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Herbert Spencer

on the Americans,

AND THE

AMERICANS ON HERBERT SPENCER.

BEING A FULL REPORT OF THE "INTERVIEW,"

AND THE

Proceedings at the Farewell Banquet.

Containing the carefully revised Speeches of

Mr. EVARTS,	Mr. FISKE,
Mr. SPENCER,	Mr. BEECHER,
Mr. SUMNER,	Mr. YOUMANS,
Mr. SCHURZ,	Mr. WARD,
Mr. MARSH,	Mr. LELAND,

Together with the

LETTERS FROM DR. HOLMES, PRESIDENT WHITE, PRESIDENT
BARNARD, AND OTHERS, NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

NEW YORK: D. APPLETON & CO.,

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HOW TO READ HERBERT SPENCER.

EVOLUTION having now become the great scientific doctrine of these times, and exerting a powerful influence on nearly every department of thought, many are asking where they shall find the best account of it. The answer is, in the lucid writings of the great thinker who has first worked out its principles, and reduced them to application in all the main branches of knowledge.

Professor Huxley said, in a public lecture before the Royal Institution, "The only complete and systematic statement of the doctrine with which I am acquainted is that contained in Mr. Herbert Spencer's 'System of Philosophy,' a work which should be carefully studied by all who desire to know whither scientific thought is tending."

To those not already acquainted with Mr. Spencer's works, it may be suggested that the best book to read first is the "Education." Then should follow the "Illustrations of Universal Progress," and the "Essays: Moral, Political, and Esthetic." "First Principles" may then be taken up, and we should advise beginners to omit Part I, "The Unknowable" (123 pages of very close reasoning), and proceed with Part II, "The Knowable," in which the evolution theory is broadly unfolded. By this time the reader will probably become his own guide. But, if not inclined to attack the "Biology" and the "Psychology," which come next in order, he is advised to read the "Study of Sociology," and then the first and second volumes of the "Principles of Sociology."

The "Descriptive Sociology" is not a work to be read in the usual way. It is a cyclopedia of the data of social science, arranged for convenient reference when one wishes to get information respecting the social conditions and character of communities of different kinds, or to compare any one of the elements of social progress in a large number of societies. This great work contains the essence of many thousand volumes of history—the wheat that remains after the worthless chaff has been blown away.

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HERBERT SPENCER

ON

THE AMERICANS

AND

THE AMERICANS ON HERBERT SPENCER.

BEING A FULL REPORT OF HIS INTERVIEW, AND OF
THE PROCEEDINGS AT THE FAREWELL
BANQUET OF NOV. 9, 1882.

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TO HERBERT SPENCER.

THE kingdom of thy thought is time and space,
Thy logic binds together mote and star.
To thee the worm and the archangel are
But less and greater of evolvent grace.
Thou dost not speak of the Almighty's face,
Seeing that mortal language can but mar
The faith which, traveling infinitely far,
In the Unknowable finds resting-place.
The Force Inscrutable wherein the round
Of interwoven universes breathes,
Is all of God thy converts learn of thee ;
And yet thy brow is eloquently crowned
With honor lordlier than the laurel wreathes,
In the proud peace of wise humility.

A. E. LANCASTER.

P R E F A C E .

MR. HERBERT SPENCER arrived in New York by the Cunarder *Servia*, August 21st, and sailed for Liverpool in the White Star steamship *Germanic* November 11th, having spent nearly three months in the United States. It was his hope to stay longer and travel more, going at least as far West as Chicago; but it soon became evident that he could neither remain as long as he wished, nor meet the many friends who awaited him even in the places he visited.

Mr. Spencer had long desired to visit this country, but had resisted all solicitations to undertake the trip, in consequence of his bad health, which he feared would be made worse, both by the Atlantic voyages and by the social excitement to which he might be exposed. But he was so urgently persuaded, and so constantly assured that it would be the best thing for him, that he at length allowed his inclinations to get the better of his fears, and decided to make the trial.

When Mr. Spencer sailed for this country he was a good deal run down, and, instead of helping him, the voyage only aggravated his bad symptoms. The distress of his life, for the last twenty-seven years, has been insomnia. He slept but little on the ship, and on landing was in so low a nervous state that the excitement of ordinary conversation was too much for him. His friends were anxious to pay their respects to him, but he was compelled to seek seclusion, in which he hoped soon to recover sufficient strength to make moderate social intercourse possible and enjoyable. But in this he was disappointed. He long thought it would be impossible for him to accept the invitation to a farewell banquet; and it was only a short time before he sailed that, having re-

cruited a little from better sleep, he consented to the arrangement. Mr. Spencer at first improved at Newport, and hoped that he might have a few days of strength to enjoy New York before leaving. But he was again disappointed, as is shown by the following extract from a letter of November 4th :

“I went wrong again at Boston, and my head has been since quite as much disordered as at any time since my arrival. I stay here until Wednesday, because it is *absolutely* needful to shun all excitements save that of the dinner itself. I must peremptorily decline committing myself to anything else. I am sorry to disappoint you and others; but, even as it is, I look forward with some alarm to the state of brain with which I shall start on my return voyage.”

It is thus apparent how serious an invalid our visitor was, how reasonable were his apprehensions of the effect of an excursion to this country, and how imperative was the necessity that he should maintain the utmost privacy while here. In fact, very soon after his arrival his chief solicitude was to recover vigor enough to get home again. Many of Mr. Spencer's friends all over the country were sorely disappointed at not being able to meet him, to shake hands with him, and express to him their admiration and their gratitude, but it is to be hoped they will recognize that his disabilities were such as to make this wholly impossible.

The reference that it has been felt needful here to make to Mr. Spencer's state of health leads to a further consideration in relation to it. Having previously animadverted upon political questions, when interviewed, in his farewell remarks at the dinner he thought proper to address himself to a topic of more social and personal interest. Mr. Spencer is not practiced in the arts of after-dinner speech-making, and he was certainly in no condition to trust himself to impromptu remarks suitable to a festive occasion. He had but one opportunity to address the American people; and it was not the quality of the man to indulge in the strain of vulgar flattery that too many of his countrymen find available in their intercourse with Americans. He therefore chose to be true to himself as a sincere friend of our people, and to offer some suggestions which it seemed desirable for them to ponder. As a life-long student of social progress, he did not

think American society had reached the final stage of that progress—and he said so. He thought the great ideal of American life—action, enterprise, work—neither a permanent nor the highest ideal of human society. The law of evolution, which has brought us up to this from a much lower condition, must carry us on still further. Work is but a means, and the highest objects of life are defeated when it is made an end. Where work becomes such a passion as to be pursued without regard to what it is *for*, or as a means of varied and cultivated enjoyment, it must run into such excesses as to be widely and seriously injurious. He pointed out various of its evil consequences, and thought that what we most want is to give greater attention to those higher uses and ends of life to which work is tributary. The theme was wisely selected; Mr. Spencer could have employed the occasion for no better purpose than to set the people to thinking how they are cheated out of the best that life can give by the mere craze and infatuation for working and learning.

What Mr. Spencer said at the banquet has been received by nearly everybody in the best spirit, as wholesome truth that should be taken to heart. But some have thought it incongruous that a chronic invalid—himself a victim of overwork—should venture to talk to a robust and irrepressible people about the effects of overwork. Mr. Spencer may possibly have thought that experience counts for something in a matter of this kind; but he treated the subject generally and impersonally, and said nothing about himself. Had he, however, seen fit to refer to himself, there would have been tenfold strength in his case. He broke down completely from excessive overwork in 1855, and since that time has not known what it is to have a night of sound, refreshing sleep. And yet the magnitude of his labors during that period is to-day the astonishment of the world. And how has he accomplished so great an amount of difficult work? Simply by a devout observance of the requirements of his own gospel of relaxation. He has showed us, as no man ever before showed, what power of work comes out of the pleasure of cultivated amusements. His recreations have been systematic—concerts, operas, theatres, billiards, salmon-fishing, yachting, city rambles, and country excursions; and it has been his fixed rule, when work grew burdensome, to strike his tasks abruptly and go away for pleas-

ure, and amuse himself till work again became itself attractive and enjoyable.

Mr. Spencer's suggestions to the American people, that their intense passion for work is a mistake, were made on the basis of what he had observed of our characteristics, and what he knew of social tendencies; but he might have abundantly re-enforced his view from the depths of his own experience, both with regard to the evils of overwork and the wonderful efficacy of recreation to diminish those evils. It is impossible, therefore, to break the force of his admonitions by any imputation of inconsistency.

The proceedings of the banquet were very significant. That which has made possible the demonstration described in these pages can hardly fail to check much of the vicious criticism with which Mr. Spencer has been hitherto assailed. An excellent understanding has grown up between him and our people, which began years ago, and has led at last to this cordial public expression. He never dedicated but one work (the "Descriptive Sociology"), and that was as follows:

"TO MY AMERICAN FRIENDS, IN RECOGNITION OF THE ENCOURAGEMENT I HAVE RECEIVED FROM THEIR EARLY-SHOWN AND LONG-CONTINUED INTEREST IN MY WORKS."

And the American people have returned the compliment by purchasing more than a hundred thousand of his books, reprinted in this country, and upon every volume of which he has been paid as if he had been an American author.

No thanks to the American Government, however, which is alone among all civilized nations in refusing to recognize Herbert Spencer's right of property in the works into which he has put the labor of a life-time.

E. L. Y.

REPORT
OF
MR. SPENCER'S INTERVIEW.

THE following report of an interview with Mr. Spencer appeared in several New York newspapers on the morning of October 20, 1832 :

Hearing that HERBERT SPENCER had returned to New York in a somewhat improved condition of health, an intimate American friend obtained his consent to be questioned regarding his impressions of this country, to the following effect :

“I believe, Mr. Spencer, that you have not been interviewed since your arrival in this country?”

“I have not. The statements in the newspapers implying personal intercourse are unauthorized, and many of them incorrect. It was said, for example, that I was ill from the effects of the voyage ; the truth being that I suffered no inconvenience whatever, save that arising from disturbed rest. Subsequent accounts of me in respect of disorders, diet, dress, habits, etc., have been equally wide of the mark.”

“Have these misrepresentations been annoying to you?”

“In some measure, though I am not very sensitive ; but I have been chiefly annoyed by statements which

affect, not myself only, but others. For some ten days or more there went on reappearing in various journals an alleged opinion of mine concerning Mr. Oscar Wilde. The statement that I had uttered it was absolutely baseless. I have expressed no opinion whatever concerning Mr. Oscar Wilde. Naturally, those who put in circulation fictions of this kind may be expected to mix much fiction with what fact they report."

"Might not this misrepresentation have been avoided by admitting interviewers?"

"Possibly; but, in the first place, I have not been sufficiently well; and, in the second place, I am averse to the system. To have to submit to cross-examination, under penalty of having ill-natured things said if one refuses, is an invasion of personal liberty which I dislike. Moreover, there is implied what seems to me an undue love of personalities. Your journals recall a witticism of the poet Heine, who said that, 'when a woman writes a novel, she has one eye on the paper and the other on some man—except the Countess Hahn-hahn, who has only one eye.' In like manner, it seems to me that, in the political discussions that fill your papers, everything is treated in connection with the doings of individuals—some candidate for office, or some 'boss' or wire-puller. I think it not improbable that this appetite for personalities, among other evils, generates this recklessness of statement. The appetite must be ministered to; and, in the eagerness to satisfy its cravings, there comes less and less care respecting the correctness of what is said."

"Has what you have seen answered your expectations?"

"It has far exceeded them. Such books about America as I had looked into had given me no adequate idea of the immense developments of material civilization which I have everywhere found. The extent, wealth, and

magnificence of your cities, and especially the splendor of New York, have altogether astonished me. Though I have not visited the wonder of the West, Chicago, yet some of your minor modern places, such as Cleveland, have sufficiently amazed me, by the marvelous results of one generation's activity. Occasionally, when I have been in places of some ten thousand inhabitants, where the telephone is in general use, I have felt somewhat ashamed of our own unenterprising towns; many of which, of fifty thousand inhabitants and more, make no use of it."

"I suppose you recognize in these results the great benefit of free institutions?"

"Ah, now comes one of the inconveniences of interviewing. I have been in the country less than two months; have seen but a relatively small part of it, and but comparatively few people; and yet you wish from me a definite opinion on a difficult question."

"Perhaps you will answer, subject to the qualification that you are but giving your first impressions?"

"Well, with that understanding, I may reply that, though free institutions have been partly the cause, I think they have not been the chief cause. In the first place, the American people have come into possession of an unparalleled fortune—the mineral wealth, and the vast tracts of virgin soil producing abundantly with small cost of culture. Manifestly that alone goes a long way toward producing this enormous prosperity. Then they have profited by inheriting all the arts, appliances, methods, developed by older societies, while leaving behind the obstructions existing in them. They have been able to pick and choose from the products of all past experience; appropriating the good and rejecting the bad. Then, besides these favors of fortune, there are factors proper to themselves. I perceive in American faces generally, a

great amount of determination—a kind of ‘do or die’ expression ; and this trait of character, joined with a power of work exceeding that of any other people, of course produces an unparalleled rapidity of progress. Once more, there is the inventiveness, which, stimulated by the need for economizing labor, has been so wisely fostered. Among us in England, there are many foolish people who, while thinking that a man who toils with his hands has an equitable claim to the product, and, if he has special skill, may rightly have the advantage of it, also hold that if a man toils with his brain, perhaps for years, and, uniting genius with perseverance, evolves some valuable invention, the public may rightly claim the benefit. The Americans have been more far-seeing. The enormous museum of patents which I saw at Washington is significant of the attention paid to inventors’ claims ; and the nation profits immensely from having, in this direction (though not in all others), recognized property in mental products. Beyond question, in respect of mechanical appliances, the Americans are ahead of all nations. If, along with your material progress, there went equal progress of a higher kind, there would remain nothing to be wished.”

“That is an ambiguous qualification. What do you mean by it ?”

“You will understand when I tell you what I was thinking of the other day. After pondering over what I have seen of your vast manufacturing and trading establishments, the rush of traffic in your street-cars and elevated railways, your gigantic hotels and Fifth Avenue palaces, I was suddenly reminded of the Italian republics of the middle ages ; and recalled the fact that, while there was growing up in them great commercial activity, a development of the arts which made them the envy of Europe, and a building of princely mansions which con-

tinue to be the admiration of travelers, their people were gradually losing their freedom."

"Do you mean this as a suggestion that we are doing the like?"

"It seems to me that you are. You retain the forms of freedom, but, so far as I can gather, there has been a considerable loss of the substance. It is true that those who rule you do not do it by means of retainers armed with swords; but they do it through regiments of men armed with voting-papers, who obey the word of command as loyally as did the dependents of the old feudal nobles, and who thus enable their leaders to override the general will and make the community submit to their exactions as effectually as their prototypes of old. It is doubtless true that each of your citizens votes for the candidate he chooses for this or that office, from President downward, but his hand is guided by a power behind, which leaves him scarcely any choice. 'Use your political power as we tell you, or else throw it away,' is the alternative offered to the citizen. The political machinery as it is now worked has little resemblance to that contemplated at the outset of your political life. Manifestly, those who framed your constitution never dreamed that twenty thousand citizens would go to the poll led by a 'boss.' America exemplifies, at the other end of the social scale, a change analogous to that which has taken place under sundry despotisms. You know that in Japan, before the recent revolution, the divine ruler, the Mikado, nominally supreme, was practically a puppet in the hands of his chief minister, the Shogun. Here it seems to me that the 'sovereign people' is fast becoming a puppet which moves and speaks as wire-pullers determine."

"Then you think that republican institutions are a failure."

"By no means! I imply no such conclusion. Thirty

years ago, when often discussing politics with an English friend, and defending republican institutions, as I always have done and do still, and when he urged against me the ill-working of such institutions over here, I habitually replied that the Americans got their form of government by a happy accident, not by normal progress, and that they would have to go back before they could go forward. What has since happened seems to me to have justified that view; and what I see now confirms me in it. America is showing, on a larger scale than ever before, that 'paper constitutions' will not work as they are intended to work. The truth, first recognized by Macintosh, that 'constitutions are not made, but grow,' which is part of the larger truth that societies throughout their whole organizations are not made but grow, at once, when accepted, disposes of the notion that you can work, as you hope, any artificially-devised system of government. It becomes an inference that if your political structure has been manufactured, and not grown, it will forthwith begin to grow into something different from that intended—something in harmony with the natures of citizens and the conditions under which the society exists. And it evidently has been so with you. Within the forms of your constitution there has grown up this organization of professional politicians, altogether un contemplated at the outset, which has become in large measure the ruling power."

"But will not education and the diffusion of political knowledge fit men for free institutions?"

"No. It is essentially a question of character, and only in a secondary degree a question of knowledge. But for the universal delusion about education as a panacea for political evils, this would have been made sufficiently clear by the evidence daily disclosed in your papers. Are not the men who officer and control your Federal, State,

and municipal organizations—who manipulate your caucuses and conventions, and run your partisan campaigns—all educated men? and has their education prevented them from engaging in, or permitting, or condoning, the briberies, lobbyings, and other corrupt methods which vitiate the actions of your administrations? Perhaps party newspapers exaggerate these things; but what am I to make of the testimony of your civil-service reformers—men of all parties? If I understand the matter aright, they are attacking, as vicious and dangerous, a system which has grown up under the natural spontaneous working of your free institutions—are exposing vices which education has proved powerless to prevent.”

“Of course, ambitious and unscrupulous men will secure the offices, and education will aid them in their selfish purposes; but would not those purposes be thwarted, and better government secured, by raising the standard of knowledge among the people at large?”

