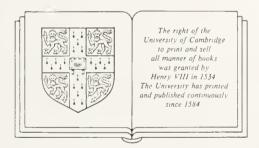


Benjamin Kidd Portrait of a Social Darwinist

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INTRODUCTION

In the early 1890s a thirty-five year old clerk in the British civil service submitted a bulky manuscript to his superior, Alfred Milner, the future Lord Milner and famous pro-consul in South Africa. Milner was impressed and lent his influence towards publication of the work. The clerk was Benjamin Kidd (1858–1916), son of a constable in the Royal Irish Constabulary Force, and educated in a remote part of County Clare. Kidd's was to be a case of overnight success, a 'rags to riches' story worthy of Samuel Smiles or Horatio Alger. The studious clerk and occasional journalist became an instant celebrity. The man who kept colonies of ants and bees in his study, whose dream was to apply the most advanced Darwinian principles to society, to pioneer an holistic science of society based on biology, found his life dramatically transformed. His book, Social Evolution, became an enormous best-seller in Britain and America, and was translated into at least ten languages including Arabic and Chinese. Whatever its intellectual merits - and they were freely disputed - it was demonstrably a book of its time. It was constantly quoted, preached from the pulpit, set as a text by American universities. It became a landmark in the history of Social Darwinism. Opinions were passionately divided about it. One east coast critic in the United States flatly declared that 'the book supplied a basis on which to begin the science of sociology heretofor non-existent. In the chronology of that science, 1894 will hereafter be known as the year one, and Mr. Kidd's book as Volume One in its bibliography.' Harold Laski, the socialist intellectual and rational humanist, later debunked it as 'an mosaic of ill-considered half-truth'.¹ Henry amazing Demarest Lloyd, egalitarian and anti-monopolist, America's

apostle of social justice, liked Kidd's altruistic ideas, but was alarmed that 'he promised the business system a new lease of life and authority by his philosophy of struggle, and the ecclesiastical system renewed infallibility'.² Others accused Kidd of socialist tendencies and religious heresies. The conservative W.H. Mallock deemed the book 'a piece of monumental clap-trap' that 'provided a scientific basis for democracy – democracy by constant implications being identified with some form of Socialism'.³

Kidd's highly idiosyncratic mix of ideas created immense interest on the part of a fin de siècle generation mesmerised by speculation on the future of man. He reflected the exploratory temper of the age, its apocalyptic sense of change and crisis. He offered a bio-politics that seemed timely, given the turn-of-thecentury revolution in genetics. He promised a new synthesis of knowledge, a new gestalt, one that sought to restore emotional and non-rational forces to their rightful place in the hierarchy of human drives. And he seemed to be doing so by using a scientific methodology (a claim that his rationalist critics were, quite properly, suspicious about). His 'irrationalism' - his belief that progress depended upon essentially non-rational forces, especially religious - chimed in with the mood of the 1890s. The revolt against reason associated with names like Nietzsche had already well set in. Kidd foreshadowed, in some ways, thinkers such as Bergson, Sorel, Jung and Teilhard de Chardin. His Darwinian defence of religion as a racepreserving force earned contemporary attention at a time of growing détente between the protagonists in the science versus religion debate. Kidd's up-dated Social Darwinism modified the competitive conflict models of people like Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. He brought applied Darwinism into line with the more collectivist values associated in America with Progressivism, and in Britain with the 'Oxford Idealism' of T.H. Green and Bernard Bosanguet, and after that the 'new liberalism' of men like J.A. Hobson and L.T. Hobhouse.

Politically, Kidd offered something for almost everybody: a

defence of competition for laissez-fairists; a vision splendid of triumphant democracy for apostles of progress; anti-socialism for conservatives, a spicing of socialism for the left; a rationale for Anglo-Saxon imperialists. But his versatility was a twoedged weapon. Believers were offended by his functional defence of religion, scientists by his faith in unreason and loose speculation, the scholarly by his pinched concept of rationality and his slanted account of history. Like H.G. Wells he was attuned to the secret harmonies of the age. But also like Wells, he was a spiky individualist who had the knack of treading upon toes, even those of his supporters.

The phenomenal success of Social Evolution enabled its author ultimately to devote himself to a life of writing, travel, naturalist studies and politics. A deadly serious man with a mission, he set out to be a social prophet in the tradition of Comte and Spencer. He wrote more books: The Control of the Tropics (1898), Principles of Western Civilisation (1902), Individualism and After (1908) and The Science of Power (published posthumously in 1918). As well, he contributed influential articles to periodicals and encyclopaedias - he persuaded the Encyclopaedia Britannica to print its first piece on sociology - and churned out numerous columns as a free-lance journalist, writing over ninety articles for J.L. Garvin's Outlook. He helped form the British Sociological Society, within which he fought a running battle against the eugenists led by Francis Galton and Karl Pearson. Although none of his later works achieved the extraordinary impact of his first book, they were not without their influence and significance. Control of the Tropics adumbrated a bio-political defence of empire that won considerable currency in the Anglo-American world at a time of expansionist fervour. Joseph Chamberlain admitted its influence upon him, and President McKinley was urged by expansionists to consult its argument. Kidd travelled to the United States in 1898, to find himself engulfed in the debate over the Spanish war and acquisition of the Philippines. His contacts with 'Social Gospel' reformers and anti-monopolists stimulated a

radicalisation of his thought. His 'Social Imperialism' advocated an amalgam of imperialism with social reform, a doctrine that seemed much less outlandish to that generation than to our own. His Anglo-Saxonism – unlike some other cults of the time – rested not upon racist genetics but upon the more flexible concept of 'social efficiency'. He called for western development of vital tropical resources needed for the world economy. But it should take place, he insisted, under a paternalistic system respecting indigenous rights. His programme anticipated early twentieth-century policies of trusteeship.

Principles of Western Civilisation was an ambitious book, 'the first volume of a system of evolutionary philosophy'. As such it flopped. It was his worst-received work, at least in the west. Yet even this flawed work excited interest and controversy with its futurist concept of 'projected efficiency': the idea that successful social orders worked according to an evolutionary principle that subordinated the interests of presently existing individuals to that of a collectivity of individuals, 'the overwhelming proportion of whose members are still in the future'. Western Civilisation enjoyed a considerable vogue in early twentieth-century China, Kidd being regarded as one of the more important harbingers of western science and reform. He inspired Mao Tse-tung's early mentor Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, who described the work as 'a great light to the future'. There is a lesson here, one suspects, for the practitioners of the 'great man' theory of biography. The mental structures of the world have not been exclusively shaped by the classic big books. It is our intellectual snobbery that tempts us to think so. Mass readerships have commonly seized upon the popular sociologies and pulp politics of the day as more relevant aids in cultural navigation.

After a trip to war-torn South Africa in 1902, Kidd became closely involved in Joseph Chamberlain's tariff-reform campaign, became indeed a significant theoretician of that movement. As a Liberal of the 'new variety', he wanted social justice plus national efficiency at home. He became convinced that these things could only be achieved by an economic revolution that linked tariff reform and imperial reconstruc-tion. The 'free scramble' dogma was indifferent to moral obligation. Domestically it would only lead to an Americanstyle capitalism based on monopoly, 'vaster, more permanent, more highly organised, and more intelligently systematic, than has been known in the world before'. Globally it led to the rule of international corporations, bodies that transcended the nation and would encroach upon Britain's independence and economic viability – unless resisted by tariff protection. He painted a dark but believable picture of a free-trade Britain surviving on its capital and entrepreneurial skills, steadily losing its innovative power. Attracted by Chamberlain's larger-than-life personality and vision, Kidd collaborated in Joe's attempts to create a tariff-reform 'Cave of Adullam' within the Liberal party, a 'new force' in politics. His correspondence with Chamberlain, Milner, and their circles, sheds light on the turbulent politics of 1903–6, not least on the behind-the-scenes manoeuvring that took place in the journalistic world, in clubs such as the National Liberal Club, the Eighty Club and the Savile, and in intellectual societies such as the Co-efficients, Compatriots and X Club. When Campbell-Bannerman triumphed over Balfour and Chamberlain at the 1906 election – the triumph of 'Liberalism of the Anti', Kidd called it – he withdrew, disillusioned, from politics.

Living reclusively in the countryside, first in Kent, then in Sussex, Kidd pursued his naturalist studies, making occasional interventions in campaigns that concerned him – such as feminism and syndicalism after 1910 – but essentially devoting himself to the life of ideas, always more important to him than the life of action. He was ever the seeker after the 'secret key' to knowledge, the man who hoped to give enlightenment to the world. There was always a mystical streak in his makeup, and it intensified with time. His methodology became more intuitive as he progressively lost faith in positivistic science, even at the last in Darwinism. Although not without ambivalence, his thought tended to become more collectivist - his books are full of violent attacks upon monopoly and capitalism – while his tone became more visionary and utopian. In his short works, his Two Principal Laws of Sociology (1907-8) and Individualism and After (the Herbert Spencer lecture for 1908), he denounced Spencerism as an atomistic creed that had outlived its usefulness. He predicted a future of big states and empires, but ultimately one organic commonwealth of mankind, transcending nationalism and governed by a cooperative and futurist ethic. It was a vision that combined oddly disparate elements: religion, Anglo-Saxon imperialism, welfare state with a dash of anarchism. He stigmatised both classic capitalism and Marxism (which he described as an extension of utilitarianism) as materialistic, force-worshipping, and biologically selfdefeating. 'I do not know whether you will call me a reactionary or a revolutionary', he remarked innocently in his Spencer lecture. Scholars have wavered on the matter ever since.

During this phase of millenarianism he believed that the world was becoming ever more ethical and peace-loving, a view commonly associated with orthogenic Darwinism. 'A state founded upon coercion must become an impossibility of civilised humanity in the future', he wrote in 1906. However the European arms race, cut-throat trading rivalries and labour-capital confrontation darkened his vision. He oscillated between his utopian sociology and a doomsday economism that prophesied a global conflict between the great powers for resources. He spent his last years writing a book that might save a world and a civilisation on the precipice of disaster. Finished four days before war broke out in 1914, Science of Power had to be re-cast in a desperate race against time and ill health. The final version was completed in the summer of 1916, a few weeks before his death. It offered a powerful indictment of the false doctrines - including Darwinism and imperialism - that had led to militarism, authoritarianism and world catastrophe. Believing that cultural evolution was the key to human progress, he saw only

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one remedy for the crisis of the west: the collective organisation of society for peace and mutuality, achieved by wholesale social conditioning, an 'environmentalist' solution consistent with mankind's higher evolutionary destiny. Woman would play a central role in this change because of her capacity for self-transcendence. She would become the 'psychic centre' of human history, custodian of the future against the present.

Science of Power only temporarily rescued Kidd's reputation. His work lost favour with the disillusioned post-war generation. (The reasons for this are explored in the concluding chapter.) By 1930 he was practically forgotten, although his ideas continued to be displayed, like intellectual fossils, by writers on political science and sociology. Among the more interesting assessments of Kidd's place in the history of the social sciences were those of Harry Elmer Barnes, sociologist and revisionist historian, in 1922, and Pitirim Sorokin, the Russian-born Harvard sociologist, in 1928. The influential commentaries of Crane Brinton (1933), Richard Hofstadter (1944), and Bernard Semmel (1960) accorded Kidd his due, but were not without bite, sarcasm and degrees of distortion. Semmel, for instance, judged him 'the first of the English sociologists to alter the direction of Social Darwinism from its Spencerian path, who lived to regret his association with this "science of power" '. Brinton's reformist dislike of Weissmanist genetic ideas led him to portray Kidd as a complacent imperialist who contrived to use biology to save religion from the positivists, and whose political impact was largely 'Tory'. Brief, but intelligent, appraisals of Kidd have recently appeared in the monographs of Michael Freeden on new liberalism (1978) and Robert C. Bannister on Anglo-American Social Darwinism (1979), raising hopes of a new sophistication towards him in the literature.⁴ However in the general textbooks Kidd is still remembered, if at all, as a conservative Social Darwinist, spokesman of white racist imperialism, a man who, like Robert Knox before him or Galton, Pearson and the Fascists later, believed in the genetic inferiority of the dark races. Kidd's theory of race as socially determined, his

reformist and anti-capitalist ideas, his preference for democracy over elitism,⁵ even his impact upon Chinese revolutionary thought (now emphasised by China scholars) have been largely ignored. So too has the flux and development of his thought during his life-time, a subject on which biographical insight has been lamentably lacking.

Labels are dangerous, and in Kidd's case particularly so. But if we were to pin a label upon him, the more appropriate one would surely be 'reform Darwinist' rather than 'primitivist' or 'conservative' Social Darwinist. (I have used the term 'Social Darwinism' broadly to denote the application of Darwinian evolutionary ideas to social and political thought, a usage that includes reform Darwinism, in preference to more limited or technical usages.)⁶ Some of his writings, indeed, evoke comparisons with the American 'muckrakers' and European socialists. While regarding competition as biologically necessary for social progress - a position that set him against socialism - his preferred model was a socialised liberal capitalism that protected society's victims, a system very much like that of the English 'new liberals' and not all that removed from the interventionist blueprints of the Fabians and Social Democrats. Such similarities should not, however, be allowed to obscure the significant differences that existed between his style of thought and that of many American progressives and English liberals. Their recurring charges that he lacked sympathy with the central categories of liberal thought were sometimes unfair, but were not entirely baseless. There was an authoritarian potential to his ideas that will be explored in this volume. On this matter, as so often, he articulated a common feeling, this time about the inadequacies of liberalism. As I shall argue, Kidd is most profitably interpreted as reflecting the ambiguities of his age, its intellectual evasions as well as its lasting perceptions. By following his career, the biographer is enabled, like an historical geologist, to take a 'core-sample' from the rocks and strata of this particular period.

Kidd, the man, is an elusive and enigmatic figure. He left no

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confidential diaries or memoirs, and deliberately avoided personal publicity. Information is desperately scanty on many aspects of his life. Perhaps for these reasons no previous biography exists. His papers, now in Cambridge University Library, and his extensive journalism have been largely neglected. It is not my intention to restore Kidd to the dizzy heights upon which he stood, even if that were possible, or to make exaggerated claims about his intellectual stature. His faults were always painfully obvious to the intellectuals. They were puzzled, sometimes intrigued, by his influence. The story of his success, and failures, is worth scrutiny. He was an egotist - an egotist afflicted by self-doubts and timidity - who wrote on the grand scale, with imagination, and he considered himself better by far than the narrow academics of his day. Perhaps he was not entirely wrong. He was at least willing to invest every ounce of his energy in an unrelenting and highly idealistic search for the truth about humankind, its evolutionary history and ultimate destiny. If he was obsessive, fixated, with delusions of messianic grandeur, perhaps that was integral to the task. Kidd was a complex man, and it may never be possible to paint him in rich colour and telling detail: the documents are too fugitive for that. Nor is his exact impact upon the mental structures of his time easy to ascertain, or his legacy for our century. His preoccupations and areas of interest were in many respects quintessentially 'modern'. He would not have felt out of place in the age of Desmond Morris, E.O. Wilson, or Theodore Roszak, of socio-biology, doomsday prophecy and counter-culture. If this study contributes to a better understanding of Kidd, the man and the writer, it will have served its purpose.

1

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

The family name Kidd, also spelt Kyd or Kid, is ancient English. It arose early in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, London and Scotland, the Kidds being mainly veomanry and landed gentry in mainland Britain. In Ireland, where Benjamin Kidd came from, they were what a modern descendant called 'a middle class lot', professionals, traders and farmers. Many of them were clothiers. By religion the Irish Kidds were predominantly Protestant. The first Kidds to arrive in numbers in the north were Presbyterian Scots immigrants, mainly traders and settlers from ports on the Firth of Clyde. They landed soon after Cromwell's suppression of Ireland in 1649, the year Monroe sailed from Scotland and 'settled' Ulster. The records suggest that the Kidd clan became firmly established in the linen industry. A southern spread of northern Kidds took place from the late seventeenth century, largely down the fertile lands situated on the western side of the River Bann in Derry. The Kidds of southern Ireland can be plausibly derived from a Richard Kidd, who probably came from Yorkshire of Quaker origins and was engaged in the clothing trade. The main family branches to stem from Richard Kidd were the Kidds of Corebally, Cranemore, Ballyrankin, Ballisland (or Ballingale), Askamore, and, further afield, Limerick, Athlone and Dublin. Most of these families were Protestant, a number of them Episcopalians. They tended to marry people with surnames of English rather than Irish extraction, few marrying with the local Catholic Irish. From the later eighteenth century considerable emigration took place amongst them to North America, Australia, South Africa and Britain. The subject of this biography was descended from the Askamore Kidds, or so the evidence suggests.

Benjamin Kidd, the son of Benjamin and Mary Kidd, was born on 9 September 1858 near Bandon, about twenty miles south-west of Cork.¹ He was baptised on 21October 1858 in the Wesleyan Methodist church at Bandon. A certain obscurity surrounds the question of his ancestry, particularly on his father's side, and also the circumstances of his birth, subjects on which he and his father were to be notably reticent during their lives. Genealogical research has done little to shed light on the origins of this particular branch of the Kidd family tree.² Benjamin's father, also named Benjamin Kidd (c. 1831-1914), was a constable in the Royal Irish Constabulary, which he joined at the age of eighteen. The RIC records give his height as 5 foot 858 inches, his religion Protestant, his trade or calling 'Servant', his native county Wicklow. He was to serve for over thirty years in the RIC with a favourable record: no punishments, promoted three times (1851, 1862, 1865), and pensioned in 1881 with the sum of $\pounds 72$. A photograph taken of him in 1900 shows a still-handsome gentleman of distinguished bearing and confident mien. His grand-daughter remembered him as a 'tall, slim aristocratic looking old gentleman very alert and active'.³ He was to die in 1914 aged about eighty-three when he contracted pneumonia whilst visiting his descendants in Canada. Not much is known about Benjamin Kidd Senior's childhood and youth. His youngest son Wesley recalled:

my father never told us anything about himself nor his family though we all tried many times to get some information on the subject. My mother however used to tell us that he lived when a boy with an older sister in a 'very large house', that this sister was not very nice to him and that he wanted to run away to sea and eventually did so. He did not much like it and was afraid to go home so drifted round the world until eventually he joined the Royal Irish Constabulary where he was in some official position or other when my mother met him.⁴

From clues such as this, from his given origin in Wicklow, from his statement in his marriage certificate that his father's name was also Benjamin Kidd, occupation farmer, and from much-handed-down family tales, it has been speculated that Constable Kidd was the grandson of Thomas Kidd of Askamore (1750-1850).⁵ Askamore was in County Wexford, across the border from Carnew, in County Wicklow, the parish of Carnew including Askamore. The Carnew registers contain by far the greatest number of Kidd entries of any parish in southern Ireland. Thomas Kidd, a fifth generation Kidd, was a substantial landowner. He lived to be a hundred and was, according to family lore, married three times, fathering eight children by his second wife and three by his third wife, the last being born when Thomas was eighty-one. It is possible, although documentation is desperately unsatisfactory, that a son Benjamin (Constable Kidd's father) was Thomas Kidd's first-born, the only issue of a short first marriage (c. 1780-3), his wife (possibly a local girl, Susan Collier) dying soon after the birth. Thomas soon married a Susanna Poole, and family stories suggest that a young 'Bennie' was raised with Susanna's children. Thomas Kidd prospered after 1804, acquiring considerable land in Askamore. Susanna died in 1824, and the seventy-six-year-old Thomas married Jane Dunbar in 1826. Benjamin, the presumed first son, nowhere appears in the local records (although this was not so unusual in the days before compulsory registration of births or marriages). However on the death of Thomas Kidd in 1850 one Ann Kidd, widow, was established on one acre of Thomas's land at Money, near Askamore. It may be that she was Benjamin's wife, that he had farmed on his father's lands and died some decades earlier (or perhaps deserted his wife and emigrated to the United States when a number of Thomas Kidd's children by Susanna went there in the mid-1830s after their father's new marriage). In that case his offspring, young Benjamin, born c. 1831 to Ann Kidd, may well have spent his childhood living with old Thomas Kidd (in a 'very large house'), later perhaps helping his mother and older sister on a small farm, possibly that at Money which she was to inherit in 1850. By then he had, presumably, run away to sea, returning to join the constabulary around the year of his grandfather's death. Ann Kidd died in 1867 aged eighty.

