, and is thus fundamentally on all fours with Agnosticism.... And, in view of that other polemic about the word Religion, one is forced to conclude that again a prepossession in words, a touch of the passion for aureities [that is, empty phrases] and vital principles, led the philosopher [Herbert Spencer] to argue down a doctrine whose name he did not like, though it was scientifically identical with his own." (John M. Robertson, Modern Humanists, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1891. P. 232)
"In a few years, [Joseph] McCabe had moved a long way. Under the banner of agnosticism, he was now advocating what is clearly an atheist philosophy. He was critical of some of the foundational arguments of agnosticism. For example, he criticized Herbert Spencer's distinction between the knowable and the unknowable. This device was second in influence only to T.H. Huxley's own writings of agnosticism, and enable Spencer to sideline theological questions and get on with what interested him more. McCabe thought Spencer's ploy "an arbitrary distinction which led to an unsatisfactory Agnosticism" [ref.]." (Bill Cooke, *A Rebel to His Last Breath*. Prometheus Books. Amherst, N.Y., 2001. P. 246)

"It is one of the queerest anomalies in modern doctrine that Spencer, the Agnostic, should in effect represent Religion to have been heretofore, or to be at bottom, essentially Agnostic ...." (J. M. Robertson, *Modern Humanists Reconsidered*, Watts & Co., London, 1927. P. 178)
"The expression "survival of the fittest" (said to have been coined by Spencer) does not imply that the environment is a controlling mechanism in evolution. For Spencer progress does not depend upon conditions." (Alexander Alland, Jr., Evolution and Human Behavior, The Natural History Press, Garden City, 1967, P. 173)

"...the process of Evolution is not necessary, but depends on conditions ..." (H. Spencer, First Principles, 4th ed., D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1880, p. 374)
"Above all, he [Spencer] has reduced the phenomena of life, of mind, of human thought and society and action, to common factors with all the rest of organic and inorganic nature." (Grant Allen, "The Gospel According to Herbert Spencer," Part I, The Pall Mall Gazette, April 26, 1890, pp. 1-2. P. 2)
"While an average increase of juvenile freedom is to be anticipated, there is reason to think that here and there it has already gone too far. I refer to the United States." (Herbert Spencer, Principles of Sociology, Sec. 341, Vol. 1 or 2. As quoted by F. W. Maitland)
AMERICAN INFLUENCE

Frederick Jackson "Turner arrived at Johns Hopkins in 1888 to study for a Ph.D. under Herbert Baxter Adams. He brought with him the conviction that the present age surpassed all previous eras, that its glorious hallmarks were science and democracy, and that its heroes were Darwin, Spencer, and Lincoln." (John Higham, History; Professional Scholarship in America, The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1989. P. 174)


"The reaction from the greatest age the world ever saw (unless Shakespeare was tremendous enough to make his age the greatest) has included a reaction against the greatest philosopher the world ever saw." (Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923. P. 52)

"Herbert Spencer's impact upon American thought was profound. Serious philosophers, among them James, Dewey, and Royce, had to clear their paths of Spencer before proceeding on their own way." (Cynthia Eagle Russett, Darwin in America, The Intellectual Response 1865-1912, W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1976. P. 16)


"During the 1860's in California, the poet Edward R. Sill found himself in a cultural wasteland, and wrote: "one's only companions are Shakespeare, Shelley and Mill and Browning and Spencer and the others." (Quoted in San Francisco's Literary Frontier by Franklin Walker, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1939. P. 235)

" ... Herbert Spencer, was discovered and appreciated by American readers before he was recognized at home." (Andrew Carnegie, Triumphant Democracy, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1887. P. 359)

"If Spencer's abiding impact on American thought seems impalpable to later generations, it is perhaps only because it has been so thoroughly absorbed." (Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, revised edition, The Beacon Press, Boston, 1955. P. 50)
"As the young intellectuals, trained in the school of Spencer, looked out on the universe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they discovered, amid all its complexities an encompassing unity, a continuous growth, a creative purpose; and from such assumptions they justified the theory of progress, cosmic in scope and plan, that opened wide the doors to a vaster future. If in the backgrounds of their minds lurked the conception of determinism, it gave them no concern, for a benevolent determinism that shapes all things to a divine end, is no monster to be feared. In the evolutionary science were the grounds of a genial optimism that nothing could shake. If they had lost something of the jauntiness of the transcendent faith that beheld God plowing furrows at Brook Farm, they were armed with a scientific faith that by tapping stones and comparing fishes they should find His plan in an evolving series of life forms." (Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Vol. 3: The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America: 1860-1920, Harcourt, Brace, & Co., Inc., New York, 1930. P. 201)

"It was no coincidence that liberal America, even more enthusiastically than England, gave a prophet's mantle to Herbert Spencer, the most optimistic of the great Victorians. Spencer's formulation of the laws of steady progression from the incoherent to the coherent, from the indefinite to the definite, fit the American habit of mind as well as the American social system. Out of the struggle and chaos emerged law, out of brutal competition self-regulation and even the rule of love." (Henry F. May, The End of American Innocence, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1959. P. 12)

"Spencer's work took better in America than in England ...." (Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York and Boston, 1923. P. 49)

"Mr. George Iles, a distinguished American friend of Mr. Spencer, sends me information of the validity of American admiration of him, on the authority of the Daily Witness: "Mr. Spencer's income is mainly drawn from the sale of his books in America, his copyrights there having yielded him 4,730 dollars in the last six months."" (George Jacob Holyoake, Bygones Worth Remembering, 2 Vols., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 27)

"Probably there never was anywhere before or since as widespread an interest in a philosophy as the American interest at that time in Spencer's." (Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923. P. 50)

"The five years of Civil War rushed the Industrial Revolution ahead decades. A nation asked to accustom itself rapidly to extremes of wealth and squalor fumbled for a doctrine and a large segment of America found it in the iron words of the Englishman Herbert Spencer. Drawing an analogy from scientific thinking of the day, Spencer maintained that successful businessman, by virtue of their triumph in competition, had proved superior fitness and that social legislation would disrupt the "survival of the fittest," necessary for the "evolution" of society to a better form. Spencer's role in reconciling the United States to raw industrialism was tremendous. Thousands of the educated took a credo directly from his pages, particularly his "Study of Sociology," but more important was the way Spencer's central formula became a commonplace of sermons, lectures, editorials, and crackerbarrel disquisitions." (Eric F. Goldman, "Books That Changed America," The Saturday Review, July 4, 1953, pp. 7-9, 37-38. P. 8)


"Partly through the vigorous advocacy of Prof. Youmans, of New York, and partly through the wider prevalence of liberal or philosophic ideas in America than in England, Mr. Spencer's writings have met with a wider and more appreciative reception in the United States than at home." (Van Buren Denslow, Modern Thinkers, Principally upon Social Science, Belford, Clarke, & Co., Chicago, 1880. P. 208)

"... Mr. Spencer became known to men of mark in America, who made his fame before his countrymen recognised him. If it was England who "raised" Mr. Spencer, it was America that discovered him." (George Jacob Holyoake, Byrones Worth Remembering, 2 Vols., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 27)

"The last time I saw Spencer was in his bedroom at Brighton, and amid the details of our conversation, every one of which is naturally fresh in my memory, there is one that I specially recall. Just back from America, I told him of the deep interest I found everywhere taken there in his work, and spoke of the immense range of his influence upon the world's thought. His reply was: "I am satisfied; I am satisfied!"" (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 24)

"I expect to go to England [From Paris] in about a month. I wish you could send me some letters of introduction. I should like especially to know Herbert Spencer.--I am such an intense admirer of his writings that it would be a great delight to me to converse with him ..." (Letter from Steele Mackaye to William R. Alger dated November 1, 1872. Quoted in Epoch: The Life of Steele Mackaye, Genius of the Theatre, A Memoir by his Son Percy Mackaye, 2 Vols., Boni & Liveright, New York, 1927. Vol. 1, p. 183)

"It would be difficult to overemphasize the influence of Spencer on Herndon's thinking. Herndon carefully annotated and indexed his copy of Spencer's The Principles of Psychology (London, 1855) and evidently used it frequently. It is now owned by Mrs. Bertie Trainer of Springfield, Illinois." (William Herndon was Abraham Lincoln's friend and law partner. He had the best private library in Springfield, and one of the best in the West. (p. 54)) (Donald David Donald, Lincoln's Herndon, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 1948. P. 59n.)

"Evidently the American mind is more plastic than the average English mind, which is so much more restrained by institutions and traditions." (Letter from Herbert Spencer to Edward L. Youmans dated December 17, 1863. Quoted in John Piske, Edward Livingston Youmans. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894. P. 170)

"At a time when the states were abandoning many of their traditional controls over economic life and the federal government had not yet taken up the slack, nothing could have been more congenial to the American temper than Spencer's philosophy of liberation from the trammels of government." (Donald Fleming, "Social Darwinism," in Paths of American Thought, ed. by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Morton White, pp. 123-146, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1963. P. 127)

"Herbert Spencer's impact upon American thought was profound. Serious philosophers, among them James, Dewey, and Royce, had to clear their paths of Spencer before proceeding on their own way." (Cynthia Eagle Russett, Darwin in America, The Intellectual Response 1865-1912, W. H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco, 1976. P. 16)

"Probably there never was anywhere before or since as widespread an interest in a philosophy as the American interest at that time in Spencer's." (P. 50) "Probably no other philosopher ever had such a vogue as Spencer had from about 1870 to 1890." (P. 298) (Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor. Houghton Mifflin Company. Boston, 1923.)

"... Herbert Spencer, who for a number of years was the chief influence on American political thinking." (Herbert Agar, The Price of Union. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1950. P. 551)
"It seems as if we are ready for a book-length synthesis on the influence of Herbert Spencer on American intellectual history. Such a book would bring together the strands of Spencerism that are evident in nearly every part of American intellectual history and, in doing so, would encourage care among historians about what exactly has been Darwin's impact. Otherwise, we must continue to use loosely defined phrases to describe evolution in America--in itself a vague phrase. A monograph on Spencer would also attempt to answer the question of why Spencer was so much more popular in America than in his own country." (Michele L. Aldrich, "United States, Bibliographical Essay," in The Comparative Reception of Darwinism, ed. by Thomas F. Glick, pp. 207-226, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1974. P. 225)

"Main Currents in American Thought. Vol. 3: The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America. Harcourt, Brace and Company. New York, 1930. P. 196. Those literary men specifically cited by Parrington as having been influenced by Spencer during their formative years include Walt Whitman, Hamlin Garland, Theodore Dreiser, and Jack London (pp. 80, 198). In his largely autobiographical novel, Martin Eden, London has the hero make an impassioned speech in which he refers to Spencer as "the man who has impressed the stamp of his genius over the whole field of scientific research and modern thought." (Dell Publishing Co., Inc. New York, 1958. P. 304)

"The intellectual history of the last quarter of the nineteenth century--in America as well as elsewhere--in its teleological aspects is the history of the shift from the benevolent evolutionism of Spencer to the mechanistic materialism of Haeckel, with all the dislocations and readjustments involved in the cataclysmic change; and The Education of Henry Adams, that curiously suggestive study in disillusion, is saturated with the pessimism that followed upon the transition--a pessimism exuding from the contemplation of the bleak unity of a mechanistic universe." (Vernon L. Parrington, Main Currents in American Thought, Vol. 3: The Beginnings of Critical Realism in America: 1860-1920, Harcourt, Brace & Co., Inc., New York, 1930. P. 203)

"But the wonder of Spencerianism was its adaptability. Because the synthetic philosophy "was large enough to be all things to all men" (R. Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, p. 187), writers as temperamentally and intellectually distinct as Sidney Lanier and Jack London could each draw upon it for his own purpose. Garland was thus no different from other American disciples of Spencer when he was selective in his use of Spencerianism and its implications. At this early stage of his career and thought he used Spencer in two simple ways; to explain the growing complexity of the novel and to equate this growth with progress." (Donald Pizer, Hamlin Garland's Early Work and Career, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960. P. 11)

"In all, Garland's intense preoccupation with Spencerian evolution is an important example of Spencer's extensive influence in America. This influence has been documented for social thought by Richard Hofstadter and others, but has received little attention from literary scholars." (Donald Pizer, "Herbert Spencer and the Genesis of Hamlin Garland's Critical System," Tulane Studies in English, Vol. 7, pp. 153-168, 1957. P. 168n.)
AMITY & ENMITY

Darwin wrote in *The Descent of Man*: "The virtues which must be practised, at least generally, by rude men, so that they may associate in a body, are those which are still recognized as the most important. But they are practised almost exclusively in relation to the men of the same tribe, and their opposites (vices) are not regarded as crimes in relation to the men of other tribes. No tribe could hold together if murder, robbery, treachery &c., were common; consequently such crimes within the limits of the same tribe are branded with everlasting infamy but excite no such sentiment beyond these limits." (p. 179) "In this quotation writes Keith, Darwin recognizes that a tribesman has a double moral sense or conscience: one which comes into action when the affairs of his own community are concerned, and another which prevails when the affairs of those outside his tribal bounds are in question. In 1892, twenty-one years after Darwin, Herbert Spencer, quite independently, discovered and formulated the "dual code" which he found to prevail in all societies throughout the earth, both civilized and uncivilized. The rule or code of conduct which was exercised by a tribesman to his own folk he named the code of amity; towards those outside his fraternity, the code of enmity." (Sir Arthur Keith, *Darwin Revalued*, Watts & Co, London, 1955, P. 262)

"... groups may have some relation to each other (kin, neighborhood, alliance, connubium and commercium) which draws them together and differentiates them from others. Thus a differentiation arises between ourselves, the we-group, or in-group, and everybody else, or the others-groups, out-groups. The insiders in a we-group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry, to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or others-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it.... The relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what make peace inside, lest internal discord should weaken the we-group for war. These exigencies also make government and law in the in-group, in order to prevent quarrels and enforce discipline. Thus war and peace have reacted on each other and developed each other, one within the group, the other in the intergroup relation." (William Graham Sumner, *Folkways*, Ginn and Company, Boston, 1906. P. 12)

"On the one hand, there must be social self-preservation in face of external enemies. On the other hand, there must be cooperation among fellow-citizens, which can exist only in proportion as fair dealing of man with man creates mutual trust. Unless the one necessity is met, the society disappears by extinction, or by absorption into some conquering society. Unless the other necessity is met, there cannot be that division of labour, exchange of services, consequent industrial progress and increase of numbers, by which a society is made strong enough to survive. In adjustment to these two conflicting requirements, there grow up two conflicting codes of duty; which severally acquire supernatural sanctions. And thus we get the two coexisting religions--the religion of amity and the religion of enmity." (Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1886. P. 178)