“Very little. The current theory is that if the young are taught what is right, and the reasons why it is right, they will do what is right when they grow up. But, considering what religious teachers have been doing these two thousand years, it seems to me that all history is against the conclusion, as much as is the conduct of these well-educated citizens I have referred to; and I do not see why you expect better results among the masses. Personal interests will sway the men in the ranks as they sway the men above them; and the education which fails to make the last consult public good rather than private good will fail to make the first do it. The benefits of political purity are so general and remote, and the profit to each individual so inconspicuous, that the common citizen, educate him as you like, will habitually occupy himself with his personal affairs, and hold it not worth his while to fight against each abuse as soon as it appears.

Not lack of information, but lack of certain moral sentiments, is the root of the evil."

"You mean that people have not a sufficient sense of public duty?"

"Well, that is one way of putting it; but there is a more specific way. Probably it will surprise you if I say that the American has not, I think, a sufficiently quick sense of his own claims, and at the same time, as a necessary consequence, not a sufficiently quick sense of the claims of others—for the two traits are organically related. I observe that you tolerate various small interferences and dictations which Englishmen are prone to resist. I am told that the English are remarked on for their tendency to grumble in such cases; and I have no doubt it is true."

"Do you think it worth while for people to make themselves disagreeable by resenting every trifling aggression? We Americans think it involves too much loss of time and temper, and doesn't pay."

"Exactly. That is what I mean by character. It is this easy-going readiness to permit small trespasses, because it would be troublesome or profitless or unpopular to oppose, which leads to the habit of acquiescence in wrong and the decay of free institutions. Free institutions can be maintained only by citizens each of whom is instant to oppose every illegitimate act, every assumption of supremacy, every official excess of power, however trivial it may seem. If, as you say of the American, he pauses to consider whether he can afford the time and trouble—'whether it will pay'—corruption is sure to creep in. All these lapses from higher to lower forms begin in trifling ways; and it is only by incessant watchfulness that they can be prevented. As one of your early statesmen said, 'The price of liberty is eternal vigilance.' But it is far less against foreign aggressions upon na-

tional liberty that this vigilance is required than against the insidious growth of domestic interferences with personal liberty. In some private administrations which I have been concerned with, I have often insisted, much to the disgust of officials, that, instead of assuming, as people usually do, that things are going right until it is proved that they are going wrong, the proper course is to assume that they are going wrong until it is proved that they are going right. You will find, continually, that private corporations, such as joint-stock banking companies, come to grief from not acting upon this principle. And what holds of these small and simple private administrations holds still more of the great and complex public administrations. People are taught, and, I suppose, believe, that 'the heart of man is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked'; and yet, strangely enough, believing this, they place implicit trust in those they appoint to this or that function. I do not think so ill of human nature; but, on the other hand, I do not think so well of human nature as to believe it will do without being watched."

"You hinted that, while Americans do not assert their own individualities sufficiently in small matters, they, reciprocally, do not sufficiently respect the individualities of others."

"Did I? Here, then, comes another of the inconveniences of interviewing. I should have kept this opinion to myself if you had asked me no questions; and now I must either say what I do not think, which I can not, or I must refuse to answer, which perhaps will be taken to mean more than I intend, or I must specify, at the risk of giving offense. As the least evil, I suppose I must do the last. The trait I refer to comes out in various ways, small and great. It is shown by the disrespectful manner in which individuals are dealt with in your journals—the

placarding of public men in sensational headings, the dragging of private people and their affairs into print. There seems to be a notion that the public have a right to intrude on private life as far as they like ; and this I take to be a kind of moral trespassing. It is true that during the last few years we have been discredited in London by certain weekly papers which do the like (except in the typographical display) ; but in our daily press, metropolitan and provincial, there is nothing of the kind. Then, in a larger way, the trait is seen in this damaging of private property by your elevated railways without making compensation ; and it is again seen in the doings of railway governments, not only when overriding the rights of shareholders, but in dominating over courts of justice and State governments. The fact is, that free institutions can be properly worked only by men each of whom is jealous of his own rights, and also sympathetically jealous of the rights of others—will neither himself aggress on his neighbors, in small things or great, nor tolerate aggression on them by others. The republican form of government is the highest form of government ; but because of this it requires the highest type of human nature—a type nowhere at present existing. We have not grown up to it, nor have you.”

“But we thought, Mr. Spencer, you were in favor of free government in the sense of relaxed restraints, and letting men and things very much alone—or what is called *laissez faire*?”

“That is a persistent misunderstanding of my opinions. Everywhere, along with the reprobation of government-intrusion into various spheres where private activities should be left to themselves, I have contended that in its special sphere, the maintenance of equitable relations among citizens, governmental action should be extended and elaborated.”

“To return to your various criticisms : must I, then, understand that you think unfavorably of our future?”

“No one can form anything more than vague and general conclusions respecting your future. The factors are too numerous, too vast, too far beyond measure in their quantities and intensities. The world has never before seen social phenomena at all comparable with those presented in the United States. A society spreading over enormous tracts while still preserving its political continuity is a new thing. This progressive incorporation of vast bodies of immigrants of various bloods has never occurred on such a scale before. Large empires composed of different peoples have, in previous cases, been formed by conquest and annexation. Then your immense plexus of railways and telegraphs tends to consolidate this vast aggregate of States in a way that no such aggregate has ever before been consolidated. And there are many minor co-operating causes unlike those hitherto known. No one can say how it is all going to work out. That there will come hereafter troubles of various kinds, and very grave ones, seems highly probable ; but all nations have had, and will have, their troubles. Already you have triumphed over one great trouble, and may reasonably hope to triumph over others. It may, I think, be reasonably held that, both because of its size and the heterogeneity of its components, the American nation will be a long time in evolving its ultimate form, but that its ultimate form will be high. One great result is, I think, tolerably clear. From biological truths it is to be inferred that the eventual mixture of the allied varieties of the Aryan race forming the population will produce a finer type of man than has hitherto existed, and a type of man more plastic, more adaptable, more capable of undergoing the modifications needful for

complete social life.* I think that, whatever difficulties they may have to surmount, and whatever tribulations they may have to pass through, the Americans may reasonably look forward to a time when they will have produced a civilization grander than any the world has known."

* This passage has been misunderstood. Mr. Spencer has been supposed to mean that great advantage will result from mixture of *all* the races now on the American Continent. Nothing could be further from his meaning. It is a corollary from biological facts that mixture of widely-divergent varieties of a species, such as are the Europeans, Africans, and Asiatics, is extremely injurious; while mixture of slightly-divergent varieties of a species, such as are the divisions of the Aryan race inhabiting different parts of Europe, is extremely beneficial.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SPENCER BANQUET.

THERE was a very strong desire, on the part of a great number of the most intelligent people in the United States, to meet and welcome Herbert Spencer—a feeling that would have broken into formal ovation in every city could the opportunity have been given. And there were many who felt that, at any rate, he must not leave our shores until a chance had been afforded for some public expression of the sentiments, entertained by multitudes, of admiration for his genius and appreciation of his eminent services in the world of thought. But it was long uncertain whether he would be able to take part in any proceedings of this kind, and, when at last he consented, the time was very short to make the desirable preparations. The customary formal correspondence of invitation and acceptance that precedes such occasions was therefore omitted, and the more readily because it was known to be in this case wholly superfluous. So strong, even intense, was the desire to participate in any demonstration of the kind, that it became necessary to keep all mention of the banquet out of the newspapers as far as possible, as the less widely it was known the fewer would be the disappointments. It was at first intended to take a large

place that would accommodate five hundred persons at table, but there was not time for this, and Delmonico's hall had to be accepted, with a convenient capacity of about two hundred seats. At a meeting held for the purpose, a committee was appointed to take charge of the arrangements, which consisted of the following gentlemen :

E. R. LELAND, <i>Chairman</i> ,	HENRY DRAPER,
JOHN S. NEWBERRY,	F. F. MARBURY,
W. W. APPLETON,	W. J. YOUMANS, <i>Secretary</i> .

There has been no little complaint on the part of many who did not get invitations to the dinner. But they should remember that, had they been invited, others must have been excluded ; and, moreover, all the preparations had to be very hurriedly made. The affair was, however, in the highest degree successful in every respect. The following is a list of the subscribers :

Fessenden N. Otis.	Edward C. Hegeler.
Nelson M. Beckwith.	Edward L. Youmans.
Thomas Hitchcock.	William J. Youmans.
Horace White.	Cyrus W. Field.
Frederic W. Stevens.	Leonidas M. Lawson.
William C. Church.	Frederic H. Betts.
Ogden N. Rood.	William T. Lusk.
Edward Tuck.	John S. Newberry.
David Dudley Field.	Salem H. Wales.
Francis F. Marbury.	Hugh McCulloch.
Edmund C. Stedman.	J. Spencer Turner.
Daniel M. Stimson.	Richard T. Colburn.
Carl Schurz.	E. P. Hurd.
Parke Godwin.	Daniel G. Thompson.
Rev. W. H. Platt.	Charles Frederic Adams.
William E. Ward.	Frederick W. Devoe.
Jonas M. Libbey.	J. Seaver Page.
Hamilton Cole.	William G. Sumner.

John Fiske.	Eugene R. Leland.
John P. Townsend.	Edward Appleton.
Courtlandt Palmer.	Oliver B. Bunce.
Thaddeus B. Wakeman.	Minott J. Savage.
James W. Pinchot.	William Lummis.
Henry Draper.	Coe D. Tows.
Hooper C. Vanvorst.	Samuel L. Post, Jr.
Henry W. Stevens.	Alfred Selman.
Brayton Ives.	Henry W. Farnam.
Abram S. Hewitt.	James Johonnot.
John C. Eno.	Francis A. Stout.
Calvert Vaux.	Norman A. Calkins.
Joseph W. Drexel.	Simon Sterne.
David Buffum.	Elihu Root.
Samuel J. Colgate.	Chauncey M. Depew.
Robert B. Minturn.	Charles K. Flint.
William H. Appleton.	Morris K. Jesup.
Rowland G. Hazard.	Henry Ward Beecher.
Cyrus Butler.	William H. Draper.
Charles A. Coombs.	William H. Hurlbert.
Earle S. Youmans.	Stephen A. Walker.
Charles B. Boothe.	William D. Shipman.
William A. Eddy.	Cyrus W. Shaw.
William W. Appleton.	Richard H. Manning.
Daniel S. Appleton.	Gerardus H. Wynkoop.
Vincenza Botta.	Francis O. French.
Edward A. Silsbee.	Richard H. Derby.
Edward C. Spitzka.	Grant B. Schley.
William Greenough.	Ernest Groesbeck.
Abraham Jacobi.	George R. Cathcart.
Sir Richard Temple.	Henry Holt.
Charlton T. Lewis.	Sherburne B. Eaton.
Lyman Abbott.	Perry Belmont.
George P. Peabody.	Herbert Nichols.
Charles Holt.	Benjamin H. Bristow.
John Bigelow.	John Elderkin.
Fordyce Barker.	Pliny T. Sexton.
William M. Boucher.	William A. Hammond.
R. Heber Newton.	Edwin L. Godkin.
Amos M. Kellogg.	Gilbert M. Speir.
Grenville M. Weeks.	Grosvenor P. Lowrey.
Rev. Mr. Morgan.	George L. Roberts.

Andrew H. Green.	Birdseye Blakeman.
W. Leaman.	Addison Brown.
Othniel C. Marsh.	John Q. A. Ward.
D. Cady Eaton.	C. E. Billquist.
William W. Farnam.	H. L. Bridgman.
Morris H. Henry.	Edward Lott.
Charles A. Dana.	Andrew Carnegie.
Erastus Wiman.	Charles F. MacLean.
David H. Cochran.	Archibald Alexander.
Richard M. Hunt.	J. S. Cox.
Matthias N. Forney.	Lester F. Ward.
Nelson J. Gates.	James C. Carter.
D. Van Nostrand.	Donald Manson.
Samuel Shethar.	J. P. Crawford.
Charles H. Coffin.	Samuel H. Scudder.
Junius Henri Browne.	Robert H. Lamborn.
Frederic J. De Peyster.	Allen Thorndike Rice.
William M. Evarts.	Wilmot L. Warren.
Albert Bierstadt.	William M. Ivins.
Willard Bartlett.	Charles W. Dayton.
Paul Dana.	Cooper Hewitt.
Andrew J. Rickoff.	William D. Kelley.
Charles M. Lungren.	George B. Loring.
Charles W. Brown.	I. de Veitelle.

The gathering at Delmonico's, on the evening of November 9th, was large, cultivated, and brilliant. The dinner was elaborate and elegant, and the decorations quiet but in admirable taste. A band played selected pieces, though some thought there was a little too much music for easy conversation. All were delighted, and the enthusiasm of the occasion ran high. The Hon. William M. Evarts presided with his usual grace and felicity, and his happy address of welcome was cordially received. Mr. Spencer was greeted with long and hearty applause, mingled with cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs. His speech, which was delivered in a low, conversational tone, and without gesture, betrayed his extreme physical weakness, but it was listened to in deep silence and with

rapt attention. He sat down amid renewed and vehement applause.

The speeches that followed well befitted the occasion as a tribute of honor to a great thinker. They were thoughtful speeches, designed not only to gratify the immediate listeners, but to have weight with readers when subsequently published. They were all thoroughly appreciated and most heartily applauded.

THE SPEECHES.

MR. EVARTS'S REMARKS.

WHEN the dinner had been finished, Mr. Evarts rose to introduce Mr. Spencer. He was received with applause, and said :

We are here to-night, gentlemen, to show the feeling of Americans toward our distinguished guest. As no room and no city can hold all his friends and admirers, it was necessary that a company should be made up by some method out of the mass, and what so good a method as that of natural selection (laughter), and the inclusion within these walls of the ladies? It is a little hard upon the natural instincts and experience of man that we should take up the abstruse subjects of philosophy and of evolution, of all the great topics that make up Mr. Spencer's contribution to the learning and the wisdom of his time, at this end of the dinner. The most ancient nations, even in their primitive condition, saw the folly of this, and when one wished either to be inspired with

the thoughts of others, or to be himself a diviner of the thoughts of others, fasting was necessary, and the Amazulus, from whom I think a great many things might be learned for the good of the people of the present time, have a maxim that will commend itself to your common sense. They say the continually stuffed body can not see secret things. (Laughter.) Now, from my personal knowledge of the men I see at these tables, they are owners of continually stuffed bodies. (Laughter.) I have addressed them at public dinners, on all topics and for all purposes, and whatever sympathy they may have shown with the divers occasions which brought them together, they come up to the Amazulu notion of continually stuffed bodies. In primitive times they had a custom which we, only under the system of differentiation, practice now at this dinner. When men wished to possess themselves of the learning, the wisdom, the philosophy, the courage, the great traits of any person, they immediately proceeded to eat him up as soon as he was dead (laughter), having only this diversity in that early time—that he should be either roasted or boiled, according as he was fat or thin. (Laughter.) Now, out of that narrow compass, see how by the process of differentiation and of multiplication of effects we have come to a dinner of a dozen courses and wines of as many varieties; and that simple process of appropriating the virtue and the wisdom of the great man that was brought before the feast is now diversified into an analysis of all the men here under the cunning management of many speakers. No doubt, preserving, as we do, the identity of all these institutions, it is often considered a great art, or at least a great delight, to roast our friends and put in hot water those against whom we have a grudge. (Laughter.)

Now, Mr. Spencer, we are glad to meet you here. (Ap-

plause.) We are glad to see you, and we are glad to have you see us. (Laughter.) We are glad to see you, for we recognize in the breadth of your knowledge, such knowledge as is useful to your race, a greater comprehension than any living man has presented to our generation. (Applause.) We are glad to see you because in our judgment you have brought to the analysis and distribution of this vast knowledge a more penetrating intelligence and a more thorough insight than any living man has brought even to the minor topics of his special knowledge. (Applause.) In theology, in psychology, in natural science, in the knowledge of individual man and his exposition, and in the knowledge of the world, in the proper sense of society which makes up the world, the world worth knowing, the world worth speaking of, the world worth planning for, the world worth working for—we acknowledge your labors as surpassing those of any of our kind. (Applause.) You seem to us to carry away and maintain in the future the same measure of fame among others that we are told was given in the middle ages to Albertus Magnus, the most learned man of those times, whose comprehension of theology, of psychology, of natural history, of politics, of history, and of learning, comprehended more than any man since the classic time, certainly; and yet it was found of him that his knowledge was rather an accumulation, and that he had added no new processes and no new wealth to the learning which he had achieved.

Now, I have said that we are glad to have you see us. You have already treated us to a very unique piece of work in vivisection (laughter), and we are expecting, perhaps, that the world may be instructed after you are safely on the other side of the Atlantic in a more intimate and thorough manner concerning our merits and our few faults. (Applause and laughter.) This faculty of

laying on a dissecting-board an entire nation or an entire age and finding out all the arteries and veins and pulsations of their life, is an extension beyond any that our own medical schools afford. You give us that knowledge of man which is practical and useful, and whatever the claims or the debates may be about your system or the system of those who agree with you, and however it may be compared with other competing systems that have preceded it, we must all agree that it is practical, that it is benevolent, that it is serious, and that it is reverent (applause); that it aims at the highest results in virtue; that it treats evil not as eternal, but as evanescent, and that it expects to arrive at what is sought through faith in the millennium—that condition of affairs in which there is the highest morality and the greatest happiness. (Applause.) And if we can come to that by these processes and these instructions, it matters little to the race whether it be called scientific morality and mathematical freedom, or by another less pretentious name. (Applause.)—You will please fill your glasses, while I propose *The health of our guest, Herbert Spencer*. (Continued applause.)