Eight years after joining the constabulary, Benjamin Kidd married Mary Rebecca Dawson (1833-1916), the third daughter of John Dawson of Farranhavane, three and a half miles north-west of Bandon in County Cork, to which locality Constable Kidd had been assigned. The young lady, attractive and well-educated, came from a prosperous and respected family. The Dawsons can be traced back to the seventeenth century. Captain John Dawson of Drummany, County Monaghan (born c. 1610), was one of the Irish landed gentry at the time of Cromwell's invasion of Ireland. A John Dawson is recorded in the Inrolments of the Adjudications in favour of the 1649 officers preserved in the office of the Chief Remembrancer of Exchequer Dublin. A Richard Dawson is said to have been an officer in Cromwell's army. Among his descendants was Richard Dawson who inherited the title Baron Cremorne of Castle Dawson (Irish peerage), and his son Richard, created Baron Dartrey 1847 and Earl Dartrey 1866 (English peerage). The Dawsons of Farranhavane had urban bourgeois origins. Mary Dawson's grandfather Richard was a draper of Cork who came to manage the lands of the Baldwin family, whose country mansion 'Mount Pleasant' lay close to Bandon. Richard and his family eventually lived upon the Baldwin estate. His tombstone in Templemartin churchyard is inscribed 'The burying ground of Richard Dawson of Mount Pleasant and family.' His son John Dawson (1792-1885) also managed the Dawson estates, and he acquired Farranhavane House, close to 'Mount Pleasant'. Farranhavane was a large house with attached farm buildings and lands. John Dawson married Anne Ford (1810-66) in 1829, the union producing six girls and five boys.

The marriage of Mary Dawson below her station to the handsome, but impecunious, Constable Kidd was disapproved by her family.⁶ If the documents are correct, there was a further reason for the rift which developed between the young couple and the Dawson family, namely, that Mary

Dawson was pregnant before marriage. The date of marriage of Benjamin Kidd and Mary Dawson is given as 12 August 1858 in the Dublin Customs House Register. According to the baptismal registry of the Bandon Circuit of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, a son, Benjamin, was born to the couple on 9 September 1858.⁷ A conflicting date of 12 May 1858 for the marriage appears in the RIC personal file on Benjamin Kidd (PRO), but even if that date is accepted only four months elapsed between marriage and birth. If Benjamin Kidd was conceived out of wedlock, this could explain not only the estrangement between Mary and her family, depriving her own children of a sense of family security and respectability that connection with the Dawsons may have supplied, but also the sense of secrecy and mystery, even scandal, concerning family origins that was conveyed to the Kidd children, and had its psychological effects. Whether Benjamin Kidd knew of the circumstances of his birth is not known. His eldest son, Franklin, averred many years later: 'I feel certain that he did not know of the marriage records',⁸ and this opinion requires respect in view of Franklin's close relation with his father, his acuteness and open-mindedness. At the same time, complete frankness between father and son was not necessarily to be expected on such a sensitive topic, particularly in the late Victorian and Edwardian years. It seems not unreasonable to assume the possibility that young Benjamin came to know, or suspect, the secret of his birth from gossip circulating within the large Dawson family, their servants, and friends. This could explain his extreme reluctance throughout his life to offer even the barest details about his early life, when every temptation existed to portray his success as a Smilesean selfhelp saga, a 'rags to riches' story so beloved of Victorian audiences. One could postulate a psychological trauma and guilt-complex induced in Benjamin that required resolution through sublimation, issuing in demonstrable success achieved by markedly individual, even unorthodox, effort. His abstinent life-style might also be interpreted as a subconscious rebellion against the perceived parental hedonism

that led to his conception.9

Not long after Benjamin's birth his father was stationed at Ennis, the capital of County Clare, a small assize town standing on the River Fergus, some twenty-three miles northwest of Limerick in western Ireland. The family lived in barracks about three miles out of Ennis, and there were born and raised the rest of Mary's eleven children, four boys and seven girls (two of whom died in infancy). Benjamin was soon followed by brothers Charles ('Charley', b. 1860) and Albert (b. 1861), then by a string of sisters: Annie Louise ('Sis', b. 1863), Elizabeth Emily ('Lilley', b. 1865), Hariet (b. 1867, died young), Hariet Elizabeth ('Innie', b. 1869), Eva (b. 1871), Helena Augusta (b. 1873, died young), and Isabella (b. c. 1875). The youngest, a son, Wesley Dawson, was born in 1877. It was to prove a long-lived family, consistent with the noted longevity of the Askamore Kidds: mother and father both attained the age of eighty-three, Charles died at eightyfive, 'Sis' at ninety, 'Innie' at seventy-one, and Eva at seventyfour. It was a close-knit family, understandable for Protestants in a predominantly Catholic population, with a marked love of wild-life and the countryside. It was also an adventurous and resourceful group, and centrifugal forces ultimately scattered the children widely. Benjamin, the eldest, sought a career in London, and after Constable Kidd retired in 1881, the whole family came over to London. 'Charley' later emigrated to California and prospered at citrus-growing. Albert joined a bank and was sent to South America, spending most of his life in Buenos Aires before retiring with his second wife to live in Garenne Colombes in France. (His South American first wife died tragically on their honeymoon in England when she contracted typhus.) 'Sis' and 'Lilley' went to Winnipeg, Canada, around 1892, 'Sis' marrying a Winnipeg doctor and emigrating to California. 'Lilley', a nurse, married also and later (1908) moved to Santa Maria in California. Eva, a milliner and dressmaker, joined her sisters in Winnipeg in 1896, married and settled there. 'Innie' and Wesley lived with their parents in Brixton, then Dulwich, 'Innie' working in the

post office, Wesley in the Civil Service Stores. After the death of Grandfather and Grandmother Kidd, they joined Eva in Winnipeg, Wesley later moving to Santa Maria to be with 'Sis' and 'Lilley'. With a friend he began a nursery and floral business, 'growing things' being much to his taste. This process of dispersal and recoalescence of siblings suggests the strength of family ties, still evident within the populous Canadian and Californian branches of the Kidd clan. 'Sis', and subsequently Franklin, played key roles as 'holders together' in the kinship system.

Very little evidence has survived about the family's early years in Ennis, County Clare. The children were educated at a small country school, where there was one master only: 'This school master was evidently quite a fine teacher but was addicted to an occasional spree when he was likely to chase his wife with the butcher knife. She would run to the Kidd home for protection.'¹⁰ 'Sis', Benjamin's favourite sister, later passed on stories of her youth to her daughter, who recorded the following after her mother's death:

My mother idolized her brother Benjamin. The other children felt much the same way about him. He was always kind and considerate. He was considered very brilliant and was constantly studying. He was much interested in natural science and was a keen observer. He would sit in his window for hours and watch the birds. He studied the habits of a nest of ants and was an observer of some bees also.

Charley, the next in line, was the summer tutor and a very hard and unreasonable task master, if memories can be relied upon. During the school year the children walked the three miles to classes. As they approached home they were met by a delegation consisting of the family cat and pet pigeon. The latter would perch on the head or shoulder of one of the youngsters and 'hook' a ride home. This pigeon and cat would sit on the hearth and play by the hour. The pigeon pecking at the cat's tail and the cat playfully putting the pigeon's head in her mouth only to let it go again unhurt.

On Sunday, 'the little mother', as the children called her, would go down to a tree in the pasture. Grandmother would be followed by the whole brood of children. Bringing up the rear would be the cat and the family pig; while the pigeon usually rode on the head of one

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of the children. This group would lounge about under a tree near the stream while grandmother read aloud to them.

The old servant, Norrie, was a devout catholic. She felt that if she couldn't make it to church, it was an absolute necessity when Sunday came round that she climb the hill so that she could at least see the church. The spirit of the law was in this way fulfilled.

The youngsters had many pets. Beside the cat, pigeon, and pig there was a jackdaw who used to run at Norrie's bare heels as she swept the floor. She would jump and screech 'The devil take that bird'.¹¹

Ennis was both county capital and the cathedral town of the Catholic diocese of Killaloe. The ruins of a Franciscan friary founded in 1250, with magnificent blue stained glass, stood close by the bridge over the River Fergus, while Ennis was a convenient centre for travellers who wished to explore the rich antiquities of County Clare. Kidd was raised in a community steeped not only in history but in turbulent local politics. Daniel O'Connell, the architect of Catholic Emancipation and revered in the county, had been MP for Clare from 1828 to 1831 (his defeat of Vessey Fitzgerald in the by-election of 1828 in Clare precipitated the crisis that led the English parliament to concede political rights to Catholics), and Clare continued to be much involved in nineteenth-century politics. Ennis also had its creative artists, the best known, understandably, being expatriates, a path Kidd was himself to follow. The rake and poet-soldier Thomas Dermody (1775-1802), author of the Harp of Erin, was the son of an Ennis schoolmaster. Also born in Ennis, the son of a breeches-maker, was the famous genre painter William Mulready (1786–1863), who seemed, with Frith and Landseer, to represent quintessential Victorianism. The actress Harriet Smithson (1800-54), adopted daughter of the rector of Ennis, took Europe by storm with her art and married the composer Berlioz.

Ennis fostered in the young Benjamin Kidd an enduring love of rural beauty and wild-life. The River Fergus drained a large area in the heartlands of Clare, and he was to become familiar as a boy with river estuaries, lakes, islands and marshes, with

their prolific wild-life. The broad estuary of the Fergus ran into the Shannon within miles of Ennis, and was dotted with numerous islands, low and grassy, the habitat for a rich variety of sea and river fowl. Kidd was to hark back to these happy days of wading, exploring and observing in some of his naturalist essays. One such essay, written in 1895, offers a rare personal revelation. In it he described how the mother coot dangerously led her family, a string of 'queer little black balls', in a line onto the surface of a lake, away from the shelter of the sedge:

They look safe enough, you think, but they are not really so. Ah! to be a boy was to look upon every young water-fowl which took the open water as delivered into your hands. It was only a question of time and dexterity to effect their capture, bare-handed and without boat or net.

It was not so very difficult. Only two qualifications were necessary. You must be a boy, and a good swimmer – especially the first. A tyro might capture one, or even a pair; but to secure a whole brood of the nimble little swimmers at a single stretch was a feat which justly entitles to distinction. How was it done? To be successful it was necessary to take the water bravely, like a retriever, and with a strong breast stroke, which soon lessened the distance between you and your quarry. As you approached, the struggle in the mind of the mother bird was always ludicrous. She was torn between the two great forces which move nature's world - self-interest and parental instinct. First she would and then she wouldn't leave them. But she always did, after all. It is a very pretty sight. Down all the little swimmers go immediately the old bird flies away; they feel they are left to their own resources now, and they scatter in all directions as they dive. Now, if you are to return successful, your strategy begins. Slowly swimming in the direction in which you have come, you wait. Bravely the little divers act their part, long do they stay down, and far do they travel before they emerge. They come up at last; and singling out one from the rest, you again pursue it. Down it goes once more, and it always swims under water in a straight line away from you - a fatal mistake. This time it stays below a shorter interval; and a few more trials and you overtake it, and it submits to be caught. The little black leg must be held gently in the mouth, and

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the little owner floats comfortably in the water without struggling while you proceed to capture the others one after another in similar fashion. Then, having covered over two miles in the water, panting, flushed and triumphant, with five little cheepers, frighened but not hurt, streaming from your mouth, you swim to land under the envious and admiring eyes of your equals. You may afterwards worst your fellows in competitive examinations; you may climb up the ladder of life two steps at a time; you may woo and wed the woman you love; you may even publish your first book and read the reviews of it. But never will you be any happier than that.¹²

Virtually nothing is known of Kidd's adolescent years. Presumably they combined vigorous naturalist activities with keenly studious habits, the latter encouraged by his mother and schoolmasters. 'From the beginning', his son Franklin later wrote, 'behind outward appearances there existed a personality and a mind moved to tremendous efforts by an absorbing passion for knowledge'.¹³ Family tradition suggests that a positive self-image, emphasising his natural ability, was induced in him at an early stage and was reinforced with time. He was determined to succeed by means of the classic Victorian virtues of self-help, persistence and abstinence. An ingrained belief in himself and his ultimate life destiny was to surface clearly in his later writings and attitudes. In less attractive form it emerged in obstinacy, a fixation on having his own way even over trivia, a pronounced aversion to criticism, and opinionated views. Intellectual conviction was to be tempered by an introspective and retiring social disposition. His humble origins and fear of retrogression may explain his marked caution in behaviour, and care amounting to parsimony in money matters. Kidd was a 'winner' but with the share of self-doubts and defence mechanisms one would expect of someone coming from a disadvantaged social background.

We know from a short biographical memoir compiled by Kidd himself in 1896 that he left school at the age of seventeen, after which he read part-time for six years under private tutors, 'first for the Indian Civil Service, and later for the

Chinese Consular Service, obtaining in the meantime (1877) an appointment in the home Civil Service, London'.14 Competition for the Indian Civil Service was severe - the proportion of examination candidates to vacancies being greater than five to one during the period 1876-85 – so he could hardly have been confident of obtaining a post (as indeed he appears to have been ultimately unsuccessful). In the meantime he sat for the easier lower division civil service examination. Under the open competitive scheme originated by Gladstone in 1870. and amended in 1876, the administrative establishment of the British Civil Service was divided into an upper and lower division. Recruitment into the 'superior' division, designed to attract an elite of men of liberal education, was by examination of academic attainments as taught by public schools or universities. Entry into the more numerous lower division, responsible for more routine clerical work, was by examination of subjects taught at ordinary elementary schools (e.g. handwriting, orthography, arithmetic, copying, indexing, book-keeping, etc., with age limits of seventeen to twenty). Kidd was later to be critical of the system, claiming that the upper division no longer attracted an able class of educated men, thus causing departments to be almost exclusively recruited under the elementary examination, with a resultant lowering of general standards of ability.¹⁵ His own case, according to this logic, was the exception proving the rule.

In May 1877, when he was still eighteen, Kidd was notified that he had been selected for a lower division clerkship to the Board of Inland Revenue, Somerset House, London.¹⁶ A reference in his civil service papers indicates that he had previously been employed for about three years as clerk and book-keeper in the rent office of a landed estate (presumably in County Clare, and presumably part-time if his own memoir was correct). Because he was required for the annual audit of this estate, he did not take up his duties in the office of Accountant and Comptroller-General of Inland Revenue until June 1878.¹⁷ He was then nineteen. The move to London, although momentous for him and his family, by no means

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spelt instant success. As his son later wrote:

In his early years in London, Kidd was entirely alone and dependent on his own resources which did not amount at first to more than about £80 per annum. His family were unable to give him any financial support. Although in after years it was with difficulty that he could be brought to allude to this period of his life there is no doubt that he fought for knowledge at the cost of food and clothing and that he even resorted to money lenders in order to obtain the necessary fees in order to attend evening classes in Science. He spent three years reading for the bar in his spare time after office hours and gained a thorough grasp of the law, only to abandon the project finally on the realisation of the insufficiency of his means. He then read for the consular service, but this project also fell through for a different reason. The age qualifications were altered suddenly in such a way that he found himself excluded. Yet his main purpose was accomplished. He had become gradually master of a wide and varied knowledge of science, philosophy, literature and art. Above all he knew life, for his knowledge was gained not in the artificial seclusion of the Universities, but amidst the realities of the world. Who shall say how far this circumstance contributed to give his subsequent work that force and tone of human reality which has caused his social philosophy to exercise such an influence on the general mind. The idealism and youth of mind which Kidd retained throughout his life is all the more remarkable in contrast to the stifling environment of his early years during his wearing struggle in pursuit of knowledge.18

Benjamin's brothers Charley and Albert followed him to London where they got jobs, the three brothers living together for some time in lodgings. Then, in 1881, Constable Kidd retired, aged fifty, and the whole family emigrated to London, where they lived in a four or five storey basement house in Brixton, later moving to Dulwich, where Grandfather and Grandmother Kidd were to dwell for the rest of their lives.¹⁹ Benjamin probably contributed to his parents' upkeep. After his literary success he was to buy them the house in Dulwich. His role became almost that of head of the family: 'I know that he was looked up to as the counselor and voice of authority on most decisions involving family affairs.'²⁰

Kidd's ambition to win civil service promotion received a setback in September 1881 when he learnt that he had failed two of the prescribed subjects (higher arithmetic and English composition) in an examination for appointment as Assistant Surveyor of Taxes in Inland Revenue.²¹ He had been subject to the 'cramming' system and he was not impressed. The open competition system, built on the recommendations of the Northcote–Trevelyan report (1854) and the Playfair commission (1875), eventually made considerable impact on Britain's educational system. At first, however, the effects were confusing. Schools came under pressure to revise their curricula; the demand for instruction created a class of 'crammers' who prepared students for civil service examinations but whose abilities and qualifications varied widely; and there was a dearth of textbooks covering examination subjects. Kidd determined to do something about it. His first publishing venture was a modest attempt to shed light on the bureaucratic tangle. He collaborated with H.J. Maywood, also from Inland Revenue, to produce a 128 page booklet, priced one shilling, Guide to Female Employment in Government Offices (Cassell and Co., 1884). Cassell drove a hard bargain. The authors were to share a royalty of 10% on sales over and above 3000 copies. Unfortunately it sold only 2628 copies by 1891. Despite urging from Kidd, Cassell refused to re-issue it, and after an irritable correspondence, sold the plates to the authors for three guineas, and released them from the copyright.²² Kidd learnt caution about publishers from such events. However he persisted with his basic idea. In 1887 he arranged with the publisher Edward Stanford of Charing Cross to bring out a Handbook to Government Situations, including information on entry examinations. This time he was to be paid \pounds_{15} in advance, and a royalty of 10% on sales over 2000 (reducing to $2^{1}2\%$ after 4000).²³ In the meantime he collaborated with the prolific editor of the Civil Service Competition Series, George E. Skerry, and E.W. Jones to produce a textbook on higher arithmetic, the subject he had failed in 1881. First published in 1886, it dealt with papers set for civil service

examinations, and was brought out in an enlarged edition in 1888, the partners sharing equally the expense of publication and jointly owning copyright. Of the proceeds of sales, 75% were to be divided equally between the partners, any further profits going to Skerry, who paid for advertising.²⁴ Kidd collected \pounds_{4-2-0} royalty for the first six months of 1890, indicating reasonable sales. He collaborated again with Skerry in preparing a Civil Service Spelling Book, the agreement in 1887 giving the copyright to Skerry, who paid Kidd £4 on completion, an additional £4 within twelve months of completion, and a royalty of 10% on sales over 2000.²⁵ This must have sold well, as Kidd collected £20 royalty on it in 1890. He also participated in the writing of a history textbook. These ventures gave him valuable publishing experience and contacts, and induced in him a lasting caution on subjects such as copyright, royalty agreements and protection of authors' rights. He even acquired editorial experience. Somehow or other he obtained a role in editing and distributing the first volume of the Conservative party handbook, The Constitutional Year Book (1885), the brainchild of Richard Middleton, the chief party agent.²⁶ No party affiliation seems to have been involved here. Kidd was, if anything at this time, a Liberal sympathiser. By 1890 he was earning \pounds_4 per month in preparing for press the weekly Civil Service Competitor. He may also have assisted in the publication of the Civil Service Review and the Civil Service Manual.

A good deal of Kidd's considerable energy was directed, during his twenties and early thirties, towards civil service reform. He himself suffered the penalties of lower division life, and this gave edge to his efforts. The administrative reorganisation of the 1870s had broken down not only the patronage system but also the rigid departmentalism of the earlier period. The lower division clerks, now placed in grades common to the whole service, were among the first to organise themselves in clerical trade unions to improve their working conditions. By 1888 the 3000 clerks had welded together an association whose efficiency was so marked as to merit

attention, even censure, during the hearings of the Ridley Commission on Civil Establishments.²⁷ The association, in which Kidd was prominent, held meetings and exerted political influence. It agitated for uniform and higher rates of pay, more flexible transfer and promotion opportunities, and elimination of anachronistic practices, especially that by which departments had inherited numbers of upper division clerks who did the same clerical work at much higher rates of pay than that received by lower clerks.²⁸ Kidd was secretary of the lower clerks' association as early as 1883. In that year he penned a 'long and interesting communication' on the problem to the leading Conservative politician Randolph Churchill (who was to become Secretary for India in Salisbury's first cabinet in 1885, and Chancellor of the Exchequer after Gladstone's fall in 1886). Churchill was polite, but dubious, about instituting changes that would add to public expenditure. He subsequently declined an invitation from Kidd to attend a meeting of lower division clerks being held on 4 May.²⁹ When Kidd resigned the secretaryship in 1884, he was voted public thanks and a subscription for his 'invaluable services' by his fellow clerks assembled in an Exeter Hall conference.³⁰

In 1886 James Knowles's leading journal, the Nineteenth Century, published an article by Kidd advocating civil service reform, quite a coup for an unknown writer.³¹ He depicted the existing system as 'doctrinaire, academical and quite unsuited to the practical requirements of the public offices'. It was, he said, both inefficient and costly. Indeed in many respects it compared unfavourably with the old nomination system which, despite its defects, and especially under the plan of limited competition after nomination, attracted a more able class of men into public service. He argued that the open competitive system had effectively broken down. On the one hand it had failed to attract into the higher echelons men of liberal education such as were attracted to the professions. On the other, the low entry requirements for lower division clerks meant that departments were being increasingly staffed by

men of lesser stature. They constituted a virtual serf class, lowly paid, with few opportunities for transfer or promotion. Although often widely experienced in practical administration, they found themselves commonly junior to untrained clerks brought in from outside under the higher examination. He favoured a broader-based general entry competition, and a system that fostered greater staff mobility, the right men going to the right places, opportunity matched to talent. Kidd's frankness about an atrophy of general competence in the service was hardly designed to endear him to his colleagues. Nevertheless they continued to show faith in him. He responded by giving his time and labour to the cause, especially during the critical period of the Ridley commission (1886-8). That inquiry resulted in a coordination of the service that went some way to redress the grievances of the clerks. Uniform hours and comparable pay for comparable work were instituted. A second division replaced the lower division, with promotion by merit within the top grades of the division, while a limited number of choicer appointments were reserved for lower clerks. Promotion was made easier from lower to higher divisions, at least for those of exceptional ability, while a clearer demarcation of duties was drawn between lower clerical and higher administrative roles.³² Some at least of Kidd's criticism had been vindicated and his efforts for change rewarded.