In *The Study of Sociology*, perhaps for the first time in print, Spencer refers to the religion of amity vs. the religion of enmity. (See Ann Arbor edition, p. 270)
### AMITY & ENMITY

"And thus we get the two coexisting religions—the religion of enmity and the religion of amity." (Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1891. P. 178)

"... who unites the religion of amity and the religion of enmity in startling contrast." P. 296)


### ANARCHISM

"Mr Herbert Spencer and those who agree in his worship / of Individualism ..." (pp. 72-73). "No member of Parliament has so much as introduced a Bill to give effect to the anarchist principles of Mr Herbert Spencer's 'Man versus the State.'" (p. 85). (Sidney Webb, "Historic" in *Fabian Essays*, [edited by] George Bernard Shaw, pp. 62-93, George Allen & Unwin Ltd, London, 1962)

"When Vaillant ... the bomb-thrower ..." was before his judges he mentioned Herbert Spencer, among others, as one of those from whom he had derived his anarchist convictions. Anarchists refer not seldom to the gray-haired Master of Sociology as one of themselves; and still more often do the Socialists allude to him as an Anarchist." (E[rnst] V[ictor] Zenker, *Anarchism A Criticism and History of the Anarchist Theory*, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1897. P. 245)

"Though our leading American anthropologists, like Franz Boas and his students, have shown ample ground for questioning the adequacy of / the Spencerian conception of social evolution, and though John Dewey has indicated the viciousness of Spencer's method of trying to prove his thesis, it still largely holds the field; and not to believe in evolution is to put oneself down as an obscurantist, fit only for backwoods Tennessee. Now, in point of fact, the concept of evolution has for some time been really eliminated from natural science (witness Jacques Loeb, who called attention to the meaninglessness of the concept of "evolution" in experimental biology)." (Morris Raphael Cohen, *American Thought: A Critical Sketch*, Collier Books, New York, 1962. Pp. 77-78. [First published Free Press, 1954])

"Laws are passed in the streets and merely ratified in Parliament."
"... Spencer has given us reasons (i.e. the mechanisms of evolution) why things should differentiate but no reasons why they should not? He merely notes that de-differentiation occurs, and regrets it as unnatural and bad. For example, in an obvious reference to trade unions and socialist agitation, he laments that 'agitation, growing into revolutionary meetings, fuses ranks that are usually separated', leading to an 'indeterminate heterogeneity', and 'loss of clearness of function.' [First Principles, Sections 128-129] The parallel growth of socialism and imperialism in the late nineteenth century, both seen by him as evidence of increased militancy, could be lamented as abnormal growths, but remained literally inexplicable on his premises. A type of evolutionary theory which provides a universal mechanism like adaptation or natural selection cannot admit regression—change must always go forward, as a cogwheel with a fixed ratchet must turn in one direction only. To admit regression is to be fair to the facts, but it abandons the theory. The process, differentiation, was died to the mechanism, adaptation, one might admit de-differentiation, and show the particular causes of it, but could not explain it by adaptation as a general mechanism." (J.D.Y. Peel, "Spencer and the Neo-Evolutionists," Sociology, Vol. 3, pp. 173-191, 1969. P. 178)

(Among the Englishmen who rejected the notion of organic evolution were Lord Salisbury, Disraeli, Gladstone, Carlyle, Ruskin, and Newman.)
In an anti-colonial passage, Spencer speaks of "the aggressive tendencies displayed by us all over the world--sending, as pioneers, missionaries of 'the religion of love,' and then picking quarrels with native races and taking possession of their lands." (Auto. II, 375) (see also 377)

"... the cowardly conquests of bullet and shell over arrow and assegai, which demoralize the one side while slaughtering the other." (Herbert Spencer, "Evolutionary Ethics," The Athenaeum, No. 3432, pp. 193-194, August 5, 1893. P. 193)

"After that (the election of 1880), sanguine people proclaimed that the Jingoes--the party of aggression and 'Empire'--were destroyed. I was one who thought them still the most powerful force in the country, as well as the most dangerous. Herbert Spencer thought likewise. We got together a meeting at my house, with the view of setting up an Anti-aggression League. But we met with no support, the bulk of people thinking that the danger of ousting morality from public policy was past." (Note found among the writings of Lord [Arthur] Hobhouse. Quoted in L. T. Hobhouse and J. L. Hammond, Lord Hobhouse; A Memoir, Edward Arnold, London, 1905. P. 138)

"He [Spencer] predicted that the protectionist assault on the sacred fact and theory of Free Trade would continue, and that high tariffs would return to England. He foresaw an increasing scramble for trade and territory among the leading nations of the world, and the rise of what we now know as imperialism. He was certainly one of the numerous people who foresaw the Great War, though he wisely refused to try to date it. All this is imposing. By all ordinary tests, Spencer seems to have come off very well in his predictions." (Crane Brinton, "Spencer's Horrid Vision," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 15, pp. 695-706, 1937. P. 702)
"His [Spencer's] ideas were, of course, fashioned beforehand, as may be seen from the early publication of a skeletal outline of his philosophy." (Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Early Civilization, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1922. P. 21)

"His [Spencer's] evolutionary stages were all worked out in considerable detail before this reading process had begun, and what his assistants were expected to do was to find illustrations for the stages of development comprised in the philosopher's scheme." (Alexander Goldenweiser, Early Civilization, F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1935, P. 22)

"... "evolution" is, with Mr. Spencer, not a theorem of inductive science, but a necessary truth deduced from axioms ...." (Chauncey Wright, "German Darwinism," in Philosophical Discussions, pp. 398-405, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1877. P. 401. Reprinted from The Nation, September 9, 1875)

"In contrast to this principle [that every cultural item must be viewed in its context] Spencer persistently removed culture items from their contexts and fitted them into his own preconceived patterns." (Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory; Its Nature and Growth, third edition, Random House, New York, 1967. P. 42)

"He [Spencer] began with an evolutionary scheme itself arrived at deductively; from that scheme he derived the necessity of certain phases, and then he gave flesh and blood to these abstract phases by the method of illustration, by selecting examples from here and there which seemed to fit his system." (Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory; Its Nature and Growth, third edition, Random House, New York, 1967. Pp. 42-43)

"But Spencer was so sure of his analogies and generalizations that their verification was to him merely a time-consuming routine. He prepared a system of investigation designed to support his generalizations and sent assistants to the anthropological and classical literatures to select the appropriate data." (Abram Kardiner and Edward Preble, They Studied Man, The World Publishing Company, Cleveland, 1961. P. 44)
"His sociology is at bottom deductive and aprioristic, derived by most ingenious hypothesis from the fundamentals of his philosophy and supported by masses of concrete data from the cultures of all times and places." (p. 298) (Franklin H. Hanksins, "Sociology." In History and Prospects of the Social Sciences, ed. by Harry Elmer Barnes, pp. 255-332. Alfred A. Knopf. New York, 1925)


"He [Spencer] seems first to seize his principles and then seek out his facts; and there is in such a method a danger that the theoretic principle may act the part of a loadstone among the facts, and attract those of them only which have affinity for it ...." (Anonymous, "Herbert Spencer's Sociology," The British Quarterly Review, Vol. 63, pp. 1-42, 1876. Pp. 41-42)

"Spencer, in fact, selected materials from most diversified cultures, widely separated in time and in space. He picked up facts here and there and brought them together in such a way as to support his evolutionary hypothesis; the materials combined in this arbitrary manner were used to confirm his hypothesis. Such a procedure, of course, is entirely out of keeping with the rules of logic and principles of scientific method." (Nicholas S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth, third edition, Random House, New York, 1967. P. 37)

"Investigations made during recent years into the various forms of social organization, while writing the "Principles of Sociology," have in part confirmed and in part changed the views published in 1850 [In Social Statics]...." (Herbert Spencer, Letter to The Times of London, November 7, 1889. Quoted in Henry George, A Perplexed Philosopher, Robert Schalknabeach Foundation, New York, 1965. P. 75)

"When he [Spencer] came to write the Principles of Sociology he had for some time pored over his collected data and, while it could not wrench him from his preconceptions, established through fifty years of assimilation and elaboration of prevailing ideas, it did render his treatment of his subject matter much more human." (L. L. Bernard, "Herbert Spencer's Work in the Light of His Life," The Monist, Vol. 31, pp. 1-35, 1921. P. 6)
"Moreover, we cannot get rid of an uncomfortable feeling that, however neatly and completely the cloud of witnesses called by Mr. Spencer appears to support his general propositions, the propositions are not really the result of reflection on the facts. A suspicion is forced upon us—one of those suspicions which cannot by their nature proved, but which haunt one and will not be banished—that the generalizations have been constructed first and the facts hunted up to fit into them afterwards." (Anonymous, "Spencer's Political Institutions," The Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art, Vol. 54, pp. 18-20, 1882, P. 19)

p. 38-39. Deduction, induction, a priori, etc. I wish you had quoted and discussed passages from Principles like the one I quoted above in this letter. My mind is not very clear on this point. I feel sure that Spencer believed that the only basis of knowledge was experience." But I cannot square that "belief" with the way arrives at conclusions which he had previously reached by reason. Or why the Arapahos could not converse in the dark. What you have said on this subject does not clear up the matter in my mind.

"Guided by the doctrine of evolution in general, and by the more special doctrine of mental evolution, we may help ourselves to delineate primitive ideas... Having observed a priori what must be the character of those ideas, we shall be as far as possible prepared to realize them in imagination, and then to discern them as actually existing" (Vol. I, Ch. VIII, p. 111, "Primitive Ideas").

There are many statements like the above which I shall not take time to copy—you are familiar with them, of course. I find this attitude on Spencer's part rather disturbing—or opposed to my own habits of thought, scientific point of view, etc.

L. A. White

"I went to Kew yesterday on a scientific expedition with Herbert Spencer, who has all sorts of theories about plants—I should have said a proof-hunting expedition. Of course, if the flowers didn't correspond to the theories, we said, "tart pis pour les fleurs."" (Letter from George Eliot to Sara Sophia Hennell dated June 29, 1852. Quoted in Gordon S. Haight, The George Eliot Letters, 7 Vols., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1954, Vol. 2, p. 40)

"To him facts are, as it were, inconvenient annoyances, necessary but bothersome delays to the tremendous sweep of his general ideas." (Julian M. Drachman, Studies in the Literature of Natural Science, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930. P. 153)

"While Mr. Spencer holds that common experience of matter and motion, if rightly interpreted, leads to the belief in the indestructibility of the one and the continuity of the other, I hold that common experience only raises a presumption, the belief is only rightly and firmly founded on the results of careful and exact quantitative experiments. While he holds that they are necessary truths, I still think it conceivable that they are false. While he regards them both as leading to the persistence of force as the ultimate postulate, I very much doubt whether any relation between definite ideas is a postulate. The postulates which I have used are both of them conditioned propositions. If so and so, then so and so. In fact, I suspect that the mind is provided only with machinery ready to arrange the results put into it by the senses, and that it does not contain any results ready made." (J. H. Poynting, "The Foundations of Our Belief in the Indestructibility of Matter and the Conservation of Energy; A Criticism of Spencer's "First Principles,"" The Midland Naturalist, Vol. 12, pp. 6-11, 33-38, 1889. P. 38. Poynting was Professor of Physics at Mason College, Birmingham.)

"... there is good reason to suppose that many of his ideas on this subject [sociology] were well formed before he collected the data for his generalizations." (L. L. Bernard, "Herbert Spencer's Work in the Light of His Life," The Monist, Vol. 31, pp. 1-35, 1921. P. 4)

"For though by some I am characterized as an a priori thinker, it will be manifest to any one who does / not set out with an a priori conception of men, that my beliefs, when not suggested a posteriori, are habitually verified a posteriori." (Autoc. 1, 364-365)

ARMCHAIR THEORIST

In the "hard sciences" the division of labor between "theoretical physicists" and "experimental physicists" is readily accepted.
"Having convinced yourself that there is an enduring power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness, set yourself next to try to learn more about this, and to feel an enthusiasm for this. And to this end, take a course of the Bible first, and then a course of Benjamin Franklin, Horace Greeley, Jeremy Bentham, and Mr. Herbert Spencer; see which has most effect, which satisfies you most, which gives you most power. Why, the Bible has such power for teaching righteousness, that even those who come to it with all sorts of false notions about the God of the Bible, it yet teaches righteousness, and fills them with the love of it; how much more those who come to it with a true notion about the God of the Bible!" (Matthew Arnold, Literature and Dogma, An Essay Toward a Better Apprehension of the Bible, New Amsterdam Book Co., New York, 1902. P. 280)

"When our philosophical liberal friends say, that by universal suffrage, public meetings, Church disestablishment, marrying one's deceased wife's sister, secular schools, industrial development, man can very well live; and that if he studies the writings, say, of Mr. Herbert Spencer, into the bargain, he will be perfect, he will have "In modern and congenial language the truisms common to all systems of morality," and the Bible is become quite old-fashioned and superfluous for him;--when our philosophical friends now say this, the masses, far from checking them, are disposed to applaud them to the echo." (Matthew Arnold, Literature and Dogma, An Essay Toward a Better Apprehension of the Bible, New Amsterdam Book Co., New York, 1902. P. 270)

Arnold draws a parallel between the state of things at the time he was writing and the state of things in Judea when Christ came: "The Pharisees, with their genuine concern for religion, but total want of perception of what religion really is, and by their temper, attitude, and aims doing their best to make religion impossible, are the Protestant Dissenters. The Sadducees are our friends the philosophical liberals, who believe neither in angel nor spirit but in Mr. Herbert Spencer. Even the Roman governor has his close parallel in our celebrated aristocracy, with its superficial good sense and good-nature, its thorough inaptitude for ideas, its profound helplessness in presence of all great spiritual movements." (Matthew Arnold, Literature and Dogma, An Essay Toward a Better Apprehension of the Bible, New Amsterdam Book Co., New York, 1902. P. 316)

"... the saying is not at all a grand one. We are almost ashamed to quote it to readers who may have come fresh from the last number of the North American Review, and from the great sentence there quoted as summing up Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory of evolution: "Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion during which the matter passes from an indefinite incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation." Homer's poor little saying comes not in such formidable shape. It is only this:--Wide is the range of words! words may make this way or that way." (Matthew Arnold, God & The Bible, Macmillan and Co., New York, 1883. Pp. 196-197)
... the famous "Formula of Evolution" (that rock against which Matthew Arnold's little wave of criticism shattered itself in vain), ..." (Grant Allen, "The Gospel According to Herbert Spencer," Part I, The Pall Mall Gazette, April 26, 1890, pp. 1-2.