MR. SPENCER'S ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: Along with your kindness there comes to me a great unkindness from Fate; for, now that, above all times in my life, I need full command of what powers of speech I possess, disturbed health so threatens to interfere with them that I fear I shall very inadequately express myself. Any failure in my response you must please ascribe, in part at least, to a greatly disordered nervous system. Regarding you as representing Americans at large, I feel that the occa-

sion is one on which arrears of thanks are due. I ought to begin with the time, some two-and-twenty years ago, when my highly-valued friend Professor Youmans, making efforts to diffuse my books here, interested on their behalf the Messrs. Appleton, who have ever treated me so honorably and so handsomely ; and I ought to detail from that time onward the various marks and acts of sympathy by which I have been encouraged in a struggle which was for many years disheartening. But, intimating thus briefly my general indebtedness to my numerous friends, most of them unknown, on this side of the Atlantic, I must name more especially the many attentions and proffered hospitalities met with during my late tour, as well as, lastly and chiefly, this marked expression of the sympathies and good wishes which many of you have traveled so far to give, at great cost of that time which is so precious to the American. I believe I may truly say that the better health which you have so cordially wished me, will be in a measure furthered by the wish ; since all pleasurable emotion is conducive to health, and, as you will fully believe, the remembrance of this event will ever continue to be a source of pleasurable emotion, exceeded by few, if any, of my remembrances.

And now that I have thanked you, sincerely though too briefly, I am going to find fault with you. Already, in some remarks drawn from me respecting American affairs and American character, I have passed criticisms, which have been accepted far more good-naturedly than I could reasonably have expected ; and it seems strange that I should now again propose to transgress. However, the fault I have to comment upon is one which most will scarcely regard as a fault. It seems to me that in one respect Americans have diverged too widely from savages. I do not mean to say that they are in general unduly civilized. Throughout large parts of the

population, even in long-settled regions, there is no excess of those virtues needed for the maintenance of social harmony. Especially out in the West, men's dealings do not yet betray too much of the "sweetness and light" which we are told distinguish the cultured man from the barbarian. Nevertheless, there is a sense in which my assertion is true. You know that the primitive man lacks power of application. Spurred by hunger, by danger, by revenge, he can exert himself energetically for a time; but his energy is spasmodic. Monotonous daily toil is impossible to him. It is otherwise with the more developed man. The stern discipline of social life has gradually increased the aptitude for persistent industry; until, among us, and still more among you, work has become with many a passion. This contrast of nature has another aspect. The savage thinks only of present satisfactions, and leaves future satisfactions uncared for. Contrariwise, the American, eagerly pursuing a future good, almost ignores what good the passing day offers him; and, when the future good is gained, he neglects that while striving for some still remoter good.

What I have seen and heard during my stay among you, has forced on me the belief that this slow change from habitual inertness to persistent activity, has reached an extreme from which there must begin a counter-change—a reaction. Everywhere I have been struck with the number of faces which told in strong lines of the burdens that had to be borne. I have been struck, too, with the large proportion of gray-haired men; and inquiries have brought out the fact that with you the hair commonly begins to turn some ten years earlier than with us. Moreover, in every circle I have met men who had themselves suffered from nervous collapse due to stress of business, or named friends who had either killed themselves by overwork, or had been permanently inca-

pacitated, or had wasted long periods in endeavors to recover health. I do but echo the opinion of all the observant persons I have spoken to, that immense injury is being done by this high-pressure life—the physique is being undermined. That subtle thinker and poet whom you have lately had to mourn, Emerson, says, in his essay on the gentleman, that the first requisite is that he shall be a good animal. The requisite is a general one—it extends to the man, to the father, to the citizen. We hear a great deal about “the vile body”; and many are encouraged by the phrase to transgress the laws of health. But Nature quietly suppresses those who treat thus disrespectfully one of her highest products, and leaves the world to be peopled by the descendants of those who are not so foolish.

Beyond these immediate mischiefs there are remoter mischiefs. Exclusive devotion to work has the result that amusements cease to please; and, when relaxation becomes imperative, life becomes dreary from lack of its sole interest—the interest in business. The remark current in England that, when the American travels, his aim is to do the greatest amount of sight-seeing in the shortest time, I find current here also: it is recognized that the satisfaction of getting on, devours nearly all other satisfactions. When recently at Niagara, which gave us a whole week's pleasure, I learned from the landlord of the hotel that most Americans come one day and go away the next. Old Froissart, who said of the English of his day that “they take their pleasures sadly after their fashion,” would doubtless, if he lived now, say of the Americans that they take their pleasures hurriedly after their fashion. In large measure with us, and still more with you, there is not that abandonment to the moment which is requisite for full enjoyment; and this abandonment is prevented by the ever-present sense of multitu-

dinous responsibilities. So that, beyond the serious physical mischief caused by overwork, there is the further mischief that it destroys what value there would otherwise be in the leisure part of life.

Nor do the evils end here. There is the injury to posterity. Damaged constitutions reappear in children, and entail on them far more of ill than great fortunes yield them of good. When life has been duly rationalized by science, it will be seen that among a man's duties care of the body is imperative, not only out of regard for personal welfare, but also out of regard for descendants. His constitution will be considered as an entailed estate, which he ought to pass on uninjured if not improved to those who follow; and it will be held that millions bequeathed by him will not compensate for feeble health and decreased ability to enjoy life. Once more, there is the injury to fellow-citizens, taking the shape of undue disregard of competitors. I hear that a great trader among you deliberately endeavored to crush out every one whose business competed with his own; and manifestly the man who, making himself a slave to accumulation, absorbs an inordinate share of the trade or profession he is engaged in, makes life harder for all others engaged in it, and excludes from it many who might otherwise gain competencies. Thus, besides the egoistic motive, there are two altruistic motives which should deter from this excess in work.

The truth is, there needs a revised ideal of life. Look back through the past, or look abroad through the present, and we find that the ideal of life is variable, and depends on social conditions. Every one knows that to be a successful warrior was the highest aim among all ancient peoples of note, as it is still among many barbarous peoples. When we remember that in the Norseman's heaven the time was to be passed in daily battles, with magical

healing of wounds, we see how deeply rooted may become the conception that fighting is man's proper business, and that industry is fit only for slaves and people of low degree. That is to say, when the chronic struggles of races necessitate perpetual wars, there is evolved an ideal of life adapted to the requirements. We have changed all that in modern civilized societies, especially in England, and still more in America. With the decline of militant activity, and the growth of industrial activity, the occupations once disgraceful have become honorable. The duty to work has taken the place of the duty to fight; and in the one case, as in the other, the ideal of life has become so well established that scarcely any dream of questioning it. Practically, business has been substituted for war as the purpose of existence.

Is this modern ideal to survive throughout the future? I think not. While all other things undergo continuous change, it is impossible that ideals should remain fixed. The ancient ideal was appropriate to the ages of conquest by man over man, and spread of the strongest races. The modern ideal is appropriate to ages in which conquest of the Earth and subjection of the powers of Nature to human use, is the predominant need. But hereafter, when both these ends have in the main been achieved, the ideal formed will probably differ considerably from the present one. May we not foresee the nature of the difference? I think we may. Some twenty years ago, a good friend of mine and a good friend of yours, too, though you never saw him, John Stuart Mill, delivered at St. Andrews an inaugural address on the occasion of his appointment to the Lord Rectorship. It contained much to be admired, as did all he wrote. There ran through it, however, the tacit assumption that life is for learning and working. I felt at the time that I should have liked to take up the opposite thesis. I should have liked

to contend that life is not for learning, nor is life for working, but learning and working are for life. The primary use of knowledge is for such guidance of conduct under all circumstances as shall make living complete. All other uses of knowledge are secondary. It scarcely needs saying that the primary use of work is that of supplying the materials and aids to living completely; and that any other uses of work are secondary. But in men's conceptions the secondary has in great measure usurped the place of the primary. The apostle of culture as it is commonly conceived, Mr. Matthew Arnold, makes little or no reference to the fact that the first use of knowledge is the right ordering of all actions; and Mr. Carlyle, who is a good exponent of current ideas about work, insists on its virtues for quite other reasons than that it achieves sustentation. We may trace everywhere in human affairs a tendency to transform the means into the end. All see that the miser does this when, making the accumulation of money his sole satisfaction, he forgets that money is of value only to purchase satisfactions. But it is less commonly seen that the like is true of the work by which the money is accumulated—that industry, too, bodily or mental, is but a means, and that it is as irrational to pursue it to the exclusion of that complete living it subserves, as it is for the miser to accumulate money and make no use of it. Hereafter, when this age of active material progress has yielded mankind its benefits, there will, I think, come a better adjustment of labor and enjoyment. Among reasons for thinking this, there is the reason that the process of evolution throughout the organic world at large, brings an increasing surplus of energies that are not absorbed in fulfilling material needs, and points to a still larger surplus for humanity of the future. And there are other reasons, which I must pass over. In brief, I may say that we have had somewhat too

much of "the gospel of work." It is time to preach the gospel of relaxation.

This is a very unconventional after-dinner speech. Especially it will be thought strange that in returning thanks I should deliver something very much like a homily. But I have thought I could not better convey my thanks than by the expression of a sympathy which issues in a fear. If, as I gather, this intemperance in work affects more especially the Anglo-American part of the population—if there results an undermining of the physique not only in adults, but also in the young, who, as I learn from your daily journals, are also being injured by overwork—if the ultimate consequence should be a dwindling away of those among you who are the inheritors of free institutions and best adapted to them; then there will come a further difficulty in the working out of that great future which lies before the American nation. To my anxiety on this account, you must please ascribe the unusual character of my remarks.

And now I must bid you farewell. When I sail by the Germanic on Saturday, I shall bear with me pleasant remembrances of my intercourse with many Americans, joined with regrets that my state of health has prevented me from seeing a larger number.*

PROFESSOR SUMNER'S SPEECH.

THE chairman next introduced Professor W. G. Sumner, of Yale College, who responded to a toast in honor of "*The Science of Sociology*." He said :

In the present state of the science of sociology the man who has studied it at all is very sure to feel great self-distrust in trying to talk about it. The most that

* See Appendix.

one of us can do at the present time is to appreciate the promise which the science offers to us, and to understand the lines of direction in which it seems about to open out. As for the philosophy of the subject, we still need the master to show us how to handle and apply its most fundamental doctrines. I have the feeling all the time, in studying and teaching sociology, that I have not mastered it yet in such a way as to be able to proceed in it with good confidence in my own steps. I have only got so far as to have an almost overpowering conviction of the necessity and value of the study of that science.

Mr. Spencer addressed himself at the outset of his literary career to topics of sociology. In the pursuit of those topics he found himself forced (as I understand it) to seek constantly more fundamental and wider philosophical doctrines. He came at last to fundamental principles of the evolution philosophy. He then extended, tested, confirmed, and corrected these principles by inductions from other sciences, and so finally turned again to sociology, armed with the scientific method which he had acquired. To win a powerful and correct method is, as we all know, to win more than half the battle. When so much is secured, the question of making the discoveries, solving the problems, eliminating the errors, and testing the results, is only a question of time and of strength to collect and master the data.

We have now acquired the method of studying sociology scientifically so as to attain to assured results. We have acquired it none too soon. The need for a science of life in society is urgent, and it is increasing every year. It is a fact which is generally overlooked that the great advance in the sciences and the arts which has taken place during the last century is producing social consequences and giving rise to social problems. We are accustomed to dwell upon the discoveries of science and the develop-

ment of the arts as simple incidents, complete in themselves, which offer only grounds for congratulation. But the steps which have been won are by no means simple events. Each one has consequences which reach beyond the domain of physical power into social and moral relations, and these effects are multiplied and reproduced by combination with each other. The great discoveries and inventions redistribute population. They reconstruct industries and force new organization of commerce and finance. They bring new employments into existence and render other employments obsolete, while they change the relative value of many others. They overthrow the old order of society, impoverishing some classes and enriching others. They render old political traditions grotesque and ridiculous, and make old maxims of statecraft null and empty. They give old vices of human nature a chance to parade in new masks, so that it demands new skill to detect the same old foes. They produce a kind of social chaos in which contradictory social and economic phenomena appear side by side to bewilder and deceive the student who is not fully armed to deal with them. New interests are brought into existence, and new faiths, ideas, and hopes, are engendered in the minds of men. Some of these are doubtless good and sound ; others are delusive ; in every case a competent criticism is of the first necessity. In the upheaval of society which is going on, classes and groups are thrown against each other in such a way as to produce class hatreds and hostilities. As the old national jealousies, which used to be the lines on which war was waged, lose their distinctness, class jealousies threaten to take their place. Political and social events which occur on one side of the globe now affect the interests of population on the other side of the globe. Forces which come into action in one part of human society rest not until they have reached all human

society. The brotherhood of man is coming to be a reality of such distinct and positive character that we find it a practical question of the greatest moment what kind of creatures some of these hitherto neglected brethren are. Secondary and remoter effects of industrial changes, which were formerly dissipated and lost in the delay and friction of communication, are now, by our prompt and delicate mechanism of communication, caught up and transmitted through society.

It is plain that our social science is not on the level of the tasks which are thrown upon it by the vast and sudden changes in the whole mechanism by which man makes the resources of the globe available to satisfy his needs, and by the new ideas which are born of the new aspects which human life bears to our eyes in consequence of the development of science and the arts. Our traditions about the science and art of living are plainly inadequate. They break to pieces in our hands when we try to apply them to the new cases. A man of good faith may come to the conviction sadly, but he must come to the conviction honestly, that the traditional doctrines and explanations of human life are worthless.

A progress which is not symmetrical is not true ; that is to say, every branch of human interest must be developed proportionately to all the other branches, else the one which remains in arrears will measure the advance which may be won by the whole. If, then, we can not produce a science of life in society which is broad enough to solve all the new social problems which are now forced upon us by the development of science and art, we shall find that the achievements of science and art will be overwhelmed by social reactions and convulsions.

We do not lack for attempts of one kind and another to satisfy the need which I have described. Our discussion is in excess of our deliberation, and our deliberation

is in excess of our information. Our journals, platforms, pulpits, and parliaments are full of talking and writing about topics of sociology. The only result, however, of all this discussion is to show that there are half a dozen arbitrary codes of morals, a heterogeneous tangle of economic doctrines, a score of religious creeds and ecclesiastical traditions, and a confused jumble of humanitarian and sentimental notions which jostle each other in the brains of the men of this generation. It is astonishing to watch a discussion and to see how a disputant, starting from a given point of view, will run along on one line of thought until he encounters some fragment of another code or doctrine, which he has derived from some other source of education; whereupon he turns at an angle, and goes on in a new course until he finds himself face to face with another of his old prepossessions. What we need is adequate criteria by which to make the necessary tests and classifications, and appropriate canons of procedure, or the adaptation of universal canons to the special tasks of sociology.

Unquestionably it is to the great philosophy which has now been established by such ample induction in the experimental sciences, and which offers to man such new command of all the relations of life, that we must look for the establishment of the guiding lines in the study of sociology. I can see no boundaries to the scope of the philosophy of evolution. That philosophy is sure to embrace all the interests of man on this earth. It will be one of its crowning triumphs to bring light and order into the social problems which are of universal bearing on all mankind. Mr. Spencer is breaking the path for us into this domain. We stand eager to follow him into it, and we look upon his work on sociology as a grand step in the history of science. When, therefore, we express our earnest hope that Mr. Spencer may have health and strength

to bring his work to a speedy conclusion, we not only express our personal respect and good-will for himself, but also our sympathy with what, I doubt not, is the warmest wish of his own heart, and our appreciation of his great services to true science and to the welfare of mankind.

REMARKS OF MR. SCHURZ.

MR. CARL SCHURZ responded to the toast, "*The progress of science tends to international harmony.*" He said :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN : Two things which fell from the lips of the first two speakers struck me as remarkably pertinent to our present situation. One was the proverb of the Amazulus, quoted by our worthy chairman, that "a stuffed body sees not secret things" ; and, great orator as he is, he did not fail to accompany the saying with the illustration of example. (Laughter.) The other was the remark which formed the text of the eloquent address of our honored guest, Mr. Spencer, that too great continuity and intensity of work, as observed in this country, will be apt to break down the best physical constitution ; and I am exceedingly sorry to see that, in this respect, he himself appears much more like an American than like an Englishman. (Great applause.) I sincerely hope that, when he returns to his country, he will permit his incessant labors for the benefit of humanity to be sometimes interrupted by due relaxation. (Applause.) Profiting from the wisdom we have listened to, I shall turn round the Amazulu proverb, and follow Mr. Spencer's impressive advice in saying that, in my opinion, and according to general experience, any serious effort at profound philosophical thought or scientific in-

quiry, immediately after a good dinner, must be injurious to a man's health. (Applause.) Considering that I have a family to support, and various other duties to perform, which make a vigorous physical condition desirable, I shall, whatever others may do, in this respect try to take care of myself. (Laughter.) Do not understand me, however, as meaning to discourage any one of you, gentlemen. Everybody must be left to be the judge of his own conduct, upon his own responsibility. Herbert Spencer never spoke a wiser word than when he said, "The ultimate result of shielding men from the effects of their folly is to fill the world with"—he bluntly said—"fools," but I will only say, "with dyspeptic philosophers." (Laughter and applause.) Leaving, therefore, the discussion of deep philosophical and scientific problems to others more reckless of their physical well-being, I shall prefer to call up some pleasant memories which this interesting occasion brings to my mind. Nineteen years ago, after the battle of Missionary Ridge and an expedition to Knoxville for the relief of Burnside, I was with my command in a winter camp near Chattanooga, where, for some time, our horses suffered so much from want of food that many of them died, and where we had, at times, not salt enough to make our meat and crackers palatable. But I had Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics" with me, which, in the long winter nights in my tent, I read by the light of a tallow-candle, and in which I found at least an abundance of mental salt to make up for the painful absence of the material article. (Applause.) For the delightful luxury of thus enjoying quiet philosophical meditation at the hand of such a guide, in the midst of the scenes of war, I have been grateful to Mr. Spencer ever since. (Applause.) Moreover, it became perfectly clear to my mind that, if the people of the South had well studied and thoroughly digested that book, there would

never have been any war for the preservation of slavery (applause)—and that, since they had not read and digested it, it was our bounden duty to hammer the first principles of the “Social Statics”—namely, that “every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man”—(applause)—into the slaveholders’ heads to the best of our ability. This was done, and the effect was good. (Applause.) That first principle is now more and more generally understood in this country, and the more generally it is appreciated the less occasion there will be for ourselves and our descendants to study the “Social Statics” in a camp of war again. (Applause.)