It was through his interest in birds, mammals and insects that Kidd was to venture forth into the world of ideas, the world of science, learning and prophecy that was to become his natural habitat. Biology had become a central preoccupation of the western mind since Darwinian evolution had provoked a cosmological revolution. Kidd himself later described how old foundations suddenly collapsed with the publication of the *Origin of Species*, and a kind of 'intellectual Saturnalia' ensued 'at almost every centre of learning, and in almost every department of thought, philosophy, and religion'.³³ All this had begun with harmless botanising and observation. As John Burrow has well said:

the reader who knows that *The Origin* is the most important book of the last century, that it not merely opened a new era in biology but became a popular sensation and transformed attitudes to God and to the human race, that it was invoked as justification by capitalists, communists and National Socialists, and that its author was once described as the most dangerous man in England, may initially be disconcerted to discover that it has so much to do with such matters as the relative size and hairiness of gooseberries.³⁴

Kidd was to begin his odyssey of ideas, like Darwin, with field studies, experiments and observations. He was to finish, unlike Darwin, by virtually abandoning scientific methodology in favour of grandiose speculation in the manner of Spengler. (Darwin merely abandoned, in practice anyway, the formal requirements of classical Baconian science in favour of a more flexible approach suited to the less predictable phenomena of biology.) Kidd was a young man, and received his initial scientific education - much of it self-education while conventional Darwinism reigned supreme in biology. This was a time when Herbert Spencer was system-building and the iconoclastic T.H. Huxley presided over the South Kensington College of Science and much beyond it. Kidd was vastly influenced by such giant figures as Darwin, Spencer and Huxley, even though he had holistic and pan-religious tendencies that ultimately led him on an idiosyncratic course of his own. What does not surprise is his attraction to biology, which, after all, dealt with the origins and nature of life itself.

Throughout his life Kidd found relaxation by wandering the countryside, or spending days and nights on a boat in such wild-life sanctuaries as the estuary of the river Severn. He carefully observed and recorded the behaviour of animals, published nature studies and untechnical biological articles for a lay public, and amassed a collection of meticulous notes of his research which he intended ultimately to publish as a treatise (unfortunately now lost). He reputedly possessed an 'almost uncanny power of establishing a sympathetic relation with animals. He seemed to understand by some instinct the inflexions of the unspoken language of beasts.³⁵ He kept in his menagerie at various times cats, toads, frogs, sparrows, wild rabbits, hares, blackbirds, thrushes, magpies, hawks, crows, jays and cuckoos. During his young London days he kept colonies of bees, wasps and ants in his study. At the same time he became deeply interested in biology, and closely followed the scientific controversies that arose during the revolutionary advance that took place in genetics in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

The charming nature study was a popular genre with the Victorians, who relished the essayist's descriptive prowess – too luxuriant for present tastes – and joy in nature. Kidd's naturalist articles were written with an eye on this market. But he had also a serious purpose in testing hypotheses and conveying recent trends in biology to general readers.³⁶ In 1884 *Chambers's Journal* accepted one of his first pieces which he entitled, with appropriate Irishness, 'Peat and Peat-Bogs', soon followed by a descriptive essay on 'How the Weather is Made and Forecast'.³⁷ His first efforts were eclectic enough: *The Cornhill Magazine* rejected 'Two Years of My Life' (also lost), *Chambers's Journal* refused a paper on the House of Commons, and *Longman's Magazine* managed to do without 'My Lost Love' (presumably a poem – he liked to jot down pedestrian, romantic verse whose negative effect on editors was invariable).

Success came for his tighter, more informative pieces on insects and animals. His 'Habits and Intelligence of Bees' for *Longman's Magazine* (1885) debunked exaggerated claims for bee intelligence.³⁸ He attributed to natural selection and a few simple instincts such apparently complex and purposive behaviour as the construction of hexagonal-celled hives. Yet such hives, by enabling storage of honey for winter use, conferred an immense evolutionary advantage on the honeybee (*apismellifica*) in competition with other colonies. He used the standard metaphors of Victorian sentimentality to highlight the bee's ecological role:

In the vegetable world it is a vital necessity that the fertilising pollen from the stamens of certain flowers should be carried to the pistils of other flowers, and the mission of the bee is to unconsciously carry the precious dust from blossom to blossom in her search after the tempting drop of nectar with which the shy flowerets reward the winged bearer of their love-messages.

Despite his anthropomorphising ('Our little friend the bee is aesthetic in her tastes, and behold the varieties of flowers vie with each other to beguile her attention in the display of the most artistic blending of colours and beauty of design') Kidd could make austere Darwinian observations:

What is commonly called a flower is indeed nothing more than a skilfully devised trap to attract the attention of insects, and then ensure their services towards fertilisation... It is all effected in the simplest manner through the great law of natural selection ... for the flowers of those plants which present the greatest facilities for fertilisation get their seeds set, and so ensure the continuance of their species, while the unsuitable and unaccommodating kinds remain barren and are gradually weeded out.

He inclined to the view of many naturalists that the bee's sense of smell enabled it to recognise other members of its colony, even after prolonged absence, and that no other signals were present. Kidd agreed with Sir John Lubbock's theory that, although bee vision was good in some respects, bees were not very intelligent in finding their way under unusual circumstances:

Last summer I placed a nest of humble-bees in a large glass vase. . . I kept the nest in my room, and, for several days after it was placed in position, the workers crowded towards the side next the light, making vain attempts all day to get out, and this although the top was quite open, and the surface of the nest only a few inches below the rim of the vase.

Significantly for his later social thought, Kidd was impressed by the utter subordination of the individual to the needs of the honey-bee colony. The ratio of drones to workers was regulated by the queen bee according to hive requirements. A neuter egg could be transformed into a queen bee by special feeding and enlargement of its cell in the event of the loss of the queen. Worker grubs were 'deliberately and for social reasons' underfed to prevent their development into the queen state: 'a truly wonderful instinct which has enabled the bees to solve one of the most difficult of social problems'. He concluded: 'In the construction of the honeycomb the bees anticipated the mathematicians: have they not here again anticipated the philosophers?'

His study of wild bees, on the other hand, emphasised the advantages of individual freedom in stimulating personal initiative and intelligence, evoking Spencerean warnings against the dangers of excessive social regulation. Kidd was much influenced in early life by Herbert Spencer, whose works he read voraciously, and he was to be torn for some time between respect for Spencerean individualism – based on conflict as the basis for biological improvement – and a temperamental sympathy for more cooperative social doctrines. Kidd kept colonies of 'humble bees' (*bombus*) for at least three seasons prior to 1885, and he found individual humble bees more intelligent and resourceful than hive bees. 'This may seem strange', he wrote in another Longman's Magazine article, 'considering the work and the wonderful organisation of the latter':

Yet it is doubtless in result, to quote from Mr. Herbert Spencer, a question of altruism *versus* egoism. The specialised instincts of the hive bee have been for countless generations developed on the strictest lines of altruism. . . A glaring example of this altruism . . . is witnessed when the hive-bee, Spartan-like in its public spirit, but pathetic in its stupidity, sacrifices itself on the smallest provocation for the good of the commonwealth, when it inflicts a slightly more serious wound by leaving its barbed sting, which it cannot withdraw, rankling in the flesh of the intruder, and dying itself from the injury caused by the loss of it. So it is with most of its instincts; they have been developed and specialised for the good of the community and do not necessarily imply what might have been looked for as a corresponding degree of intelligence in the individual.³⁹

However he considered wild bees to represent an earlier evolutionary stage in the species' development, comparable to the family or clan stage of social organisation, with loose communal ties: 'The independence and welfare of the individual is still preserved, and the community still largely exists for the individual and not the individual for the community.' (This was Spencer's view of human society.) The humble bee still barbarically focussed on self, living a single-handed and self-reliant existence most of the year. Its survival depended on the exercise of all its inherited intelligence. By comparison hive bees led a dull and regimented life. Half of their community were unsexed (neuters), the other half (drones) preserved their sex but had lost nearly everything else to become degraded victims of the meanest kind of slavery. (There are reverberations here of D.H. Lawrence's indictment of modern industrial society as castrating.) 'But the species has prospered, the government is highly centralised, and the state is rich, populous, and powerful beyond comparison with its less civilised competitors. What are the lessons? Has progress been dearly bought as we should count the cost?' He pursued the theme in a later paper on the frog family, in which he began to stress what was to be a constant motif of his, the greater ultimate significance of the social over the individualist values:

As a social animal the frog is a failure. In his morose and solitary disposition he bears about with him the visible signs of his inferiority. He has no feelings or instincts which are not directly personal to himself, and he consequently has none which are profitable to his neighbour or his tribe as a body. Even of paternal feelings he is independent. . . Unfortunately for the frog, Nature in the higher walks of life sets small store on the individualist of this type. The altruistic virtues have been throughout the cardinal ones which have invariably made for progress. The stream of events has long since flowed past and onward in ever-deepening channels and left the frog behind, a mere landmark by the way it came, a survival insignificant and unimportant in the eyes of a practical world, but a relic of absorbing interest to the historian of life.⁴⁰

The images that he used to depict evolution - the flowing river,

the ascending ladder – were common in Victorian science, despite the warnings against teleological errors made by the stricter scientists in their stricter moments (even Darwin and Huxley fell into 'progressivist' terminology in unguarded moments). Kidd was temperamentally a teleologist who deplored the idea of unpurposive change, and his language was to reflect this bent with increasing intensity.

Kidd's nature essays were favourably noticed in the journals, and they brought in welcome extra earnings. Longman's Magazine paid \pounds_1 per page, excellent money. He was at least beginning to 'climb up the ladder of life two steps at a time'. The year 1887, the twenty-ninth of his life, turned out to be a momentous year. In that year he married, and in that year he began research for what was to be his magnum opus. Whether the two events are related is not recorded, but it seems not unlikely. Maud Emma Isabel Perry, whom he married, proved to be a constant companion and support to him in his writing career. Maud was of west-country origins, her mother's family, the Coomes, tracing ancestors back a century or more to Somerset and Devon families. Her mother Emma Coome (1831-1917, a life span almost identical with that of Benjamin's father) had married John Perry (1824-80), builder of Weston-super-Mare. Maud (1862-1929) was the second of their seven children. Her elder sister Elaine took a BA from London University, her brother Charles became a timber merchant of Bristol, her youngest brother Fred joined the special mounted police before dying at twenty-eight of blackwater fever. A photograph of Maud taken in Bayswater about the time of her marriage shows a good-looking woman of twenty-five with a thoughtful, compassionate, yet independent air. Kidd, in his own phrase, had wooed and wed the woman he loved.⁴¹ The couple rented a home in suburban Wimbledon at 11 Montagu Road, where Kidd settled down, outside his seven office hours per day, to even more serious study and writing. Summer holidays were regularly taken at Weston-super-Mare with Maud's family. There Kidd was at his heart's content, boating and birdwatching on the Severn

estuary, or rambling the secluded and undulating countryside of the region inland, with its unspoilt hamlets and villages watered by many rivers and streams.

The great preoccupation of his life after 1887 was research for his book. Actual writing began in February 1891.⁴² The writing, publication and reception of his book have been described as 'one of the romances of literary history':

The fact that he was writing a book was unknown to anybody saving only his wife. . . The thesis of the book, occupying two sheets of foolscap, had been penned almost in a few hours some years earlier. This document [carried] in the author's handwriting the inscription 'This is to form the subject of a book'. . . One day while writing in the open air the wind carried away a few pages of a chapter which had just been completed. . . He was much upset. When counselled that the matter was not of much importance he replied: 'But you do not realise that those pages carried sentences which would one day have been read by the whole civilised world'.⁴³

Much of his research was done in the reading room of the British Museum. Pannizzi's splendid domed building, its diameter one foot in excess of St Peter's at Rome, had been completed as recently as 1857. There Marx had laboured with legendary industry to write *Das Kapital*, and there many another famous book had been crafted. Kidd sketched a delightful description of the library for *Chambers's Journal*, revealing his intense love of books and book-learning:

Authors and bookworms, compilers and scribblers, with students and observers from every quarter of the world rub sleeves with each other in the studious silence beneath the dome. To my mind, there are few more interesting sights, and none calculated to leave a more vivid impression on the mind of the immense mental activity of the time... There are pretty faces here too. How sweet those pouting lips and rosy cheeks look amid her papers and books.

He recounted how his attention was once struck by two foreigners, one evidently a German professor and the other his pupil:

As they passed me, my interest was excited by over-hearing the

remark in English: 'Now we will see where the English keep their national copy of the greatest book of the century'... my curiosity got the better of me, and I followed them to see what in the opinion of the German was the great book of the age. He was taking out the end volume in the fifth row from the top. I saw them look at it thoughtfully, and turn over the leaves without reading: then they put it respectfully back in its place. When they had gone, I drew the little volume from its resting-place. .. It was Darwin's Origin of Species. I took the book to my seat, for the remark of the German had given a new interest to its familiar pages. .. I was thinking that if I were a poet, I might indeed choose many a meaner theme for inspiration than that same small item of the great national collection.⁴⁴

There in the British Museum, and in his Wimbledon study, he read avidly on Social Darwinism, the social sciences, history, contemporary economics and politics (he subscribed to or borrowed a large number of current periodicals). His main sources on bio-politics and Darwinism were Spencer, Huxley, A.R. Wallace, Francis Galton, C.H. Pearson and Grant Allen; on sociology Comte, on anthropology Sir John Lubbock, E.B. Tylor, and Quatrefage; on economics Marshall, Jevons and J.S. Mill; on history Gibbon, Michelet, Lecky, J.A. Froude, Bluntschli, Maine and Renan; on empire Seeley and Milner; on comparative religion and mythology Max Müller; on religion and evolution W.H. Mallock; on religion and philosophy A.J. Balfour; on positivism G.H. Lewes and Frederick Harrison; on socialism and poverty Marx, Engels, Belfort Bax, Henry George, Edward Bellamy and Charles Booth. Kidd was essentially self-taught and his acquaintance with the classics of philosophy, history and political thought was always patchy, his approach not as disciplined and critically informed as that of trained scholars. Although he could be contemptuous of other men's ideas indeed too ready to depreciate whole schools of past thought he never learnt to apply sustained scepticism to his own, often wildly speculative, generalisations. The virtue of his defects was that he was refreshingly eclectic in his interests and was capable of generating broad insights and fresh perspectives

from his reading and experience. He adventured into fields given wide berth by conventional scholars. He had a missionary exaltation that he had conquered territory and located secrets unknown to man. If this feeling was not always shared by the well-informed, his exploits won attention and generated valuable debate. Intense, impetuous, a deadly serious man with a vision, he determined to make his mark, to break down old patterns of thought and to create a new 'gestalt' essential to those seeking to make a better human condition.

In 1889 he purchased his first microscope and slides, and was soon studying embryo development in various species. The study was relevant to the new genetics and his book, and he voiced his speculations in a careful essay on embryology. C.J. Longman at first rejected his 'Battle of the Eggs'. Kidd persisted. He wrote whimsically to Longman, 'you nasty crumpy old Editor', asking permission to re-write: 'your fruitful contributor . . . has, just this once, an opinion that there is something in the paper'. The revised article, worth £15, appeared in September 1890.45 It argued that evolutionary improvement in the animal world was closely correlated with better endowment of the embryo on the part of advancing species. The lowly amoeba directly ingested organic matter, then reproduced by dividing asexually. In low forms of life, the egg was scantily provided with food, the young quitting it at an early stage. Survival of the species depended not on parental care but on the prolific numbers of offspring. In the frog's egg, the embryo was surrounded by an albuminous envelope containing a supply of food, an arrangement more highly developed in the bird's egg. The young bird gained the advantage of being hatched at a more mature stage, followed by sustained parental care. The young of mammals drew food before birth directly from the mother, and after were tided over a long, helpless period by being supplied with milk. As the evolutionary ladder was ascended from marsupials to placentals, the young reached an increasingly mature stage before birth. This progress was accompanied by a deepening of parental feelings, the origin of the social

instincts in the higher species. Care of the young assumed immense biological importance as the more complex organisms arose. In the plant world the great objective was rather the more efficient protection and dispersal of seeds to ensure fertilisation and reproduction.

Kidd raised the issue: why did higher forms of life commonly derive from cell fusion, employing sexual reproduction, rather than using cell division as in earlier forms? Biological theory in the 1880s and 1890s was deeply concerned with the phenomena of heredity, development, regeneration, cell structure and the nature of germ particles, with especial controversy raging over the implications of such matters for Darwin's theory of natural selection. With the waning of the old theory of 'blending inheritance' - which held that the characters of offspring struck an average between those of the two parents - experimentalists were coming to the view that heredity preserved variability in populations, and that sexual recombination produced a great amount of heritable variability. The rediscovery of Mendel's work in 1900 seemed to confirm such an hypothesis. One of the master pioneers in this area was the German zoologist August Weismann (1834-1914), whose germ plasm theory postulated a remarkably comprehensive explanation of a range of biological dilemmas. Weismann was to exert a pervasive influence upon the young Kidd, who attempted to apply the new biology to social theory and human behaviour. Weismann's researches on sexual reproduction (Kidd claimed) had been justly described by A.R. Wallace as generating the most important contribution to evolutionary theory since the Origin of Species:

Nature's great object in starting each life from a single cell formed by the fusion of protoplasm taken from two distinct individuals, is that the hereditary tendencies of both parents shall be combined in the new individual. Sexual reproduction is, in fact, a stupendous organisation by which, in the course of generations, Nature is continually mixing together and forming new combinations of the hereditary qualities of a whole species. No two individuals, consequently, ever have been or ever will be exactly alike. Weismann's view is that the object of sex is the production of those small variations between individuals upon which the whole fabric of Darwinism rests. For if there had been no variations we should all have been equally fit, there would have been no fitter, and consequently no law of Natural Selection making for progress in securing the Survival of the Fittest. Without sex there could, in fact, have been no progress; and Nature could never have evolved the higher forms of life.⁴⁶

Kidd tried to develop this theme in an article on 'The Evolution of Sex', but the title was too frightening for editors of family journals and he was unable to place it.⁴⁷

Weismann was particularly important in rejecting the doctrine of inheritance of acquired characteristics. This theory had an ancient lineage, and continued to prove popular in the nineteenth century, especially in its Lamarckian form (1802). It even survived the challenge of natural selection as an alternative explanation of trait development. Darwin himself retained a significant Lamarckian element in his system, mainly in order to outflank the inconvenient implications of the doctrine of 'blending inheritance'. Herbert Spencer insisted to the end of his life that habit produced modifications of structure that were inherited by offspring. The origin of mind was regarded by Lamarckians as explicable only in terms of the inheritance of accumulated habits. Reformers, particularly in the Enlightenment tradition, found Lamarckism attractive - at least superficially - because it encouraged optimistic hopes of perfecting mankind genetically through institutional and educational reform. Looked at more deeply, however, Lamarckism raised disturbing possibilities of social conditioning and directive rather than free politics. Again, there was the gloomy prospect that intractable population problems or socio-economic changes outside the control of rational planning were laying down anything but a hopeful human inheritance.⁴⁸ In any case, the rise of gene theory at the close of the century tended to throw Lamarckism into scientific disrepute. Weismann denied that any convincing evidence existed to show the inheritance of acquired characteristics. He claimed that natural selection was the sole cause of evolution, working through heritable variations resulting from changes in genetic particles. His germ plasm theory suggested that cells were differentiated into body cells, which gave rise to the life-form, tissues, organs, etc., of the animal or plant, and germ cells, which remained generally unmodified and produced the next generation. Body cells were modified by environmental change and eventually died. But germ cells continued after reproduction as long as the species survived, each new individual being the direct descendant of the germ cells of its parents. Weismann thus seemed to postulate germinal continuity, even immortality. The offspring inherited not from the parent body but from the parent germ cell, which owed its characteristics, again not to the parent body, but to its descent from a pre-existing germ cell of the same kind. Germinal variations arose either by spontaneous change in the germ plasm, or by a combination of the different germ plasms of the two sexes. Natural selection worked its influence upon such variations.