"Yet one cannot but pause when contemplating Herbert Spencer's work in departments of research, to note with wonder how he had been enabled, by mere clearness of insight, to discern truths which escaped the notice of the very leaders in those special subjects of inquiry. To take astronomy, for example, a subject which, more perhaps than any other, requires long and special study before the facts with which it deals can be rightly interpreted, Spencer reasoned justly respecting the most difficult, as well as the highest of all subjects of astronomical research, the architecture of the stellar system, when the Herschels, Arago, and Humboldt adopted or accepted erroneous views." (Richard A. Proctor, "Herbert Spencer as a Thinker," The Open Court, Vol. 1, pp. 145-147, 1887-88. P. 145.

"After long and careful study specially directed to that subject ["the architecture of the stellar system"], I advanced, in 1869, opinions which I supposed to be new respecting the architecture of the heavens,—opinions which Spencer himself, in his Study of Sociology [p. 2257], has described as "going far to help us in conceiving the constitution of our own galaxy;" yet I found that twelve years before, dealing with that part of science in his specially planned survey of the whole domain, he had seen clearly many of the points on which I insisted later, and had found in such points sufficient evidence to lead him to correct views respecting the complexity and variety of the sidereal system." (Richard A. Proctor, "Herbert Spencer as a Thinker," The Open Court, Vol. 1, pp. 145-147, 1887-88. P. 145)
"Less, perhaps, than any other science, has astronomy gained from Spencer's work. One timely service, however, he did it. The reader will remember the history of the nebular theory of the origin of the solar system. Originally suggested to Kant by a brilliant guess of Lucretius, and later given mathematical form by Laplace, 2 (Laplace knew nothing of Kant's work in this field. His theory appeared about forty years after that of Kant, which was published in a local Königsberg paper in 1755. (See Merz's History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century, II., 283.) the theory received, as it appeared, a crushing blow when Lord Rosse's great telescope resolved into stars certain supposed nebulae. The natural inference was drawn that remotesness alone prevented a similar resolution of all nebulae, and this conclusion was accepted by astronomers. The spectroscope, in the hands of Sir William Huggins, the present president of the Royal Society, had not yet demonstrated by its incontrovertible evidence that true nebulae do veritably exist. Now, if some form of the nebular theory be not true, the evolution theory, as a cosmic generalization, is forthwith disposed of. Spencer was therefore led to consider the matter, which he did in an essay written for the Westminster Review. First-hand astronomical knowledge he had none, and he is certainly entitled to consider this essay, as he does, an instance of his constitutional "disregard for authority." But while the actual observations of the expert must always be provisionally accepted, it is open to any one who can to criticize the conclusions deduced by the expert therefrom. This Spencer did, advancing sundry reasons to show that the evidence of Lord Rosse's telescope could not be accepted as a refutation of the nebular theory. Later came the spectroscope and Spencer's vindication, both as to the existence of true nebulae and the nature of the sun's atmosphere." (C. W. Saleeby, Evolution The Master-Key, Harper & Brothers, London and New York, 1906, Pp. 69-71, 69n.-70n.)

"Mr. Herbert Spencer seems to have been the first to point out that the observed connection between the distribution of nebulae and lucid stars proves the nebulae to belong to our sidereal system, and that they cannot be remote galaxies, as had up to that time been the popular belief; though Sir William Herschel had pointed out at the beginning of this century 7 that many of the larger nebulae cannot be accounted for as remote clusters of stars too distant to be seen as separate points of light, still it was very generally supposed that many of the smaller nebulae were galaxies more or less alike in nature to that immediately surrounding us, but so inconceivably remote that, looked at through the largest telescopes, they appeared like small faint spots of light. In a very thoughtfull paper on 'The Nebular Hypotheses,' published in July, 1858, in the 'Westminster Review,' Mr. Herbert Spencer wrote: ..." (Richard A. Proctor, Old and New Astronomy, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1892. P. 726)
"Herbert Spencer's letter \textit{The Athenaeum}, April 5, p. 4467 is to my mind the most important thing in the whole controversy. It assures me that I was already aware of & had not missed his most important passages \textit{in Principles of Psychology, 1855} --and those he gives do not enable him to claim more, even himself, than to have done the thing "by implication." As a matter of fact no one understood him to mean \textit{in 1855} what he now implies that he did mean. The editor \textit{of The Athenaeum} thought his \textit{Spencer's} letter (to use the editor's own words) "without definite aim" so that I need not reply and I was very glad not to do so; so the matter will drop—but in an appendix to Life & Habit later on I will say what I think advisable." (This appeared in Butler's Luck or Cunning?, 1886, chs. 2-3.) (Letter from Samuel Butler to His Sister, Mary Butler, dated April 9, 1884. Quoted in The Correspondence of Samuel Butler with His Sister May, edited by Daniel F. Howard, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962. P. 121)

"The portrait of Herbert Spencer painted by Miss Grant, one that he preferred to Herkomer's canvas, was given to the Club by Miss Meinertzhagen in 1915. Other relics of that doughty Victorian, who worked for the Athenaeum, came into the Club's custody when the Herbert Spencer Trust was wound up. As they included diaries and letters which one or two scholars have wanted to inspect in the revival of interest in Herbert Spencer in recent years, the Club has handed them over to the University of London Library." (F(rank) R(ichard) Cowell, The Athenaeum, Club and Social Life in London, 1824-1974, Heineman, London, 1975. P. 85)

"He [Herbert Spencer] is already enrolled among the immortals." [Concluding words of the article.] ("W.", "Herbert Spencer," The Athenaeum, No. 3972, pp. 794-795, December 12, 1903. P. 795)
"Herbert Spencer began to write his Autobiography in May 1875; by October 1889 both volumes were in print, though it was not published till after his death, 8 December 1903. Six copies of it were circulated among his friends for criticism after they agreed to a formidable list of conditions such as keeping the volumes under lock and key, not lending them or allowing the servants to see them, etc. See his letter to J. W. Cross, 13 October 1889. (Yale.) Later Part XIII was added to bring it down to 1893. The work was published in 1904. Most of the private letters used in it were destroyed by Spencer himself; those he reserved for his biographer, David Duncan, were "scrapped by order of the Trustees soon after the book was written." (Information given me by Mr. T. W. Hill, later secretary to the Spencer Trustees, 9 November 1943.) So far as I know no letters that passed between GE and Spencer at the time of their closest intimacy are accessible, though some have been preserved." (Gordon S. Haight, editor, The George Eliot Letters, 7 Vols., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1955, Vol. 6, pp. 310n.-311n.)

"Gibbon writes of himself as he might have written of a Roman Emperor; Herbert Spencer writes of himself as he might have written of a specimen in a museum." (Francis Gribble, "Herbert Spencer: His Autobiography and His Philosophy," The Fortnightly Review, Vol. 81, pp. 984-995, 1904, P. 984)

"As against the small shortcomings of the book [Spencer's An Autobiography] are to be set its ruling note of high rectitude; its unflagging concentration on the life of ideas, relieved only by a few human excursions into gossip; its unfailling intellectuality; and its wonderful variety of interest. It reveals in all his less-known aspects—as inventor, as explorer, as undeveloped artist, as intimate, as man—the architect of the Synthetic Philosophy. Laying it down, one asks: If the injured and overwearied brain could produce this sustained stretch of reasoning retrospect, this long strain of recollection, reflection, and lucid commentary, what must have been its power when it grappled with the tasks to which it gave its strength, and what would have been that strength had it never been flawed?" (J. M. Robertson, Modern Humanists Reconsidered, Watts & Co., London, 1927, P. 196)

"Spencer was peculiarly well fitted for the task of self-revelation, and it may safely be said that never before have the mental processes by which a great thinker has produced a vast system of conceptions been so clearly exposed." (William McDougall, "The Mind of a Great Thinker," review of Herbert Spencer, An Autobiography, Nature, Vol. 70, pp. 265-266, 1904, P. 265)

"His [Spencer's] sense of achievement—for to achievement his whole life has been devoted—passed toward death into a review of all the obstacles that he had to overcome, all the pleasures that he had to forego, all the miseries that he had to bear—the fatigue, the insomnia, the stagnation of every faculty, the monotony of the end." (Anonymous, "Review of Herbert Spencer's An Autobiography," The Athenaeum, No. 3993, pp. 583-584, May 7, 1904) (P. 584)
"The chapter of the [Spencer] Autobiography dealing with the finishing and publication of First Principles is unimposing, and disappointingly deficient in emotion. (Compare Gibbon in the finishing of his big work.) Nothing of real interest is recorded about the undertaking. This is a pity. But everywhere Spencer's narrative skill is very clumsy, and his little attempts to be dramatic are extraordinarily feeble." (Entry for September 15, 1910, p. 392)

"Today I finished Spencer's vast Autobiography. The first volume is perhaps superior to the second, but I read it all with interest, and especially the reflections of old age at the end. Its fault is lack of emotional quality, and of elevation of style. You get from it no sense of a mighty work accomplished--no sense of mightiness at all." (Entry for September 30, 1910) (The Journal of Arnold Bennett, 1896-1910, The Book League of America, New York, 1932)

"Beyond any reasonable doubt it [Spencer's Autobiography] is destined to take rank as one of the two or three most remarkable self-portrayals of a human life ever committed to posterity." (p. 964) "The only other autobiography that can be put in the same class with these two works [Spencer's and Rousseau's Autobiographies] is that of Benjamin Franklin." (p. 964) (Franklin H. Giddings, "The Autobiography of Herbert Spencer," The Independent, Vol. 56, pp. 963-968, 1904)

"From the purely personal standpoint, it is true, such a record [Spencer's Autobiography] may very probably seem deficient in those more dramatic elements of interest for which we are accustomed to look in the history of any man who has left a profound impress upon the civilisation of his age. Spencer's biography is, in fact, essentially the biography of the thinker; it is little more than the story of his preparation for his great life-work, of the growth and consolidation of his ideas, of the inception of his philosophic system, and of the gradual progress of this, through difficulties all but insuperable, stage by stage, to its long-delayed completion." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 9)

"Although prolix and inorganic, devoid of literary charm and emotionally cold, it [Spencer's An Autobiography] is well worth reading as a record of Spencer's intellectual development, and as an unconscious revelation of his harmless egoism and childlike vanity. He defined it as "a natural history" of himself. It should, indeed, be classed, not with biographies, but with works of descriptive sociology." (F. J. C. Hearnshaw, "Herbert Spencer and the Individualists," in The Social & Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Victorian Age, ed. by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, pp. 53-83, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1933. P. 69)

"Now Spencer was undoubtedly a man of the most rigid truthfulness. No personal record I have ever read has the marks of greater authenticity than his autobiography." (A. O. J. Cockshut, The Unbelievers, Collins, London, 1964. P. 74)
"Yet if a critic is ever safe in anticipating the verdict of

the public or posterity, certain it is that in years to come the

mass of dull, trite, and often repellent detail in these volumes

will outweigh whatever they possess of value

and interest, and make them as a whole unreadable. Never has a book,

of which parts at least are undeniably interesting, been so lamen-

tably, and even painfully, encumbered with trivialities." (Anony-

mous, "Review of Herbert Spencer's An Autobiography," The Athenaeum,

No. 3993, pp. 583-584, May 7, 1904. P. 583)

"Last night I began Spencer's Autobiography, and this morning,

by dint of much wakefulness, I had arrived at page 224. I found it

very interesting and jolly well done. It is much better done and

much more artistic than J. S. Mill's autobiography. Nevertheless

Spencer's little attempts at narrative in the manner of a novelist

--beginning, for example, with a fragment of conversation, or with

such a phrase as "If on such a day any one had been looking at

such a spot they might have been surprised to see," etc., are fun-

erial than he intended." (Arnold Bennett, The Journal of Arnold Ben-


for September 7, 1910, p. 390)

"This [An Autobiography], like all Spencer's works, makes a

different appeal to different minds; some find it tedious, while

to others it is of absorbing interest. In any case it is a work of

genius written by a man of genius." (James McKeen Cattell, "The

Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer," The Popular Science Monthly,

Vol. 73, pp. 283-285, 1908. P. 283)

"His [Spencer's] massive Autobiography--one of those books

that is very amusing in retrospect, like a bore from whom one has

escaped--demonstrates that he took himself quite as seriously as

he took the universe, and could explain himself as exhaustively

and polysyllabically." (William Irvine, Apes, Angels, and Victor-


"... Spencer analyses himself in these pages [An Autobiography]
much as he might dissect a natural history specimen." (A. S. Prin-
gle-Pattison, "The Life and Philosophy of Herbert Spencer," The


"His [Spencer's] two-volume autobiography is at once the most conventional and one of the strangest of all the books written by the Victorian sages. Its literary value is almost nil; in that sense the oblivion of Spencer to-day is just." (A. O. J. Cockshut, *The Unbelievers*, Collins, London, 1964. P. 73)


"When, at the end of this year [1862], Spencer's revised Psychology came out, I made a careful reading of it, with a view to suggestions, many of which I found of great value. But, as the entire scheme of the work was based upon Evolution, his mode of reproduction and arrangement of his thoughts was distinct from mine." (Alexander Bain, Autobiography, Longman's, Green, and Co., London, 1904. P. 302)

"It is but a feeble expression to say that I am in close agreement with Mr. Spencer in all his cardinal doctrines as to the laws of mind, and the connexion between the subjective facts and the material organisation. I add farther [sic] my conviction that he has thrown an immense amount of new light upon the whole subject; and rendered intelligible, and even simple, some of its greatest difficulties." (Alexander Bain, "Mr. Spencer's Psychological Congruities." (I)," Mind, Vol. 6, pp. 266-270, 1881. P. 266)

"His [Spencer's] philosophy is the only philosophy that satisfies an earnestly inquiring mind. All other philosophies (at least in my experience) serve more to perplex than to enlighten. As it seems to me, we have in Herbert Spencer not only the profoundest thinker of our time, but the most capacious and most powerful intellect of all time. Aristotle and his master were not more beyond the pygmies who preceded them than he is beyond Aristotle. Kant, Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling are gropers in the dark by the side of him. In all the history of science there is but one name which can be compared to his, and that is Newton's; but Newton never attempted so wide a field, and how he would have succeeded in it, had he done so, must be only matter of conjecture." (Letter from F. A. P. Barnard to Edward L. Youmans dated November 10, 1882. Quoted in Edward L. Youmans, editor/ Herbert Spencer on The Americans and The Americans on Herbert Spencer, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1883. P. 87)

"Beecher has been lecturing this summer with great acceptance and to large audiences on the religious bearings of evolution; but his work is very crude, being of the same sort as his address at the dinner. It is no doubt better than that, and Beecher is rapidly improving; but he has taken up the subject very late in life, and has not had the time, as he never had the proper preparation, for mastering the philosophy." (Letter from Edward L. Youmans to Herbert Spencer dated September 3, 1883. Quoted in John Fiske, Edward Livingston Youmans, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894. P. 379)

"Then we [Youmans and he] went to see Manton Marble, Editor of the "New York World", an excellent Spencerian." (P. 122) "Henry Ward Beecher says, "We are all humble subjects; Mr. / Spencer is our King."") (Pp. 122-123) (Letter from John Fiske to Abby Morgan. Quoted in The Letters of John Fiske, edited by Ethel F. Fisk, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940)


"To my father and my mother I owe my physical being; to you, sir, I owe my intellectual being. At a critical moment you provided the safe paths through the bogs and morasses; you were my teacher." (Words addressed to Spencer by Henry Ward Beecher on the occasion of the testimonial dinner to Spencer at Delmonico's, New York, in 1882. Quoted in Autobiography of Andrew Carnegie. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1920. P. 336.)