As I am supposed to respond to a sentiment touching the influence of the progress of science on the intercourse of nations, I may say that it strikes me as a common-sense view of the matter—and, as you know, Mr. Chairman, common-sense is often the most deceptive disguise of ignorance (laughter)—that the effect of that progress upon the relations of different peoples is very much the same that it is upon the relations of different portions of one people, or of different individuals. I shall not disregard my own warning as to the overstraining of our mental faculties immediately after dinner when I lay down the proposition that—given a certain number of subjects of discussion between different nations, or different individuals—if the progress of science, or of philosophical enlightenment, increases the number of things upon which they agree, it reduces, in the same measure, the number of things upon which they disagree (laughter); and thus it carries them forward in the direction of general good understanding and harmony. (Laughter and applause.) And if that progress, as is likely to be the case, increases the number of subjects of discussion, and teaches us, at the same time, how to dispose of them by peaceful and

amicable reasoning, it will, to that extent, prevent us from coming to blows. (Applause.) These propositions, although simple, seem to me conclusive, and I feel very much like claiming for them the right of original discovery. (Laughter.)

I take it, also, that the end of science and of philosophy is not merely to enlighten the minds, but also ultimately to influence the conduct, of men, and not only the conduct of a few, but the conduct of the many. And to that end it should make itself understood by the many. The direct effect upon mankind will grow in strength and extent as science and philosophy are popularized in the best sense of the term, and thereby become more cosmopolitan. (Applause.)

There was a time when the investigations of science and their results were kept in the possession of privileged orders or circles, and treated as profound mysteries which could not be exposed to the gaze and the understanding of the multitude without profanation and without endangering the fixed order of society. That time lies, fortunately, far behind us. But some of us can remember the day when philosophy and science were, by many at least, studiously clothed in the darkness of formidable terminologies and obscure forms of speech, which seemed to warn off all the uninitiated. It was here and there considered unprofessional, and it exposed the man of science and the philosopher to the charge of superficiality, if he discussed scientific and philosophical subjects in a language easily intelligible to the rest of mankind. I know of works of that sort professedly written in German, but requiring translation into German almost as much as if they had been written in Sanskrit. (Laughter.) And of some works written in other languages the same might be said. They tell an anecdote of a great philosopher who, on his death-bed, complained that of all

his pupils only one had understood him, and that one had decidedly misunderstood him. (Laughter.) How great the misfortune was has probably never been ascertained. Perhaps the loss caused by the misunderstanding was not without compensation, as I have been told of a philosophical book of the obscure kind which was translated from one language into another, and some of the original thoughts of which were rather improved by the mistakes of the intelligent translator. (Laughter.)

We may certainly congratulate ourselves upon the fact that in our days, among men of science and philosophers, a tendency has grown up to take the generality of intelligent mankind into their confidence by speaking to them in a human language; and also a tendency vastly to enlarge the range of their immediate usefulness by applying the truths discovered by them directly and practically to all the relations and problems of actual life. (Applause.) And surely it can not be said that, by thus being made popular and cosmopolitan, science and philosophy have lost in depth and become superficial. On the contrary, it is an unquestionable fact that the same period which is marked by the popularization of science and philosophy is equally remarkable for its wonderful fertility in scientific discovery, mechanical invention, and philosophical generalization of the highest value. (Applause.) We have gained in depth and surface at the same time. (Applause.) Nor is this at all surprising. For, the greater the number of minds that are reached by new ideas, the greater will be the quantity and variety of new intellectual forces that will be inspired and stimulated into creative activity. (Applause.)

I am confident, gentlemen, I express your sentiments as well as my own when I say that, in the man who to-night honors and delights us with his presence, we greet one of the greatest representatives of that democratic

tendency (applause) ; one of the boldest leaders of that philosophy that bursts the bonds of the closet (applause) ; one of the foremost builders up of science in the largest sense by establishing the relations of facts (applause) ; the apostle of the principle of evolution, which Darwin showed in the diversity of organic life, but which Spencer unfolded as a universal law governing all physiological, mental, and social phenomena (applause) ; a hero of thought (great applause), devoting his powers and his life to the vindication of the divine right of science against the intolerant authority of traditional belief (applause) ; an indefatigable diver into the profoundest depths of ideas and things, who has also known how to bring the discovered treasures within the reach of every intelligent mind (applause), and who has thus become one of the great teachers, not merely of a school, but of civilized humanity. (Applause.)

Among us he has come in search of rest and recreation, and I trust it will be to him a cheering satisfaction to know that, far from being a stranger with us, he has even among this youngest and busiest and most nervous of peoples, multitudes of devoted pupils and admirers, of whom the friends here present are a respectful but only a feeble representation. (Applause.)

ADDRESS OF PROFESSOR MARSH.

MR. EVARTS next called upon Professor O. C. Marsh, of Yale College, acting president of the National Academy of Sciences, to respond to the following toast : "*Evolution—once an Hypothesis, now the Established Doctrine of the Scientific World.*" Professor Marsh said :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN : In meeting here to-night, to do honor to our distinguished guest, who is one of the great apostles of Evolution, it seems especially fitting to the occasion that we should, for a moment at least, glance back to the past, and recall briefly the progress of a doctrine which has so rapidly brought about a revolution in scientific thought.

Modern science and its methods may be said to date back only to the beginning of the present century ; and at this time the first scientific theory of organic evolution was advanced by Lamarck. During the twenty centuries before, a few far-seeing men, from Aristotle to Buffon, seem to have had glimpses of the light, but the dense ignorance and superstition which surrounded them soon enveloped it again in darkness.

Before the beginning of the present century, it was impossible for evolution to find a general acceptance, as the amount of scientific knowledge then accumulated was too small to sustain it. Hence, the various writers before Lamarck who had suggested hypotheses of development had based them upon general reasoning, or upon facts too scanty to withstand the objections naturally urged against new ideas.

With the opening of the nineteenth century, however, the new era in science began. Here, at the very beginning, the names of Cuvier and Lamarck stand forth pre-eminent ; and the progress of natural science from that day to the present is largely due to their labors. Cuvier laid the foundation of the study of vertebrate animals, living and extinct, but with all his vast knowledge he was enslaved by the traditions of the past. Although the evidence was before him, pointing directly to evolution, he gave the authority of his great name in favor of the permanence of species.

Lamarck made a special study of invertebrate animals,

and his investigations soon led him to the belief that living species were descended from those now extinct. In this conclusion he found the germ of a theory of development, which he advocated earnestly and philosophically, and thus prepared the way for the doctrine of evolution, as we know it to-day.

The methods of scientific investigation introduced by Cuvier and Lamarck had already brought to light a vast array of facts which could not otherwise have been accumulated, and these rendered the establishment of the doctrine of evolution for the first time possible. But the time was not yet ripe. Cuvier opposed the new idea with all his authority. The great contest between him and Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the strongest advocate of Lamarck's views, is well known. Authority, which in the past had been so powerful in defense of tradition and creed, still held sway, and, through its influence, evolution was pronounced to be without foundation. This triumph of Cuvier delayed the progress of evolution for half a century.

During this period, however, the advance in all departments of science was constant, and the mass of facts brought together was continually suggesting new lines of research, and new solutions of old problems. In geology, the old idea of catastrophes was gradually replaced by that of uniform changes still in progress; but the corollary to this proposition, that life, also, had been continuous on the earth, was as yet only suggested. In the physical world the great law of the correlation of forces had been advanced, and received with favor; but, in the organic world, the miraculous creation of each separate species was firmly believed by the great mass of educated men. The very recent appearance of man on the earth and his creation independent of the rest of the animal kingdom were scarcely questioned at the close of the first half of the present century.

When the second half of the century began, the accumulation of scientific knowledge was sufficient for the foundation of a doctrine of evolution which no authority could suppress and no objections overthrow. The materials on which it was to be based were not preserved alone in the great centers of scientific thought, but a thousand quiet workers in science, many of them in remote localities, had now the facts before them to suggest a solution of that mystery of mysteries, the Origin of Species.

In the first decade of the present half-century, Darwin, Wallace, Huxley, and our honored guest, were all at the same time working at one problem, each in his own way, and their united efforts have firmly established the truth of organic evolution. Our guest to-night did not stop to solve the difficulties of organic evolution, but, with that profound philosophic insight which has made him read and honored by all intelligent men, he made the grand generalization that the law of organic progress is the law of all progress. To show how clearly, even in the beginning, he comprehended this great truth, let me recall to you one sentence which he wrote five-and-twenty years ago :

“This law of organic progress is the law of all progress. Whether it be in the development of the earth, in the development of life upon its surface, in the development of society, of government, of manufactures, of commerce, of language, literature, science, art, this same evolution of the simple into the complex, through a process of continuous differentiation, holds throughout.”

How completely the truth of this statement has since been established you all know full well.

The evolution of life and of the physical world are now supplemented by the evolution of philosophy, of history, of society, and of all else pertaining to human life,

until we may say that evolution is the law of all progress, if not the key to all mysteries. These profounder departments of evolution I leave to others, for, in the few minutes allotted to me, I can not attempt to give even an outline of the progress of evolution in biology alone.

If, however, I may venture to answer briefly the question, What of evolution to-day? I can only reply: the battle has been fought and won. A few stragglers on each side may still keep up a scattered fire, but the contest is over, and the victors have moved on to other fields.

As to the origin of species, once thought to be the key to the position, no working naturalist of to-day who sees the great problems of life opening one after another before him will waste time in discussing a question already solved. This question, so long regarded as beyond solution, has been worked out by that greatest of naturalists, whose genius all intelligent men now recognize, and whose recent loss the whole civilized world deplures.

Not only do we know to-day that species are not permanent, but every phase of life bears witness to the same general law of change. Genera, families, and the higher groups of animals and plants are now regarded merely as convenient terms to mark progress, which may be altered by any new discovery.

All existing life on the earth is now believed to be connected directly with that of the distant past, and one problem to-day is to trace out the lines of descent. Here embryology and paleontology work together, and the results already secured are most important. The genealogies of some of the animals now living have been made out with a degree of certainty that amounts to a demonstration, and others must rapidly follow.

In this, and in all other departments of natural science,

the doctrine of evolution has brought light out of darkness, and marks out the path of future progress. What the law of gravitation is to astronomy, the law of evolution is now to natural science. Evolution is no longer a theory, but a demonstrated truth, accepted by naturalists throughout the world.

The most encouraging feature in natural science, indeed, in all science, to-day, is the spirit in which the work is carried on. No authority is recognized which forbids the investigation of any question, however profound; and, with that confidence which success justly brings, no question within the domain of science is now believed to be insoluble; not even the grand problems now before us—the antiquity of the human race, the origin of man, or even the origin of life itself.

MR. FISKE'S SPEECH.

MR. EVARTS then announced as the next toast: "*Evolution and Religion: that which perfects humanity can not destroy religion,*" to which, as it was a double toast, he said there would be a duet of speakers to respond. The first of these was Mr. John Fiske, of Cambridge, who spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: The thought which you have uttered suggests so many and such fruitful themes of discussion, that a whole evening would not suffice to enumerate them, while to illustrate them properly would seem to require an octavo volume rather than a talk of six or eight minutes, especially when such a talk comes just after dinner. The Amazulu saying which you have cited, that those who have "stuffed bodies" can not see hidden things, seems peculiarly applicable to any attempt

to discuss the mysteries of religion at the present moment; and, after the additional warning we have just had from our good friend Mr. Schurz, I hardly know whether I ought to venture to approach so vast a theme. There are one or two points of signal importance, however, to which I may at least call attention for a moment. It is a matter which has long since taken deep hold of my mind, and I am glad to have a chance to say something about it on so fitting an occasion. We have met here this evening to do homage to a dear and noble teacher and friend, and it is well that we should choose this time to recall the various aspects of the immortal work by which he has earned the gratitude of a world. The work which Herbert Spencer has done in organizing the different departments of human knowledge, so as to present the widest generalizations of all the sciences in a new and wonderful light, as flowing out of still deeper and wider truths concerning the universe as a whole; the great number of profound generalizations which he has established incidentally to the pursuit of this main object; the endlessly rich and suggestive thoughts which he has thrown out in such profusion by the wayside all along the course of this great philosophical enterprise—all this work is so manifest that none can fail to recognize it. It is work of the caliber of that which Aristotle and Newton did; though coming in this latter age, it as far surpasses their work in its vastness of performance as the railway surpasses the sedan-chair, or as the telegraph surpasses the carrier-pigeon.

But it is not of this side of our teacher's work that I wish to speak, but of a side of it that has, hitherto, met with less general recognition. There are some people who seem to think that it is not enough that Mr. Spencer should have made all these priceless contributions to human knowledge, but actually complain of him for not

giving us a complete and exhaustive system of theology into the bargain. What I wish, therefore, to point out is that Mr. Spencer's work on the side of religion will be seen to be no less important than his work on the side of science, when once its religious implications shall have been fully and consistently unfolded.

If we look at all the systems or forms of religion of which we have any knowledge, we shall find that they differ in many superficial features. They differ in many of the transcendental doctrines which they respectively preach, and in many of the rules of conduct which they respectively lay down for men's guidance. They assert different things about the universe, and they enjoin or prohibit different kinds of behavior on the part of their followers. The doctrine of the Trinity, which to many Christians is the most sacred of mysteries, is to all Muhammadans the foulest of blasphemies; the Brahman's conscience would be more troubled if he were to kill a cow by accident than if he were to swear to a lie or steal a purse; the Turk, who sees no wrong in bigamy, would shrink from the sin of eating pork. But, amid all such surface differences, we find throughout all known religions two points of substantial agreement. And these two points of agreement will be admitted by modern civilized men to be of far greater importance than the innumerable differences of detail. All religions agree in the two following assertions, one of which is of speculative and one of which is of ethical import. One of them serves to sustain and harmonize our thoughts about the world we live in and our place in that world; the other serves to uphold us in our efforts to do each what we can to make human life more sweet, more full of goodness and beauty, than we find it. The first of these assertions is the proposition that the things and events of the world do not exist or occur blindly or irrelevantly, but that all, from

the beginning to the end of time, and throughout the furthest sweep of illimitable space, are connected together as the orderly manifestations of a divine Power, and that this divine Power is something outside of ourselves, and upon it our own existence from moment to moment depends. The second of these assertions is the proposition that men ought to do certain things, and ought to refrain from doing certain other things; and that the reason why some things are wrong to do and other things are right to do is in some mysterious but very real way connected with the existence and nature of this divine Power, which reveals itself in every great and every tiny thing, without which not a star courses in its mighty orbit, and not a sparrow falls to the ground. Matthew Arnold once summed up these two propositions very well when he defined God as "an eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness." This two-fold assertion, that there is an eternal Power that is not ourselves, and that this Power makes for righteousness, is to be found, either in a rudimentary or in a highly developed state, in all known religions. In such religions as those of the Eskimos or of your friends the Amazulus, Mr. President, this assertion is found in a rudimentary shape on each of its two sides—the speculative side and the ethical side; in such religions as Buddhism or Judaism it is found in a highly developed shape on both its sides. But the main point is, that in all religions you find it in some shape or other.

I said, a moment ago, that modern civilized men will all acknowledge that this two-sided assertion, in which all religions agree, is of far greater importance than any of the superficial points in which religions differ. It is really of much more concern to us that there is an eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness, than that such a Power is onefold or threefold in its meta-

physical nature, or that we ought not to play cards on Sunday, or to eat meat on Friday. No one, I believe, will deny so simple and clear a statement as this. But it is not only we modern men, who call ourselves enlightened, that will agree to this. I doubt not even the narrow-minded bigots of days now happily gone by would have been made to agree to it if they could have had some doggedly persistent Sokrates to cross-question them. Calvin was willing to burn Servetus for doubting the doctrine of the Trinity, but I do not suppose that even Calvin would have argued that the belief in God's threefold nature was more fundamental than the belief in his existence and his goodness. The philosophical error with him was, that he could not dissociate the less important doctrine from the more important doctrine, and the fate of the latter seemed to him wrapped up with the fate of the former. I cite this merely as a typical example. What men in past times have really valued in their religion has been the universal twofold assertion that there is a God who is pleased by the sight of the just man and is angry with the wicked every day; and when men have fought with one another, and murdered or calumniated one another for heresy about the Trinity or about eating meat on Friday, it has been because they have supposed belief in the non-essential doctrines to be inseparably connected with belief in the essential doctrine. In spite of all this, however, it is true that in the mind of the uncivilized man the great central truths of religion are so densely overlaid with hundreds of trivial notions respecting dogma and ritual, that his perception of the great central truths is obscure. These great central truths, indeed, need to be clothed in a dress of little rites and superstitions in order to take hold of his dull and untrained intelligence. But in proportion as men become more civilized, and learn to think more accurately, and to take wider views of life,

just so do they come to value the essential truths of religion more highly, while they attach less and less importance to superficial details.