In June 1890 a good deal of interest was aroused about such matters when Grant Allen reviewed the state of the current debate on heredity for W.T. Stead's new Review of Reviews, which featured a monthly science summary.49 Allen was a Canadian-born writer on popular science and other topics. He was to become a friend of Kidd. Allen portrayed Weismannism as the recent fashion: 'it has been enthusiastically accepted in England by the younger Darwinian school, and has become almost a test of orthodoxy with the Oxford and London biologists. For a year or two after the appearance of Weismann's memoirs, nothing else was heard of in Nature and in the scientific societies.' Nevertheless the issues were still in hot dispute and Allen, a sympathiser of Lamarckism (he was reformist, socialist-inclined and a feminist supporter), detected a reaction setting in against Weismann. Criticism had come in Europe from scientists like Kölliker, Virchow and Eimer. In England the critics included Sydney Vines, the Oxford botanist, and Sir John Burdon-Sanderson, the physiologist, while the hoary figure of Spencer still stood ranged behind Lamarckian environmentalism. Biology was divided 'into an ultra-Darwinian or Weismannesque faction on one side, and a partly Lamarckian or Spencerian body on the other'. Although Allen sympathised with the latter faction, he was fair to both sides in describing their positions. No such detachment was to emanate from Kidd. He was completely overwhelmed by Weismann, and wrote as if the German's theories would annihilate all opposition.

Kidd's interest led him to visit Weismann in Freiburg during the summer of 1890. The interview was to make a lasting impact on Kidd and was a major stimulus in the writing of *Social Evolution*. Kidd wrote an account in *Review of Reviews* that depicted Weismann as Darwin's heir apparent. His germ plasm theory was 'one of the boldest and most masterful conceptions of science'.⁵⁰ Weismann had sketched the history of the 'units of life':

those mysterious atoms of protoplasm in which our bodies originate, extending, as he tells us, in an unbroken and immortal chain back to the very beginning of life itself. . . He has, in fact, sought to discover in forces working among the atoms, out of which all life is built, laws which are still shaping the course of evolution, and which have now their highest and widest seat of action in human society.

As the new genetics impinged on Darwinist science, so it would inevitably impinge on human thought and behaviour. For had not Darwinism invaded every province of thought? 'It has transformed science; it has reconstructed philosophy', and it posed some great problems underlying the social question of the day, a question that would have to be settled 'in that ideal society of the future which is now the dream of Socialism'.

Weismann lived in a detached English-style house on the outskirts of the picturesque university town of Freiburg. He had a view of vine-clad slopes stretching upwards to the Black Forest. Kidd and Maud, now pregnant, arrived at the start of the long university vacation in late July. Weismann – tall, handsome, fifty-six years old and in the prime of intellectual life - received his visitor in a book-filled study. A bust of Darwin stood in a place of honour over his desk. Weismann's career had been brilliant. The son of a philology professor at Frankfurt Lyceum, he was educated at the Frankfurt Gymnasium, studied medicine at Göttingen, and was introduced to modern zoology at Giessen by Rudolf Leuckart. He took up embryological research in zoology whilst physician to the Archduke Stephen of Austria. At thirty he was forced by failing eyesight to suspend microscopic work for ten years. He then concentrated on Darwinian evolution, and especially on the nature and causes of variability. He became full professor and director of the Freiburg zoological institute. In the 1870s he studied the effect of natural selection in butterflies and axolotl, and investigated parthenogenesis of clodocera. By 1880 he was concerned with the origin of sex cells in hydrozoa, leading him to speculate on the nature of hereditary material. He conveyed his thoughts on this topic to Kidd.⁵¹

Weismann discussed his championship of Darwin's scientific work in Germany, which had been met with initial opposition from biologists but had since been generally accepted. In France, he believed, national jealousy had put back biology. They would not give up Cuvier for Darwin. Kidd pressed him on the implications of his theory for 'the social question'. Interestingly Kidd's question at once made optimistic assumptions about 'hard heredity' theories such as Weismann's:

Did he, I asked, think that his theory of the non-transmission to children of the effects of training and education in the parent was likely to modify our view of society? Did he, for instance, think it tended to establish that the lower classes in the towns, if allowed a fair start at birth, were the equals in natural inheritance with the classes above them?

Weismann cautiously forebore to judge such issues without further thought. The incident illustrates that Kidd was not inclined to the social pessimism and conservative anti-

environmentalism that were to mark some eugenist programmes derived from germ plasm theory. Kidd played down inherent genetic differences between individuals, and found hope in the fact that poor living conditions were not genetically imprinted on succeeding generations, as Lamarckism suggested. Thus if the working classes were given 'a fair start', some equality of opportunity in terms of social conditions, then Darwinian competition and selection could do its work on the natural ability that was inevitably present in their ranks. Conservative eugenists, on the other hand, held that as germ cells were resistant to environmental modification, and were the sole source of inherited genetic differences, man could only make lasting improvement in himself by improving his genetic endowment. 'Positive' eugenics encouraged the breeding of the 'fit', 'negative' eugenics discouraged the breeding of the 'unfit'. Social reform was opposed as useless or an actual disincentive to healthy selection, by cushioning the inferior from competition and encouraging their constant reproduction.52 However, as Kidd's case suggests, Weismannism and the new genetics did not necessarily imply oppressive politics and class discrimination. Many liberals, socialists and social democrats, even Marxists, favoured eugenic reform, and saw it as compatible with social reform.53 Kidd described Weismann's theory, as 'the best hope Darwinism has yet produced. If every new generation comes into the world pure and uncontaminated, so far, by the surroundings and life-history of its parents, we are on the eve of what is, in many respects, a new gospel.⁵⁴

Kidd next raised an issue that was to become central to him – the evolutionary significance of religion:

Professor Weismann was very decided in his views.

'I certainly think', he said 'that religion has been a most important factor on the side of human evolution.'

'You say "has been". Do you consider that it will continue to be a necessity of society?' The reply, after a short pause, was a decided affirmative.

'Do you not consider that Darwinism has made belief in the tenets

of Christianity more difficult?'

'To the acuter minds this is probably so: to the multitude it does not much matter.' Professor Weismann went on to say that religion had never rested on a basis which was seriously endangered now. 'There will', he said, 'always remain behind something which there is no hope that science will ever explain, and this will continue to form the basis of religion.'

Weismann took down from his shelf the English translation of his *Studies in the Theory of Descent* (London, 1882). He read aloud passages showing his attempt to reconcile 'a purely mechanical conception of the processes of nature' with the idea of a 'directive power' which did not interfere directly with the mechanism of the universe but lay behind the latter as 'the final cause of this mechanism'. Weismann found this stance reassuring for the scientist: 'we shall not be obliged to give up either morality or the comforting conviction of being part of a harmonious world as a necessary member capable of development and perfection'.

Here we see the vestigial influence exerted upon Weismann, as upon other German scientists, of the powerful tradition of German Idealism and Transcendentalism, a tradition that had been under siege for some time from materialist and positivist philosophies. For Weismann science was at the highest level a revelation of the absolute. Reason – for example the reason exemplified in scientific technique – was indispensable in understanding the mechanistic processes of nature. But reason alone could never make knowable the ultimate reality that embodied the world as spirit, that revealed the immanence of the divine in the actual.

It seems reasonable to assume that Kidd read *Studies in the Theory of Descent* when he returned home, if he had not already seen it. He was an omnivorous reader of works that bore on his interests, and this was both central and recommended by a man he highly admired. In the book Weismann admitted that some opponents of natural selection, like von Baer, were right to deny that the universe arose from blind necessity: 'The endless harmony revealed in every nook and corner by all the phenomena of organic and of inorganic nature cannot possibly be regarded as the work of chance, but rather as the result of a "vast designed process of development".'55 He denied 'vitalism' and ideas of development through sudden per saltum mutations or spontaneous creations. Evolution indeed occurred through natural selection, working through minute variations, gradual evolution over eons of time. (This approach had more in common with that of the English biometricians than with that of the Mendelians who emphasised mutations.) Change took place completely under natural laws. Occasional metaphysical intervention in the world of physical forces was inconceivable. At the same time a 'directive power' was the final cause of the mechanisms of the universe. Ideas of necessity (causality) could be combined with those of purpose, as in the 'great watchmaker' metaphor beloved of natural theologians like Paley. Science dealt with the phenomenal world of the senses. But behind that was a transcendental world: 'We know for certain that the world is not as we perceive it - that we cannot perceive "things in their essence" - and that reality will always remain transcendental to us.' His conclusion would have appealed to Kidd.

The naturalist may be excused if he attempts to penetrate into the region of philosophy [we may note that Kidd's naturalist essays were to be entitled 'A Philosopher with Nature']; it arises from the wish to be able to contribute a little towards the reconciliation of the latest knowledge of the naturalist with the religious wants of the human mind – towards the aim striven for by both sides, viz., a satisfactory and harmonious view of the universe, according with the state of knowledge of our time. . . Mechanism and teleology do not exclude one another, they are rather in mutual agreement. Without teleology there would be no mechanism, but only a confusion of crude forces; and without mechanism there would be no teleology, for how could the latter otherwise effect its purpose?

Weismann was by no means alone in such views. Indeed simplified versions of such scientific idealism were the staple of a popular variety of Christian apologetics. Kidd did not consciously identify himself with such schools. He had sensed an exciting possibility. He would redress the secular bias of biology by placing religion at the heart of human evolution. His purpose, he said, was to illuminate biology, not to vindicate religion. But his rationalist critics were to put him squarely in the camp of 'religious evolutionism', what they took to be the 'pseudo-scientific' defence of religious belief. This was quite an intellectual, or sub-intellectual, fashion by the 1890s. It built on the work of the early reconcilers of science and religion such as Asa Gray. The classic confrontation between Darwinism and religion had mellowed by the fin de siècle. Scientists such as Huxley at least admitted the evolutionary significance of ethical systems derived from religion. Studies of the paranormal and mysticism flourished in bodies such as the Society for Psychical Research, which attracted respectable intellectuals, including an abnormal number of physics professors (perhaps impressed by the increasingly occult nature of post-Newtonian physics). Philosophy and theology explored the concept that science and religion occupied separate worlds of discourse, a basis at least for armed truce.

For their part the 'religious evolutionists' defended their faith by using, or claiming to use, scientific weaponry, including that of the godless Darwin himself. J.B. Crozier and Henry Drummond may serve as examples. A Canadian, author of The Religion of the Future (1880) and Civilization and Progress (1885), Crozier freely admitted that science 'has advanced civilization by breaking down those religious philosophies which have kept society stationary'. Scientific explanation had, rightly, superseded the older superstitious explanations of natural phenomena. 'That part of Religion which was formerly Philosophy will pass over to Science as its proper domain, and so leave to Religion only her true and perennial function of harmonizing the mind.' Crozier raised a vaulty structure of speculation that he hoped would replace the defective systems of Comte, Buckle, Hegel and Spencer. He himself embraced a teleological evolutionism that celebrated

God's design and moral purpose, while denying materialist and determinist forms of Darwinism:

What is there in the law of Evolution that would have enabled us to foresee that the law of might – the struggle for existence – which prevails in the animal world, would work itself up into the law of right, which prevails among mankind. . .? There is nothing whatever in the law of Evolution to necessitate it; on the contrary, all reason points the other way. The fact that it has been so, can give us no security for future advance in the scale of being, except on one condition, and that is, that we underpin the law of Evolution with Religion; that is to say, unless we believe that things are under an intelligent Will, and are so loaded from the first, that the right will emerge, the good be forwarded, the true prevail. . . It is Religion that, by its conviction that the original atoms are so loaded with Deity, so freighted with soul, so predestined to divine issues . . . gives us assurance and guarantee that Humanity must, and will, rise to higher and higher realms of being.⁵⁶

Henry Drummond's popular Ascent of Man (1894) also bolstered Christian apologetics with teleological optimism. Drummond was a minister who was also Professor of Natural Science at the Free Church of Scotland College in Glasgow. His system has been described as 'a crude amalgam of moral sense doctrine and a sort of Emersonian intuitionism', much of his argument being based 'on undeveloped metaphysical assumptions in the work of Spencer and other evolutionists, precisely those coming under fire in positivist circles in the eighties'.⁵⁷ Drummond argued a naturalistic ethic to counter the Huxleyan division of the natural and moral worlds. He denied Huxley's vision of a Hobbesian war of each against all - the struggle for life – as the natural evolutionary condition, based on selfishness and 'the unfathomable injustice of the nature of things'. The struggle for life, in Drummond's view, had always been matched - and was now being overmastered - by another evolutionary factor, the 'struggle for the life of others', based on the natural forces of sympathy and altruism. Evolution was universal and, under God's aegis, evolution was good, embodying the Christian idea of love. Thus Drummond

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enthusiastically accepted the Darwinian revolution:

Evolution has done for Time what Astronomy has done for Space. As sublime to the reason as the Science of the Stars, as over-powering to the imagination, it has thrown the universe into a fresh perspective, and given the human mind a new dimension. Evolution involves not so much a change of opinion as a change in man's whole view of the world and of life... Evolution is the natural directory of the sociologist.

Men, using their God-given, properly evolved reason -Drummond had greater faith than Kidd in reason, and was to attack Kidd's anti-rationalism – would work a reconciliation between science and religion: 'although religion must always rest upon faith, there is a reason for faith, and a reason not only in Reason, but in Nature herself. When Evolution comes to be worked out along its great natural lines, it may be found to provide for all that religion assumes, all that philosophy requires, and all that science proves.' Drummond's was a curious mixture of genuine insight and grandiloquent ambitions. 'To discover the rationale of social progress is the ambition of this age. There is an extraordinary human interest abroad about this present world itself, a yearning desire . . . to find some light upon the course."58 Not all believed that he had found the light. The serious intellectuals dismissed Drummond's work as semi-science and pseudo-philosophy. But as Matthew Arnold had noted of Drummond's earlier work, Natural Law in the Spiritual World (1883): 'The best public, perhaps, does not much care for it; but the second best, all the religious world, and even the more serious portion of the aristocratical world, have accepted the book as a godsend, and are saying to themselves that here at last is safety and scientific shelter for the orthodox supernaturalism which seemed menaced with total defeat.'59

On 12 October 1890 a son was born to Maud and Benjamin. He was named Franklin, possibly after Benjamin Franklin. (Curiously, there seems to have been a tradition within the

Kidd line to give only single given names to offspring - often repeating the father's name, as in the case of Benjamin, his father and grandfather – something that the experts suggest indicates an ill-defined sense of identity.) Kidd immediately began to make very detailed and meticulous notes on the baby's behaviour, observations which he continued (with intermissions) until Franklin was at least four years old. One of Maud's friends, Janet McLeod, guipped soon after the baby's arrival: 'I am so afraid Mr. Kidd will make experiments upon him, that is the one drawback to a scientific husband.⁶⁰ Maud's pregnancy and the cares of parenthood no doubt concentrated her husband's mind on the subjects of embryology, heredity and the social instincts. Nineteen months later on 7 July 1892 twin sons were born, not identical, John Coome Kidd ('Jack') arriving at 8.50 am and Rolf Coome at 9.50 am.

With extra expenses Kidd redoubled his literary efforts. He hawked his naturalist essays to two or three publishers when necessary, although intensely disliking the humiliation: 'Thy servant knoweth', he wrote sarcastically to one editor, 'that authors are an irritable race who never cease from troubling... [He] still liveth in hope, for having fortunately provided himself with another occupation in addition to that of writer he hath, so far, managed not to die fasting.^{'61} Again, to another editor: 'Authors are I know a race who deserve little consideration and whose business interests are quite rudimentary but it is a trifle hard to be told so quite so plainly.'62 (Such experiences suggest why he was to take a hard line on author's rights after his success.) Kidd's business instincts were in fact quite sharp, but his luck was poor in these years. Guide to Female Employment in Government Offices failed to earn royalties, while his first attempt to penetrate the world of journalism floundered. He suggested himself to C.F. Moberly Bell, the Times's business editor, as a weekly column writer on parliamentary affairs and official publications. Moberly Bell replied coolly that 'there are technical difficulties in the way of it', and that others had prior claims.⁶³ Kidd got to know

Moberly Bell, and even became a house guest of his during the 1900s, but he was never able to talk his way on to the *Times*'s staff, a dear ambition.

Among his naturalist essays at this period was one on the cuckoo for *Longman's Magazine*.⁶⁴ Kidd was fascinated by cuckoos, which he watched laying eggs on Wimbledon Common and even reared himself. The bird's parental behaviour was notoriously ruthless, and demanded explanation. It laid its egg in other birds' nests to be hatched and fed by foster parents, great skill being shown in the selection of a nest with near-matching eggs. The baby cuckoo obeyed deep instincts to eject any other eggs or nestling from its adopted home. Kidd had observed this happen in hedge-sparrow nests, when the young cuckoo was only days old:

It is blind and naked, without the vestige of even the beginnings of a feather, so that it presents the very image of weakness and helplessness. Yet in such circumstances it sidles up to the other occupants of the nest, using as feelers the long and bare wing processes, which have an appearance strangely suggestive of the arms of an ape. Getting gradually under its fellow-nestling, it lifts it on to the flat back; then using the ape-like arms as props and the strong legs as levers, it partly raises and partly pushes the victim upwards, clambering backwards up the side of the nest. When it reaches the edge the victim is hitched over and the last scene of all almost takes one's breath away, for the blind little creature, before returning to the bottom of the nest, feels round as if to assure itself that the difficult business had been in all respects successfully accomplished.