"I began to read Mr. Spencer's works more than twenty years ago. They have been meat and bread to me. They have helped me through a great many difficulties. I desire to own my obligation personally to him, and to say that if I had the fortune of a millionaire, and I should pour all my gold at his feet, it would be no sort of compensation compared to that which I believe I owe him ...." (Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's remarks at the Spencer Farewell Dinner, pp. 58-67. In [Edward L. Youmans, editor] Herbert Spencer on The Americans and The Americans on Herbert Spencer, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1883. P. 66)
"The Education was written in the 'fifties, when Spencer had not yet abandoned God for the Unknowable." (Crane Brinton, English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1933. P. 236n.)

"... to divorce a cause and consequence which God has joined together—to render needless the intellect put into us for our guidance—......" (Herbert Spencer, Social Statics, John Chapman, London, 1851. P. 379)


"Merely because Spencer labeled his unknowable energy "God", [which, of course, he did not] this faded piece of metaphysical goods [the Unknowable] was greeted [by some theologians] as an important and grateful concession to the reality of the spiritual realm." (John Dewey, The Influence of Arwin on Philosophy and Other Essays in Contemporary Thought, New York, 1910. P. )

"In the Social Statics Spencer is still vaguely theistic, with a touch of Fichte. In the chapter entitled "The Divine Idea and the Conditions of its Realisation," he assumes the greatest happiness of mankind to be "the creative purpose," and in this harmless form the "Divine Idea" recurs in the book. How long this phase lasted is not clear. First Principles, projected in 1860, is definitely agnostic; but Education, published in 1861, has many theistic expressions. But the essays therein contained went back to 1854. In The Study of Sociology, published in 1873, there is frequent satire of conventional theism, of phrases about "The Great Artificer," "The Master Builder," "the hand of the almighty," "the strategy of Providence," and so forth; but in Education we have a passage on that grand epic written by the finger of God upon the strata of the earth; "Small ed., p. 41" and on the thesis that play is better for children than gymnastics, we learn that whoever forbids their play "forbids the divinely appointed means to physical development." Small ed., p. 155 The presumption is that Education was written dome time before its publication; for since First Principles, Spencer's vocabulary has always been sanely scientific." (John M. Robertson, Modern Humanists, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 1891. P. 221)
"After failing to stick to any novels, I have read The Study of Sociology all week." (Entry for December 17, 1909, The Journal of Arnold Bennett, The Literary Guild, New York, 1933. P. 350)


"There is a long article in Le Temps on Herbert Spencer, which confirmed the view which Wells expressed to me about him in the early part of the year; namely, that as a thinker, he was "woolly." [But this was written before Bennett started reading Spencer, and his views changed as a result.] (Entry for December 11, 1903, The Journal of Arnold Bennett, The Literary Guild, New York, 1933. P. 140)

HENRI BERGSON

"I had remained up to that time [1881 to 1883] wholly imbued with mechanistic theories, to which I had been led at an early age by the reading of Herbert Spencer, a philosopher to whom I adhered almost unreservedly." (Letter from Henri Bergson to William James dated Paris, May 9, 1908. Quoted in Ralph Barton Perry, The Thought and Character of William James, 2 Vols. Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, 1935. Vol. 2, p. 623.)

"Let us say merely that the usual device of the Spencerian method consists in reconstructing evolution with fragments of the evolved." (p. 396) "He takes reality in its present form; he breaks it to pieces, he scatters it in fragments which he throws to the winds; then he "integrates" these fragments and "dissipates their movement." Having imitated the Whole by a work of mosaic, he imagines he has retraced the design of it, and made the genesis." (p. 396) (Henri Bergson, Creative Evolution, translated from the French by Arthur Mitchell, The Modern Library, New York, 1944. First American edition 1911)
"... I went at half-past four and played with Herbert Spencer a game of billiards at the Athenaeum. He beat me. Being beaten, I went home and ate a turkey, and then proceeded to lay about me all round and make everybody miserable, ..." (Letter from Andrew C. Ramsay [a geologist] to Archibald Geikie dated December 16, 1871. Quoted in Sir Archibald Geikie, Memoir of Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay, Macmillan and Co., London, 1895. P. 310)

"I may add that Dr. Martineau and Mr. Spencer were on friendly terms as co-members of the Athenaeum, and once Dr. Martineau told me with a smile that after he and Mr. Spencer had been discussing for some time, Mr. Spencer said: "Now, Dr. Martineau, let us drop philosophy and try our hands at a game of billiards."" (James Drummond, editor, The Life and Letters of James Martineau, 2 Vols., Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1902. Vol. 2, p. 366)

"Spencer is looking very well; plays billiards a great deal; disciplines himself to amusement." (Letter from Edward L. Youmans to his sister, Eliza A. Youmans, dated June 15, 1871. Quoted in John Fiske, Edward L. Youmans, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894. P. 272)

"I play billiards every night with Spencer after dinner; game fifty, but one red ball, which thins out the chances. Scratches here are flukes. Spencer gives me thirty, and then I get to fifty first about as one to three. But I do a stupendous amount of fluking, sometimes to Spencer's great disgust. We started the other night and I fluked up to fifty before he got one. He stands aghast! I assure him that it is merely my general way." (Letter from Edward L. Youmans to his sister, Eliza A. Youmans, dated September 13, 1894. P. 283) Quoted in John Fiske, Edward Livingston Youmans

"In the latter part of the evening [at Rushmore, the estate of General Pitt-Rivers] we filed into the billiard room, where I observed with pleasure the skill of Herbert Spencer. All have heard that he did not like defeat, and once said to an opponent who easily vanquished him that his unusual skill "argued a wasted life." The legend was probably based on the gravity with which Herbert Spencer made every stroke." (Moncure Daniel Conway, Autobiography, Memories and Experiences, 2 Vols., Houghton, Mifflin and Company, Boston, 1904. Vol. 2, p. 339)

"Herbert Spencer, according to Mr. Tedder, 'played the game of billiards' as an athletic or hygienic exercise, but always denied the authorship of the story told to the effect that he once said to a junior opponent who beat him that "proficiency in billiards was proof of a misspent life"'. In the History of the Savile Club he is said to have made the same remark there to Robert Louis Stevenson. Spencer's trustees gave his billiard cue and case to the [Athenaeum/ Club]." (F(rank) R(ichard) Cowell, The Athenaeum Club and Social Life in London, 1824-1974, Heineman, London, 1975. P. 36)
"Home Life with Herbert Spencer is a limpidly truthful account .... It has the ingenuous charm of a portrait by a Primitive ...." (Raymond Mortimer, "Books in General," The New Statesman and Nation, Vol. 24, pp. 411-412, 1942. P. 411)

"In the summer of 1886 he went for a long visit to Brighton (always a favourite place of resort with him), and, after various experiments (including a home of his own in London), finally took a house there on the East Cliff, facing the sea, "with the intention," as he wrote me at the time, "of living here for the rest of my life." This intention was fulfilled." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. Pp. 23-24)

In 1842, Spencer wrote a series of twelve letters on "The Proper Sphere of Government," which were published in The Nonconformist, a newspaper recently established as an organ for advanced Dissenters. In them he laid out the political principles that were later elaborated in Social Statics.

When not quite twenty, Spencer wrote in a letter: "I was thinking the other day that I should like to make public some of my ideas upon the state of the world and religion, together with a few remarks on education. I think, however, that I may employ my time better at present." (Auto. I, 158)

During the course of his life Spencer's ideas and inventions were of extraordinary variety. They ranged "from a doctrine of State-functions to a levelling-staff; from the genesis of religious ideas to a watch escapement; from the gemmella circulation in plants to an invalid bed; from the law of organic symmetry to planing machinery; from principles of ethics to a velocimeter; from a metaphysical doctrine / to a binding-pin; from a classification of the sciences to an improved fishing-rod joint; from the general Law of Evolution to a better mode of dressing artificial flies." (Auto. II, 435-6)

"Throughout life my time has been chiefly spent in observing and thinking, not in reading." (Herbert Spencer, Letter sent to Le Figaro, reprinted in Pall Mall Gazette, Vol. 55, No. 8606, p. 6, October 20, 1892. P. 6)
... at the same time that Spencer lived at 37 and 38 Queen's Gardens he had, at 2, Leinster Place, near by, an independent room, which he used as a library and study. It was there that, during the first year of my secretarial association with him, most of his work was done; his habit being to walk over about half-past nine, dictate as long as he felt able—in order to economise his strength, he had made it a practice to dictate everything, even his letters—and then leave for the day. (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 23)

Spencer "... lived till 1886 in boarding-houses in London, thus, under medical advice, escaping the evils of a solitary domestic existence. His home for nearly a quarter of a century was at 37 and 38, Queen's Gardens, Lancaster Gate, where I myself first knew him; though at the same time he had, at 2, Leinster Place, near by, an independent room, which he used as a library and study." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 23)

At that period when Spencer lived at 37 and 38 Queen's Gardens he spent several hours of the afternoon and evening pretty regularly at the Athenaeum Club, returning to Queen's Gardens, however, in time to listen to some music, of which he was always extremely fond, and in which he found his principal solace as increasing ill-health made other distractions impossible." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 23)

"In early summer of 1879, John Fiske and I occupied rooms together in London. John was delivering a course of lectures which were attended by many leading people. He was generally detained or captured by his admirers, but a considerable part of my way home was also Herbert Spencer's, and we often walked together. Moreover, John and I had a blissful long June day wandering and lunching with Spencer, as our guest, at Richmond. I think Spencer must have enjoyed it too: for he proposed another day at Windsor, to which we others gladly acceded." (Henry Holt, Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1923. P. 55)
"The human being is at once the terminal problem of Biology and the initial factor of Sociology." (Herbert Spencer, The Study of Sociology, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1891. P. 336)

Although Spencer coined the expression "super-organic," he did not mean it in exactly the same way as Kroeber and White did. He saw the science of society rooted in psychology, as when he wrote; "without preparation in mental science there can be no social science." (Quoted in "The Relations of Biology Psychology, and Sociology." Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 50, p. 167)

"We must rather say that Spencer's 'principles' of sociology are supposed principles of biology prematurely extended to cover social relations. But the decisive factors in social relations are understood by present sociologists to be psychical, not biological." (Albion W. Small, Review of Spencer's The Principles of Sociology, Vol. 3; American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 2, pp. 741-742, 1897. P. 742)

"In the intellectual history of the last half century, the place taken by Spencer's system forms an instructive chapter. In such a history it would be especially necessary to point out the rise in America of a sociology mainly dependent upon Spencer and its gradual rejection of his biologism as a result of a new, psychologizing trend ...." (Leopold von Wiese, Systematic Sociology on the Basis of the Beziehungslehre and Gebildelehre, adapted and amplified by Howard Becker, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1932. P. 689)

"How shall we formulate this one salient deficiency in Herbert Spencer's sociology? It may sound too dramatic to say that it consists in ignoring the human mind as a factor in sociology. True, his system embraces two volumes on psychology. Nevertheless I make bold to affirm not only that he did not base his sociology upon his psychology, but that his psychology is of a kind such that sociology could not be based upon it." (Lester F. Ward, "Herbert Spencer's Sociology," in Glimpses of the Cosmos, Vol. 6, pp. 171-177. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1918. P. 172)
"Ward's teachings were an impressive challenge to the fatalistic implications of Spencer's rendering of the evolutionary theory; they brought into focus the psychic factors involved in social evolution—the evidence that human activity transforms the environment and perpetuates a social tradition in the interests of man." (Bernhard J. Stern, editor, "The Letters of Albion W. Small to Lester F. Ward," Social Forces, Vol. 12, pp. 163-173, 1933-34. P. 164)

"It must be noticed that Mr. Ward regards mind as the highest known power of matter. He must not be understood to treat matter and mind as antithetical. His advance upon Spencer in this respect is, therefore, analogous with that of an observer who discerns a determining vital or chemical factor in phenomena which had been treated as purely physical." (Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent, An Introduction to the Study of Society, American Book Company, New York, 1894. P. 51)

"Spencer, to be sure, generalized the law of evolution for biology so that he could extend it to social institutions also." (F. S. C. Northrop, "Evolution in Its Relation to the Philosophy of Nature and the Philosophy of Culture," in Evolutionary Thought in America, ed. by Stow Persons, pp. 44-84, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950. P. 47)

"Mr. Herbert Spencer regards psychology as the necessary predecessor to sociology. The real MAN, capable of acquiring the power of self-direction, being, however, begotten in the societary womb, his study should follow, and not precede, that of the societary body." (Henry C. Carey, The Unity of Law, as Exhibited in the Relations of Physical, Social, Mental, and Moral Science, Henry Carey Baird, Industrial Publisher, Philadelphia, 1872. P. 125n.)