Having thus seen what is meant by the essential truths of religion, it is very easy to see what the attitude of the doctrine of evolution is toward these essential truths. It asserts and reiterates them both ; and it asserts them not as dogmas handed down to us by priestly tradition, not as mysterious intuitive convictions of which we can render no intelligible account to ourselves, but as scientific truths concerning the innermost constitution of the universe—truths that have been disclosed by observation and reflection, like other scientific truths, and that accordingly harmonize naturally and easily with the whole body of our knowledge. The doctrine of evolution asserts, as the widest and deepest truth which the study of Nature can disclose to us, that there exists a Power to which no limit in time or space is conceivable, and that all the phenomena of the universe, whether they be what we call material or what we call spiritual phenomena, are manifestations of this infinite and eternal Power. Now, this assertion, which Mr. Spencer has so elaborately set forth as a scientific truth—nay, as the ultimate truth of science, as the truth upon which the whole structure of human knowledge philosophically rests—this assertion is identical with the assertion of an eternal Power, not ourselves, that forms the speculative basis of all religions. When Carlyle speaks of the universe as in very truth the star-domed city of God, and reminds us that through every crystal and through every grass-blade, but most through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams, he means pretty much the same thing that Mr. Spencer means, save that he speaks with the language of poetry, with language colored by emotion, and not with the precise, formal, and colorless language of science. By many critics

who forget that names are but the counters rather than the hard money of thought, objections have been raised to the use of such a phrase as the Unknowable whereby to describe the power that is manifested in every event of the universe. Yet, when the Hebrew prophet declared that "by him were laid the foundations of the deep," but reminded us "Who by searching can find him out?" he meant pretty much what Mr. Spencer means when he speaks of a Power that is inscrutable in itself, yet is revealed from moment to moment in every throb of the mighty rhythmic life of the universe.

And this brings me to the last and most important point of all. What says the doctrine of evolution with regard to the ethical side of this twofold assertion that lies at the bottom of all religion? Though we can not fathom the nature of the inscrutable Power that animates the world, we know, nevertheless, a great many things that it does. Does this eternal Power, then, work for righteousness? Is there a divine sanction for holiness and a divine condemnation for sin? Are the principles of right-living really connected with the intimate constitution of the universe? If the answer of science to these questions be affirmative, then the agreement with religion is complete, both on the speculative and on the practical sides; and that phantom which has been the abiding terror of timid and superficial minds—that phantom of the hostility between religion and science—is exorcised now and for ever.

Now, science began to return a decisively affirmative answer to such questions as these when it began, with Mr. Spencer, to explain moral beliefs and moral sentiments as products of evolution. For clearly, when you say of a moral belief or a moral sentiment that it is a product of evolution, you imply that it is something which the universe through untold ages has been laboring to bring

forth, and you ascribe to it a value proportionate to the enormous effort that it has cost to produce it. Still more, when with Mr. Spencer we study the principles of right-living as part and parcel of the whole doctrine of the development of life upon the earth; when we see that in an ultimate analysis that is right which tends to enhance fullness of life, and that is wrong which tends to detract from fullness of life—we then see that the distinction between right and wrong is rooted in the deepest foundations of the universe; we see that the very same forces, subtle, and exquisite, and profound, which brought upon the scene the primal germs of life and caused them to unfold, which through countless ages of struggle and death have cherished the life that could live more perfectly and destroyed the life that could only live less perfectly, until humanity, with all its hopes, and fears, and aspirations, has come into being as the crown of all this stupendous work—we see that these very same subtle and exquisite forces have wrought into the very fibers of the universe those principles of right-living which it is man's highest function to put into practice. The theoretical sanction thus given to right-living is incomparably the most powerful that has ever been assigned in any philosophy of ethics. Human responsibility is made more strict and solemn than ever, when the eternal Power that lives in every event of the universe is thus seen to be in the deepest possible sense the author of the moral law that should guide our lives, and in obedience to which lies our only guarantee of the happiness which is incorruptible—which neither inevitable misfortune nor unmerited obloquy can ever take away.

I have here but barely touched upon a rich and suggestive topic. When this subject shall once have been expounded and illustrated with due thoroughness—as I earnestly hope it will be within the next few years—then

I am sure it will be generally acknowledged that our great teacher's services to religion have been no less signal than his services to science, unparalleled as these have been in all the history of the world.

MR. BEECHER'S REMARKS.

THE old New England churches used to have two ministers ; one was considered as a doctor of theology, and the other a revivalist and pastor. The doctor has had his say, and you now have the revivalist. (Laughter.) Paul complained that Alexander the coppersmith did him much harm. Mr. Spencer has done immense harm. I don't believe that there is an active, thoughtful minister in the United States that has not been put in a peck of troubles, and a great deal more than that, by the intrusion of his views, and the comparison of them with the old views. I can not for the life of me reconcile his notions with those of St. Augustine. I can't get along with Calvin and Spencer both. (Laughter.) Sometimes one of them is uppermost, and sometimes the other (laughter), and I have often been disposed to let them fight it out themselves, and not take any hand in the scrape. (Laughter.) It is to be borne in mind that when a man is driving a team of fractious horses that are just all that he can manage anyhow, he is not in a state of mind to discuss questions with his wife by his side, who is undertaking to bring up delicate domestic matters. (Laughter.) A man that has a bald-headed deacon watching everything that he does, or a gold-spectacled lawyer—not a fat one (looking at Mr. Bristow), but a long, lean, lank one (looking at Mr. Evarts, amid great

laughter)—can't afford to talk Spencerism from the pulpit ; he has got to take care of himself first (laughter), and he must therefore not be expected to come in like an equinoctial storm ; he will rather come in like a drizzle (laughter) ; he will descend as the dew. (Laughter.) But one thing is very certain—Mr. Spencer is coming ; whether men want to have him or not, he is coming. Well, he has come ; he has come to stay. Mr. Spencer may have dyspepsia, but his books have got no dyspepsia. (Applause.) They like the climate (laughter), and they are working their way very steadily, without any regard to those dietetic or nervous or nervine considerations which he has been kind enough to propose to us here to-night. Those books can work day and night everywhere, all over the continent, and never grow any thinner. By-the-by, when he speaks about our being so industrious, he speaks like an insular gentleman. You have very little to do in England. You have but about three hundred miles diameter one way and eight hundred the other. (Laughter.) We have got this whole continent to take care of. (Laughter.) We have to get up early and work late in order to take care of it. (Laughter.) We are an ambitious people, and we have learned from astronomers that they are five hours ahead of us every day in England, and we have to work with all our might to make up those five hours. (Laughter.) We don't intend to be surpassed by the old people on the other side. We are the young people on this side. We intend to do as well as they have done, and a little better.

Now let me say, with a little more approach to sobriety (laughter), what I think about the doctrines of Mr. Spencer's philosophy. Not all his admirers or debtors or disciples need adopt his conclusions fully. We may deem his base-line to be correct, and yet not be surprised if here and there parts of his vast field should

need to be resurveyed. But, speaking in general terms, I think that the doctrine of evolution and its relations to the work of Mr. Spencer—which takes in that, but a great deal more besides—to speak in plain language, is going to revolutionize theology from one end to the other (applause), and it is going to make good walking where we have had very muddy walking hitherto; it is going to bridge over rivers which we have had to wade. There are many points in which the theology of the past did well enough for the past, but does not any more answer the reasonable questions and the moral considerations that are brought to bear upon it in our day. (Applause.) We are to bear in mind in regard to Scripture, which is the great source of instruction on the part of the organized religions of the Christian world, that we have there what we all agree in. Some points have already been made in regard to it. Paul speaks of his idea of what the whole drift of Christianity was. It was a system to make men. That is what it was. He said, To some He gave apostles and prophecies, and evangelists and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, that they may become perfect men in Christ, or upon the model of Christ Jesus. The New Testament idea is that religion is the art of putting men on to an anvil and hammering them out into perfect manhood; now, there is no difference between that tendency in Mr. Spencer's work or Mr. Darwin's, or any other of that galaxy of eminent writers that shine in the east—there is no difference between them and us on that subject. Then, on the other hand, taking that for the ideal, that the whole business of religion is not merely to insure a man against fire in the other world, but to create an insurable interest in him (laughter), the business before men is the making of themselves while they are making also the world in which they dwell, building up society, bringing that day when the very

wilderness shall bud and blossom as the rose ; making manhood—ethics, in short, of the building kind. And in that regard the morality which is taught in Mr. Spencer's work is entirely in agreement with the great morality that is taught in the sacred Scriptures. Men forget that the Scripture itself—and it ought to have dawned on the minds of the men who are so afraid it will be destroyed—is itself a proof of evolution. There is no fact more absolutely patent than that every moral idea from the opening of Genesis, right straight through the period in Judges and down to the New Testament day—every one of the great moral ideas rose like a star, and did not shine like a sun until ages had given it ascension. (Applause.) The very conception of the divine nature begins at daylight and goes on to sunrise and to meridian brightness ; and all the doctrines of duties and relations in the Old Testament—they are all of them progressive from the beginning down clear through to the end. The doctrine of immortality was not known in the Old Testament day. Here we have Professor Park, of Andover, and a great many good and godly men in New England, discussing to-day whether a man who don't believe that everybody that dies impenitent will be damned for ever and ever—whether he is fit to preach the gospel ; and yet for more than five thousand years there was not a man living on the face of the earth that knew there even was a future. (Applause.) We have the explicit declaration in the New Testament that life and immortality were brought to light by Christ. For more than five thousand years men did not know anything fit to preach, according to the modern notion.

But look at the great question of the origin of men. It is a hypothesis that we are but the prolongation of an inferior animal tribe, and there are many evidences among men that it is so. (Laughter.) I can almost

trace the very lines on which some men have come down. (Laughter.) It is said that we descend from the immortal monkey; but that is not the truth that is taught, as I understand it, in the books. You have got to go a great way farther back than that before you find your grandfather. (Laughter.) Apes came down from the same starting-point, working toward bone and muscle, and we came down on the other side, working toward nerve and brain. A great many people are loath to think that such an origin should be hinted at by science, that it should stand even as a hypothesis. I would just as lief have descended from a monkey as from anything else if I had descended far enough. (Laughter.) But let men have come from where they will, or how they may have come, one thing is very certain, that the human race began at the bottom and not at the top, or else there is no truth in history or religion; and that the unfolding of the human race has been going on, if not from the absolute animal conditions, yet from the lowest possible savage conditions; and the Jewish legend that men were at the top, and then fell from the top to the bottom, and carried down all their posterity with them, and that God's business has been for eight, ten, twenty thousand years, and how many more I know not, the punishing of men for sins they never committed—well, that has got to go. (Applause.) It will not be twenty years before a man will be ashamed to stand up in any intelligent pulpit and mention it. (Applause.) On the other hand, see what light is thrown upon Divine Providence. According to the old theology, one single person was sorted out, an emigrant, and the whole of the divine thought was centered on him and on his posterity, and all the collateral races of every kind were left without a temple, without a book, without a priest, without a Sabbath, without a sacrifice, without an altar, without

anything, while he brought up one single family ; and what a family ! (Laughter.) And what bringing up ! (Laughter.) What a means of grace it was to have had those twelve patriarchs ! Those men in modern society could not have lived, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two of them ; they could not have lived—outside of Sing Sing (laughter)—unless they went into politics. (Laughter.) They went down to Egypt and there they were abandoned to slavery for four hundred years. What was done for them ? Nothing. They came out of Egypt, and, passing forty years through the wilderness, came into the eastern line of Palestine and took possession, by the sword, of the land, slaughtering the inhabitants, and, for four hundred years there was an interregnum again, until we come down to the time of Samuel, and then after that there is no continuity of organized government. The hiatus between one period and another, the interregnum periods, when you come to put them together, negative the current and conventional conception of the nature of the special tutelary administration of God over a chosen people, relieving them from the operation of the laws of social progress. On the other hand, when you come to look at the actual facts and take the whole human family, they have been steadily and gradually unfolding, some with greater rapidity and some less. Some were more incapable of thought than others ; some were stronger in hand and tarried by the way to fight ; but on the whole the world has been, with unequal speed, advancing from the earliest period down to the present time. It is a great deal more consonant with any rational idea of an overruling Providence and a divine justice than that which belonged to the old theologies.

Then comes the question of sin. I am taught by Augustine and Calvin, and all of the mediæval preachers, that there are two sorts of sin—one is original sin—I

have always been original enough to have my own sin (laughter)—but that we were all under conditions of guilt, wrath, and penalty, on account of the transgression of Adam and Eve, I don't know how many thousand years ago; that the guilt of their inexperience—their transaction in the garden of Eden—ran clear down through the thousands of years, and included every child that was born from that time to this. Now, what is the theory that comes on the other hand, on the side of science? It is the theory that man is first an animal pure and simple, and that by the breathing of the breath of God into him there is the unfolding gradually of a rational soul, an intellectual capacity, a moral and a spiritual nature, and that while he was an animal the exercise of selfishness, of plunder, of combativeness and destructiveness, was the law of his being; and then it was not only a necessity, but the act was a virtue; but by gradual development he has come to the possession of those higher qualities which should rule him. Sin lies in the conflict between animal nature and the dawning of the spiritual, moral, and intellectual nature. It is the conflict in a man between his upper and lower nature. If you want to see that taught thoroughly, go to seventh Romans and see how Paul argues the matter. He says: "The things I would do, I do not; the things I would not do, I do. So, then, it is not I," he says, "but sin that dwelleth in me. I find a law in my members." He was almost fit to be a minister to Darwin. "I find a law in my members that compels me to sin, but that *I* in which my personal identity is, the *I* that thinks, the *I* that perceives, that aspires, the flash of imagination (which he calls faith), the whole fruition of a great soul that approves the spiritual law, the manly law: whatever is right, pure, just, beautiful—I see that, but I am all the time doing the other. My under man, my physical man, is fighting against the upper man."

There isn't a man here but knows that is so. Every evening rebukes every morning among the whole of you. You go out in the morning with inspiration and noble feeling, and say, "This day I will cheat nobody," and you come back at night and you have cheated a dozen men. (Laughter.) And so on through the whole scale of conduct. Great light is thrown, by this truly scientific and truly scriptural view, on the subject of the nature of sin. I might go on and show that in many other ways religious teaching is greatly benefited by the light that is coming on the world from the great thinkers of the day. Now men say, Will you abandon revelation? No. We all believe, that believe in Moses, that God wrote on stone. I believe that that was not the first time he wrote on stone. He made a record when he made the granite, and when he made all the successive strata in the periods of time. There is a record in geology that is as much a record of God as the record on paper in human language. (Applause.) They are both true—where they are true. (Laughter.) The record of matter very often is misinterpreted, and the record of the letter is often misinterpreted; and you are to enlighten yourselves by knowing both of them and interpreting them one by the other; and it is no more a quarrel between science and religion, between the Bible and philosophy, than a discussion over family matters is a quarrel between the husband and the wife; it is simply a thorough adjustment of affairs. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, we have had a good time here to-night, too much of it, especially for a man like me, that can't eat because he has got a speech to make. We shall very soon break up. It is not our privilege to meet Mr. Spencer face to face as we all would be glad to do; I certainly would. I don't know of a man living with whom, if I might sit down in the shade of the evening, in quiet, and

bring up my crude thought, my vagrant imagination, and avail myself of superior experience and thought—I know of no man now living with whom I should feel more honored and more pleased in communing than with him. It is not in my nature to derive benefit from any mortal soul and forget the obligation. I feel in my pulse a longing that goes back to the early days, to Homer, and comes down through the whole catalogue of noble writers who have written that which the world has thought worth preserving; and every man that comes up in our day, and whose writings fortify me and strengthen me—I would fain carry some tribute of affection to him. 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; for whoever gives me a thought that dispels the darkness that hangs over the most precious secrets of life, whoever gives me confidence in the destiny of my fellow-men, whoever gives me a clearer stand-point from which I can look to the great silent One, and hear him even in half, and believe in him, not by the tests of physical science, but by moral intuition—whoever gives that power is more to me than even my father and my mother; they gave me an outward and a physical life, but these others emancipate that life from superstition, from fears, and from thralls, and make me a citizen of the universe. (Applause.)

May He who holds the storm in His hand be gracious to you, sir; may your voyage across the sea be prosperous and speedy; may you find on the other side

all those conditions of health and of comfort which shall enable you to complete the great work, greater than any other man in this age has ever attempted ; may you live to hear from this continent and from that other, an unbroken testimony to the service which you have done to humanity ; and thus, if you are not outwardly crowned, you wear an invisible crown on your heart that will carry comfort to death—and I will greet you beyond ! (Great applause.)

UNSPOKEN SPEECHES.

WHAT MR. YOUNG DID NOT SAY.