He suggested that this gruesome habit pattern had evolved as an answer to a food problem. A scarcity in the bird's natural food (a variety of hairy caterpillar) had conferred advantage on behaviour which freed the parents from nesting while they searched for food. The ejecting habit had originated out of rivalry between young cuckoos for the limited food available. It had then proved advantageous to the baby cuckoo by enabling it to monopolise food supplied by foster parents. Natural selection was a sufficient explanation of an extra-

ordinary series of habits and instincts. Kidd's essay even received favourable notice in *Le Figaro*.⁶⁵

Another piece, on the birds of London, gave a more personal and atmospheric account of bird adaptation to urban conditions. It dealt lovingly with sparrows, song thrushes, blackbirds, rooks, starlings, jackdaws, pigeons, swallows and sparrow-hawks, and revealed an intimate knowledge of London, its buildings, parks and gardens. 'The great city grows apace and the feathered tribe retires steadily before it... The nightingale still sings on Hampstead Heath, and the blackbird pipes on the fringes of Clapham Park; but even they are in retreat before the speculative builder.'66 However even in London the amateur naturalist had ample scope for observation, as he showed in 'From a London Window'.⁶⁷ 'Here, in a western suburb, sitting at the open window in the summer sunshine, scarcely out of earshot of the roar of the Great City, one is yet within sight of as much of the everlasting mystery of nature as the hungriest mind could wish for.' Once more he combined evocative and knowledgeable description of bird and insect behaviour with brief theoretical explanations. So too in a Longman's Magazine essay on aphides he showed how this insect species solved a survival problem by reproducing in enormous numbers by means of budding (parthenogenesis).⁶⁸ He then used Weismann's research on variability to illustrate the long-term evolutionary advantages of sexual reproduction over temporarily useful methods such as parthenogenesis: 'Nature's aim is to keep up this allimportant supply of small variations by continually forming new combinations of the hereditary qualities of a whole species. The part which sex plays in the evolution of life is, therefore, a stupendous one.' Such remarks made editors nervous. C.J. Longman at first refused the paper, as 'the subject of sexual reproduction seems to me unsuitable to a general magazine'.⁶⁹ Botanical fertilisation was less arousing, so Kidd rounded out his series on variability and reproduction with a delightful paper on 'The Origin of Flowers'. In it he described plant ecology in terms of a race for light; and traced

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how the intricate fertilisation of plants by insects arose from the simpler process by which the spores of the lower forms of ferns and mosses were seeded by free-swimming sperm cells:

As one looks round at the world of flowers today and realises the wonderful variety and complexity of the different sorts, the ingenious mechanism of the pea-blooms, the eel-traps of the arums and others, the automatic caskets of the heathers, the cooperative advertising of the composites, the life mimicries of the orchids, and a host of other designs and devices to secure the end of insect fertilisation, it seems almost incomprehensible that they can be all but the modified plain, green, spore-bearing leaves of the lowly cryptograms. Yet there is no doubt about it.⁷⁰

In the new year 1893 Kidd finished the first draft of his book. In an astute move he showed the manuscript to his eminent superior, Alfred (later Lord) Milner, chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue. Milner was impressed and helped to get the book published. It was the start of a long, if not particularly close, relationship. Milner was only thirty-nine at the time. His rise in the civil service had been meteoric. The son of a half-German father and well-bred English mother, he had won brilliant success at Balliol, Oxford, under Jowett. Austere, fanatically hard-working, intense and highly strung, logical and academic to a fault in a man of affairs, Milner was a visionary in the cause of empire and English 'race patriotism'. He was to become High Commissioner to South Africa in 1897, and is now acknowledged to have been a prime mover in forcing the issues that led to the Boer War.⁷¹ There are curious parallels in the thought of Milner and Kidd. It is certain that Kidd to some extent viewed Milner as his mentor (he was too cussed to worship long at any man's altar, not hesitating to lecture his wilful senior in their correspondence). Both developed a consuming passion for empire and social reform, a conjunction that now seems incongruous but which flourished in the 1890s and 1900s. At Oxford, under the influence of his college friend Arnold Toynbee, Milner became a critic of

industrialism and lectured on socialism and reform in the East End of London. The success of socialism would depend, he predicted, on its ability to create national efficiency, and upon the gradual growth of 'individual unselfishness, of a higher sense of the value and the beauty of common work and common enjoyment and of nobler aims than of individual money getting'.⁷² Politically he was closest to Chamberlain's Liberal Unionists, a group with which Kidd felt many affinities. However there was an authoritarian streak to Milner's makeup - his enemies blamed it on his German blood - that led him to distrust democratic party politics and to prefer strong government. He and Kidd differed on this issue. After a stint at the bar, Milner tried journalism (he was assistant editor of W.T. Stead's Pall Mall Gazette in 1883), then took on the job of private secretary to Lord Goschen, a discontented Whig nabob who joined the Liberal Unionists after the Home Rule crisis split Gladstone's Liberal party in 1886. Milner served under the famous pro-consul Lord Cromer for three years in Egypt, where he was a distinct success as undersecretary for finance. His England in Egypt (1892) became a best-selling defence of British rule in Egypt. On his return to England in 1892 he was appointed head of Inland Revenue. As such he was a Whitehall mandarin, the associate of powerful officials and politicians.

With Milner's backing Kidd sent his manuscript to publishers. He submitted it, apparently simultaneously, to Longman and Macmillan, and possibly to other houses.⁷³ Longman rejected the book on 15 November 1893 after unfavourable readers' reports. One said: 'he explains nothing . . . there is nothing very new or startling in it'.⁷⁴ Kidd was to hurl this judgment back in Longman's teeth many a time. He had already sent the book to Macmillan in August. Their reader, John Stuart MacKenzie, thirty-three year old Scots philosopher and Fellow of Trinity College Cambridge (1890-6), favoured publication. 'It is suggested [Macmillan wrote to Kidd] that if you had devoted more attention to the views of the speculative writers on Social questions your views

on several points would have been somewhat modified; - this is the only criticism we have to forward to you.' MacKenzie had actually written that Kidd confined his attention too much to biological, rather than philosophical, writers on social questions, that he had unduly neglected the Idealists, such as Fichte and Hegel in Germany, T.H. Green, Caird, Bosanquet and Ritchie in England. MacKenzie invited further correspondence with Kidd on the subject, thus beginning an extended exchange of letters and a long friendship. It was MacKenzie who initiated Kidd's life-long association with Trinity College and Cambridge.⁷⁵ In December MacKenzie arranged for Kidd to sit between himself and the young Hegelian John McTaggart at the Feast Commemoration of the Founders of Trinity College. There he met Henry Sidgwick, the philosopher, and gazed upon such illustrious men as Leonard and Francis Darwin, Charles' sons, Alfred North Whitehead, mathematician and philosopher, Frederick Maitland, historian of English law, William Cunningham, the economic historian, and the Right Honourable G.J. Goschen, MP.⁷⁶

Macmillan contracted for one printing of 1500 copies on a half-profit basis (i.e. profits shared equally between author and publisher after deduction of expenses for printing, advertising, discounts to trade, etc.). They refused to arrange a separate American edition, or to risk an extra sum in securing the American copyright which was lost to the author. Extensive pirating cost him severe loss of income on American sales, a source of much grievance between him and Macmillan. The right to publish in America - a reprint of the English first edition – was given to Macmillan, New York, Kidd receiving a royalty of 12¹2% of retail price on the first printing.⁷⁷ Kidd proved to be a difficult customer for his publishers, acute and pertinacious in defence of his interests. He made heavy corrections to his proofs. He sent detailed advice to his editors on production and advance publicity. He urged more efficiency and speed in bringing out his work. He pestered the office for data on sales. He tracked down reviews that his publishers had missed. He sponsored translations. He became an expert on copyright. As the book prospered he insisted on star billing in Macmillan's list, and negotiated more money for future printings: two-thirds profit for the second and following printings; 15% royalty for the second and later American printings; half-profit for Gustave Fischer's German edition.⁷⁸

Social Evolution sold 3322 copies between January and June 1894 in the ten shilling English first edition. The American edition sold 709 copies at \$2.50 in the same time. Kidd collected £521 for the half-year. But this was only the beginning. The English first edition was reprinted nine times (in March, after which Kidd got two-thirds profit, May, June, July (twice), August (twice), October and January 1895). A second edition at five shillings was brought out in May 1895, and was reprinted in June 1895 and January 1896. A third edition, with a reply to criticisms, appeared in 1898. The book sold dramatically, if not so profitably to the author, in America. In the annus mirabilis, July 1894 to June 1895, the American editions netted sales of 18,958: 6710 in the \$1.75 edition, 5298 in the \$1.50 edition, and a staggering 16,950 in the twenty-five cent edition which the publishers had to bring out to compete with cheap pirated versions. Kidd made \pounds_{739} from these American sales, while in the same period his English sales of 7501 earned him £1120 (4849 at ten shillings, 2652 at five shillings). The book earned a very substantial \pounds_{553} in the next year (July 1895 to June 1896), but sales declined thereafter. By 1905 total royalties were down to £35per year.⁷⁹ Kidd's reputation became international as his bestseller was translated into at least ten languages, including Arabic and Chinese.

The phenomenal success of *Social Evolution* changed his life. From being an obscure government clerk, a little-known writer of naturalist essays, he was suddenly a celebrated author, a thinker of renown. He was to be remembered as the man who made his name in a day and with a single book. He became financially independent. He bought shares and invested in property. He eventually retired from the civil service to become a full-time writer. But, more than this, his success confirmed his faith in his star, his mission in life. No thought crossed his mind of living the life of Sybaritic ease. He set out to be a social prophet in the tradition of Comte and Spencer, a seeker after the key of knowledge which should unlock the secret of the universe and point the way to man's perfectibility.

Social Evolution gave the core of his philosophy and it continued to be regarded as his masterpiece. He wrote other works, some of which he regarded as significant advances upon his first book. Although not without their influence and importance, none of them achieved the extraordinary impact of Social Evolution. It is time to look at its argument and reception. I shall examine Kidd's endeavour 'to give a biological basis to our social science',⁸⁰ try to explain its general appeal, and also, by presenting criticisms levelled against its theoretical shortcomings, outline reasons for his eventual eclipse as a serious thinker.

A prickly, independent spirit convinced of his own orginality, Kidd dreamed of pioneering an holistic science of society. Social Evolution was his preliminary effort at such a project. Impressed by Darwinian science, unimpressed by the synthetic achievements of economics, history and other disciplines, Kidd believed that biology could be used to extend the province of order and law from the lower branches of life into human society. History and the social sciences must be founded upon the biological sciences. The advance of the human race was a natural phenomenon subject to natural laws. Social systems and civilisations were organic growths possessing definite laws of health and development. Certain elementary biological laws controlled and directed human progress 'as rigidly as the law of gravity controls and directs a body falling to the earth'.⁸¹ Like other organisms, man had evolved as a result of ceaseless environmental pressure. The process which had transformed man in a comparatively short time from a brute-like creature into virtual master of the earth depended upon unrelenting natural selection, which weeded

out countless hosts of unsuccessful forms while slowly accumulating useful variations, later to become successful types. The indispensability of competition in ensuring human progress – a progress he described as 'a necessity from which there is simply no escape' – was central to Kidd's theory, as it was to Darwin's and Spencer's. Kidd recognised homo sapiens' possession of reason, and his capacity for social cooperation as conferring powerful advantages in the struggle to survive, to master nature and other species. But it was the struggle itself that was crucial, the continual stress and rivalry out of which 'superior' variations were selected. Conflict constituted the first condition for a continuing advance towards higher and more perfect forms of life.

Kidd's mentor on this issue was, of course, Weismann, whose *Essays on Heredity* (1888) and *The Germ-Plasm* (1893) modified orthodox Darwinism in the 1890s. As we have seen, Weismann rejected the Lamarckian 'contamination' in Darwinism, the idea that environmentally induced characteristics could be inherited, and claimed that natural selection was the sole cause of evolution, working through heritable variations resulting from changes in genetic particles. Kidd was struck by Weismann's 'law of retrogression', which alleged that cessation of natural selection, for example through *panmixia*, or general breeding unaccompanied by stern conditions of competition, would result in slow but steady degeneration of the human species.

Kidd's reading of history and anthropology emphasised the selective value of conflict. Early man, just like savage tribal man, lived in a state of incessant warfare. Whole sections of the human race must have disappeared repeatedly before stronger and more efficient peoples; the path of human progress was strewn with the wrecks of nations, races, civilisations that had fallen by the way. Military efficiency and social organisation conferred success upon societies which lived under such stern conditions. The great powers of antiquity – Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, the Greek states – and the all-conquering Roman empire were tempered in continuous warfare, only to be submerged under successive waves of more vigorous humanity. The middle ages, the ages of faith, were no less the ages of fighting than earlier times. Progressive peoples living an energetic, vigorous and virile life had been the creators of the highest stage of civilisation. The centre of power had moved westwards from the 'stagnant and unchanging East', then northward 'into those stern regions where men have been trained for the rivalry of life in the strenuous conflict with nature in which they have acquired energy, courage, integrity, and those characteristic qualities which contribute to raise them to a high state of social efficiency' (p. 58).* The dominant English-speaking races and the Russians, together ruling over 46% of the earth's surface, lived north of the 50th parallel.

Against those who equated the progress of civilisation with the quelling of primal violence and the softening of competition, Kidd contended that only the conditions of competition had changed in modern societies. Competition had not diminished. On the contrary, it had been raised to a higher level, bringing more citizens into freer and fairer rivalry. The spread of individualist doctrines and the rise of capitalism had made rivalry between man and man the dominant feature of western society:

In our families, our homes, our pleasures, in the supreme moments of our lives, how to obtain success or to avoid failure for ourselves, or for those nearest to us, is a question of the first importance. . . It is no noisy struggle; it is the silent determined striving of vigorous men in earnest, who are trying their powers to the utmost. (pp. 54-5)

As a consequence of the great political revolutions of the eighteenth century, the rise of industry, and a social revolution creating more equal conditions of life, the more progressive nations had witnessed a breaking-down of caste and class barriers. Greater opportunities had opened up for those with

^{*}Page references in brackets in the text are to B. Kidd, *Social Evolution* (3rd edn, London, 1898).

talent and intelligence. Rivalry became in fact keener, stress severer, the pace quicker than ever before.

Kidd detected in man's reason a potentially subversive factor, one which, by encouraging selfish egoism, served to undermine selective competition. Kidd's concept of reason, as his critics never wearied of saying, was a narrow utilitarian one. It was, in the words of one sociologist, 'the cold calculating faculty that enables one to balance pleasure and pains and choose conduct in the line of self-interest'.⁸² Kidd's stirring attack on rationalism attracted attention from a generation that had witnessed the rise of doctrines of will, power and irrationality. What Kidd contributed was the view that evolutionary human progress, far from being a tribute to man's reasoning powers, had arisen out of conditions which largely contradicted his reason. True, reason had achieved splendid things, man's intellect had been an important factor in his ascent from the brutes. However, reason had dangerous potential. It might even put paid to human progress. Why should men, who were capable of perceiving their own selfinterest through reason, conclude that the future of the species or race improvement was more important than their own comfort? Why should they submit to the onerous conditions of existence which evolutionary science claimed to be essential for the advancement of the species as a whole? Was it not a reasonable interest of the masses of mankind, apparently doomed to be sacrificed in the struggle of life, to suspend that struggle if they could, even if the cost be the eventual extinction of their kind?

Kidd, although no socialist, agreed with the fundamental accuracy of the socialist critique of capitalism. When the 'convenient fictions' of society were removed, it was clear that western capitalism was indeed based upon obvious social inequality, and generated widespread misery. 'It is evident' he went so far as to say,

that *any* organisation of society with a system of rewards according to natural ability can have no ultimate sanction in reason for all the

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individuals. . . If we ask ourselves, therefore, what course it is the interests of the masses holding political power in our advanced societies to pursue from the standpoint of reason, it seems hardly possible to escape the conclusion that they should in self-interest put an immediate end to existing social conditions. (pp. 77, 75)

Kidd conceded that a socialist or anarchist state which eliminated competition represented a reasonable solution to the immediate problems of the masses. Doctrines of socialism, he admonished his Victorian readers, were anything but 'the heated imaginings of unbalanced brains'. They were 'the truthful unexaggerated teaching of sober reason' (p. 77). Unfortunately, if implemented, they would prove to be biologically self-defeating. Socialists would 'draw a ring fence' round their nations, abolish competition within their communities, socialise the means of production, and regulate population levels. Out of reduced social stress would come biological stagnation and, ultimately, degeneration.

Kidd postulated a continuing tension in societies at large between individual and group interest. Self-assertive individualism, which he founded on reason, was characterised as a disintegrating principle threatening the larger long-term interests of the social organism:

The teaching of reason to the individual must always be that the present time and his own interests therein are all-important to him. Yet the forces which are working out our development are primarily concerned not with these interests of the individual, but with those of the race, and more immediately with the widely different interests of a social organism subject to quite other conditions and possessed of an indefinitely longer life. These latter interests are at any time not only greater than those of any class of individuals: they are greater than those of all the individuals of any single generation. Nay, more, . . . they are at times greater than those of all the individuals of a whole series of generations. (pp. 79–80)

Kidd was to develop this concept in his later work, *Principles* of Western Civilisation (1902), which postulated that successful social orders worked according to the principle of

'projected efficiency', a principle which subordinated the interests of presently existing individuals to that of a collectivity of individuals, 'the overwhelming proportion of whose members are still in the future'.⁸³ In *Social Evolution* Kidd first exhibited that naive confidence, exasperating to intellectuals, impressive to lay readers, becoming obsessive in his subsequent writings, that he had transformed human thought. Spencer's *Data of Ethics*, which viewed the interests of the individual and society as reconcilable, was dismissed as wrongheaded. Indeed the whole of philosophy from the Greeks through Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, Comte, to the utilitarianism of Hume, Bentham, James and John Stuart Mill and Spencer was said to be founded on the misconception that a rational sanction for individual conduct could be discovered in the nature of things:

We stand, as it were, at the centre of the great maelstrom of human history, and see why all those systems of moral philosophy, which have sought to find in the nature of things a rational sanction for human conduct in society, must sweep round and round in futile circles. They attempt an inherently impossible task. . . The transforming fact which the scientific development of the nineteenth century has confronted us with is, that, as the interests of the social organism and of the individual are, and must remain, antagonistic, and as the former must always be predominant, there can never be found any sanction in individual reason for conduct in societies where the conditions of progress prevail. (pp. 80–1)

Fortunately, in Kidd's theory, there was an integrative principle which opposed the disintegrative force of selfassertive individualism. It was supplied by non-rational factors, and in particular by man's religious beliefs, which had confined reason to a useful but subordinate role in evolution. Kidd's first book was a best-seller partly because it provided an evolutionary scientific justification for religion. Religion's function had been to offer an 'ultra-rational' sanction for social conduct which focussed upon race survival. Religion acted as a countervailing force against destructive, self-assertive rationalism, which threatened to

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enact Weismann's 'law of retrogression'.

Kidd defined religion operationally as a form of belief that provided an ultra-rational sanction for social behaviour which subordinated transient individual interest to long-term social interests. It followed that a rational religion, such as Comte's positivism, was a 'scientific impossibility'.⁸⁴ Again, any set of customs which invoked the supernatural to support socially significant behaviour, behaviour with survival value, was entitled to the label of religion. But a 'religion' which failed to regulate conduct, to move large masses of men, was no religion. The common features of all true religions were the propagation of doctrines which were beyond reason, the belief in intrinsic right and wrong derived from a God or spirits, and the capacity to evoke socially useful behaviour. The central concept of sacrifice in religion symbolised the evolutionary sacrifice of the individual to the social organism.

Kidd saw himself as a pioneer in the scientific study of religion. He perceptively criticised the failure of sceptically minded intellectuals seriously to investigate religious phenomena. Scientific rationalists were embittered by the endemic warfare between science and religion, by the fact that 'during many centuries these religions had maintained a vast conspiracy against [science], had persecuted her champions, and had used stupendous and extraordinary efforts to stifle and strangle her' (p. 86). They tended to dismiss religion contemptuously as a survival from the childhood of the race, as a variety of ancestor worship or fear of ghosts, as something belonging to the past and now discredited. Such attitudes only obscured the responsibility of the social sciences to study, within an evolutionary framework, religious phenomena which constituted the most persistent and characteristic features of human society. Western civilisation had been influenced in its habits, customs, laws, institutions, concepts of rights, liberties and duties by religion. Even in Kidd's own age, when secularism seemed advancing, it was his contention that religion was basically as powerful as ever; that the ancient conflict between spiritual and temporal, faith and reason,

superstition and knowledge, church and state, religion and science raged on still. The intellectuals proclaimed the triumph of aggressive unbelief, but it was not so. They failed to discern the dominant historic role which religion had played, and still played, in conducting a remorseless, and vital, battle against the hostile force of man's own reason.

Social Evolution offered its readers an entertaining, if not highly reliable, safari through history, mainly western history. It intended to show that human progress had resulted, not primarily from the intellect of man, but from ethical systems deriving out of religion. (Jung later developed a similar thesis with greater subtlety, and there are affinities with Weber's theory of the Protestant ethic.) Christianity was said to have evoked a sense of social altruism, a devotion to corporate rather than personal welfare. It had encouraged, through ideals such as the universal brotherhood and equality of all men, the breakdown of boundaries between classes, nationalities, and even races. The life force of western civilisation might be traced back to the birth of Christianity, taking place during the decay of Roman imperialism. By the twelfth century, a vast theocracy had been set up on Christian foundations owing nothing to reason. The medieval system witnessed an 'almost entire cessation of every form of intellectual activity'. It created a 'stupendous system of otherworldliness' (pp. 130-1). But for social evolution to take place it was necessary that Christian altruism be diversified into broader social channels, and that freer play be granted to intellectual forces. This was achieved through the Reformation (by which Kidd seemed to mean both the Protestant revolt and the Renaissance). Western history took form as the result of a dynamic tension between intellectual and ultra-rational factors. The latter, Kidd believed, generally triumphed. Man's intellect usually developed ground won for it by other forces. The masses in history had been swayed by essentially nonrational feelings, by profound social instincts which nearly always possessed a truer scientific basis than 'the merely intellectual insight of the educated classes' (p. 154).

The political and social enfranchisement of the masses in western society had largely come, said Kidd, out of the immense fund of altruism and humanitarianism bequeathed by Christianity. Ancient Greece and Rome had been military societies, based on caste and slavery, exalting military and patriotic virtues while lacking any but the most egotistical kind of morality. (Kidd, following George Henry Lewes, declared that Greek morality never embraced any conception of humanity.) The individual counted for little, women were subjugated, infanticide and despotism flourished. Rome's glittering empire violently exploited weaker peoples, was based upon ruthless centralisation 'and the most unbridled individual and class aggrandisement at the expense of immense oppressed populations' (p. 141). In medieval Europe, political power was restricted to kings and the upper classes.