"The implications of Lilienfeld’s thesis were not only an advance upon the conceptions of Spencer’s First Principles, but they included more definite conceptions of the function of psychical factors in social progress than Mr. Spencer has ever admitted." (Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent, An Introduction to the Study of Society, American Book Company, New York, 1894. P. 49)

"Herbert Spencer ... laid great stress on the continuity of biological with social evolution." (p. 31) (Joseph Needham, Time; The Refreshing River. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1944)


"... Spencer había construido la Sociología no inmediatamente sobre la Biología, como Conte, sino principalmente sobre la Psicología." (Leopold Von Wiese, Sociología, translated by Rafael Luengo Tapia, Colección Labor, Sección VIII, No. 323, Editorial Labor, Barcelona, 1932. P. 86)

According to Lester Ward, the "... one salient deficiency in Herbert Spencer's sociology ... consists in ignoring the human mind as a factor in sociology." (Lester F. Ward, "Herbert Spencer's Sociology," The Independent, Vol. 56, pp. 730-734, 1904. P. 730)


"... there can be no rational apprehension of the truths of Sociology until there has been reached a rational apprehension of the truth of Biology. The services of the two sciences are, indeed, reciprocal." (Herbert Spencer, The Study of Sociology, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1891. P. 334)

"In that great work [Spencer's "Synthetic Philosophy"] the principles of sociology are derived from principles of psychology and of biology." (Franklin H. Giddings, The Principles of Sociology, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1911. P. 8)

"Mr. Spencer's system [of sociology], as has been shown, is essentially psychological." (Franklin H. Giddings, "Modern Sociology," The International Monthly, Vol. 2, pp. 536-554, 1900. P. 549)

"Psychology underlies Sociology; and there had to be specified a number of those more special truths in Psychology which have to be handed on to Sociology as part of its data." (Auto. II, 241)

"... psychological truths underlie sociological truths, and must therefore be sought by the sociologist.... without preparation in Mental Science there can be no Social Science." (Herbert Spencer, The Study of Sociology, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1891. P. 382)


"Society is made up of individuals; all that is done in society is done by the combined actions of individuals; and therefore, in individual actions only can be found the solutions of social phenomena. But the actions of individuals depend on the laws of their nature; and / their actions cannot be understood until these laws are understood. These laws, however, when reduced to their simples expressions, prove to be corollaries from the laws of body and mind in general. Hence it follows, that biology and psychology are indispensable as interpreters of sociology." (Herbert Spencer, "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?", in Herbert Spencer, Essays on Education, Etc., pp. 1-44, J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., London, 1911. Pp. 29-30)
... if Sociology was by me based on Biology [as Giddings and Ward had asserted], biological interpretations would be manifest in all parts of the Principles of Sociology succeeding the part in which the above analogy is set forth. But they are not. The interpretations running through Parts III., IV., V., VI., VII., and VIII., though they are congruous with this analogy, are not guided by it, but have quite other guidance. They are based on the general law of Evolution, which is from time to time referred to as illustrated in the particular group of phenomena under consideration." (Herbert Spencer, "The Filiation of Ideas," in David Duncan, Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer, pp. 304-365, Vol. 2, 2 Vols., D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1908. Vol. 2, p. 357)

What we do find, however, is a rather definite intimation that it is biology rather than psychology that forms the natural basis of sociology. How could any one be expected to doubt this when nothing is said in the first volume of the "Sociology" about its relation to psychology, while, after the long treatise on the beliefs, customs, and ideas of primitive races, belonging rather to anthropology, we find in Part II. that "a society is an organism," and that social growth, social structure, social functions and social organs are treated from the strictly biological point of view?" (Lester F. Ward, "The Career of Herbert Spencer," The Popular Science Monthly, Vol. 74, pp. 5-18, 1909) (Pp. 14-15)

Some fifty years ago M. Milne-Edwards pointed out the analogy between the division of labour in a society and the physiological division of labour in an animal, and regarded the growing complexity of structure as a concomitant in the one case as in the other. If any one had thereafter asserted that he based the science of Biology on the science of Sociology, the assertion would have been regarded as extremely absurd. But the absurdity would have been no greater than is that fallen into by some American sociologists--Prof. Giddings and Mr. Lester Ward among them--who assert that I base Sociology upon Biology because I have exhibited this same analogy under its converse aspect; and who continue to do this though I have pointed out that the analogy does not in either case furnish a foundation, but merely yields mutual illumination." ("The Filiation of Ideas," in Duncan, pp. 570n.-571n.)

... this change from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous is ... usually ... said to result from successive differentiations. This, however, cannot be considered a complete account of the process. During the evolution of an organism [ontogenetically] there occur, not only separations of parts, but coalescences of parts. There is not only segregation, but aggregation. ... This progressive integration, [is] manifest alike when tracing up the several stages passed through by every embryo, and when ascending from the lower organic forms to the higher ..." (Herbert Spencer, "Transcendental Physiology," Vol. 1, pp. 63-107, Essays: Scientific, Political, & Speculative, Williams and Norgate, London, 1891. P. 67. Originally published as "The Ultimate Laws of Physiology" in The National Review for October, 1857.)
"It is a patriotic as well as a scientific duty to mention finally the most important American contribution to Systematic Sociology. Professor Lester F. Ward published, in 1883, two volumes entitled Dynamic Sociology, or Applied Social Science, as based upon Statical Sociology, and the Less Complex Sciences. In 1893, an elaboration of the most original portion of the earlier work appeared under the title, The Psychic Factors of Civilization. In two respects the work of Ward is an immeasurable advance upon that of Spencer, with which it is properly to be compared. In the first place, Sociology, according to Spencer, is, as remarked above, essentially and solely descriptive. Sociology according to Ward is, on the contrary, teleological. "Dynamic Sociology aims at the organization of happiness." In the second place, social evolution, according to Spencer, is differentiated by no essential peculiarity from evolution in general. According to Ward, on the other hand, social evolution is distinctively a psychical product: "society, which is the highest product of evolution, naturally depends upon mind, which is the highest property of matter." (Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent, An Introduction to the Study of Society, American Book Company, New York, 1894. Pp. 50-51)

Spencer is sometimes said to reduce sociology to psychology, or even to biology. And it is true that he once wrote: "Society is made up of individuals; all that is done in society is done by the combined actions of individuals; and therefore, in individual actions only can be found the solutions of social phenomena. But the actions of individuals depend on the laws of their natures; and their actions cannot be understood until these laws are understood. These laws, however, when reduced to their simplest expressions, prove to be corollaries from the laws of body and mind in general. Hence it follows, that biology and psychology are indispensable as interpreters of sociology." (p. 34) (Education; Intellectual, Moral, and Physical. Thinker's Library Edition. Watts & Co. London, 1949). So far as I know, Spencer never explicitly repudiated or even modified this statement. Yet, as one reads through the 2,100 pages of Principles of Sociology he finds virtually no explanations or interpretations of social phenomena which call upon psychological or biological principles. The determinants Spencer calls upon are socio-cultural and ecological factors.

"Within their own sphere the results of Mr. Herbert Spencer are far from sterile--the application of Biology to Political Economy is already revolutionizing the Science." (Henry Drummond, Natural Law in the Spiritual World, James Pott & Co., Publishers, New York, 1887. Pp. xiii-xiv)
"What, then, is the origin of moral feeling? Some regard it as intuitive, as an original instinct implanted in the human mind. Herbert Spencer, in Bain's Mental and Moral Science, p. 722) on the contrary, maintains that 'moral intuitions are the result of accumulated experiences of utility; gradually organised and inherited, they have come to be quite independent of conscious experience. Just in the same way that I believe the intuition of space, possessed by any living individual, to have arisen from organised and consolidated experiences of all antecedent individuals, who bequeathed to him their slowly-developed nervous organisation: just as I believe that this intuition, requiring only to be made definite and complete by personal experiences, has practically become a form of thought apparently quite independent of experience; so do I believe that the experiences of utility, organised and consolidated through all past generations of the human race, have been producing corresponding nervous modifications, which, by continued transmission and accumulation, have become in us certain faculties of moral intuition--certain emotions responding to right and wrong conduct, which have no apparent basis in the individual experience of utility.'" (Sir John Lubbock, The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man, third edition, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1875. Pp. 396-397)

After reading the first few chapters of this book the reader will be able to judge how good a case Spencer makes for the analogy of biological evolution and societies. Whatever his judgment, he cannot help but be impressed at Spencer's mastery of the details of biology, but more than that, at his clear vision of the general principles of animal structure, function, and evolution.

"I was born into this biological sociology; I grew up in it; I have been accused of pernicious activity in helping to palm it off on the world; and I hereby utter my ante-mortem statement that I have nothing whatever to regret in my connection with the biological sociology. It was a thoroughly respectable attempt to express the literal reality of interrelation in human society in the most vivid terms available. I do not believe we should have been as near as we are now to critical insights into the facts, if we had not been schooled to consider critical insight by these preliminary analogical representations. I have always had a lively contempt for people who could not or would not understand that this pictorial rendering of society in terms of organisms was merely a means of approaching within seeing distance of the actuality. Never for a moment have I meant anything by the device, nor have I understood anybody else whom I could take seriously to mean anything by it, which I would not in substance assert today. I have simply changed my estimate of the value of that particular device for bringing the social reality veraciously before our minds. I used to think it was a useful guide to research. I now think it is of no use whatever for strictly scientific purposes; but I believe it has a value in the earlier stages of sociological study simply as a pedagogical recourse." (Albion W. Small, The Meaning of Social Science, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1910. Pp. 79-80)
"Another instance of successful experiment in Physiological Botany is Mr. Herbert Spencer's observations on the circulation of the sap and the formation of wood in plants" (Linnaean Transactions, vol. xxv, p. 405). As is well known, the tissues of herbs, shrubs, and trees, from the tips of their roots to those of their petals and pistils, are permeated by tubular vessels. The functions of these have been hotly disputed, some physiologists affirming that they convey air, others fluids, others gases, and still others assigning to them far-fetched uses, of a wholly different nature. By a series of admirably contrived and conducted experiments, Mr. Spencer has not only shown that these vessels are charged at certain seasons of the year with fluid, but that they are intimately connected with the formation of wood. He further investigates the nature of the special tissues concerned in this operation, and shows not merely how they may act, but to a great extent how they do act. As this paper will, I believe, be especially alluded to by the President of the Biological Section, I need dwell no further on it here, than to quote it as an example of what may be done by an acute observer and experimentalist, versed in Physics and Chemistry, but above all, thoroughly instructed in scientific methods." (Joseph D. Hooker, "Address of the President," British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report of the Thirty-Eighth Meeting, 1868, pp. lviii-lxxv. F. lxvii)

"The functions of the spiral vessels [in plants], or of vascular tissue in general, have long been a subject of much controversy, and few matters are of more consequence as regards the real history of the distribution of sap in plants. A very able paper on the subject, to which allusion was made by Dr. Hooker, in his address, has been published by Mr. Herbert Spencer (than who few enter more profoundly into questions of physiology) in the Transactions of the Linnean Society. By a line of close argument and observation he shows, from experiments with coloured fluids capable of entering the tissues without impairing vitality, and that not only in cuttings of plants, but in individuals in which the roots were uninjured, that the sap not only ascends by the vascular tissue, but that the same tissue acts in its turn as an absorbent, returning and distributing the sap which has been modified in the leaves. That this tissue acts some important part is clear from the constancy with which it is produced at a very early stage in adventitious buds, establishing connexion between the tissues of the old and new parts.... A circumstance, again, which constantly occurs in the diseases of plants confirms the views of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In diseased turnips, grapes, potatoes, &c., it is especially the vascular tissue which is first gorged with the ultimates which are so characteristic of disease." (M. J. Berkeley, "Address of the President of the Biology Section," British Association for the Advancement of Science, Report of the Thirty-Eighth Meeting, 1868, pp. 53-57. Pp. 85-86)

In his unsigned column entitled "Scientific Miscellany," published in The Galaxy of Vol. 12, 1871, there is an item entitled "Herbert Spencer" on page 709 in which Edward L. Youmans gives a good brief summary of Spencer's findings in his botanical experiments.
Joseph Hooker, the most distinguished British botanist of his day, whom Spencer consulted his research on plants, was struck by "the skill with which he seized upon facts and suggestions and the patient labour with which he sought to test them by experiments, often devised and carried out by himself unaided." (Letter from Joseph D. Hooker to Raphael Meldola, dated October 14, 1910. Quoted in Raphael Meldola, Evolution: Darwinian and Spencerian. The Herbert Spencer Lecture for 1910. The Clarendon Press. Oxford, 1910. P. 44)
"Buckle probably had not read Herbert Spencer's 'Social Stat- ics' [before he wrote his History of Civilisation in England] ...." (John Mackinnon Robertson, Buckle and His Critics, Swan Sonnen- schein & Co., London, 1895. P. 28)


"Long before Buckle became known as an historian, he was internationally famous as a Chess player. By the time he was only twenty he had defeated many acknowledged masters of the game, and was equally skilful at Whist and Draughts. When his book was published and he became the literary lion of the day, Herbert Spencer was taken to see him. Spencer at once recognized him as a man he had often seen in Simpson's Chess Divan in the Strand." (Giles St. Aubyn, A Victorian Eminence: The Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle, Barrie Books Ltd., London, 1958. P. 8)

"The title of this book [Spencer's First Principles] gives an inadequate notion of the importance of the subjects with which it deals, and of the reach and subtlety of thought which characterize it. Though some of the generalizations appear to me rather premature, no well-instructed and disciplined intellect can consider them without admiration of the remarkable powers displayed by their author." (Henry Thomas Buckle, History of Civilization in England, new edition, 3 Vols., Longmans, Green, and Co., London, 1872. Vol. 3, p. 364n. (Vol. 3 was written in 1861)

"In a work now issuing from the press, and still unfinished, it is suggested, with considerable plausibility, that Persistence of Force would be a more accurate expression than Conservation of Force. See Mr. Herbert Spencer's First Principles, London, 1861, p. 251. The title of this book gives an inadequate notion of the importance of the subjects with which it deals, and of the reach and subtlety of thought which characterizes it. Though some generalizations appear to me rather premature, no well-instructed and disciplined intellect can consider them without admiration of the remarkable powers displayed by their author." (Henry Thomas Buckle, History of Civilization in England, Second edition, 2 Vols., D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1865. Vol. 2, p. 385n.)