THE foregoing addresses had the good fortune to get uttered ; but, if the unspoken speeches, which were hot for expression on many tongues, could also have got vent, they would have consumed the whole night. Of the unvoiced communications that were found not available at twelve o'clock, notes have been furnished of the following. Had Mr. Evarts given the occasion a length proportional to its other magnitudes, and proceeded to offer the following toast, "*Spencer's Philosophy of Evolution: the most original achievement in the history of thought,*" and then called upon Mr. E. L. Young, he might have got in response what follows :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: We are here to-night to do honor to Herbert Spencer by testifying to him and to the world our appreciation of the greatness and the importance of his work. There is one trait of his intellectual labors which ought not at this time to be overlooked, and which has impressed me increasingly as I have become familiar with his writings—I refer to their *originality*. I do not here mean the mere originality of literary form, nor even that of the pure creative imagination, but I mean that far higher originality of constructive genius which builds new systems of truth out of the multitudinous elements of solid knowledge; and in which imagination and reason work together under the inexorable restraints of logic and of fact. Conforming throughout to the rigorous canons of scientific method, Mr. Spencer has given the world an amount of original exposition and of new and valuable truth that are probably without a parallel in the history of human thought.

Professor Marsh has given us an admirable sketch of the progress of the doctrine of organic evolution, and has justly credited Mr. Spencer with the development of its broader applications; but I wish to illustrate the originality of his approach to the subject, and to show how completely the working out of the comprehensive theory belongs to himself alone.

In his address as President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the Saratoga meeting three years ago, Professor Marsh observed that scientific men now no longer concern themselves about the truth of evolution—they assume it, and go on. A year or two previously Professor Geikie had said that when he was in Germany the biologists remarked to him: “You in England are still wrangling over the evidences of evolution; we are far ahead of you—we assume it, and go on.” Yet it was an Englishman who first took this

advanced position. It is now exactly thirty years since Herbert Spencer published an article in the "Westminster Review" on "The Development Hypothesis," in which he declared that the scientific evidence was even then overwhelming in favor of the theory of the natural and gradual evolution of organic life upon this globe. He said, in substance, "There is no other hypothesis worth a moment's thought, and, as for me, I assume it, and go on."

To know how much this meant at that time, we must remember that it was still the epoch of Buffon, Saint-Hilaire, Lamarck, and Goethe, when it had begun to be vaguely recognized that the significant facts all point one way; but how crude and wild were speculations upon the subject, is shown by the fact that the "Vestiges of Creation" was the last previous work upon development that had attracted general attention, while that work simply showed the direction in which men were groping. Mr. Spencer entered the field through the gate-way of his social studies. The idea of progress in society had been simmering in his mind since his first publication of a pamphlet, based upon this conception, which he wrote at the age of twenty-two; and its fundamental idea was subsequently elaborated in the "Social Statics," published in 1850. Two years later, he proclaimed his unqualified acceptance of the hypothesis of development in the article referred to.

I first became acquainted with the labors of Herbert Spencer twenty-six years ago. I read an able article, in a foreign periodical, entitled "Modern English Psychology," which was a review of a work by Mr. Spencer, declared by the writer, Dr. J. D. Morell, author of the "History of Philosophy," to constitute a new departure in the science of mind. I imported the book, and undertook to read it, but could not understand it, and, after

several attempts, threw it aside as hopeless. My sister, however, was attracted to the unpromising volume, and had the patience, or the curiosity, to keep at it. After a time, she began to say : "There is a good deal more in that book than you suspect. I have got far enough with it to know that it is great stuff, at any rate. It is a very original book ; and, if you get at the author's point of view, you will find it a new revelation." The work was Spencer's "Principles of Psychology," published in 1855. And what was the difficulty about it? Simply this : it was a new exposition of the laws of mind, based upon the principle of evolution. Spencer had assumed the truth of the doctrine, and gone on ; and this was the first scientific and systematic application of it. He took the fundamental position that man with all his faculties has been evolved by the slow and continuous operation of natural causes. The new point of view consisted in regarding evolution as the key to the constitution of mind. Heredity and the gradual modification of organisms, through their intercourse with environing nature, were the cardinal conceptions of the work. The position taken was that it is by experiences registered in the slowly perfecting nervous system that the mental faculties have been gradually evolved through long courses of genetic descent from the lowest to the highest creatures, each generation inheriting all that had been previously gained, and adding its own increment to the sum of progress. It was maintained that ideas and feelings, thus slowly engendered, are transmitted as aptitudes and capacities ; while the intuitions of thought have arisen in the hereditary intellect, and the moral sentiments in the hereditary conscience of the race. The intuitional and the experience hypotheses, over which philosophers had quarreled for ages, were here first reconciled. It was shown that all knowledge and the very faculties of knowing origi-

nate in experience, but that the primary elements of thought are *a priori* intuitions to the individual, being derived from ancestral experience.

The absolute originality of this great work has never been questioned, and yet it was the first legitimate and permanent scientific result of the application of the law of evolution. It marks the close of the period of speculation in regard to this subject, and the opening of the new period when it was to become the guide of scientific inquiry. I maintain that its fundamental doctrine, as propounded at that time, was nothing less than a turning-point in the thought of the scientific world. A new and profounder interpretation had been reached of the nature of man and the method of the universe. *Time* was now first recognized as the supreme factor in the production of effects for which it had been formerly supposed that time was unnecessary. The action of slow-working natural agencies in the affairs of this world was here first reduced to scientific application. The geologists, to be sure, had established the fact of the vast antiquity of the earth; but they still clung to the notion of miraculous breaks in the course of nature, and they did not affirm the principle of inexorable continuity in the causes and effects of natural phenomena.

I have said that I had difficulty in mastering this work, but in this I was not alone. I lent the book to the late Dr. Ripley, who could make nothing of it, though long trained in German metaphysics, and he was so disgusted with his failure that he declared he should like to throw it at the author's head! John Stuart Mill also had his difficulties with it. He pronounced it "the finest example we possess of the psychological method in its full power," but, strange to say, he resisted its fundamental evolutionary conception. He prized the treatise for the new light it threw on the processes of mental develop-

ment in the individual, but he contested the genesis of intuitions through inheritance. He was strongly committed, as was his father before him, to the view that the faculties of the mind originate wholly in individual experience. He did not perceive the import of the time-element; all the time he wanted was a life-time. Mill maintained that character can be formed in a few years through the omnipotence of education, just as orthodoxy taught that it can be transformed in a few hours through the omnipotence of grace. The error was all-pervading, and belonged to the epoch of thought. Governments and institutions, it was supposed, could be invented on new patterns, and set agoing on the shortest notice. Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Comte, as is well known, believed that human societies can be manufactured on new principles in a very short time, with enormous benefits to mankind; and it was, in fact, generally considered that all social evils can be reformed out of the world in about five years, if only everybody would seriously get about it.

Spencer's "Psychology" was a destructive assault upon this whole order of ideas made twenty-seven years ago through the first great scientific application of the doctrine of evolution. Its fundamental idea was that, as men have been but slowly produced, they can be but slowly adapted to new conditions; and that Nature, with her deliberate methods, has a vastly larger share in the work of human improvement than was formerly recognized. Not long before his death, Mr. Mill acknowledged that the rereading of Spencer's work gave him a new conception of its import, which he recognized was partially due to progress in his own mind; and in a letter to Dr. Carpenter he at last conceded the principle which Mr. Spencer many years before, and in advance of all men, had made the new basis of the science of mind. We thus see how fully Herbert Spencer had taken possession

and command of a field of thought, even now regarded as new, a generation ago.

It was while writing the "Psychology," in 1854, that Mr. Spencer first arrived at the conception of evolution as a universal law. The subject now opened up before him in all its breadth, and the problems multiplied right and left. As all things are constantly undergoing orderly changes, what are the common laws of transformation? What the laws of this eternal redistribution of matter and motion, with their tendency through countless ages to a higher unfolding? What, in short, are the causes and factors, the limits and formula, of the evolutionary process in all the diversities of its operation? These were Herbert Spencer's questions from 1850 to 1860. They were problems of science now everywhere recognized as legitimate, immanent, and inevitable. In 1858 he had arrived at the idea that this universal process of law which accounts for the origin, continuance, and disappearance of the changing objects around us, is the deepest principle we can reach of the method of nature, and must necessitate a new organization of knowledge and a new dispensation of philosophy. We have here the secret of the originality that characterizes Spencer's work. The first great step he had taken compelled it. Whole branches of knowledge had to be reinvestigated and remolded in the light of an all-comprehensive and reconstructive principle. In brief, Mr. Spencer saw that the great advance of modern knowledge made it imperative to originate a new organon of philosophy, grounded upon science and embodying throughout the theory of evolution.

I can not here withhold my humble tribute of admiration to the courage, the pluck, the heroism of this thinker in engaging upon his great task. Everything was against him. Single-handed, with no church or party behind him, backed by no university or scientific society, with but

little means, in broken health, without even a publisher, and in the face of public prejudice and a hostile press, he nevertheless resolved to carry out a comprehensive system of thought that would require twenty years of his life. The moral intrepidity of the undertaking was as original as its intellectual character.

Let us now carefully note the progress that Spencer had made with the subject of evolution in 1858. Besides the "Psychology," printed three years earlier, he had written some twenty-five elaborate articles for the leading reviews, expounding and applying the doctrine of evolution upon a large number of subjects. All these articles were, however, anonymous, in accordance with review usages at that time, so that he did not get the credit of them. But his views upon the whole subject were now well ripened, so that he was prepared to give them to the world in a systematic form. He accordingly drew up a prospectus (1858) of a philosophical system, to occupy seven volumes, and embracing the fundamental principles of evolution, and the applications of the doctrine to the subjects of life, mind, society, and morality. In 1859 he revised this programme, extending it to ten volumes, and giving their detailed contents in logical order, under thirty-three consecutive heads. This document shows that the doctrine of evolution was carefully and maturely elaborated in its proofs, its scientific form, and the comprehensive scope of its applications, twenty-three years ago, substantially as it stands to-day exemplified in his extensive works.

I must here add that the profound import of his philosophical system, and how thoroughly he was prepared for it, were well known among eminent thinkers at that time. Being without resources to maintain himself and publish his projected scheme, Mr. Spencer thought of applying to the government for some position which he could con-

scientifically fill, and the duties of which might still allow leisure to prosecute his work. He proposed the plan to some friends, who offered to second his application. The result was, that letters were written by Huxley, Grote, Hooker, Mill, Tyndall, and Fraser, concurrently declaring that, of all men of the present age, Spencer was pre-eminently the one to undertake such a comprehensive co-ordination of the sciences as he contemplated ; and that it would be an honor to any government to promote the enterprise. These letters were designed for publication, but Mr. Spencer never printed them. They all bear the date of 1858.

The originality of Spencer's achievement is thus vindicated in its incontestable priority to all other promulgations of recent evolutionary doctrine. He is the follower in this of no man ; he is in advance of every other. It may surprise some of you when I state that all I have here described of Spencer's work was accomplished before Mr. Charles Darwin had issued his first book upon the subject. That great naturalist contributed the important principle of natural selection to organic evolution (as did also Mr. Wallace), in 1859, thus showing how new species may originate ; but natural selection is not evolution—is but a subordinate part of it—and there has probably been more conflict over the question of its real value as a factor in the process than over any other point in relation to it. With the general subject, indeed, as a problem of scientific investigation, Mr. Darwin never even attempted to deal. It has been currently said since his death that he went into the great pantheon of British immortals as the father and founder of modern evolution, but those who make such claims do no service to his reputation. We have seen what are the facts, and even interment in Westminster Abbey can not change them. Mr. Darwin will remain the illustrious Reformer

of biology and the most distinguished naturalist of the age, but with Mr. Spencer will abide the honor of complete originality in developing this greatest conception of modern times, if not, indeed, of all time.

WHAT MR. WARD WAS READY TO SAY.

HAD the master of the occasion then required Mr. Lester F. Ward, of Washington, to speak to the following sentiment, "*The True Philosopher—the highest Product of Evolution,*" Mr. Ward would have remarked :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN : There is a peculiar fitness in this testimonial to the great philosopher, now the guest of this country, and so soon to leave our shores. The occasion is certainly very distinct from nearly all others having the same external characteristics. The place you have selected is indeed famous for such entertainments, but too often they are given in honor of mere politicians. Such testimonials always involve the principle of a *quid pro quo*. The individual to be honored merely represents power to confer favors upon those who honor him. Admiration is moved by self-interest. Very different is the present occasion. The recipient of this honor holds his high position by virtue of what he has done. No political revolution or social cataclysm can ever shake it. His fame rests upon *ideas*, and as compared with ideas all other foundations are but sand.

Again, all must feel that it is not merely to a *man* that homage is being done ; it is rather to a great *mind*—a mind that has proved itself capable of grappling successfully with the profoundest problems of the universe. It is this brain-power, conceived to a large extent as

impersonal, that we would recognize and honor. Mr. Spencer's personality is, as it were, swallowed up in his intellectuality. He represents no royal line of ancestors, bears no titles of honor from great states or great institutions, but occupies his present exalted place in the eyes of the world purely and solely through the force of his intellect. Unaided by human effort, and from the depths of his own mind, he has formulated the laws of the universe, not merely in the simpler and better known departments of astronomy and physics, but throughout the new and unexplored realms of life, mind, and action. It is to this achievement that we would do homage, which we do by honoring the man—the physical organization through which it was accomplished. Thus, at times, we find it difficult to think of him as formed of bone and sinew, flesh and blood, and contemplate him as the embodiment of psychic power.

For myself, I confess to the great force of this sentiment, occasioned perhaps by a long-continued habit of communing with his thoughts, always regarded as thoughts, and wholly disconnected from the character of their source; and this spell was scarcely broken by the warm grasp of his hand with which, but the other day, I was honored.

Mr. Spencer's pre-eminence as a philosopher rests primarily upon two qualities, and can only come of the union of these in one and the same mind. These qualities are, first, his extensive information; and, second, his extraordinary causality. The work of the true philosopher is pre-eminently the synthesis of extant knowledge. To accomplish this work he must possess, on the one hand, the greater part of the general knowledge of his age, and, on the other, the special faculty required to co-ordinate it. Rarely, indeed, are these qualifications combined in a single mind. It has been the misfortune of philosophy

that the most of the truly logical minds have been deplorably lacking in the necessary data upon which to exercise their reasoning powers, while many of the minds that have taken pains to acquire extensive information have proved wholly incapable of making any rational use of it. We have, therefore, had logicians and speculators on the one hand, and erudites and specialists on the other.

When Mr. Spencer entered the literary world, the great demand of the age was a *synthetic philosophy*. He perceived this, and had the rare gift of seeing his own peculiar fitness for such an undertaking. This duty seemed to devolve upon him ; he accepted it, and no one has been found to challenge his qualifications to perform it. His mastery of all branches of human knowledge has been justly styled "encyclopedic." His causality has never been equaled. To him were thus secured the two essential conditions for accomplishing the permanent object of philosophy—the synthesis of science. Without the comprehensive survey which his laborious investigations have secured for him, his great combining powers would have been profitless ; without those powers no museum of facts, however well learned, would have yielded the broad principles of a cosmical philosophy. Of the former of these statements, not only all the great minds of antiquity, but such modern names as those of Kant and of Hamilton, are obvious examples ; while of the latter the life of Humboldt is, perhaps, the most conspicuous proof ; although, within more restricted limits, the scientific world offers a multitude of instances in which the capacity for observation vastly transcends the power of co-ordination.

In his grasp of other truths Mr. Spencer has not failed to comprehend this one. It is he himself who has said (and both the language and the thought belong to the anthology of our tongue) that "only when Genius is

married to Science can the highest results be produced." And, if we rescue the word *genius* from that bastard synonymy with *monomania* to which modern usage threatens to condemn it, we find that in him these two fertile attributes are united with all the constancy and sanctity of wedlock.

If I might be permitted to hint at the precise direction from which Mr. Spencer's great labors most strongly appeal to my mind, I should do so by intimating the possibility that he himself may fail to appreciate their full scope and influence. Emerson, one of whose wise sayings Mr. Spencer has embodied in his own remarks, has said of the world's greatest artist that—

"He builded better than he knew."

May it not be that the world's greatest philosopher has also "builded better than he knew"? May it not be that in telling us what society is, and how it became such, he has unconsciously pointed out the way in which it may be made better? In laying down the principles according to which social phenomena take place in nature, may he not have rendered possible, in the near future, some practical applications of those principles to higher social needs? I venture to predict that, in thus building the *science* of *Sociology*, Mr. Spencer has prepared the way for the introduction, on the basis of that science, of the corresponding *art* of *Socioeracy*.

WHAT MR. LELAND GOT NO CHANCE TO SAY.

HAD Mr. Evarts still persevered, and given the toast, "*Evolution: no empty abstraction, but a guiding principle in practical life,*" Mr. E. R. Leland, of New York, would have cheerfully responded, however late, as follows :

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN : It would not be easy, even if it were possible, for me to add to the completeness of the able and eloquent discussions which have gone before as to the position of the doctrine of evolution ; its bearing upon the problems of society and nation-making ; its relations to religion and education ; but I am glad of an opportunity to pay my humble tribute to Mr. Spencer, to whom, in common with many, I owe a very great debt. In attempting this task I labor under the disadvantage that making remarks in public has never been any part of my business. I am not accustomed even to think in the terms used by philosophers, moralists, and scientific men ; for, like many others here, I am for the most part engaged in obeying the admonition of Bacon, who says, in effect, While philosophers are discussing as to whether the pursuit of pleasure or virtue is the greatest good, let it be your business to secure that which makes either possible. It is not bad advice, provided it be not followed too long and eagerly, but this egoistic pursuit is apt sadly to interfere with the acquisition of that learning which Mr. Spencer has just told us is for the uses of life.