The slow break-up of a military type of society, based on hereditary and exclusive principles, resulted in the gradual restriction of absolutism, the extinction of slavery, and the transfer of rights from feudal lords to the landowning and later the capitalist classes. Kidd had not read Marx and other socialists for nothing:

As the rights and power of the upper classes have been gradually curtailed, the great slowly-formed middle class has, in its turn, found itself confronted with the same developmental tendency. Wider and wider the circle of political influence has gradually extended. Whether the process has been made irregularly amid the throes of revolution or more regularly in the orderly course of continuous legislative enactment, it has never ceased. (p. 144)

Together with the move towards democracy went a move towards individual liberty. Kidd endorsed the view of Sir Henry Maine that modern societies had tended to substitute the individual for the group as the unit of which civil law took account. Down the centuries a broadening concept and tradition of individual liberties had become established in western political, social and domestic institutions. Economic individualism had worked in the same direction. The modern ideal of the state envisaged 'equality of opportunity' for all citizens (a term Kidd claimed to have invented). In such a situation 'there shall be at last no law-protected powerholding class on the one side, and no excluded and disinherited masses on the other' (p. 144).

How had this come about? Was it the work of enlightened men and enlightened doctrines, of sweet reason and persuasion? Hardly, thought Kidd. Men, in the mass, were not moved by intellectuals and theories, but rather by undetected economic and sociological undercurrents, and by non-rational feelings and social instincts. And fortunately so. Men guided by reason were usually men guided by self-interest. Without the ethical systems provided by the world's higher religions, men would have used reason to justify any ruthless or expedient means to the end of individual advantage. (Elsewhere, of course, Kidd argued that reason could be used to open a collective escape-hatch from the jungle world, as with socialism, with disastrous biological results.) Would reasonable men have endorsed democracy on purely rational grounds? Kidd thought not: 'The conception of the native equality of men which has played so great a part in the social development that has taken place in our civilisation is essentially irrational' (p. 187). It was the Christian ideal of the universal brotherhood of man, the uncompromising doctrine of the innate equality of all men before God, which proved ultimately subversive of the old social order. Why did the power-holding classes in recent centuries surrender their power and privileges? Because they had lost faith in themselves. Kidd frequently asserted the essential powerlessness of the people, of the submerged classes, in the face of the superior power of ruling elites:

The rich and the power-holding classes would be able even now, in the freest and most advanced communities, to restrain, arrest, and turn back the tide of progress. . . All the power of the press; all the appliances of science; all the developments of industrialism; all the 'economic tendencies' which are now held to make for the influence of the people, would, in such circumstances, prove, each and every one, but effective weapons of offence and defence in the hands of an oppressive oligarchy. (p. 188)

But an oligarchy or privileged elite which no longer believed in the morality of its cause almost invariably fell before the forces of reform. Reason — which could readily be used to justify slaveholding or aristocracy — had played an insignificant role in the triumph of reform. Christian altruism and humanitarianism, built up into an immense fund over centuries, had been the decisive factor in softening and civilising men's attitudes.

Altruistic values had penetrated both the power-holding capitalist class of modern western society, and the masses demanding reform. Concessions wanted by lower social groups, the inherently weaker party, had been conceded in recent times by the inherently stronger ruling elite: a spectacle altogether exceptional in world history. The press and public opinion had become intolerant of misery and injustice, had let in light upon 'the dark foundations of our social system' (p. 182). Growing public sympathy for the cause of labour against the capitalist class had become a determining factor in the success of a rising labour movement in Europe and America.

Kidd's stance on social issues was not unlike that of 'new liberals' of the pre-World War I generation, such as J.A. Hobson and L.T. Hobhouse.⁸⁵ He disapproved of the severe views of Social Darwinists like Herbert Spencer who commended unregulated individualism, and who condemned humanitarianism as likely to secure the survival of the unfittest in society. Kidd attributed to religiously derived altruism a series of inspiring achievements: suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, respect for oppressed nationalities, the spread of charity, public concern for poverty, the abolition of bearbaiting and duelling, and the campaigns of vegetarians and anti-vivisectionists. The nineteenth century had witnessed an impressive catalogue of social reform, with improved living standards, a more even distribution of wealth, better health, shorter working hours, more general education and expanded

leisure. Kidd viewed the replacement of laissez-faire by welfarist democracy as a necessary phase in human development. 'The people have been, at least, admitted to equal political rights; in the next stage they must apparently be admitted to equal social opportunities' (p. 230). Like J.A. Hobson in the Crisis of Liberalism (1909), Kidd contended that a 'socialised' liberal capitalism, rather than socialism, provided an answer to the deep-seated problems of capitalist society. Kidd envisaged a future society embodying radical changes: educational reform would open the privilege of superior schooling to all-comers; the lower classes would be raised at the expense of the wealthier, through graduated taxation and revision of the hereditary rights of wealth; state interference and control must be expected on a greatly extended scale. The twentieth century, he predicted, would be preoccupied with the relation between the workers, the capitalists and the state. There would be questioning – coming already from young economists - whether the inherited powers and privileges of capital should endure, whether the cruelty and waste of competition were necessary features of capitalism, whether poverty itself might not be abolished.

Such ideas belie the charge sometimes made that Kidd was a mere justifier of the existing social order.⁸⁶ On the other hand, his attack upon socialism, and his insistence that a competitive evolutionary ethos be preserved in future society, were usable in the conservative cause. He regarded socialism as both rational and deeply significant politically. It justly exposed economic exploitation and the tendency of laissez-faire to transform itself into monopoly capitalism. It uncovered the moral weakness at the core of the capitalist system. Kidd contemptuously dismissed many orthodox critiques of socialism as misconceived and ignoring socialism's real attraction to the oppressed individuals in society. However the socialist alternative possessed a fatal flaw: it invariably insisted on the final suspension 'of that personal struggle for existence which has been waged, not only from the beginning of society, but, in one form or another, from the beginning of

life' (p. 209). By insisting upon population control – for without it the socialist stage would find its goals of social harmony and wealth equality negated by teeming numbers – the socialists violated an inexorable law of human progress. Unlike Galton and many eugenists, Kidd opposed artificial selection of human populations. The first condition of progress was selection via unregulated pressure of numbers, compelling every type 'to continually press upon and tend to outrun the conditions of existence' prevailing at the time (p. 210). Again, by insisting upon economic planning and the elimination of commercial competition, the socialists would fatally weaken their state 'when matched in the general competition of life against other communities where the stress of life was greater' (p. 212). The competitive system at its best ensured the most efficient system of production; the best men tended to find the places for which they were best fitted; their powers were used to the fullest degree in the cause of invention, discovery, improvement; while the link between effort and reward provided a stimulus for the population to exert itself to the highest degree, something missing when the main wants of life were secure. Socialism, despite its attractions, was ultimately a 'soul-deadening and energy restricting' system (p. 207).

Whilst regarding Marx as a pioneering social analyst whom it was perilous to ignore, Kidd rejected his materialistic evolutionism, motored solely by selfish class interest. Biohistory led not to proletarian revolution and the classless society – impossible anyway because of the greater ultimate power of the ruling classes – but to the gradual material emancipation of the masses, under the civilising influence of humanitarian altruism. That force at one and the same time softened and civilised human character, while preserving a competitive evolutionary ethos. The system of socialised liberal capitalism which Kidd favoured brought the excluded masses into the rivalry of life on a footing of equality of opportunity. It raised rivalry to new heights of efficiency. Far from securing the survival of the unfittest, it fostered racial improvement. Social democracy, with its vitalising mix of humanitarianism and individualism, had made most rapid advance amongst peoples who were vigorous and virile, who thrived on competitive stress.

Kidd's anti-rationalism led him into what was, in certain important respects, an anti-racist position.87 Believing that human evolution had not been governed primarily by intellectual factors, Kidd denied that those races that had achieved supremacy in the present world had done so by dint of innately superior intelligence. Whether a people occupied a 'superior' or 'inferior' place in the developmental scale depended upon their social efficiency, and social efficiency was related less to intellectual than to ethical development, and to the presence in the culture of qualities such as mental energy, resolution, enterprise, powers of concentration and application, and a sense of devotion to duty. Kidd believed, for example, that the ancient Greeks ranked well above his own race as far as average intelligence was concerned. Yet the Greeks had disappeared in the battle for survival, for they lacked the more durable qualities of social efficiency which marked modern European peoples. A similar fate seemed likely to overtake the highly intelligent French, a Celtic stock, in their rivalry with the Teutonic peoples. The so-called 'inferior' races owed their humble position to impoverished social inheritance rather than to smaller brains or intellectual deficiency. Anthropometric measurements had failed to demonstrate innate racial differences in terms of cranial capacity, and hence brainpower. He noted that supposedly less intelligent groups such as the Australian aborigines and American blacks learnt quite as readily as whites in primary public schools. Kidd disagreed with the early nineteenth-century theory of permanent racial types, such as that popularised by Robert Knox's Races of Man (1850). Kidd took his stance unequivocally with Darwin, as against Knox, that races were subject to evolution by adaptation and selection.

On the critical question of heredity versus environment as determinants of race, Kidd was ambiguous, not surprising given the confused state of theory at the time in biology, anthropology and psychology. The general thrust of his argument was toward the view that environmental and cultural conditions outweighed hereditary intelligence in determining racial achievement. But at times he gave the impression that the factors which conferred social efficiency, and thus racial success – mental energy, enterprise, concentration, etc. – might be directly inherited through mutations in genetic particles or germ plasms. At other times his position was suspiciously close to the Lamarckian theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics. Or else he simply wrote, in terms defying scientific analysis, of natural selection evolving character types more susceptible to altruistic social forces, or forces conferring social efficiency.

Kidd's biological theory of race, even though containing 'liberal' elements, did not prevent his espousing the cause of white imperialism. Bio-history had produced racial hierarchies over long periods of time through the operation of evolution, working in an inescapable context of ceaseless struggle. As the end product of evolution, racial differences could not be abolished at a stroke. It followed that those races which occupied the top rungs of the evolutionary ladder represented the apex of human progress, the triumph of ethical, group-oriented development over selfish individualism. True, no race could guarantee its continued survival at the top. Racial dominance was a precarious matter, achieved when for a time a society's life-sustaining constructive forces – contained in its ethical systems - outran the destructive forces of self-assertive rationalism in the social system. Western civilisation, like all others, risked a downward plunge into decay should that situation be reversed. However, for the moment, the white races had inherited a superiority which explained their dominance over large regions of the world.

Kidd's bio-political defence of empire impressed British administrators and politicians, including Joseph Chamberlain. First adumbrated in *Social Evolution*, then developed in his booklet *Control of the Tropics* (1898) and canvassed persistently in his extensive correspondence with politicians and intellectuals, Kidd's imperial ideas obtained considerable currency. Shorn of their 'scientific' superstructure, his strictures on the historical significance of the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic races bore a resemblance to much nationalist and imperialist doctrine of the day in Britain, Germany and the United States. His actual policies anticipated early twentiethcentury policies of trusteeship. Kidd advocated the development of the world's tropical resources as a trust for civilisation, as a responsibility administered by a supervisory white civilisation representing 'higher ideals of humanity, a higher type of social order' on behalf of native peoples who were often thousands of years behind the west in social development. The white man, he said, could not be acclimatised in the tropics 'physically, morally, nor politically'. Hence he advocated what Sydney Haldane later describd as 'a programme of administrative and engineering efficiency rather than one of industrial and profiteering exploitation'.88 It was to be administered by a white, preferably English-speaking, elite, and master-minded from the temperate European homeland. Kidd opposed the idea of purely military subjection of indigenous peoples, both as difficult and inconsistent with the high ethical ideals of western civilisation. The imperial power should respect the right of native races to possession of their land, their ideas, religion, and even a degree of independence.

Social Evolution was a book of its time, phenomenally successful for a while, then falling into oblivion. A number of reasons might be suggested to account for its initial success. Written during a decade of *fin de siècle* speculation on the future of man, Kidd's book was topical, its style self-confident and hyperbolic (if repetitious), designed to impress a lay readership. Kidd's bio-politics appeared at a time of intense debate on genetics,⁸⁹ and his use of the controversial Weismann's ideas seemed both pertinent and *avant garde*. Kidd's effort to found an holistic science of society reflected a contemporary preoccupation among social scientists, anxious to enlist the prestige of natural science in their own cause. Paradoxically, Kidd's anti-intellectualism, his scepticism about the intelligentsia, his belief that progress depended upon essentially non-rational forces, chimed in with the mood of the 1890s, the revolt against reason associated with names like Nietzsche having already well set in. Kidd foreshadowed, in some ways, men such as Bergson, Sorel, even Jung. His figure, that of the self-made prophet with faith in the instinctive wisdom of the masses, generated wide appeal, most notably in the United States, but also in England, and even among the working class. His Darwinian defence of religion as a racepreserving force earned contemporary attention at a time of growing détente between the protagonists in the science versus religion debate.⁹⁰ He provided solace for those who feared the defeat of Christianity at the hands of rational scepticism and atheistic Darwinism; or feared at least the transformation of Christianity from a mystery religion into a variety of rationalistic Deism. As Crane Brinton observed: 'Kidd's feat in saving religion from the positivists and making it the first servant of evolution endeared him to many good souls.'91 Such people, said J.A. Hobson,

morally weak because they have relied upon dogmatic supports of conduct, are ready to grasp eagerly at a theory which shall save their religious systems in a manner which seems consistent with the maintenance of modern culture. If reason can only be induced to make a voluntary cession of a certain sphere of territory to religion – to give a rational sanction to religion to be irrational – then all is achieved.⁹²

As I have already suggested, Kidd offered something for almost everybody: a defence of competition and Malthusian population pressure for laissez-fairists; moderate reformism for 'new liberals'; a vision splendid of triumphant democracy for apostles of human progress; anti-socialism for conservatives; a spicing of socialism for the left; a biological rationale for Anglo-Saxon imperialists. But his idiosyncratic views attracted displeasure as well as approval. Genuine believers

were annoyed by his functional defence of religion, scientists by his faith in unreason and loose speculation, the scholarly by his slanted account of history. The Duke of Argyll pointed out some of the paradoxes in *Social Evolution*:

It takes thoughts equally from the most opposite and antagonistic schools, and uses them to support conclusions which are repugnant to each and to them all. In its phraseology it is not only Darwinian. but ultra-Darwinian. It bows down before the formula of 'natural selection' as to a fetish. Yet it also specially insists upon the agency of what is called 'the super-natural' - the very conception which natural selection was invented to deny or, at least, to supersede. It dwells emphatically on the familiar idea that human society is an organism. Yet another of its most favourite doctrines is that, unlike every other organism in the world, the interest of all its individual parts is in constant and permanent antagonism to the interests of the whole. It asserts ... that the freedom of the individual is the mainspring of all progress. Yet it is constantly asserting in the next breath that the reason and intellect of the individual are always at hopeless variance with the collective welfare. In describing the facts and aspects of society, whether past or present, it adopts, without qualification or protest, the most misleading and exaggerated language of the extremest socialism. Yet it denounces all the remedies to which that socialism looks, and condemns them as not only useless, but as tending only to accelerated decay and to inevitable death. It asserts in one page the doctrine of the native equality of all men, as peculiar to the ethical system upon which our civilisation is founded, whilst in the next page it represents the whole population of tropical countries as so inherently inferior to the population of the temperate regions that these last must permanently rule and govern all the others from their own shores. It looks upon the most extreme and almost savage competition between individuals in the race of life as the one and only cause and source of all improvement in human society, yet it pronounces not less strongly on the supreme value of that ethical agency which is now technically called 'Altruism'.93

While Kidd's book was widely discussed and praised in the press and periodicals of Britain and America – the *New York Times* describing it as laying the foundations for a long-

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awaited science of society⁹⁴ – it received some rough handling from intellectuals. Not all of this was by any means progressive protest at Kidd's anti-enlightenment stand. W.H. Mallock, for instance, wrote his elitist *Aristocracy and Evolution* (1898) specifically to refute *Social Evolution*, 'the epitome of everything against which my own mind protested':

Just as Darwin's theory of Evolution, with its doctrine of the survival of the strongest, provided a scientific basis, unwelcome to many, for aristocracy, Mr Kidd's aim was to show that evolution in its highest forms was in reality a survival of the weakest, and thus provided a scientific basis for democracy – democracy by constant implications being identified with some form of Socialism. To me this book . . . seemed . . . a piece of monumental clap-trap, though it was clap-trap of the highest order, and was for that reason all the more pernicious.⁹⁵

Argyll's article in the Edinburgh Review reflected the deep unease which Kidd's view of reason and religion could generate in a Christian intellectual. A politician-intellectual who dabbled polemically in scientific debates, Argyll had been an old enemy of Darwin and Huxley. During the nineties he vigorously propagated his own religious-teleological view of evolution against the deterministic mechanism that he saw at the heart of Darwinism. However Kidd's anti-rationalism was too much for him. Accusing Kidd of patching 'hasty and partial generalisations of different schools of thought . . . in one forced and unnatural combination', Argyll rejected Kidd's contraposition of man's reason and natural evolutionary laws. The lower animals acted in both their own and their species' interests by virtue of implanted instincts, not by conscious reasoning. Yet Kidd portrayed man's reason as blindly selfish, as suicidal and destructive in its long-term effects, 'indeed the one great enemy which he has to deal with in the higher development of his individual life, and of his species, and of his social condition'. Man was thus represented 'as a creature lower than any of the lower animals', not because of any fall from grace, 'but because of the inherent viciousness of that

very gift which we are accustomed to consider as one of the highest he possesses'. By depicting reason as 'regarding nothing but the individual's interests and impulses', and by posing an implacable conflict between the interests of the social organism and the individuals comprising it, Kidd made 'an accusation against the constitution of the world and of human nature which is pessimist indeed'. Kidd's doctrine represented man 'as wholly destitute, so far as his reasonable nature is concerned, of those social instincts which are universal among the beasts', and was, in Argyll's opinion, a doctrine of 'indelible and innate' human corruption, much more extreme than the Christian one. Man's flawed reasonable nature must always impel him to rebel against the laws governing the natural system of which he formed a part, and which he must thus always regard as essentially irrational and unjust. Argyll preferred Herbert Spencer's system, for despite downgrading the role of religion - Spencer saw reason as a cooperative force in evolution. Kropotkin, too, was arguing in the early 1890s that a general law of mutual aid prevailed in the natural world, more important than the law of mutual contest, and that man's reason was fundamentally compatible with an ethical natural order, the ultimate evolutionary future being that of a cooperative society.⁹⁶

Argyll, although sympathising with Kidd's attack upon rationalistic and utilitarian ethics, believed he erred – indeed that he placed religion in a perilous position – by postulating an irreconcilable antagonism between religion and reason. Argyll objected to the exclusion of obligation or long-term altruism from Kidd's concept of reason, thus artificially separating man's moral from his intellectual nature. Like other critics, Argyll was severe on the idea 'that the moral precepts which are enforced by the supernatural sanctions of religion are not only above or beyond reason, but in contradiction to it'. Kidd was proposing a dangerous dualistic dogma, basically illiberal, which divided the human system of life into separate and antagonistic parts, the only path to reconciliation being provided by man's passive and unreasoning submission to 'super-natural' rule. For his part, Argyll postulated the existence of an innate ethical sense in man, compatible with his logical sense, most probably inherited from that 'conspicuous instinct' of the lower animals which evoked altruism and selfsacrifice when needed for the preservation of the race. Argyll failed to find in history an exclusively religious causation of man's developing ethicality. Religious beliefs had been hotbeds 'of the most hideous acts, practices, and customs', while redemption from the horrors of religious superstition had often lain in the resistance of enlightened rationalism. Many of Kidd's critics, and most vociferously the rationalists, said amen to this.

Amongst Kidd's academic critics, perhaps the most polemical was D.G. Ritchie, Professor of Logic and Metaphysics at St. Andrews, who had absorbed T.H. Green's Oxford idealism whilst at Balliol in the seventies, and written on evolution in his Darwinism and Politics (1889) and Darwinism and Hegel (1893). Ritchie was critical of Kidd's scholarship, style and assumptions. Kidd identified progress with evolution and asserted that a scientific history was possible only if biological methods were transferred into human historiography. However 'every careful biologist . . . recognizes that evolution is not identical with what we mean by progress'. Successful adaptation might be attained by degeneration as well as by advance, and did not imply ethical superiority. 'The rise of ethical ideals may be explained *historically* in terms of natural selection; but when these ideals have once arisen, they make social progress become something different from mere organic evolution.' Biological methods were not all-sufficient for an understanding of history, nor were Kidd's own excursions into history encouraging examples of the value of biological methods:

Mr Kidd, indeed, recognizes the struggle between societies as a factor differentiating social evolution from the evolution with which the biologist as such is concerned; but he does not recognize that the struggle between societies necessarily brings about a greater internal cohesion within the more successful society and therefore a dimin-

ution in the competition between individuals. The social and sympathetic instincts of man within the society to which he belongs (family, class or nation) are a factor to be taken account of and must continue to be 'selected', apart from (or in spite of) the influence of particular religions.