"I quite think, with Grote, that the master-error of Buckle was his absurd underrating of the accidents of history; and Herbert Spencer represents the same tendency in an even more exaggerated form. Sir Henry Maine once said to me that he knew no modern reputation which had declined so much in so short a time as Buckle's, and that he believed that the reputation of everyone who, like Herbert Spencer, treated society mainly as an organisation must suffer a similar collapse." (W. E. H. Lecky, quoted in A Memoir of the Right Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, by His Wife /Elizabeth Lecky/, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1909. P. 122)

"Spencer was a philosopher upon whom the spirit of science alone [and not the spirit of literature] had descended, and we miss in his work the quickening creative atmosphere, and that light that never was on sea or land, that pervades Bergson's. One thinks of Spencer as an enormous intellectual plant, turning out philosophical products that doubtless have their uses, but are a weary weight to the spirit. His work tends to a mechanical explanation of the universe and of the evolutionary impulse which Bergson's with his finer / and more imaginative endowment, helps us to escape...." (pp. 72-73) "Bergson is a kind of spiritualized Herbert Spencer." (p. 72) (John Burroughs, The Writings of John Burroughs, Vol. 15, The Summit of the Years, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1913)

"When showing Herbert Spencer one of the sights of Pittsburgh, the Soho region, he turned to me and said, "six months' residence here would justify suicide."" (Andrew Carnegie, Miscellaneous Writings of Andrew Carnegie, edited by Burton J. Hendrick, 2 Vols., Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1933. Vol. 1, p. 285)

"... his [Spencer's] widely quoted speech at Delmonico's, and within a few months by his papers on Man vs. The State, reprinted in The Popular Science Monthly, he may be credited with having helped forward two important movements: first, that which tends to arouse public conscience with regard to the dangerous encroachments of monopolies and buccaneering corporations of all kinds; ..." (John Fiske, Edward Livingston Youmans, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894. P. 376)

"... what I should be inclined to call the triumph of civilization [instead of the "triumph of democracy"]. A large part, if not the greater part, of what you [Andrew Carnegie, in his book about the successful development of the United States, Triumphant Democracy (1886)] attribute to democracy, is, it seems to me, simply the result of social growth in a region furnishing abundant space and material for it, and which would have gone on in a substantially similar way under another form of government." (Letter from Herbert Spencer to Andrew Carnegie dated May 18, 1886. Quoted in Burton J. Hendrick, The Life of Andrew Carnegie, 2 Vols., Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1932. Vol. 1, p. 277)
"Specifically, Henry C. Carey reasoned, much as did Spencer by whom he was influenced in his later years, that man progresses through the growth of occupational and other forms of differentiation and the correlated development of such forms of association (or interhuman cooperation) as advancing differentiation makes possible and necessary." (Joseph J. Spengler, "Evolutionism in American Economics, 1800-1946," in Evolutionary Thought in America, ed. by Stow Persons, pp. 202-266, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1950. P. 210)

"I cannot close this chapter more appropriately than with an incident clipped from a letter of Youmans to Fiske of Christmas, 1864: "Henry Carey called in to blow up the Appletons for publishing Spencer's British free-trade doctrines. Spencer was an upstart; his system would soon die, like Comte' and Mill's. Said W. H. Appleton, 'I can tell you one thing--Spencer won't die as long as Youmans lives!'" (John Fiske, Edward Livingston Youmans, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894. P. 184)

"Another borrowed element, in Principles of Social Science, and, like the previous, an attempt to buttress the population theory rather than to add anything essential to it, was taken from Herbert Spencer. "A Theory of Population Deduced from the General Law of Animal Fertility." The article has been attributed to Spencer, apparently on internal evidence, since it was unsigned." (pp. 78-79) "And there is definite evidence that Carey had no knowledge at the time he quoted this article that it was Spencer's. E. Peshine Smith wrote to Carey on March 29, 1858, referring to the article in question, adding that it probably had been written by a Quaker named Dickson, and Smith added that Carey might refer to it because "you will find the article to suggest a very similar idea to yours." Carey replied that he had not seen it, and requested Smith's pamphlet copy. In this article, Spencer was aware of refuting Malthus. He stated that individuality and reproduction are antagonistic, that throughout the vertebrate tribes "the degree of fertility varies inversly with the development of the nervous system." He added that intense mental application, involving great waste of the nervous tissues, "and a corresponding consumption of nervous matter for their repair, is accompanied by a cessation in the production of sperm cells...." Spencer further argued that population pressure forces the development of intelligence, which in turn fosters morality, leading to the power of self-regulation. In short, the pressure of population "must gradually bring itself to an end." Carey argued in a similar vein, that the degree of fertility varies inversely as the development of the nervous system from one animal species to another, and that the assumed progress in human intelligence would increasingly "direct the vital energy from the generative to the nervous structure...." And so, says Carey, we have a self-regulating law of population, securing a harmony in food supply and an increase in population." (Arnold W. Green, Henry Charles Carey, Nineteenth-Century Sociologist, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1951. (pp. 79-80)
"It has frequently been claimed that Carey owed much to Spencer, but there is no evidence that this is the case. The Social Statics (published in 1850) was written in praise of laissez faire, and certainly Carey's ideas on social evolution were developed independently of Spencer, for the Synthetic Philosophy /Green is referring here to First Principles, published in 1862/ which contained Spencer's first statement of universal evolution [wrong], appeared after Carey's first volume of the Principles of Social Science [1857]--the only one of the three in which Carey dealt with that subject." (Arnold W. Green, Henry Charles Carey: Nineteenth Century Sociologist, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1951. P. 79)

"To me, profoundly averse to autocracy, Carlyle's political doctrines [sic] had ever been repugnant. Much as I did, and still do, admire his marvellous style and the vigour, if not the truth, of his thought--so much so that I always enjoy any writing of his, however much I disagree with it--intercourse with him proved impracticable." (Herbert Spencer, "The Late Professor Tyndall," The Fortnightly Review, Vol. 61, pp. 141-148, 1894. P. 144)


"My chief teacher, whom to have known in life is one of my crowning satisfactions, is one of the purist, most conscientious, I do not hesitate to say one of the most religious men, in the highest sense, that I ever have heard, read of, or known." (Andrew Carnegie, Miscellaneous Writings of Andrew Carnegie, edited by Burton J. Hendrick, 2 Vols., Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1933. Vol. 2, p. 302)

"At this period of my life when he was discarding the Swedenborgian religion he was raised in I was all at sea. No creed, no system, reached me. All was chaos. I had outgrown the old and had found no substitute. Carlyle's wrestlings will give you an idea of my condition. Here came to me Spencer and Darwin, whom I read with absorbing interest, until laying down a volume one day I was able to say, "That settles the question." I had found at last the guides which led me to the temple of man's real knowledge upon earth. These works were revelations to me; here was the truth which reconciled all things as far as the finite mind can grasp them, the alembic which harmonized hitherto conflicting ideas and brought order out of chaos; what the law of gravitation did for matter, the law of evolution did for mind. I was upon firm ground, and with every year of my life since there has come less dogmatism, less theology, but greater reverence." (Andrew Carnegie, Miscellaneous Writings of Andrew Carnegie, edited by Burton J. Hendrick, Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y., 1933. 2 Vols. Vol. 2, p. 297)

"Of Spencer, who invited me to luncheon at his home, I saw much. I there met Mr. Carnegie, who introduced me to the Athenaeum and had me made a member during my stay in London." (Le Conte's stay in England was in September and October, 1896 (The Autobiography of Joseph Le Conte, edited by William Dallam Armes, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1903. P. 325)
In his analysis of the militant type of society, Spencer shows (Vol. II, pp. 599-600) how it fosters the notion of personal causation in social affairs, and thus prevents or prevents the scientific notion of impersonal causation.

Writing of his father Spencer said: "Always the tendency in himself, and the tendency strengthened in me, was to regard everything as naturally caused; and I doubt not that while the notion of causation was thus rendered much more definite in me than in most of my age [age 7-13], there was established a habit of seeking for causes, as well as a tacit belief in the universality of causation. Along with this there went absence of all suggestion of the miraculous. I do not remember my father ever referring to anything explicitly as explicable by supernatural agency. I presume from other evidence that he must at that time have still accepted the current belief in miracles; but I never perceived any trace of it in his conversation. Certainly, his remarks about the surrounding world gave no sign of any other thought than that of uniform natural law." (Auto., I, 89-90)

"There was commonly shown by me a faculty of seizing cardinal truths rather than accumulating detailed information. The implications of phenomena were then, as always, more interesting than the phenomena themselves." (Auto. I, 335) "The consciousness of causation, to which there was a natural proclivity, and which had been fostered by my father, continually prompted analyses, which of course led me below the surface and made fundamental principles objects of greater attention than the various concrete illustrations of them." (Auto. I, 336)

"If there are any literary heroes, his persistence against great and painful odds entitles him to be one of them." (L. L. Bernard, "Herbert Spencer: The Man and His Age," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 21, pp. 241-251, 1922. P. 246)

"He succeeded because of the synthetic power of his mind, but also because of his indomitable will, of his tenacity, of his faith." (George Sarton, "Herbert Spencer, 1820-1920," Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 67, pp. 695-701, 1920. P. 701)


"Few publicists, indeed, can be set above him in respect of rectitude in controversy and sustained courtesy; but sheer rectitude and formal courtesy are not necessarily winning qualities." (J. M. Robertson, Modern Humanists Reconsidered. Watts & Co., London, 1927. P. 180)


"He wholly lacked a sense of humour, not so much out of moral earnestness as out of incapacity to realize the existence of anything outside himself." (Crane Brinton, English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1933. P. 227)

"There is no justification whatever for the statement that Spencer was "all brains and no heart." He was not sentimental, but very sensitive." (George Sarton, "Herbert Spencer, 1820-1920," Scribner's Magazine, Vol. 67, pp. 695-701, 1920. P. 698)

"Spencer, indeed, was not so much a man as an intellectual organism, and his passage through this world was rather an existence than a life." (F. J. C. Hearnshaw, "Herbert Spencer and the Individualists," in The Social & Political Ideas of Some Representative Thinkers of the Victorian Age, ed. by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, pp. 53-83, George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., London, 1933. P. 55)

"In Montreal, when it was proposed to drive past the new palace of a man who had made a fortune by notoriously disreputable means, Spencer not only refused to go, but on the spot he dilated upon the disastrous consequences of showing honor to such a person." (George E. Vincent, "Spencer, The Man," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 9, pp. 709-711, 1903-04. P. 710)

"... from first to last Mr. Spencer has shown himself singularly indifferent to the fascinations and allurements of fame. So far from seeking notoriety, he resents, as something akin to outrage, any attempt to thrust notoriety upon him." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, Chapman and Hall, London, 1897. Pp. 1-2)

"At Aldermaston for the Sunday meeting, amongst others, Cole and Herbert Spencer, the last a very close keeper of his cell, and very rarely to be met with in general society. At one time he used to find even an ordinary conversation at dinner too exciting." (Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, Entry for March 19, 1871, Notes from a Diary 1851-1872, 2 Vols., John Murray, London, 1897. Vol. 2, p. 190)

"Later, in London, I met, of course, many eminent men .... Browning was only to me a cheerful, amusing gossip. Herbert Spencer took me in to dinner once, but he would discuss the Athenaeum cook, and on the subject he found me ill-informed." (Jane Ellen Harrison, Reminiscences of a Student's Life, Hogarth Press, London, 1925. P. 46)
11. Another new acquaintance [in 1886] was Mr. Mayall, and English microscopist; he gave me accounts of his visit to the Louvre with Herbert Spencer, who, after looking steadily at the "Immaculate Conception" of Murillo, said, "I cannot like a painted figure that has no visible means of support." (Andrew D. White, Autobiography of Andrew D. White, 2 Vols., The Century Company, New York, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 417)

"But one great charm Spencer always possessed, especially in those earlier days—a clear and silvery voice, only surpassed within my recollection by Edmund Gosse's and Sarah Bernhardt’s. The enunciation, in particular, had a beautiful distinctness, every syllable being uttered, and its due value being given to each." (Grant Allen, "Personal Reminiscences of Herbert Spencer," The Forum, Vol. 35, pp. 610-628, 1904. P. 614)

"Mr. Spencer's last letter to me was in answer to one I had sent him on his birthday. It was so characteristic as to deserve quoting: "Thanks for your congratulations; but I should have liked better your condolences on my longevity." He wanted no twilight in his life. Like the sun in America, his wish was to disappear at once below the horizon—having amply given his share of light in his day." (George Jacob Holyoake, Bygones Worth Remembering, 2 Vols., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 36)

"In those days (the early 1850's) Mr. Spencer spoke with misgivings of his health. Mr. Edward Pigott, chief proprietor of the Leader (afterwards Public Examiner of Plays) asked me to try to disabuse Mr. Spencer of his apprehensiveness, which was constitutional and never left his mind all his life, and I learned never to greet him in terms which implied that he was, or could be well." (George Jacob Holyoake, Bygones Worth Remembering, 2 Vols., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 25)

"Spencer is the same and not the same; his qualities abide, but they grow; while not relaxing a jot of his theoretic laissez faire, he is still more irritably denunciatory of people doing as they can and may. He meddles with me, and interferes with me, and criticises me, and takes care of me, all for my good, of course, in the most assiduous manner." (Letter from Edward L. Youmans to his sister, Eliza A. Youmans, dated December 27, 1878. Quoted in John Fiske, Edward Livingston Youmans, D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1894. P. 352)
CHARACTER TRAITS

"Another common acquaintance, Herbert Spencer, is coming to lunch with us today. He is very flourishing and, as usual, cheerful. His old objection to biography is so far dropped that he is preparing materials for his own." (Letter from George Eliot to Sara Sophia Hennell dated November 16, 1877. Quoted in Gordon S. Haight, editor, The George Eliot Letters, 7 Vols., Yale University Press, New Haven, 1955. Vol.68, pp. 420)

"Herbert Spencer, after his visit to America, was my fellow-voyager to England. I had pleasant talks with him, rather from him, when he was well enough to be on deck. He appeared to me a very full man, full of knowledge and sure of it, and not anxious for more from me, even if I had had it at his command ...." (W. J. Linton, Threescore and Ten Years 1820 to 1890, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1894. P. 204)

"However much one may differ from Herbert Spencer in his views of the world, and however much one may be disposed to place a low estimate on the permanent value of his contributions to science and philosophy, all candid men can have only admiration for his love of truth, for his industry, and for his earnestness." (William T. Harris, "Herbert Spencer and His Influence on Education," Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Forty-Third Annual Meeting of the National Education Association, pp. 214-223, 1904. P. 214)

"He [Spencer] seems never to have harboured any kind of doubt. In a century surely not predisposed to scepticism, few thinkers surpass him in cock-sureness and intolerance. He was the intimate confidant of a strange and rather unsatisfactory God, whom he called the principle of Evolution. His God has betrayed him. We have evolved beyond Spencer." (Crane Brinton, English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century, Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1933. P. 227)

"Spencer was gentle and admirable as always; and the reverence which all these men [Lewes, Huxley, Tyndall, etc.] feel for him was thoroughly apparent in the way in which they listened to every word that came out of his mouth." (Letter from John Fiske to Abby Morgan Brooks, November 13, 1873. Quoted in Ethel F. Fisk [sic], The Letters of John Fiske, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. P. 270)