For years, however, I have been an admirer and disciple of Mr. Spencer, and his books have been my companions. They are not usually regarded as easy reading, but rather are popularly supposed to answer pretty nearly

to Thoreau's definition of good books—"books that no intelligence can understand ; that an idle man can not read, and a timid man dare not." But here, as elsewhere, it needs but a little application to prove the truth of D'Alembert's maxim, "Go on, and the light will come to you."

There is a feeling, not uncommon, that the doctrine of evolution is concerned chiefly with matters that have but a distant connection with the affairs of every-day life. It is generally supposed that it relates principally to the development of systems and of worlds, to the origin of species, to the unity of creeds, and the various important but formidable subjects upon which it is considered safer and more comfortable for laymen to have teachers and experts to do their thinking for them. But Mr. Spencer, in his kindly criticism and sound advice to-night, and in the expression of his views which has recently appeared in the papers, shows plainly enough that, so far from dwelling in an atmosphere too rare for ordinary mortals, the bent of his genius is thoroughly practical ; and it requires no profound study of his system to learn that, however vast may be its scope, it is founded upon laws that have been discovered and studied by the aid of tangible and common facts, with which all are familiar ; so familiar that their true significance has remained unseen until pointed out by the great thinker whom we honor to-night. Not only is evolution based upon and illustrated by simple and familiar facts, but its applications are made to the sort of problems that are daily presented to us. It would be too much to say that it provides a formula that in unskilled hands will solve them all ; but it does help to classify and explain phenomena that are constantly coming to the notice of workers in every department of life, and the lessons that it teaches are those which even business-men must need to learn.

The contempt for theorizing which men who pride themselves upon being practical often express, is well known. It arises usually from a misconception, from confounding vagaries with theories, for it is a somewhat stale truism that the success of these men—and they are usually successful—is due to the care which they give to working out or adapting sound theories. What I wish here to call attention to is, that this contempt is not consistently held even by the men who avow it. Nothing is more common than for them to give nominal adherence to doctrines (theories) that are wholly inconsistent with the methods by which they regulate their business; they regularly listen and assent to teachings which if practically followed would bring immediate and utter confusion to their affairs; they subscribe to doctrines, as to the distribution of wealth, for example, that Professor Sumner would find a rather unstable foundation upon which to base a theory of economy; they aver their belief in miracles, but, in the provision of a feast like the one before us, they feel it safer to trust Mr. Delmonico than a caterer who would in any degree depend upon supernatural agencies to furnish the loaves and fishes, or the wine and cigars.

But this diametrical opposition between creeds and conduct is, and long has been, one of those awkward conflicts which each man has to reconcile for himself, and perhaps the less said about it the better. But it is proper to point out that the philosophy of evolution involves no inconsistencies of this kind. It deduces a code of morality, than which none is more exalted nor more exacting, from the same laws that regulate the conduct of an honest and sagacious man in the daily walks of life when he seeks to lay the foundations of a fortune and maintain and establish his family. The fundamental laws upon which the doctrine of evolution rests have a bearing on

the questions that daily confront business-men that is by no means remote. They are of practical and every-day importance. The law of the persistence of force, at the foundation of the evolution theory—that every manifestation of power must be preceded and followed by equivalent manifestations—has other applications than in pure physics. If understood, and remembered at the right time, it would protect men from worthless investments in Keely motors and kindred humbugs. If the laws of matter, which prove that by no sort of manipulation can something be had for nothing, were more familiar, men would not be led away by the vagaries of fiat money nor be deluded by the sophistries of protection. Not only would there come from such knowledge aid in avoiding errors and worthily winning wealth and honor, but it would bring to men a much-needed assistance in the execution of the desire, so often felt and so often proving abortive, to confer upon their fellows some portion of the benefits received; so that in their endowments and bequests there might appear a partial recognition of the agencies and the labors that have made such success possible.

It is obviously better that the laws that govern our endeavors should be followed intelligently than that they should be obeyed or disobeyed unknowingly, for they are inexorable, and no plea of ignorance avails. Man's activities are regulated by natural laws as exactly and as absolutely as are the movements of the spheres, and that which we are fond of calling human progress is but one phase of evolution in its comprehensive sweep.

To the man who has done more than any other to unfold to us these truths, the whole thinking world does homage. The tributes which have on this occasion been paid to his worth and his work have been so earnest and so touching, that it remains only to say to them a most hearty amen!

LETTERS.

BOSTON, November 6, 1882.

DEAR SIR : I regret that my engagements will not permit me to enjoy the meeting in honor of Mr. Spencer, which I hope may take place, as proposed, on the evening of the 9th of November.

It would have been a great pleasure to me to testify by my presence that I share the feelings of respect and admiration of which this occasion is one passing manifestation. Mr. Spencer has come nearer to the realization of Bacon's claim of all knowledge as his province than any philosopher of his time. It is a life's work to exhaust a single specialty as it must be studied to-day. "Go to the ant," with Sir John Lubbock ; "consider her ways," and learn what it is to study a square inch or two of Nature's surface. The man who takes the survey of the entire order of things as his specialty, must needs have a long stride and a clear outlook. He must have a well-measured and largely extended base-line of ascertained fact to begin with, and command the views which extend themselves from all the heights of the various sciences.

The facts of development furnished Mr. Spencer with his base-line. From the summit of one branch of knowledge after another, he has brought its phenomena into relation with this base-line and with each other, until we look with amazement upon the reach and compass of his vast triangulation of the universe.

Nature taught him her great law in the life of an egg which completes its history — a mass of organizable matter which has escaped being turned into an omelet ; a spot ; a line ; a groove ; a group of walled spaces with their soft contents ; self-distribution into regions ; self-differentiation into tissues and organs ; self-movement as a whole ; self-consciousness as an individual ; emergence at length from the inviolate secrecy of the divine studio where it has been shaped, a creature of God, full-armed to fight for its life against the elements. Just in this

same way, and no other, are built up the Newtons, the Youngs, the Darwins, the Spencers, who interpret the hieroglyphics of nature and of history for common mortals. All is development, and the standing illustration of it was laid before the world by the bride of Chanticleer, when she proclaimed to the virgin creation that she was a mother.

An apple gave the hint of gravitation. An egg taught the lesson of evolution. The old Roman banquets proceeded *ab ovo usque ad malum*; the courses of science have gone just the other way—*a malo usque ad ovum*—from the apple of Isaac Newton to the egg of Herbert Spencer.

May he live to place the cap-stone on that pyramid of achievements which is already one of the wonders of the modern intellectual world!

Very truly, yours,

O. W. HOLMES.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

ITHACA, N. Y., November 8, 1882.

DEAR SIR: I regret exceedingly that my duties at this university absolutely forbid my accepting your very kind and attractive invitation. Apart from the pleasure of joining in a festival such as you propose, and of meeting your distinguished guest, I would rejoice to add my testimony to that of others regarding the services rendered to this country by Mr. Herbert Spencer.

No competent person can look over the history of education in the United States during the past twenty years and not see that Mr. Spencer's ideas have been among the principal forces in bringing about the great and happy changes which have taken place. The movement in favor of physical training as a basis for intellectual training, the development of mental training in accordance with the methods and sequences of nature, the tendency more and more toward a moral training based upon ascertained natural law, the prominence given

to studies in science and to a more scientific method in pursuing every study—in short, the bringing of all human development into harmony with the methods stamped upon the constitution of the universe—for all this progress, our debt to him is great indeed.

And I am persuaded that we are but at the beginning of reforms which his thought has done so much to set in motion. More and more his ideas are becoming known, and more and more they are embodied in the practice of our best schools from highest to lowest. This tendency is no mere fashion; it is not at all spasmodic; it does not even seem to the casual observer rapid; but no thoughtful student can deny that this progress has a steadiness and persistency which give the best assurances of its long and beneficent continuance.

And I would add thanks for what he has done in planting a good germ into the thought of the entire nation within these last weeks. His recent utterances as to certain great wants among us, if pondered well, may also bring us a blessing.

With renewed thanks and regrets, I remain, dear sir,
very respectfully and truly yours,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

DR. W. J. YOUNG,
Secretary of Committee.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, NEW YORK,
PRESIDENT'S ROOM, *November 10, 1882.*

MY DEAR PROFESSOR: I can not refrain from expressing to you my regret and sorrow that I could not be present at the demonstration in honor of your illustrious guest of last evening, Mr. Herbert Spencer. It is impossible that any one should feel more profoundly than I do the magnitude of the debt which the world owes to that great man. In revealing and demonstrating the laws which govern all progress, physical, moral, or social, he has himself contributed the most powerful impulse to the progress of the human race toward the good and the true

that this or any other century has known. His 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.

The peculiarity of Herbert Spencer's system seems to me to be that it appeals directly to our intuitions, and is therefore at once clearly intelligible and self-evidently true; which is a character I can not give to any of the purely speculative philosophies with which the world abounds.

To have testified, therefore, by my presence or my voice, last evening, to my sense of the inappreciable value of the services rendered by this great man to the race of humanity, would have afforded me a satisfaction I find it difficult here to express. As you are aware of the causes which prevented, you will, I am sure, sympathize with me in my loss and my regret.

Sincerely yours,

F. A. P. BARNARD.

Professor E. L. YOUMANS.

GARDEN CITY, *November 6, 1882.*

DEAR SIR : I am particularly glad that your committee has included some of the *genus parson* in your invitations, for certain well-known peculiarities in its make-up have been displayed in a rather ungracious manner toward your distinguished guest. I am sure that all the best representatives of the clerical vocation, however they may differ from Mr. Spencer, entertain the profoundest respect for his abilities and character, and the sincerest gratitude for the single-minded service he has rendered the cause of truth. I am sure that all liberal-minded clergymen welcome truth—whoever brings it into the world, and in whatsoever shape it comes—and expect in the future no other basis for real religion than the truths science and philosophy yield ; though they surely look to see those truths blossom in the imagination into worship, and turn in action into the forces of social virtue.

Yours, etc.,

R. HEBER NEWTON.

Dr. W. J. Youmans,
Secretary of Committee.

CINCINNATI, *November 6, 1882.*

MY DEAR SIR : If it had been at all possible, I should have accepted with the greatest pleasure your invitation to attend the banquet in honor of Mr. Herbert Spencer on the eve of his return to Europe. Ever since the publication of his first volume of essays I have admired him as one of the brightest and most vigorous intellects of our time, and I now regard him as a philosophical writer who has done more than any other living Englishman, at least, to stimulate the thought and expand the horizon of his contemporaries. Although I am constrained to dissent from some of his propositions, and can not venture to express an opinion as to a large part of his writings covering a field to which I am a stranger, yet it appears to me that the value of his contributions to those sciences which deal with the life and growth of society can hardly be overestimated. I regret sincerely that I am unable to

avail myself of the opportunity you offer me to press the hand of one of the foremost thinkers of the age.

Very truly, yours, etc.,

J. B. STALLO.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, *November 9, 1882.*

DEAR SIR : Upon my return after a ten days' absence from home I found, through the kindness of your committee, an invitation to attend the banquet to Mr. Herbert Spencer to-night. Had it been possible, I should certainly have done so, notwithstanding the distance and other engagements.

I admire and, indeed, reverence so much Mr. Spencer's intellectual and moral greatness, that I should have through life esteemed it a most pleasant memory to meet him and joined in doing him honor. I had arranged, in conjunction with some other friends of his, to make his reception in Kentucky such as would have shown the appreciation in which he is held ; and it was quite a disappointment that he was compelled to abandon his Western excursion.

I trust that I may yet have the privilege of meeting him, here or in England.

Respectfully yours,

GEORGE M. DAVIE.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

NEW YORK CITY, 208 FIFTH AVENUE, *November 6, 1882.*

MY DEAR SIR : I am in receipt of your cordial invitation addressed to me, as a student of psychology, to join in a complimentary dinner to Mr. Herbert Spencer, and accept the same with the greatest pleasure.

Socrates, in the "Phædo," is made to quote to Simmias

and Cebes the old saying in the mysteries, "Many are the thyrsus-bearers, but few are the mystics," meaning, as he interprets the words, "the true philosophers." These words are true for all times, not less for the present than for the days of the great opponent of the Sophists. They are peculiarly true for that department of philosophy which we are accustomed to call psychology, a science which stands second to none in the importance of its relations to the progress of universal knowledge.

We have had opportunities to honor men eminent in various branches of physics, to celebrate the achievements of those who have made priceless contributions to politics, economics, and the other sociological sciences, but I do not remember that we in this city ever have had occasion to testify in any public manner our appreciation of a master in psychology. True, in Mr. Spencer we have pretty much all the virtues combined (except reverence for our time-honored methods of practical politics); but, while we honor him as a universal philosopher, let us not forget that we are doing homage to the greatest psychologist of modern times—indeed, I believe I am justified in saying, the greatest in the world's history.

This is no place to vindicate Mr. Spencer's claims, but I think his peculiar merit lies in the fact that he has applied the law of evolution with its consequent methods to mental phenomena, and read the history of the development of those phenomena in the light of that law. The effect of this application has been twofold: in the first place, in showing that the laws of mental development in the individual, through association and representation, are but laws of evolutionary differentiation and reintegration, and thus to be subsumed under the more general law of evolution which applies alike to the inorganic, the organic, and the superorganic worlds; in the second place, in showing how the progress of each individual mind is but an intermediate link in the general development of mind from the very lowest limits of organic nature, thus adding and making necessary to a true and complete mental science the whole realm of objective and comparative psychology, and connecting thereby the sciences of mind with those of material nature. It can scarcely be estimated how much this must contribute to the unifica-

tion of knowledge. And this magnificent service Mr. Spencer has rendered. His work marks a new epoch in psychological science.

I am, my dear sir, very respectfully yours,

DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

NEW YORK, *November 9, 1882.*

MY DEAR SIR: The invitation of your committee to the complimentary dinner to Mr. Herbert Spencer reached me in due course. I have waited until now to reply, hoping that circumstances would so shape themselves that I could send my acceptance.

My admiration for the distinguished Englishman whom you meet to honor is so great and unqualified that I write my regrets with more than disappointment. As a member of a church, I can still read Mr. Spencer's comments on the "creeds outworn" with the greatest spiritual profit. None but the most unobservant will deny that Herbert Spencer has done more than any other living man to modify the prevailing popular religious notions—I believe, very much for the better of the Church and humanity in general.

My desire to meet Mr. Spencer is not only strong by reason of my earnest admiration for the man, but is, I may say, *painfully curious*, on account of the perplexing condition of mind into which he has plunged me as to various philosophical and political subjects.

Brought up, as I was, by an old Scotch professor, in the school which holds that we have a separate, distinct, and lively factor, called "intuition," in our intellectual and moral make-up, which discloses to us absolute truths, quite independent of experience, I still cling, in philosophy as in religion, to the early lessons of my youth. But my *judgment* can not but recognize the tremendous force of the arguments advanced by the school of "experience." We are all, perhaps, unconsciously drifting toward a

general and complete acceptance of Herbert Spencer's philosophy, with its *few* postulates and its rigid logic.

Our national policy has almost uninterruptedly favored a protection, so called, of home industries. Sometimes I fear that the tendency toward the realization of a paternal form of government in other directions is very decided. Our economic system, dubbed by some the "American system," demands that the Government foster, yea, even bring into being, "infant industries," which we know can exist only at the expense of *all*, for the benefit of the *few*. In educational circles a like spirit of protecting the citizen against himself, or his own improvidence, prevails, and seems to be growing from year to year. The only reason, or excuse, for *public* education is entirely lost sight of. As a member of the Brooklyn Board of Education, I hear frequent mention of the immediate pressing necessity for *higher* education at the public cost. The elementary education for *all* classes, which is generally regarded as indispensable for the safety of the republic, and as a proper police regulation, is neglected for that something called a higher education. The advocates of the latter forget that only the favored few can afford to spend sufficient time to avail themselves of the high-school or free college; that such favored few can generally well afford to *pay* for their schooling; that in not paying for said schooling they are being supported by the community at large, *including the poorest*, who, though not directly contributing to the tax-fund, are yet indirectly, by the enhanced cost of living, suffering from the burden of improper taxation. The advocates of this higher education, above all things, forget that, to assist a man to stand *who is very well able to stand alone*, is to weaken him. The self-reliance and energy which we possess as a people or a race, as Mr. Spencer has taught us in more ways than one, are due to the fact that we have generally been left alone "to work out our own salvation."

"The Proper Sphere of Government" and Mr. Spencer's works on education have so affected my mind that it baffles me at times to see intelligent men insisting upon increasing the functions of government, and upon robbing the people of their most *lasting* and *valuable* educa-

tion acquired only in the school of *self-culture* and *self-reliance*.

I do now most heartily believe that Herbert Spencer's presence with us will make his influence felt more than ever, and that his words will be "as leaven to leaven the whole lump" of our political and social life.

Very sincerely, etc.,

FRED. W. HINRICHS.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

OTTAWA, November 3, 1882.

DEAR SIR: I thank you very much for the invitation you have kindly sent me to take part in a complimentary dinner to be given to Mr. Herbert Spencer on the 9th instant. Circumstances, I regret to say, will render it impossible for me to be present on the occasion in question; but I beg to assure you of my hearty sympathy with the object the committee have in view, of paying honor to one who stands forth incontestably as the foremost philosopher of the age.

It is now many years since Mr. Spencer's writings first fascinated me by their logical vigor, their breadth of design, and their sustained elevation of moral tone and purpose. To my youthful enthusiasm he appeared the one man in the whole world who was fully equipped to fight the intellectual battles of the time—a kind of Mr. Greatheart, under whose powerful protection humble pilgrims might journey in safety to a land of light and truth. And though, as I have hinted, some years have passed since then, and I have learned to do justice to other heroes of thought, I am not sure that my youthful enthusiasm was so far astray.