Ritchie, a rationalist, contended against the view that social progress was the fruit of unreasoning and altruistic religion: 'A more careful study of history would show that it is only because and in so far as a religion becomes rational that it really and in the long run furthers social well-being.' Contrary to Kidd's uni-causal view of history, reforms such as the abolition of slavery were due less to religious humanitarianism than to secular theories of equality and a complex of economic and political factors.⁹⁷

As a 'new liberal' who emphasised the critical importance of human consciousness in enabling man rationally to adapt to biological change, to institute social reform while exercising individual freedom of choice, Ritchie naturally objected to Kidd's self-regarding concept of mind and its alienation from the social organism:

What sense is there in talking about a social organism at all, if this dogmatic assertion of absolute antithesis between the part and the whole be seriously meant? What does Mr Kidd mean by 'personal' when he talks of the individual having no personal interest in the progress of the 'organism' to which he belongs? What is the content of any one's personal interests if *all* reference to the well-being of *all* other persons be rigidly excluded?⁹⁸

John Dewey, the American philosopher, granted that Kidd had 'a mind of scope and daring'. But, he asked, why did Kidd draw such a sharp antithesis 'between what constitutes the happiness of the individual and the conditions of progress'? 'Overlooking the fact that the sense of contributing to progress is an important . . . rational ingredient of happiness, what ground is there for the assumption that the individual's rational conception of happiness excludes all suffering arising from struggle?'⁹⁹ Theodore Roosevelt, writing in the *North*

American Review, believed that man had reached an evolutionary stage at which it was perfectly rational for him to serve society and the underprivileged, and to do so without being motivated by supernatural belief.¹⁰⁰ The Canadian Spencerean William Le Sueur accused Kidd of dualism in trying to found a scientific sociology on reason while at the same time disparaging science and making progress depend on non-rational factors. (As Robert Bannister has pointed out, Le Sueur and others missed the point that Kidd was calling for a 'more radical method' in the social sciences, calling not for irrationalism, but for a more thorough-going application of scientific method – thus anticipating a growing recognition of the roles of emotion and imagination in science.)¹⁰¹ The angry chorus against Kidd's irrationalism reached a crescendo in 1897 with Hugh Mortimer Cecil's long-winded Pseudo-Philosophy at the End of the Nineteenth Century, in which Social Evolution obtained top billing with Henry Drummond's Ascent of Man (1894) and A.J. Balfour's Foundations of Belief (1895).

Kidd's vision of a 'socialised' liberal capitalism maximising equality of opportunity, while raising biological competition to its highest levels, had much in common with programmes of social liberalism sponsored in the pre-1914 era by thinkers such as I.A. Hobson. However, the advanced liberals and Kidd tended to part company on certain key issues. As Michael Freeden has suggested, progressive protest arose not only over Kidd's religious 'obscurantism' and irrationalism, but over the authoritarian implications of his doctrine of social efficiency, his subordination of individualist goals, and even majority opinion, to a biologically conceived future racial interest.¹⁰² J.A. Hobson's idealist leanings led him to sympathise with Kidd's emphasis on altruism over egoism, with the 'organicist' elements in Kidd's theory which vigorously asserted the claim of the wider social organism upon the conduct of the several generations which made it up. Again, both Kidd and Hobson shared a socio-biological approach to politics.¹⁰³ But Hobson strongly opposed Kidd's dogmatic polarisation of individual

and society. Hobson's universalist approach assumed the ultimate reconciliation of individualism with social order and wholeness via reason and self-awareness. Religion alone could not effect such a reconciliation, nor was it, rather than rationality, the race-preserving force that Kidd depicted it to be.¹⁰⁴ Kidd made religion ostensibly a humanising and democratising force, making for abstract justice, but in practice it operated in Kidd's scheme 'with the object of sharpening antagonism among the individuals of a society and among the races of the world at as many points as possible'. To the extent that Kidd advocated the maintenance of crudely physical competition to further biological fitness - a 'quantitative' view of social progress promoting free breeding and imperial expansion, and measuring success in terms of cotton bales and square miles of territory – he was advocating a society which Hobson believed could never attain social coherency or effectiveness. To the extent that Kidd envisaged a society of humanitarian-democratic opportunity, coexisting with individual self-reliance, Hobson saw little difference between such a society and a socialist one: 'Socialism in its philosophic limitation is nothing else than the progressive equalization of opportunities . . . it achieves this equalization of opportunity by putting down some lower form of struggle, in order that the struggle may take a higher and intenser form.'105 Whereas Kidd appreciated socialist theory but denied the viability of practical socialism, Hobson preached a practical socialism - permitting liberal self-expression and development - while denying socialist theory. Kidd should recognise that in his socialised liberal capitalism, as in pragmatic socialism, some repression of primary struggle was inevitable; some 'survival of the unfit' must occur. Hobson's answer to the dilemma of degeneration was eugenic control (hopefully consistent with individual freedom) including prohibition of 'unsocial unions' and prevention of 'physical, mental and moral disease'. Overall, Kidd's book provoked Hobson into an articulate defence of 'qualitative' rather than 'quantitative' social progress, limiting physical rivalry and 'the

baser struggles of war and industry', and substituting higher forms of rivalry 'to evoke higher fitness'. This fitness would be measured in terms, not of statistics, but of higher and varied human character.

In the United States Kidd's reform Darwinism won attention as reaction set in against the abuses of the Gilded Age. As Bannister says: 'In reality, Kidd' was neither an individualist nor a socialist, as these terms were used through the eighties, but rather a link between the earlier liberalism of a William Graham Sumner and the mood which in America produced progressivism.¹⁰⁶ Earnest students of social problems formed clubs to study Social Evolution.¹⁰⁷ However the ambiguities in his thought bred confusion. Socialists like Henry Demarest Lloyd claimed that Kidd 'put into a new vocabulary the old ideas which our civilization of selfishness does not want to give up. . . He promised the business system a new lease of life and authority by his philosophy of struggle, and the ecclesiastical system renewed infallibility.'108 At the same time the liberal New York *Nation* branded him a Christian socialist 'because he insisted that Darwinism made untenable any defence of competition and laissez-faire based on natural law'. 109

The innovative and radical elements in Kidd's work were welcomed by some socialists, including A.R. Wallace, cofounder with Darwin of the theory of natural selection. Wallace described Social Evolution as 'a very remarkable book', which prepared the western mind for the historical inevitability of a system based on equal social opportunities, requiring restriction of privilege and wealth, and deliberate elevation of the masses. 'Though not a socialist, Mr. Kidd goes so far that, by upholders of the present system, he will be thought hardly less dangerous an innovator.'110 Wallace. however, criticised Kidd's vague use of the phrase 'equality of opportunity in the rivalry of life', and, like Henry George, contended 'that there can be no equality of opportunity so long as a limited class remains in possession of the land on and by which all must live, and the inherent value of which is the creation of society'. The logic of Kidd's principle in fact took one to the verge of socialism:

It differs from socialism, however, inasmuch as it will leave rivalry and competition, not only unchecked but even increasing in intensity, and in order to avoid the corresponding increase of some of the evils which result from our comparatively limited competition, society will probably, *pari passu* with this development, so organise itself that every community will form a congeries of co-operative societies by which all will benefit, thus bringing about a form of voluntary municipal socialism.¹¹¹

Wallace, as a naturalist, did not fear biological degeneration following the removal of the individual struggle for existence. Kidd, he said, laboured under a mistaken impression that Weismann's theory of *panmixia* entailed continuous and unlimited degeneration, an error exposed by the zoologist and comparative psychologist, C. Lloyd Morgan.

Kidd's use of panmixia as an anti-socialist argument was more trenchantly attacked by Karl Pearson, the biometrician, eugenist and socialist.¹¹² Panmixia was in Pearson's view, like most of Weismann's theories, 'suggestive, nebulous, and utterly unproven'. In the hands of those like Kidd it became a bogie 'manufactured to enforce the good behaviour of socialists'.¹¹³ The available evidence suggested the opposite of the Kidd-Weismann view, namely, that among gregarious animals, and especially civilised man, the intra-group struggle for existence had become progressively less important as an evolutionary factor. Pearson's theory, developed in later works, asserted that man's progress had depended upon the minimising of internal group competition in order to emphasise the action of extra-group selection. Socialists acted consistently with biological laws in proposing to regulate intra-group conflict in the interest of social stability, thus conferring advantage upon their own society in the wider struggle being continually waged between societies for markets, power and racial domination. Pearson accused Kidd of ignoring the demographic statistics indicating that the physical struggle for existence within human groups had

become of relatively minor evolutionary importance. Yet, once this was granted, 'Mr. Kidd's theory of social evolution falls to the ground like a pack of cards; it finds no bottom on great "biological truths".'¹¹⁴

Nor did Pearson have patience with Kidd's vision of a future society based on altruistic feeling and equality of opportunity, supposedly the outcome of irrational religion and yet consistent with basic biological laws of conflict. Kidd's whole edifice was founded on critical ambiguities. His theory of religion as a competition-preserving force counteracting selfregarding rationalism contradicted his view of religion as the source of altruistic humanitarianism, whose whole tendency was to circumscribe social competition. Kidd spoke in one breath of a coming society which would raise the rivalry of life to new heights, extending its scope, making competition more stressful, the pace of life quicker. But in another breath he spoke of the new rivalry becoming 'more efficient' by becoming 'more and more moral, regulated, and humanized'. The latter system might be justified, but hardly on the grounds used by Kidd: 'If rivalry of life does not bring with it the extinction of the less fit, or check their reproduction, then it is perfectly idle to associate it with the biologists' struggle for existence.'115 Pearson excoriated Kidd's work as typical of the 'loose, merely descriptive, and semi-metaphysical reasoning' exhibited by 'pseudo-scientists' seeking to apply Darwinist ideas to contemporary social problems.

Henry Sidgwick believed that Kidd's work reflected the perils of political prophecy based upon the increasingly prevalent 'historical method', the foundation for the doctrine of progress. Values became tailored to change, to history, rather than being immutable. Sidgwick doubted that a definitive view of past history was possible; or that it could in any case provide the basis for a predictive science of society. The prophets and quacks typically raided history to support their own theories and innovations: 'By judicious selection and well-arranged emphasis, by ignoring inconvenient facts and filling the gaps of knowledge with convenient conjectures – it is astonishing how easy it is plausibly to represent any desired result as the last inevitable outcome of the operation of the laws of social development.' Kidd's work, he conceded, was 'vigorously-written and stimulating'. But it was over-reliant on vague biological analogies and was suspect historically: 'Mr. Kidd has left the science of society where he found it – unconstructed, so far as the laws of social development are concerned.'¹¹⁶

It would not be unfair to conclude that Kidd's critics detected serious theoretical shortcomings in *Social Evolution*, and raised major points requiring resolution by the author. Kidd signally failed, indeed refused, to grapple with such criticisms either at the time or in his later works. In a 'reply' to his reviewers in the *Ninteenth Century*, he obstinately disregarded their objections, merely restating a thesis he believed they had left unanswered.¹¹⁷ Kidd saw himself, perhaps obsessively so, as a self-reliant, unorthodox, original thinker, ahead of his time, wary of ossified scholarly trditions. He had, he said, expected that his view of social development

could not, in the nature of things, receive any criticism on its merits at the present time, and that its reception from the professional exponents of knowledge must necessarily be hostile. . . What has really happened is that the book has been received with favour by that large outside world in which the social instincts are strong and deep, and which has recognised in it an echo of its own experience and a justification of much which it has always felt and known to be true despite authoritative statements to the contrary from recognised leaders of thought.¹¹⁸

He hoped to be better understood by a rising younger generation than by specialised scholars unfitted to deal with the science of human society as a whole. He was to be disappointed. 2

THE CONTROL OF THE TROPICS

In 1894 the Kidds moved from Wimbledon to South Croydon. There, using the profits from *Social Evolution*, Benjamin rented for $\pounds 25-10-0$ per annum a suburban house, 'Westgate' in Croham Road, constructed just prior to 1890.¹ Croydon, twenty miles south of the centre of London, was then on the outskirts of urban sprawl. Croham Road had been part of Blunt Farm only decades before, the farm now parcelled into neat suburban lots. However, green spots abounded in the locality. Croham Farm survived nearby, and a large tennis ground lay within easy walking distance, as did South Croydon railway station, the Baptist chapel and the Anglican vicarage. Two spinsters conducted a tiny school for ladies next door. 'Westgate' had a spacious backyard where Kidd grew trees and gardened, and where the boys played. Franklin turned four and the twins two years old during the year.

Croydon was a compromise. It was close enough to commute to London, to Somerset House and the literary world Kidd wished to conquer, but also close to the rural world he loved. Not far away were the rolling chalk downs, criss-crossed with tracks made by Celts and Saxons, pocked with deep combes perilous to travellers, full of wild-life. Kidd liked to go on late-night birdwatching rambles on the downs, delighting to locate nocturnal nightingales for doubting friends:

Sweet, sw-e-e-t, sw-e-e-t – lower and tenderer the long-drawn-out notes come, the last of the series prolonged till the air vibrates as if a wire had been struck, and the solitary singer seems almost to choke with the overmastering intensity of feeling in the final effort . . . far down the valley burns the red eye of the railway signal; in the distance a coal-train is slowly panting southward . . . but the bird

still sings on and on. It is lost in a world to which you have no key. . Thus must its kind have sung here while the name of England was yet unfashioned on men's lips, and it was still a pathless wood to the northern Thames. Thus do the birds sing still on the fringes of modern Babylon.²

In this essay, 'A Midsummer Night', Kidd clearly portrayed metropolitan life as alienating. His instincts were conservationist. On this night walk, after climbing a water-tower, he could see at dawn away to the north the gaunt glass structure of the Crystal Palace. Below, to the south, stretched the ancient downs. Between lay London's great brick suburbia. The silent downs, once the battlefield of invaders, were now a battlefield 'where nature fights year after year a losing stand against the blighting and despoiling forces of civilization'. Like an octopus London spread far into the open land, the parks and groves surviving fitfully, 'doomed, injected morsels waiting to be digested at leisure, to serve the strenuous purposes of another life'. Everywhere from horizon to horizon there was 'the unfinished brick and timber of the builder, emblems of the ever-rising flood, of a movement of which the springs are at the ends of the earth, of a life which takes toll of every land under heaven'.

Kidd's literary success, plus Milner's influence, ensured his promotion at Somerset House. In August 1894 Milner wrote to him confidentially that, if Treasury sanctioned his request for more junior posts, Kidd's claim would be '*most carefully* considered'.³ Milner had played a key role in the reorganisation of estate duties which culminated in Sir William Harcourt's 'Death Duty Budget' of 1894, an important precursor of modern taxation. He needed able men to implement the new tax system. Kidd was officially promoted on 19 October to a minor staff post in the office of Accountant-General of Inland Revenue, in charge of Death Duty statistics. The usual examination was dispensed with, in view of the representation of the Commissioners of Inland Revenue 'that Mr. Kidd has been specially selected for the office by reason of his well-known ability'.⁴ The job required close examination of detailed statistics. It placed a deadly strain on his eyesight, leading within three years to his medical discharge from the service. Meantime his salary rose from \pounds_{231} to \pounds_{300} per annum.

Milner had already turned Kidd's attention more directly towards empire, an issue that was to preoccupy him for a decade. Milner sent his protégé one of his imperial lectures, and received the reply: 'Perhaps I am not the best judge – as many of the ideas are curiously identical with my own – but it has left the impression strongly on my mind that it is a matter to be sincerely regretted that you have not worked out the ideas more fully.' He shared Milner's misgivings about Liberal anti-imperialism: 'There is hardly anything of more importance to the British empire at the present time than a clear faith on the part of the Liberal party regarding our relationship to the lower races and subject peoples', especially in respect to India. He sympathised less with Milner's opinion that democracy was too restless and emotional to rule steadily over colonies:

All that Democracy really wants, I think, is a clear possession of faith, a clear view of the . . . moral and even material considerations involved. And this inspiration ought to come from the thinking men who have governed the empire. You must surely have noticed the effect of 'England in Egypt' on public opinion in this respect. Even the *Daily Chronicle* which rages against our most reasonable and natural position in South Africa strongly supports the British position in Egypt.⁵

As the celebrity, the phenomenon of 1894, Kidd found himself on stage, centre-front. Invitations to speak, requests for interviews and articles, letters galore rained upon him. The glare of publicity was unexpected and seems to have both frightened him and touched his vanity. He was elusive and secretive to newspaper interviewers. Even the omniscient *Spectator* confessed: 'We have not a notion what he is or who he is.'⁶ He made a mere handful of public appearances, thus

spurning a small fortune in fees. A withdrawn personality, he was ill at ease and unpractised in public speaking, and may have harboured feelings of inadequacy about his social graces, even his accent. (Oddly enough, no comment whatever has come to light about his accent, which was presumably Irish, but which he may have modified in England, given the lack of reference to his Irish background in the press.) The paucity of personal descriptions made of Kidd by his contemporaries borders on the incredible. The *Daily Chronicle* recollected on his death that 'With his dark, luminous eyes, his long hair, and rather professional attire, Mr. Kidd looked the part of the philosopher'.⁷ The *Manchester Guardian* gave the liveliest account:

In person Mr. Benjamin Kidd was a small man with twinkling inquisitive eyes and one of those excitable moustaches which seem to join in the conversation – rather like Mr. Harry Tate's. Always when in town, and not infrequently when in the country, he dressed in a frock-coat and a silk hat, but he failed to live up to the rules of this attire, and in argument and disputation, for which his appetite was voracious, he would twist his leg around the arm of his chair, wriggle himself on to his shoulder blades, and take flying leaps, when an idea struck him, into the centre of the hearth-rug, much to the detriment of such Sunday clothes. He would give an effusive welcome to almost anything in the shape of an idea.⁸

He was almost pathologically difficult about photographs. His portrait ultimately appeared on the front page of journals such as W.T. Stead's *Review of Reviews* and the New York *Outlook* (from which it was syndicated to numerous American newspapers), but only after many sittings with a variety of photographers, and interminable wranglings over the quality and price of the product. One of the photographs he chose to release at this time shows a man with piercing dark eyes, almost bald, with long neat sideburns and a heavy dark waxed moustache, dressed dapperly in striped trousers, black coat, elegant cuffs and winged collar. Seated in studious pose he held a thick volume. His social diffidence never entirely left him, although he was quite capable of rising to important occasions. In 1894 he confined his lectures to groups whose purposes were serious and self-improving. He addressed the Newcastle Literary and Philosophical Society (August and October), the Westbourne Park Institute (a science, art and technical college at Bayswater), while in June he introduced a discussion on 'Religion and Altruism' at the Westminster Deanery. He continued to give occasional speeches to appropriate groups, including working class associations like the Battersea Labour League whose self-education programmes he approved.