"Spencer has a sort of scientific straightforwardness in his manner, which has no nonsense about it, and is very attractive." (Letter from John Fiske to Abby Morgan, October 31, 1873. Quoted in The Letters of John Fiske, edited by Ethel F. Fisk, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. P. 266)
"I had the pleasure of meeting Herbert Spencer whose acquaintance I was happy to make.... Herbert Spencer is a younger looking man than I supposed, with an agreeable expression, good manners, but not exactly fluent of speech." (Letter from John Bigelow to W. H. Huntington, dated London, September 24, 1872. Quoted in Retrospectives of an Active Life, by John Bigelow, 5 Vols., Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City, N.Y., 1913. Vol. 5, p. 82)

"Tyndall abounded in good humour and was then as always one of the merriest of the party. We often met, sometimes with Clifford and Lewes, at dainty little suppers in Spencer's lodgings, or at Sunday evening teas at Huxley's, on which occasions I have known men berated as materialists to join in singing psalm-tunes." (John Fiske, "John Tyndall," pp. 241-248, in Essays Historical and Literary, 2 Vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1902. Vol. 2, p. 247)

"Occasionally Mr. Spencer would come to my door and invite me to drive with him. Another time when he had visitors--Mrs. Sidney Webb and Prof. Masson, whom I wished to meet again--he would, if in the winter season, send me a card from "2, Lewes Crescent, Jan. 24, 1897.--I will send the carriage for you to-morrow (Sunday) at 12:40. With the hood up and the leather curtain down you will be quite warm.--H.S." He would occasionally send me grouse or pheasant for luncheon. Very pleasant were the amenities of philosophy." (George Jacob Holyoake, Bygones Worth Remembering, 2 Vols., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 33)

"I have nothing but honour for him {Spencer} and owe too much to him to have any interest but in understanding his thought exactly as it is. I frankly told him so; and that I felt that he was not a man to let speculative differences become a ground of personal aversion. He declared himself quite satisfied; and so far as consists with his exceptional sensitiveness to dissentient criticism, I fully believe he is so." (Letter from James Martineau to W. R. Alger, dated October 26, 1871. Quoted in The Life and Letters of James Martineau, edited by James Drummond, 2 Vols., Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1902. Vol. 2, p. 366)

"The day of his funeral I spent on the shore of the Golden Shell /at Palermo/--that famous centre of strange synthetic history--pondering less upon the synthetic than upon an indefatigable intellect, an iron love of truth, a pure and scrupulous conscience, a spirit of loyal and beneficent intention, a noble passion for knowledge and systematic thought, as the instruments for man's elevation." (John, Viscount Morley, Recollections, 2 Vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917. Vol. 1, p. 116)
"Inexorable and uncompromising in his ideas, he was in life, conduct, and duty the most single-minded and unselfish of men. He had a pedantic turn, his nerves were sensitive, and he was not one of the large minds in which small outside things have no place. He could be impatient over the small mischances of club life, and he was amusingly ready to seek an instant classification of them as due to gross defects of integration, co-ordination, or whatever else the / attendant molecular shortcoming might be." (John, Viscount Morley, Recollections, 2 Vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917. Vol. 1, pp. 111-112)

"I had corresponded with Spencer for several years, and soon after my arrival he gave one of his exquisite little dinners at his own lodgings. Spencer's omniscience extended to the kitchen, and as composer of a menu neither Carême nor Francatelli could have surpassed him." (John Fiske, "Reminiscences of Huxley," pp. 199-226, in Essays Historical and Literary, 2 Vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1902. Vol. 2, p. 204)


"I had corresponded with Spencer for several years, and soon after my arrival [in 1873] he gave one of his exquisite little dinners at his own lodgings. Spencer's omniscience extended to the kitchen, and as composer of a menu neither Carême nor Francatelli could have surpassed him. The other guests were Huxley, Tyndall, Lewes, and Hughlings Jackson." (John Fiske, "Reminiscences of Huxley," Smithsonian Institution Annual Report, 1900 (1901), pp. 713-728. P. 716)

"Two rather amusing things. One was I took Pinkie to call on Herbert Spencer [in Brighton]. He was much pleased that she should play to him, but said the worst of Beethoven was he never knew when to stop. The second movement of the Sonata he stopped. "Thank you, I'm getting flushed, that will be quite enough. Thank you." He was rather nice, very absurd, and very discursive." (Letter from Anne Thackeray Ritchie to her husband dated January 10, 1899. Quoted in Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie, edited by Hester Ritchie, John Murray, London, 1924. P. 248)
"I simply laugh out loud when I read [in Mrs. Barnett's book, The Life of Canon Barnett] of Herbert Spencer with his umbrella in the desert beating the donkey boy. His brown kid gloves, his tie, his umbrella! How well I can see him at Wykehurst tripping angrily along the terrace. I told you he had been ordered [to] rest and to travel with unintellectual people, and he asked if he might join us as he thought we should not tire his brain in any way!" (Letter from Anne Thackeray Ritchie to Mrs. Gerald Ritchie dated January 6, 1919. Quoted in Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie, edited by Hester Ritchie, John Murray, London, 1924. P. 304)

"Spencer at no time had the appearance of a confirmed invalid. He was proud of his small hands and in his seventy-eighth year had a plaster cast made of them. He was also somewhat vain of his teeth, but, as Hugh Elliot remarks, it would have been better for him had they been filled. It was foreign to his method of thought to have one extracted, since it would have involved "a subtraction from his own personality."" (James Frederick Rogers, "The Physical Spencer," The Scientific Monthly, Vol. 10, pp. 570-580, Vol. 11, pp. 53-65, 1920. P. 64)

"But these limitations must never be allowed to blind us to his [Spencer's] splendid positive qualities. His uprightness, purity, and scrupulous honesty, even in the pettiest details, his conscientiousness, integrity, and single-hearted devotion to truth, filled all who knew him with admiration; and it is hardly too much to say that his moral greatness did not fall short of his intellectual greatness." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 26)

"Moreover, his [Spencer's] emotional nature was kept under undue restraint by an intellect which sat in perpetual judgment upon it; the free play of feeling was repressed; and a certain consequent dryness and want of flexibility made one regret that among the sacrifices forced upon him by his life-work was that of those normal human relationships and responsibilities which would have done much to expand his feelings and give warmth and colour to the daily routine." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 26)

"I have for a long time deliberately set my face against that asceticism which makes it an offence to do a thing for the pleasure of doing it; and have habitually contended that, so long as no injury is inflicted on others, nor any ulterior injury on self, and so long as the various duties of life have been discharged, the pursuit of pleasure for its own sake is perfectly legitimate and requires no apology." (Herbert Spencer, An Autobiography, 2 Vols., Watts & Co., London, 1926. Vol. 2, p. 226)

"Herbert Spencer has invited Dorothy to succeed Miss Shinner as his companion, and to my amazement and pleasure Dorothy accepts. She is delighted. She is going to play to him tomorrow, and to see if it is possible. Even if it lasts three weeks or three months, it is something to be companion to Herbert Spencer. All of your mornings to yourself, and to play the piano to him in the afternoon, never longer than ten minutes, when he feels his pulse and desires you to leave off. He is extremely cross, but also extremely kind. It is certainly very amusing and unexpected." (Letter from Anne Thackeray Ritchie to her husband dated \textit{written in February or March} 1899. Quoted in \textit{Letters of Anne Thackeray Ritchie}, edited by Hester Ritchie, John Murray, London, 1924. P. 250)

"When I first knew Mr. Herbert Spencer, he was one of the writers on the \textit{Leader} newspaper. We dined at times at the Whittington Club, then recently founded by Douglas Jerrold. At this period Mr. Spencer had a half-rustic look. He was ruddy, and gave the impression of being a young country gentleman of the sporting farmer type, looking as unlike a philosopher as Thomas Henry \textit{sic}, names reversed here? Buckle looked like a historian, as he appeared to me on my first interview with him. Mr. Spencer at that time would take part in discussions in a determined tone, and was persistent in definite statement. In that he resembled William Chambers, with whom I was present at a deputation to Lord Derby on the question ...." (George Jacob Holyoake, \textit{Bygones Worth Remembering}, 2 Vols., T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 25)


"I also took long walks \textit{while in Mentone in the south of France in 1879} with Herbert Spencer. We had much talk about George Eliot and George Lewes, and he told me many things which I expected to find in his autobiography, but which are not there. He spoke of the reasons which brought about the separation between George Lewes and his wife and of the impossibility of a divorce, so that any marriage between him and George Eliot was out of the question so long as his wife was living. I found him a charming companion, full of interest and information about the more frivolous side of existence." (Oscar Browning, \textit{Memories of Sixty Years at Eton} \textit{no comma} Cambridge and Elsewhere, John Lane \textit{no comma}/The Bodley Head, London, 1910. P. 277)
CHARACTER TRAITS

"... he was the most truthful person I ever met; and he expected an equal measure of truthfulness from others." (Grant Allen, "Personal Reminiscences of Herbert Spencer," The Forum, Vol. 35, pp. 610-628, 1904. P. 624)

"Many of his J. D. Hooker's friends were distinguished scientists, like himself, Herbert Spencer, Tyndall, Huxley among the number. I remember Herbert Spencer coming to lunch one day and my mother, who was a great student and admirer of his books, asking him what he thought on a certain subject. 'I forget what I think on that subject,' was his reply, 'but you will find it in such and such a book of mine.'" (Mrs. Calverley Bewicke, recollection of Joseph Hooker dating from the 1870's. Quoted in Leonard Huxley, Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, 2 Vols., D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1918. Vol. 2, p. 194)

"Even the abstemious Spencer drank a quart of ale—a thing which he said he had hardly ever done. Took a carriage and drove through the Park to Virginia Water and walked the rest of the way. Spencer fairly boiled over with "animal spirits"; he is a different man from what he / was five years ago. Fascinating is no name for it; he was absolutely a magician that day, with sparkling wit and wonderful flashes of wisdom. I only wish I could remember it all. We walked 16 miles by Holt's pedometer. O, what a wonderful day!" (Letter from John Fiske to Abby Morgan, June 23, 1879. Quoted in The Letters of John Fiske, edited by Ethel F. Fisk, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. Pp. 402-403)

"Among men of science [who served as hosts to the Leckys in London in the 1870's and thereafter were] ... Herbert Spencer, combining with his uncompromising logical intellect the frankness and simplicity of a child, and losing no opportunity, even in futile conversation, to cull materials for building up his all-embracing philosophy." (A Memoir of the Right Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, by His Wife, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1909. P. 105)

"Once when we [Tait and McKay] were on the Brighton road I told him a story I had heard in London from an old friend of Herbert Spencer. It seems that the old chap lived with two old maids, and they took him out for little trips from time to time. Once they all went to Brighton, and the old maids pointing out the Brighton road said to Spencer: "Sir, this is the road along which George IV. used to drive when Prince of Wales." "I take no interest in the criminal classes," replied Herbert." (W. J. Stewart McKay, Lawson Tait, His Life and Work, William Wood and Company, New York, 1922. P. 498)
"Quite equal to your transcendent mental powers is your moral straightness, that lofty independence which contents itself with doing good work and leaving it to fructify by its own vitality. No man could be less of a popularity-hunter than you are. No man could have a higher moral standard. That is one reason why I, among so many, love and reverence you so deeply. For, to my way of thinking, the grandeur of the moral nature, that part of the intellect which deals with man as man, is quite as valuable as even epoch-making thought." (Letter from Mrs. Elizabeth Lynn Linton to Herbert Spencer dated June, 1893. Quoted in George Somes Layard, Mrs. Lynn Linton, Her Life, Letters, and Opinions, Methuen & Co., London, 1901. P. 306)

"For us, the nineteenth century boasts no braver man or more typical Englishman [than Herbert Spencer]. He had an infinite capacity for standing alone, for being faithful to forsaken causes, for obeying the truth he believed." (A. M. Fairbairn, "Herbert Spencer," The Contemporary Review, Vol. 85, pp. 1-11, 1904. P. 1)

"And the majority of readers, when they have got to the end of the two volumes [of An Autobiography], will certainly feel that, much as they may be interested in Herbert Spencer, much as they may esteem him, and much as they may pity him, their affections are left cold." (Francis Gribble, "Herbert Spencer: His Autobiography and His Philosophy," The Fortnightly Review, Vol. 81, pp. 984-995, 1904. Pp. 984-985)

"In personal life Spencer impressed most people who met him but casually as rather cold, remote, and difficult of access; and it was only as one came to know him well that one succeeded in breaking through his reserve, and came to see and appreciate the more sympathetic aspects of his character. He was never, indeed, very easy to get on with. What he himself calls his "abnormal tendency to criticism" was too much in the ascendant; sleeplessness and nervous dyspepsia, with the hypochondria which these engendered, made him occasionally irritable and sharp of tongue; and, having little tolerance for the prejudices and conventions of everyday life, he often seemed harsh in his judgments, and some-times even needlessly censorious." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. Pp. 25-26)

"We were to the end on most friendly terms. He became a reader of the Positivist Review, and at his death I published therein the two articles in my Realities and Ideals (pp. 410-419), in which I attempted to express my sense of his eminence. Far too much has been made of his eccentricities and his egocism. His intellectual pre-eminence almost forced him into an attitude of jealous isolation to defend his solitary citadel of thought. The same thing happened to Comte. But to say nothing about his vast intelligence, Spencer had a character of perfect simplicity, intensity, and rectitude." (Autobiographical Memoirs, by Frederic Harrison. 2 Vols. Macmillan and Co., Limited. London, 1911. Vol. 2, pp. 113-114)
CHARACTER TR AITS

"If I remember rightly, I was an early subscriber to Herbert Spencer's works. But it was not till much later, I think in 1876, that I became well acquainted with the man. We were staying at Buxton together. If a new world is built upon materialism, Herbert Spencer will have been one of the chief builders. In any case, he was a shining light and a power. Of his personal eccentricities plenty of stories have been told. His nervous sensibility was extreme. A game of billiards was enough to deprive him of his night's rest. He had been looking forward with pleasure to a meeting with Huxley; but he gave it up because there was a difference on some scientific question between them, and this might have given rise to an argument which Spencer's nerves could not bear." (Goldwin Smith, Reminiscences, edited by Arnold Haultain, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1910. Pp. 139-140)