What has chiefly interested me in Mr. Spencer's philosophy has always been its claim to lay the foundations for a rational system of human morality. I do not say the foundations of morality; for these it does not rest with any man to lay. The scheme of things under which

we live either provides, or does not provide, for morality as the developed form of human conduct. If it does not, and if such morality as has heretofore existed in the world has been but a by-product, as it were, of transient theological systems, not the natural result of social action and reaction, then indeed is the lot of humanity a most unhappy one. If, on the other hand, there is that in the constitution of things which not only "makes for righteousness," but leads up to a love of righteousness for its own sake, then the highest service which any thinker can render to a doubting age is to bring the fact clearly to view ; in the words of Lucretius—

"E tenebris . . . tam clarum extollere lumen—"

so lighting up forces, as the poet goes on most happily to remark, the true advantages of life. This is a case in which much depends upon whether we are conscious of the rule of nature's working. It is one thing for the forces of nature to act upon beings unconscious of their drift or principle, and quite another for them to act upon a race of intelligent co-operators. To produce such a race is the aim, and I fully believe is the tendency, of all Mr. Spencer's writings. The world is half-conscious of this already—it will be more fully conscious of it by-and-by ; and the fame of Mr. Spencer will rest secure on the basis not only of his splendid intellectual gifts and achievements, but of his broad sympathy with humanity, and his lofty conception of the destinies of our race.

Believe me, dear sir, with great personal regard,

Yours very faithfully,

W. D. LE SUEUR.

DR. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

SPRINGFIELD REPUBLICAN, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.,
November 7, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR : It will give me great pleasure to share in the opportunity to do honor to Mr. Herbert Spencer, as proposed in your kind invitation of the 27th ultimo.

No man has more powerfully and healthfully stimulated the thoughtful minds of this generation, and especially of its younger portion. In sociology, especially as regards the tendencies of modern political life, and in the great field of education, so important in this country where education is undertaken by the state, we owe to him a great debt. The next generation, reaping the fruit of the seed which he has sown, will probably realize this more keenly than the present.

Hoping you will pardon the unavoidable delay and haste of this acknowledgment,

I remain, your obedient servant,

WILMOT L. WARREN.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

HOLLY HILLS, MARYLAND, *November 6, 1882.*

MY DEAR SIR : Be so good as to accept for yourself, and present to the other members of the committee, my sincere thanks for the invitation to the dinner to be given to Mr. Herbert Spencer at Delmonico's on the 9th instant. Nothing, I am sure, but the fact that Mr. Spencer came to the United States for rest and health, with his expressed desire that his visit might be one of quiet observation, has prevented such public demonstrations of the esteem in which he is held personally and as a writer, on this side of the Atlantic, as have very rarely been bestowed upon distinguished visitors. Mr. Spencer is eminently a teacher in whom there is no guile, and thousands of those who differ radically with him in his religious views, and who can not quite follow him in some of his philosophic teachings, greatly honor him for his independence and upright-

ness, for the clearness and vigor of his style, the ability with which he presents his own doctrines, and the fairness of his treatment of opponents.

I have great admiration of him, and sincerely regret that my engagements at home prevent me from being present.

Very truly yours,
HUGH McCULLOCH.

Dr. W. J. YOUMANS,
Secretary of Committee.

APPENDIX.

[*The following remarks, in further development of the ideas of his address, were prefixed by Mr. Spencer to the English reprint of his American papers.*]

A FEW words may fitly be added respecting the causes of this over-activity in American life—causes which may be identified as having in recent times partially operated among ourselves, and as having wrought kindred, though less marked, effects. It is the more worth while to trace the genesis of this undue absorption of the energies in work, since it well serves to illustrate the general truth which should be ever present to all legislators and politicians, that the indirect and unforeseen results of any cause affecting a society are frequently, if not habitually, greater and more important than the direct and foreseen results.

This high pressure under which Americans exist, and which is most intense in places like Chicago, where the prosperity and rate of growth are greatest, is seen by many intelligent Americans themselves to be an indirect result of their free institutions and the absence of those class-distinctions and restraints existing in older communities. A society in which the man who dies a millionaire is so often one who commenced life in poverty, and in which (to paraphrase a French saying concerning

the soldier) every news-boy carries a president's seal in his bag, is, by consequence, a society in which all are subject to a stress of competition for wealth and honor, greater than can exist in a society whose members are nearly all prevented from rising out of the ranks in which they were born, and have but remote possibilities of acquiring fortunes. In those European societies which have in great measure preserved their old types of structure (as in our own society up to the time when the great development of industrialism began to open ever-multiplying careers for the producing and distributing classes) there is so little chance of overcoming the obstacles to any great rise in position or possession, that nearly all have to be content with their places: entertaining little or no thought of bettering themselves. A manifest concomitant is that, fulfilling, with such efficiency as a moderate competition requires, the daily tasks of their respective situations, the majority become habituated to making the best of such pleasures as their lot affords, during whatever leisure they get. But it is otherwise where an immense growth of trade multiplies greatly the chances of success to the enterprising; and still more is it otherwise where class-restrictions are partially removed or wholly absent. Not only are more energy and thought put into the time daily occupied in work, but the leisure comes to be trenched upon, either literally by abridgment, or else by anxieties concerning business. Clearly, the larger the number who, under such conditions, acquire property, or achieve higher positions, or both, the sharper is the spur to the rest. A raised standard of activity establishes itself and goes on rising. Public applause given to the successful, becoming in communities thus circumstanced the most familiar kind of public applause, increases continually the stimulus to action. The struggle grows more and more strenuous, and there comes an increasing dread

of failure—a dread of being “left,” as the Americans say : a significant word, since it is suggestive of a race in which, the harder any one runs, the harder others have to run to keep up with him—a word suggestive of that breathless haste with which each passes from a success gained to the pursuit of a further success. And, on contrasting the English of to-day with the English of a century ago, we may see how, in a considerable measure, the like causes have entailed here kindred results.

Even those who are not directly spurred on by this intensified struggle for wealth and honor are indirectly spurred on by it. For one of its effects is to raise the standard of living, and eventually to increase the average rate of expenditure for all. Partly for personal enjoyment, but much more for the display which brings admiration, those who acquire fortunes distinguish themselves by luxurious habits. The more numerous they become, the keener becomes the competition for that kind of public attention given to those who make themselves conspicuous by great expenditure. The competition spreads downward step by step, until, to be “respectable,” those having relatively small means feel obliged to spend more on houses, furniture, dress, and food, and are obliged to work the harder to get the requisite larger income. This process of causation is manifest enough among ourselves ; and it is still more manifest in America, where the extravagance in style of living is greater than here.

Thus, though it seems beyond doubt that the removal of all political and social barriers, and the giving to each man an unimpeded career, must be purely beneficial, yet there is, at first, a considerable set-off from the benefits. Among those who, in older communities, have by laborious lives gained distinction, some may be heard privately to confess that “the game is not worth the candle,” and, when they hear of others who wish to tread in their steps,

shake their heads and say, "If they only knew!" Without accepting in full so pessimistic an estimate of success, we must still say that very generally the cost of the candle deducts largely from the gain of the game. That which in these exceptional cases holds among ourselves holds more generally in America. An intensified life, which may be summed up as great labor, great profit, great expenditure, has for its concomitant a wear and tear which considerably diminishes in one direction the good gained in another. Added together, the daily strain through many hours and the anxieties occupying many other hours—the occupation of consciousness by feelings that are either indifferent or painful, leaving relatively little time for occupation of it by pleasurable feelings—tend to lower its level more than its level is raised by the gratifications of achievement and the accompanying benefits. So that it may, and in many cases does, result that diminished happiness goes along with increased prosperity. Unquestionably, as long as order is fairly maintained, that absence of political and social restraints which gives free scope to the struggles for profit and honor conduces greatly to material advance of the society—develops the industrial arts, extends and improves the business organizations, augments the wealth; but that it raises the value of individual life, as measured by the average state of its feeling, by no means follows. That it will do so eventually, is certain; but, that it does so now, seems, to say the least, very doubtful.

The truth is, that a society and its members act and react in such wise that while, on the one hand, the nature of the society is determined by the natures of its members, on the other hand, the activities of its members (and presently their natures) are re-determined by the needs of the society, as these alter: change in either entails change in the other. It is an obvious implication that, to a great

extent, the life of a society so sways the wills of its members as to turn them to its ends. That which is manifest during the militant stage, when the social aggregate coerces its units into co-operation for defense, and sacrifices many of their lives for its corporate preservation, holds under another form during the industrial stage, as we at present know it. Though the co-operation of citizens is now voluntary instead of compulsory, yet the social forces impel them to achieve social ends while apparently achieving only their own ends. The man who, carrying out an invention, thinks only of private welfare to be thereby secured, is in far larger measure working for public welfare ; instance the contrast between the fortune made by Watt and the wealth which the steam-engine has given to mankind. He who utilizes a new material, improves a method of production, or introduces a better way of carrying on business, and does this for the purpose of distancing competitors, gains for himself little compared with that which he gains for the community by facilitating the lives of all. Either unknowingly or in spite of themselves, Nature leads men by purely personal motives to fulfill her ends : Nature being one of our expressions for the Ultimate Cause of things, and the end, remote when not proximate, being the highest form of human life.

Hence no argument, however cogent, can be expected to produce much effect : only here and there one may be influenced. As in an actively militant stage of society it is impossible to make many believe that there is any glory preferable to that of killing enemies ; so, where rapid material growth is going on, and affords unlimited scope for the energies of all, little can be done by insisting that life has higher uses than work and accumulation. While among the most powerful of feelings continue to be the desire for public applause and dread of public censure—while the anxiety to achieve distinction, now by conquer-

ing enemies, now by beating competitors, continues predominant — while the fear of public reprobation affects men more than the fear of divine vengeance (as witness the long survival of dueling in Christian societies)—this excess of work which ambition prompts seems likely to continue with but small qualification. The eagerness for the honor accorded to success, first in war and then in commerce, has been indispensable as a means to peopling the earth with the higher types of man, and the subjugation of its surface and its forces to human use. Ambition may fitly come to bear a smaller ratio to other motives, when the working out of these needs is approaching completeness ; and when also, by consequence, the scope for satisfying ambition is diminishing. Those who draw the obvious corollaries from the doctrine of evolution—those who believe that the process of modification upon modification which has brought life to its present height must raise it still higher, will anticipate that “the last infirmity of noble minds” will in the distant future slowly decrease. As the sphere for achievement becomes smaller, the desire for applause will lose that predominance which it now has. A better ideal of life may simultaneously come to prevail. When there is fully recognized the truth that moral beauty is higher than intellectual power—when the wish to be admired is in large measure replaced by the wish to be loved—that strife for distinction which the present phase of civilization shows us will be greatly moderated. Along with other benefits may then come a rational proportioning of work and relaxation ; and the relative claims of to-day and to-morrow may be properly balanced.

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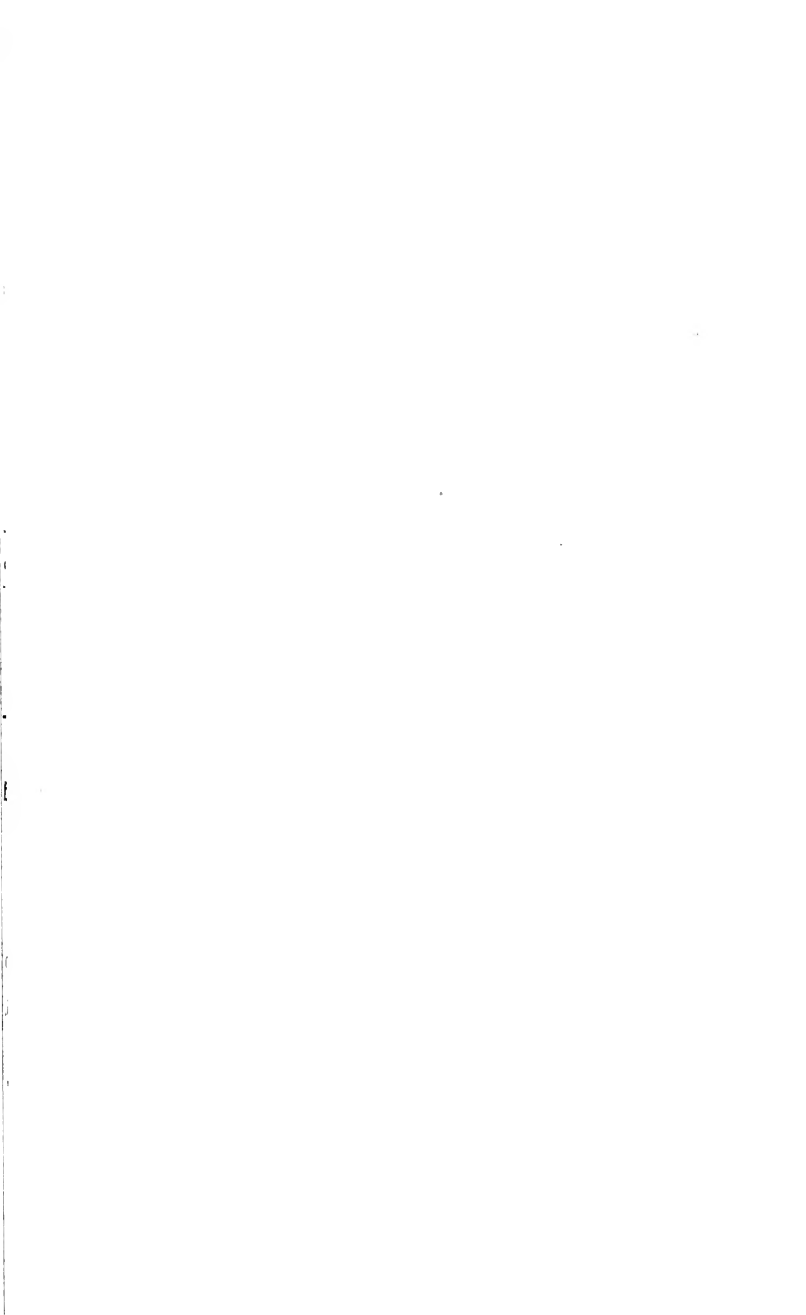
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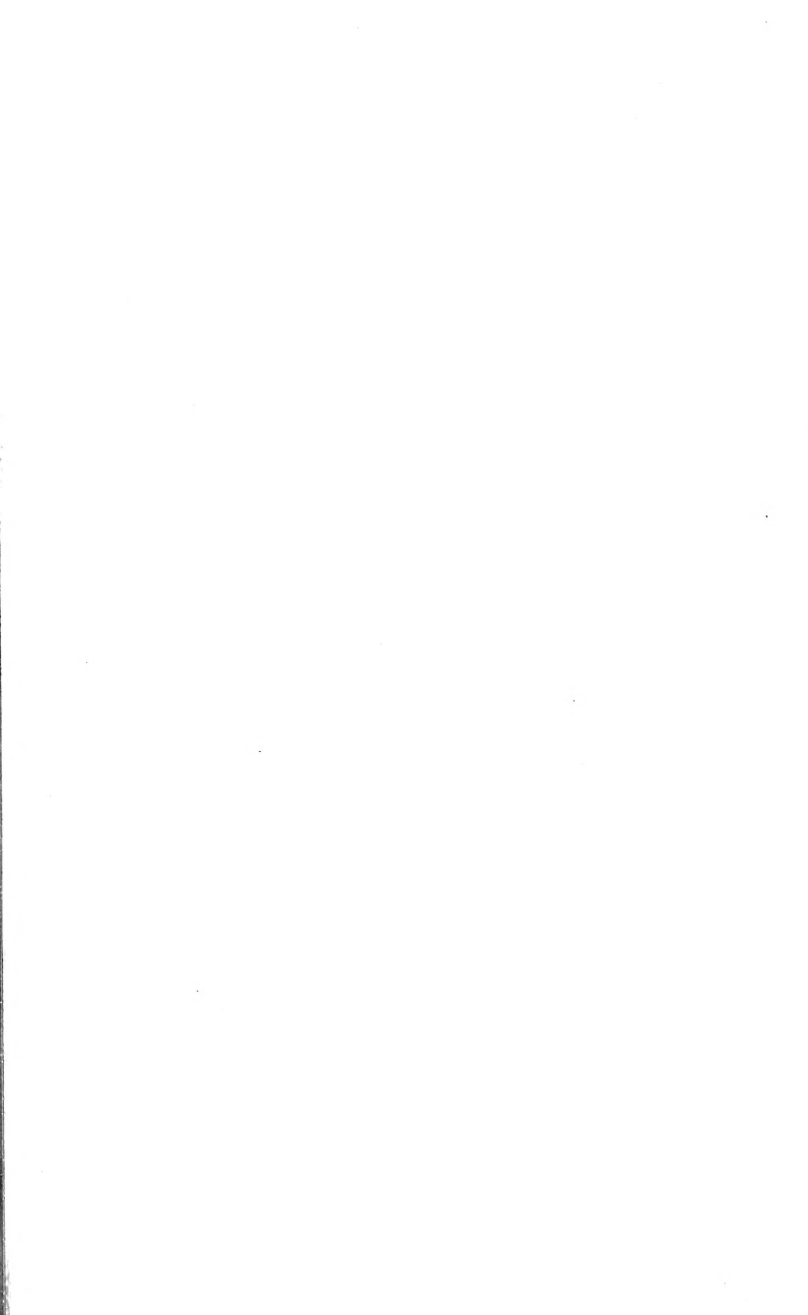
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