"The next two letters refer to a correspondence with Herbert Spencer as to the gift to Mr. Huxley mentioned in his Life, p. 366, vol. 1. Mr. Spencer wished to know from me whether my mother's memory corroborated his own view that he alone originated the idea. She, however, was quite sure that Mrs. Lyell first spoke of it to herself and my father. Letters from Emma Darwin to her daughter Henrietta Litchfield: "March, 1896. Your letter just come [sic]. I remember it pretty clearly. F. [?] heard first about it from Mrs. Lyell, so no doubt it was set on foot in two places. We heard nothing about Herbert Spencer. What a fuss he makes. You shall have the letter back.... It is the greatest monument of vanity I ever saw. I am quite certain my memory is just, as I remember that Mrs. Lyell was affected nearly to tears when she was speaking to us on the subject. No doubt Herbert Spencer was exerting himself independently." (Emma Darwin; A Century of Family Letters 1792-1896, edited by her Daughter Henrietta Litchfield, 2 Vols., D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1915. Vol. 2, p. 308)

"The last three weeks I have been trying to describe Herbert Spencer as an influence in my life. It is difficult to sum up in one short paragraph the greatness of his purpose and the nobility of his self-sacrifice and the pettiness of some of his little ways and the mean misery of those last years of declining strength. How much of this misery was due to a poisoned body, to unhealthy living; how much to loss of faith in the beneficent course of evolution and to the adoption of an impossible rule of conduct, it is difficult to say. Alike in physical and mental behaviour he went down the wrong turning and ended in long-drawn-out disaster. He began life as a mystical optimist; he ended it as a pessimistic materialist; the cause of this transformation being that he allowed his creed to be determined by the findings of his reason working on fanciful data he practiced neither the scientific method in the ascertain-ment of fact nor the will to believe in what is essential to the salvation of man." (Margaret I. Cole, editor, Beatrice Webb's Diaries 1912-1924, Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1952. P. 245, entry for June 28, 1923)
CHARACTER TRAITS

"Herbert Spencer was a member of the Committee of the London Library, on which I also was elected to serve in 1883. I sat in Committee with him only once, in that year. He sat just opposite to me at the table, and took no part in the business, until suddenly he interrupted it by saying that he had a proposition to make. He then proceeded to say that the tone of the books purchased by the L. L. had greatly deteriorated, and that he attributed it to the intrusion of "works of fiction." He pronounced these words with haughty scorn as if he smelt a bad smell. Then he made the definite suggestion that in future no novels, "except of course those of George Eliot," should be purchased for the Library. The Committee was very respectful to him, but this was really too much, and his proposition was rejected, I think unanimously. He then rose, in dreamy dignity, and left the room, without saying Goodbye to anyone, and I never saw him at a Committee meeting again, although I do not think that he resigned until ten years later, 1893." (Letter from Edmund Gosse to E. S. P. Haynes dated December 31, 1926. Quoted in The Life and Letters of Sir Edmund Gosse by Evan Charteris, William Heinemann Ltd, London, 1931. Pp. 497-498)

"... Yesterday I had an interesting experience. It appears that Herbert Spencer expressed to J. Morley a desire to make my acquaintance. This, considering all things, I could not regard as otherwise than a high compliment, so off we set together in a hansom to call on the old philosopher (he is 76 and has just finished the endless volumes of his so-called Synthetic Philosophy) in St. John's Wood. He had put off his journey to Brighton for a day in order to see me, and we found him lying nearly at full length, with his feet on a chair, and, by his own account, in very poor health. Controversy, it appears, immediately brings on serious palpitations; we avoided therefore all subjects of difference and he talked interestingly of his early life as an engineer, of my brother Frank, of the new edition of his Biology, and how he is employing five young men of science to bring it up to date, and so forth. He looks like a cross between a village school-master and a farmer." (Letter from A. J. Balfour to Lady Elcho, dated December 4, 1896. Quoted in Blanche E. O. Dugdale, Arthur James Balfour, 2 Vols., G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1937. Vol. 1, p. 141)

"The opening of 1879 found me at Mentone.... I also took long walks with Herbert Spencer. [He had seen Spencer on a number of occasions at George Eliot's home in 1872, p. 192] We had much talk about George Eliot and George Lewes, and he told me many things which I expected to find in his autobiography, but which are not there. He spoke of the reasons which brought about the separation between George Lewes and his wife and of the impossibility of a divorce, so that any marriage between him and George Eliot was out of the question so long as his wife was living. I found him a charming companion, full of interest and information about the more frivolous side of existence." (Oscar Browning, Memories of Sixty Years at Eton [..] Cambridge and Elsewhere, John Lane The Bodley Head, London, 1910. P. 277)
"When Herbert Spencer went to live at Brighton (5 Percival Terrace) in 1898, I hastened there in the hope of seeing him. My mission was unsuccessful; but I had the good fortune to meet a man who assured me that he knew the shopkeeper who sold Herbert Spencer the cotton wool which he was accustomed, in society, to insert into his ears when the conversation did not interest him." (C. Lewis Hind, More Authors and I, Dodd, Mead and Company, New York, 1922. P. 268)

"Mademoiselle de Peyronnet, who left us to-day, told us much of Herbert Spencer, whom she sees occasionally at Brighton. He mentioned to her, some little time ago, that he had advertised to find a family in the country who would take him in as a boarder. "You will have a great many answers from clergymen," she said. "Oh!" he rejoined, "I have provided against that. I added to my advertisement the words, 'As H. S. is an agnostic, no clergymen need reply.'" (Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, Notes from a Diary, 2 Vols., John Murray, London, 1905. Vol. 2, p. 263)

"Herbert Spencer is, as you know, one of the most opinionative [sic] and argumentative of men, but we have not had, and are not likely to have, any collisions." [Spencer was an Easter weeks guest at Courtney's home.] (Letter from Leonard Courtney to his sister Margaret, dated April 20, 1881. Quoted in G. P. Gooch, Life of Lord [Leonard] Courtney, Macmillan, London, 1920. P. 182)

"Herbert Spencer, on being asked why he ate strawberry jam at breakfast, said that the beneficial effects of happiness upon mankind have been much underrated, owing to the over-respect paid to asceticism. He considered pleasure an excellent digestive. He himself could not digest the same food for many days, simply from the effect that monotony would have upon his mind, and had heard of a man who went into a decline from eating nothing but mutton chops." (A. G. C. Liddell, Notes from the Life of an Ordinary Mortal, John Murray, London, 1911. Fp. 194-195)


"His erudition was prodigious. His civic conscience and his social courage both were admirable. His life was pure. He was devoted to truth and usefulness, and his character was wholly free from envy and malice / (though not from contempt), and from the perverse egoisms that so often go with greatness." (William James, Memories and Studies, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1911. Pp. 110-111)
CHARACTER TRAITS

The Duke of Argyll, with whom Spencer had a number of philosophical differences of opinion, nevertheless once wrote to Spencer: "You keep the philosophic tone and temper more perfectly than any writer I know. / It so happens that at the present moment—whenever I can get a moment from politics—I am engaged in a close examination of your "Biology," and I think the tone I refer to is very conspicuous there." (Letter from the Duke of Argyll to Herbert Spencer dated December 7, 1893. Quoted in George Douglas Eighth Duke of Argyll, Autobiography and Memoirs, edited by the Dowager Duchess of Argyll, 2 Vols., John Murray, London, 1906. Vol. 2, pp. 496-497)

"Rarely has Nature performed an odder or more Dickens-like feat than when she deliberately designed, or accidentally stumbled into, the personality of Herbert Spencer. Greatness and smallness / surely never lived so closely in one skin together." (William James, Memories and Studies, Longmans, Green, and Co., New York, 1911. Pp. 107-108)


"Away from the contention of the moment, Spencer was as kindly and genial as man could be. He was fond of table games, in sport he was a good fisherman, and he had the blessed gift of hearty laughter. This I found in our many dinners together in company with Tyndall at the Club, followed by the theatre; the more irrational the play the better he enjoyed it, even though now and again he could not restrain testy words on a gallant comedian's flagrant psychological incoherence." (John, Viscount Morley, Recollections, 2 Vols., The Macmillan Company, New York, 1917. Vol. 1, p. 112)

"The more I see of the poor old fellow the more I pity him from the bottom of my heart, he is so lonely, and so curtailed from want of human sympathy." (The Letters of John Fisk, edited by Ethel F. Fisk, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1940. P. 291. Letter from John Fiske to Abby Morgan, December 22, 1873)
"Spencer saw portions of my work (Werner's volume on China for Descriptive Sociology) during his lifetime, and "often spoke of it with much appreciation. It was another of the things which, he said, cheered him at a time of life when cheering things were not very common" (Duncan, Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer). My association with this great and world-famed philosopher, a man who lived his philosophy (thus showing it to be possible), is one of the pleasanest recollections of my life. As a rule, and especially in his later years, owing to his spare time being limited and to his nervous condition, he saw few visitors. Invitations by prominent London hosts and hostesses to meet people of note (such as, on one occasion, the Emperor of Russia) were usually declined, and he generally limited interviews solicited by dukes and duchesses and others, however high their rank, who were mere celebrity-hunters, without much real knowledge of his or other philosophies, to ten minutes. I always felt a quiet pride in the fact that he never assigned any limit in his conversations with me." (E. T. C. Werner, Autumn Leaves, An Autobiography, Kelly & Walsh, Limited, Shanghai, 1928. P. 635)

"Herbert Spencer I never saw. (Richards was the nephew of Grant Allen, and often (?) visited his house.) He must have been a difficult old man. Someone had to read to him for so long a time every day. To arrange that was not so difficult. It was more difficult to find a really good pianist to play high music to him for an hour or so every day. I was much chagrined that I could not attempt the job, for at that time my hero-worship knew no bounds. The object of my worship I was evidently willing to take on trust for I had never seen the philosopher; I must have been the only boy in England in whom the author of The Principles of Sociology inspired such deep respect!" (Grant Richards, Memories of a Misspent Youth, 1872-1896, William Heinemann Ltd, London, 1932. P. 223)

"The story of Herbert Spencer's ear-clips is well known. How it got out we never discovered. In those days there were fewer ears at key-holes. My uncle (Grant Allen) was furious that this eccentricity on the part of his guest should become the subject of paragraphs. But it is true nevertheless. The philosopher carried clips in his pocket so that if the conversation was not to his taste, or if he thought it unworthy of attention, he could apply them to his ears and fall back on his own thoughts for companionship." (Grant Richards, Memories of a Misspent Youth 1872-1896, William Heinemann Ltd, London, 1932. P. 224)
Von Koren, a young zoologist and a character in "The Duel" says: "And as for Schopenhauer and Spencer, he [Layevsky] treats them like little boys, paternally clapping them on the shoulder: 'Well, what do you say, old boy?' He hasn't read Spencer, of course, but how charming he is when he says of his lady, with light, casual irony: 'She's read Spencer!' And everyone listens to him and no one cares to realize that this charlatan hasn't the right to kiss the sole of Spencer's foot, much less speak of him in that tone!" (Anton Chekhov, "The Duel" [1891], in Ward Six and Other Stories, translated by Ann Dunnigan, pp. 61-161, Signet Classic, The New American Library, Inc., New York, 1965. P. 81)

"My God," sighed [Ivan Andreich] Layevsky, "how we have been mutilated by civilization! I fell in love with a married woman; and she fell in love with me.... In the beginning there were kisses, quiet evenings, vows; there was Spencer, and ideals, and common interests." (p. 63) "As for love, I can tell you that living with a woman who has read Spencer and has followed you to the ends of the earth is no more interesting than living with any Anfisa or Akulina. There's the same smell of ironing, of powder, of medicines, the same curl papers every morning, the same self-deception.... " (p. 64) (Anton Chekhov, "The Duel" [1891], in Ward Six and Other Stories, translated by Ann Dunnigan, pp. 61-161, Signet Classic, The New American Library, Inc., New York, 1965)
"But even if Spencer's *laissez-faire* resembles the non-activity of the Taoist philosophers, neither one is compatible with Yen's hopes of achieving an immediate political goal, namely, of saving China from destruction in the struggle of the nations. The method Yen [Fu] prescribed can nevertheless be reconciled with the Taoist spirit since it does not start with the political process but works from intellectual enlightenment to national coherence and strength. However, there is still a gap between Taoist non-action and Spencer's repudiation of state control, on the one hand, and Yen's political goal of saving China through government action, on the other. It is here that Huxley fits in as a bridge." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 204)

"Passing on to Spencer [in an essay entitled, "On Strength," p. 167, Yen [Fu] stressed the philosopher's rigorous application of the evolutionary theory to social phenomena. He then described in particular the *First Principles* (which sought "a unified theory in all fields ranging from the study of insects and plants to that of men and celestial movements"), the *Study of Sociology, and Education: Intellectual, Moral, Physical." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 197)

"During his stay of slightly more than two years in England, Yen [Fu] not only read Darwin, Spencer, and other writers but also developed an interest in British judicial procedure and municipal administration, which he found superior to the Chinese, and from which he believed Britain derived her strength." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 194)

"On the other hand, Yen [Fu] himself dates his knowledge of Spencer's *Study of Sociology* from 1882, and if his statement that the aim of Huxley is to curb the excesses of Spencer has any relevance here, it is possible that he learned of Huxley only after he had studied Spencer." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 204)

"It was only because her intellectual development had been stifled since the Ch'in that China had to learn from the West; and Huxley, by correcting the excessive *laissez-faire* in Spencer, indicated the way to preserve a nation." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 202)

"In sociology Yen [Fu] believes with Spencer that evolution is identical with progress. He deletes a passage on retrogressive metamorphosis from Huxley's *Prolegomena* and then comments in the second chapter: ..." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 205)
"In 1901 Spencer wrote me that he had learned some time before this from the Chinese Ambassador that two translations of his writings were in progress in China—one into the Northern and the other into the Southern dialect." (William Henry Hudson, An Introduction to the Philosophy of Herbert Spencer, revised edition, Watts & Co., London, 1906. P. 24n.)

"In these conclusions the influence of Herbert Spencer was obvious. Yet Yen [Fu] could not stop here, for his main aim was to advocate reform, through state action if necessary, and in no way could Spencer be stretched to support such a course. Clearly some other authority was needed; therefore Yen turned to Huxley's Evolution and Ethics." (Y. C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1966. P. 202)
"When [Kate] Chopin returned to St. Louis after her husband's death [in 1883], her family doctor, Frederick Kolbenheyer, became one of her closest friends. A radical intellectual and, according to Per Seyersted [Chopin's biographer], a "determined agnostic," he persuaded her to read Darwin, Huxley, and Spencer; to abandon in all but name the faith of her Catholic girlhood; and to begin writing fiction in earnest." (Sandra M. Gilbert, Introduction to *The Awakening and Selected Stories*, by Kate Chopin, pp.7-33. Penguin Books. New York, 1986. P. 11)