His presence, however, was hardly needed to fuel the furore occasioned by Social Evolution: 'Its central theme was fiercely attacked and as fiercely supported. It was preached from the pulpit. It was reviewed and re-reviewed and debated in every place where men met together.'9 The Baptist Alex Grant listened with 'breathless attention' to a sermon on Kidd's book delivered by the nonconformist minister and Oxford scholar Dr. Norton.¹⁰ A large missionary meeting in Edinburgh recommended the work, Henry Drummond (author of the Ascent of Man, 1894) praising it there as 'an epoch-making book'.¹¹ The American sociologist, reformer and Social Darwinist Lester Frank Ward delivered a lay discourse at the People's Church in north-west London entitled 'Social Salvation by Faith - an Examination of Kidd's Social Evolution'.¹² John A. Hobson lectured on the book to a round of societies, including the South Place Ethical Society at Finsbury, whose minister of chapel was the American evangelist Moncure Conway.¹³ Thomas Common devoted much of the July issue of the English Nietzschean journal Tomorrow to Kidd.¹⁴ Harold Laski later wrote of Social Evolution, with characteristic sarcasm:

It obtained for its author the immediate right to have his letters printed in large type by the London *Times*. There was no review, whether monthly or quarterly, which dared to be without its article upon him. Few preachers there were who did not inform their

congregations that the incisive ironies of Professor Huxley had at last been answered; and if Mr. Kidd did not base the truth of religion, like Mr. Gladstone, upon the impregnable rock of Holy Scripture, still he was a friend at a time when theology stood sadly in need of defenders.¹⁵

Kidd was thrust into a larger social and intellectual whirl than he was used to. He met editors, journalists, intellectuals, politicians, clubmen, aristocrats and even anarchists and socialists. Through Thomas and Annie Cobden-Sanderson, a young couple who organised lectures for the Independent Labour Party, he met the famous anarchist Prince Kropotkin in June.¹⁶ Kropotkin's articles on mutual aid as a key theme in evolution had appeared in the Nineteenth Century from 1890, creating much interest, although Kidd never used Kropotkin's ideas fully to support his own theory of altruism, possibly because Kropotkin valued reason more highly than Kidd as sanctioning a cooperative, anarchist social order. The Cobden-Sandersons brought him into Labour party and Fabian circles (rather tentatively on Kidd's part). The Fabian Society held debates on social evolution and pressed him to address them.¹⁷ For the moment he declined. He also declined to join the 'Rainbow Circle', a group with 'new liberal' tendencies that met to discuss the shortcomings of philosophical radicalism and the Manchester School. The group included J.A. Hobson, William Clarke (a radical, antiimperialist journalist who became a friend of Kidd). Herbert Burrows (theosophist and friend of Annie Besant), Richard Stapley, J. Murray MacDonald, MP, and the young J. Ramsay MacDonald.¹⁸ Clarke, however, introduced Kidd into Liberal political circles, taking him to places like the Press Circle of the National Liberal Club, frequented by radical politicians such as Henry Labouchère. Kidd steered clear, for a time, of the University of Birmingham's newly formed Socratic Society. Its members included some of those idealists recommended by J.S. MacKenzie: Edward Caird, Master of Balliol, and Bernard Bosanquet, as well as J.H. Muirhead, and Professor H. Jones of Glasgow. He was invited to join and to

deliver the group's inaugural address in October: 'A lecture from you would be highly appreciated in Birmingham, where everybody of any note is reading or has read your book.'¹⁹

Then there were the correspondents, legions of them. There were cranks, confidence tricksters, men with get-rich-quick schemes, autograph hunters, idealists of all sorts, and an interesting variety of Victorian doubters who found solace in Kidd's vision. Many of the latter were young ladies whose sincere gratitude moved Kidd. Here, he felt, was genuine human sympathy from the ordinary world, a contrast to the sneers of carping critics in their towers of learning. A case in point was that of Edith Sichel, hardly an ordinary young woman but a religious person with writing ambitions. She was intelligent and later wrote a good deal on the French Renaissance and other historical topics for general audiences. She sent Kidd a string of detailed questions on his book, which 'has stimulated me more than any work of thought that I have read, for a long time. I hope that it is not presumptuous of me to say that it expresses many of my inmost views - views that I have not had the power to formulate.' Satisfied by his answers, she wrote again:

your book acts as a moral tonic and its vigour helps me to try and live as vigorously as one means to do . . . you may like to know that your book turned the scale in the case of a young man I heard of, who was greatly disturbed in his mind and wavering on the brink of 'Ibsenism'.²⁰

There is a similar letter from Otto F. Humphreys of Milwaukee, an 'Episcopal parson struggling in the turmoil of city life to piece together the fragments of divine Truth', who found the book had given 'a new and vital impulse to my religious thinking and intellectual development. You have *said* all that I have been trying to think and I thank you.'²¹ Kidd was wary of the militantly religious, who were anxious to use him in sectarian warfare. Milner warned him: 'If the clergy take you up, as a stick wherewith to beat the "unbeliever", you will have a raging sale but an embarrassing *clientèle*.'²²

Kidd valued, and kept, tributes from the eminent and the learned. Mr. Gladstone himself commended Social Evolution, one of the last books he read before undergoing his operation for cataract.²³ Highly flattering remarks emanated from America, one critic declaring that in the chronology of sociological science, '1894 will hereafter be known as the year one, and Mr. Kidd's book as Volume One in its bibliography'. Mr Haseltine of the New York Critic wrote that 'since the publication of the first volume of Buckle's "History of Civilisation" no attempt to define the course of human progress has excited so much attention as this book'.²⁴ Kidd received a complimentary letter from the aged and distinguished James Clarke Welling, president of Columbia University, Washington, sponsor of anthropology and philosophy, regent of the Smithsonian Institution. He was to die in September:

With you I believe that the 'social evolution' of today is coming to expression in new adjustments of political economy, which will be *evolutionary* if they are reached by the normal play of social forces, and which will be *revolutionary* if they are abnormally obstructed by an individualistic political economy, or are precipitated by a *frantic* socialism. [He disagreed with Kidd's view of the central role of religion.] It seems to me that the world is coming to be governed more and more by purely rational forces; that these forces are the expression of collective intelligence and the slow distillation of scientific method; and that the social problems with which these forces are called to cope must be recognised as scientific problems if they are to be solved successfully.²⁵

Another mixed response came from Thomas Hughes, spokesman for Victorian manliness, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. Hughes wrote to George Macmillan (who passed the letter on):

I agree with three quarters of it and think it may do much good as the utterance of a convinced Darwinian. As to the remaining quarter I dissent and much prefer the old Maurician, or Xn [Christian] Socialist faith as to the future. . . Has he ever read Maurice? There is

no indication in his book – If no, catch him and set him down to the Life. . . I was greatly delighted with his treatment of the 'nigger' problem, and to be fortified in my faith that our occupation of India and Egypt is only 'a part of the cosmic order of things which we have no power to alter'! it has given me a more clearly defined conception of moral necessity, and a respect for evolution which I no doubt wanted.²⁶

Praise for Kidd's 'striking and original' arguments came from Charles Booth, whose surveys of poverty and religion in London had startled the Victorian conscience and deeply impressed Kidd.²⁷ (They were later published as *Life and Labour of the People of London*.) Alfred Marshall, the Cambridge economist, had also struck Kidd as an important new thinker, so he was pleased when Marshall reacted favourably to the book, while dissenting from some conclusions: 'It is a long time since I was so excited by a book. It seems to me full of interest and suggestion on almost every page . . . you have added much more for the life of the thinking world during 1894 than any one else.' So began an acquaintanceship that was to last for many years.²⁸

It was to be said in later years that scientists to a man dismissed Kidd's evolutionism as crankery. The immediate reception, as we have seen, was more mixed than this. Kidd received private declarations of support, or at least of respect, from a number of scientists, including Russel Wallace, H. St George Mivart (the Catholic zoologist and evolutionist who had been Darwin's bitter antagonist), Weismann and Galton. Wallace declared Social Evolution 'thoroughly scientific in its methods', and he popularised Kidd's new phrase 'equality of opportunity'.²⁹ August Weismann wrote a flattering introduction to the Jena edition (1895). Galton told Kidd that the book 'forces me to take a new and different view of the facts concerned with the evolution of society; and whether or not that view may be finally adopted as the true one, it is a great gain to have been compelled by your earnest pleadings and high literary skill, to take it for a while'.³⁰

Galton, however, was more severe when he reviewed the

book. He asserted a humanist position against Kidd's mystic tendency. The altruistic sentiments (Galton argued) need not be exclusively linked with ultra-rational, especially religious, sanctions. Concern for unselfish ends could be rational. It could also be instinctual, as in the maternal instinct, and bear no relation to religion. It could be emotional, and bear no relation to religion. For instance, 'the ambitions, loves, jealousies, and hates of nations, families, and persons, seem fully strong enough to force men who are under their influence, to disregard what is commonly understood by the phrase of selfish desires'. Kidd himself later developed such an idea in his concept of the Emotion of the Ideal. Galton, like Huxley, deplored the destructive anti-intellectualism of many creeds: 'All earnest inquirers recognize the awful mysteries that surround human life, but they are angered by theosophies that attempt to solve part of its problems by means of hypotheses that are improbable in themselves, while they introduce gratuitous complications.' As the probabilities told against, rather than for, the existence of God, mankind was better advised to depend upon its own resources, to cooperate as intelligently as possible with the tendencies of the cosmos. 'The sense of responsibility that is imposed by this view would sober, brace and strengthen the character, just as that of dependence on an autocratic power effeminates and enfeebles it.' Galton then proposed his well-known project for eugenic breeding of the human race to improve its vigour and quality: 'Wherever intelligence chooses to intervene, the struggle for existence ceases, that struggle being by no means so absolute a necessity in evolution as Mr. Kidd assumes it to be.'31 Kidd made a short reply to Galton in which he virtually refused to debate most of the issues, claiming that he had said everything already in Social Evolution. He denied that he favoured oversevere competition, and, whilst acknowledging Galton to be a 'master' in the field, flatly asserted his 'new religion' of eugenics to be a 'scientific impossibility'.³²

When Galton's protégé Karl Pearson launched a series of attacks upon Kidd's 'pseudo-science' in the journals, and in his

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pamphlet *Reaction!*,³³ the scene was set for a continuing battle between Kidd and the Galton–Pearson school of eugenics. Pearson did most of the hatchet work, Galton remaining aloof from personal disputation. Kidd and Pearson clashed in July (the month also of Pearson's scorching criticism of Kidd in the *Fortnightly Review*). Kidd publicly praised a paper on naturalism as the basis of ethics, read by A.J. Balfour to the Cambridge Ethical Society and published in the *International Journal of Ethics* (to which Kidd now had entry due to J.S. MacKenzie, its editor). He found Balfour's conclusions striking:

It is that for anyone who is without religious faith, and who, consequently, regards the world as a mere sequence of materialistic cause and effect, individual rationalism is, and must forever remain, absolutely powerless to provide any sanction for social morality... What Mr Balfour really does is to enforce from the side of philosophy the lesson which evolutionary science must enforce with increasing insistence ... namely that it is a first principle of that science that the future belongs absolutely to religion, and that religious faith is the mainspring of all social life and of human progress. To find both science and philosphy approaching such a conclusion – for that is what is really happening – is a sign of the times.³⁴

An angry Karl Pearson asked on what grounds Kidd spoke in the name of 'evolutionary science': 'The "science and philosophy" which fails to find in rationalism a motive power for progress has hitherto made no classification of facts nor applied the ordinary canons of logic. Its prophets are Mr. Benjamin Kidd, Professor Drummond, and Mr. Balfour – a delightfully incongruous trinity!' Following Galton, he denied that the social instinct required religion to preserve it. In the past, as now, religion had been used, not merely to buttress moral conduct, but to frustrate progress. Agnostics and freethinkers were to be found everywhere working for social emancipation: 'They reject the doctrines of submission and passive resistance, they trust to the active battling with evil, and if necessary the forcible repression of wrong and wrongdoers to improve society. They believe in this world and work, and find no remedy for evil in asceticism or prayer.' Kidd's 'evolutionary science' justified conflict and emiseration and would only end in a new worship of Moloch 'in which the great majority are to pass through fire for the sake of the favoured few'.35 Kidd objected, justly, that the eugenists wrongly accused him of favouring over-severe competition. In an advanced stage, the rivalry of life 'involves the idea of its becoming more and more moral, regulated and humanized', counteracting 'the over-severe, unregulated, and degrading competition (most erroneously known at present in the literature of economics as "free competition") that we have now a great proportion of the population engaged in'.³⁶ He and Pearson continued to snipe at each other, the quarrels over eugenics spilling over into the British sociological movement when it was formed in the 1900s. Kidd's acute distaste for eugenics, and the authoritarian politics that he felt it bred, led him to seek an alternative programme in the idea of cultural evolution.

Kidd expounded his position in an excellent review article upon Arthur Balfour's *Foundations of Belief* (1894).³⁷ Kidd and Balfour both used rational analysis (Balfour more rigorously) to undermine rationalism. Both dismissed modern philosophy as nugatory and obsolete, while wishing to open it up by means of evolutionary science. Both, however, opposed the mechanistic methodology that Darwinism seemed to enthrone:

It seems to have been more or less unconsciously accepted as true [Kidd said] that the Darwinian hypothesis had placed the final coping-stone on the scheme of rationalistic interpretation of the universe, and in particular of human history. . . [But] it is already beginning to appear that the principal result of the application of the principles of Darwinian science to human affairs must be, not the rationalistic interpretation of the scheme of development at work in the world, but the final deposition of Reason from the central place we had come to assume it occupied in the process of evolution the race is undergoing.

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Like many late-Victorian intellectuals, Kidd was deeply fearful of the aimless and nihilistic universe that could be conjured up by Darwinian science. Balfour brilliantly depicted this despairing vision of modern-day science:

Man, so far as natural science by itself is able to teach us, is no longer the final cause of the universe, the heaven-descended heir of all the ages. His very existence is an accident, his story a brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets . . . famine, disease, and mutual slaughter, fit nurses of the future lords of creation, have gradually evolved, after infinite travail, a race with conscience enough to feel that it is vile and intelligence enough to know that it is insignificant. We survey the past, and see that its history is of blood and tears, of helpless blundering, of wild revolt, of stupid acquiescence, of empty aspirations. We sound the future, and learn that after a period, long compared with individual life, but short indeed, compared with the divisions of time open to our investigation, the energies of our system will decay, the glory of the sun will be dimmed, and the earth, tideless and inert, will no longer tolerate the race which has for a moment disturbed its solitude. Man will go down into the pit, and all his thoughts will perish.

The 'scientific optimists', men like T.H. Huxley and H.G. Wells (in some moods), proposed that man could by conscious endeavour ameliorate his condition, transcend the brutish limitations of biology and the natural world, and create a new moral order in the future. Reason and ethics would reinforce each other, a higher evolutionary leap would be taken. Balfour's book set up a reasoned scepticism against such secular utopianism. Arguing from a Darwinian position, Balfour denied any absolute status to the moral sentiments. They originated out of the struggle for survival, precariously acquiring a hold as they came to advantage the group and society. He denied that the 'emancipated intellect' was bound by any semblance of rational sanction to observe moral obligations. They were to be regarded, biologically, as on the same plane as the coarsest appetites, the most calculating selfishness, 'devices of Nature to trick us into the performance of Altruistic actions'. Similarly, using this 'naturalistic'

hypothesis, the aesthetic sentiments were seen to originate out of evolutionary needs,

mere bye-products of the great machinery by which organic life is varied and sustained. . . Poets and artists have been wont to consider themselves, and to be considered by others, as prophets and seers, the revealers under sensuous forms of hidden mysteries, the symbolic preachers of eternal truths. All this is, of course, on the naturalistic theory, very absurd . . . they have no mysteries to reveal, and what they tell us, though it may be very agreeable, is seldom true, and never important.

Kidd felt that Balfour had practically reached his own conclusion that 'if man holds this world to be a mere sequence of materialistic cause and effect, and if he possesses the power (as he does) to suspend this process or to escape its effects, it follows with almost the cogency of mathematical demonstration that his own reason can never supply him with any effective sanction for submitting to it'. Balfour and Kidd were agreed on the great importance in society of irrational forces, a point which Wells, for one, consistently evaded. Wells either ignored irrational compulsions, or attacked them as recipes for world catastrophe, obstacles to his orderly schemes for human salvation.³⁸ Balfour, like Kidd, argued that the course of human evolution had been shaped by belief systems which provided ultra-rational sanctions for conduct. Balfour grouped non-rational forces, moral, social, educational, under the head of Authority, producing results by 'psychic processes' other than reasoning, and the social system which was founded on ultra-rational belief he called 'Psychological Climate'.

The anti-rationalist duo tended to move from a plausible anthropological position concerning the role of myths and non-rational forces in human history towards highly controversial stands on the status of philosophy and the irreconcilability of reason and belief systems. Balfour took an evolutionary and relativist view not only of ethics, but also of philosophy. Just as Marx treated the intellectual superstructure of a society as the expression of its economic substructure and class-system, Balfour reduced philosophy to a reflex of society's irrational beliefs and customs. Kidd agreed with the 'profound significance' of Balfour's revelation: philosophy itself was nothing more or less 'than the expression of the desire of mankind to bring what it already believes and acts upon . . . into harmony with its speculative reason'.

The canvassing of such views undeniably opened some fruitful avenues for social investigation in the twentieth century. It raised the whole issue of cultural conditioning of thought and control of opinion, and questioned the facile liberal assumptions concerning the genuine freedom of rational speculation. As Kidd said:

that we should consider that reason, and reason alone, can be safely permitted to mould the convictions of mankind; that we should be of opinion that by its inward counsels alone, beings, who boast that they are rational, should submit to be controlled, is an attitude of mind which the whole history of the world contradicts.

This line of thought ran directly on to Orwell and his warnings against totalitarian control of minds, control being justified by an all-embracing ideology. The anti-rationalists were not necessarily, as they have often been portrayed, anti-liberal. They feared, with much justice, that authoritarianism threatened from the axis of rationalism, mechanism and technology. It was the highly ordered and mechanised society that spawned governments exercising all-pervasive powers, trespassing upon individual privacy and freedom. It was in man's inner emotional life, his subconscious and submerged instincts and intuitions, his evolved ethical sense that resistance could be generated against the manipulative order of the future. Kidd shared many of these trepidations, and it is significant that he grew steadily more liberal with age.

At the same time the anti-rationalist stance had its disturbing implications for any liberal tradition. At its most dogmatic it seemed to quash altogether the possibility of conscious social reform, and depreciated the whole idea of

informed debate and free discussion of issues. Less understood in the 1890s and 1900s, before Hitler and Stalin, was the threat of mass manipulation through the appeal to society's submerged fears and hatreds. Man's subconscious motivations included aggressive and destructive primal urges, as the developing school of Freudian psycho-analysis was soon to claim. The irrationalists were open to the accusation that they undervalued the importance of such malignant forces in the individual and in society, and undervalued the need for a conscious and rational curbing of anti-social forces and not only in the individual but also in society, where a 'communal super-ego' was essential for harmony.

Kidd was not exempt from such criticism. His concept of reason was constricting, that of the ultra-rational factor correspondingly generous. Reason was

a faculty dependent on the senses capable of receiving but one of a possible million explanations of phenomena, a faculty by which we can never hope to attain to any trustworthy knowledge of phenomena at all, a faculty evolved not for purposes of philosophical research, or for enabling us to understand an infinite universe, but for the ludicrously disproportionate end of furthering our individual chances of survival in the struggle for existence.

Kidd was to combine the traditional philosophical attack on reason as the slave of the passions with two modern onslaughts: the Darwinist erosion of the idea of a rational free humanity, and the attack on Newtonian science stemming from physics and relativity theory. At the other pole he trusted readily in the benevolence of non-rational forces. He believed that mankind – at least the advanced races – had evolved to a higher stage where it was becoming emancipated from the thrall of violent primal influences, and coming increasingly under the sway of an emotional altruism. He did make a partial concession to the opposite school. He contended 'that the process of evolution [is] at work on the race in developing *both* our reason and that type of character which consents to submit reason to the guidance of Authority; the cause being that the exercise of reason is, next after the willingness to submit to authority, the highest cause contributing to social efficiency'.

When Kidd pronounced psychic processes – Balfour's Authority – as predominant over rational processes in evolutionary history, he put himself in a tradition that stretched forward to Jung and his followers, with their stress on the role of ancestral myths in behaviour, man's emotional striving towards creative wholeness, and even individual inheritance of past racial experience through a 'collective unconscious'. Religion played an important part in myth-making, and need, in this approach, no longer be interpreted in terms of traditional theology and philosophy. Kidd gave an evolutionary explanation of religion as a sanction for key psychic processes. His position was not far removed from Jung's analysis of religious symbolism in terms of its life-interpreting and sustaining function.

Less acceptable to liberal theology was Kidd's separation of faith and reason. He accepted Balfour's view that religion stemmed from Authority rather than Reason. It was essentially mystical and inexplicable. Balfour praised the early church for resisting attempts to rationalise the Christian revelation, for instance in the efforts of early heresies to harmonise the mystery with contemporary speculations, Gnostic, Neo-Platonic, and Rational. Balfour felt that such 'explanations' of Christianity were culture-bound and fated to lose relevance. Kidd went further, and claimed that all religion was really ultra-rational:

We are really dealing with an immutable law of human development by which every movement of thought which seeks to rationalize the ideas of religion is from its inception doomed to wither and die . . . religion can gain nothing from attempts to explain it in terms of reason, or from efforts to buttress it from the side of philosophy. Such efforts are from the outset, by fundamental conditions of the case, foredoomed to failure. The whole history of religious apology, no less than the history of philosophy, is a standing record of the uselessness of such attempts . . . what the time has come to learn is

that the sources from which religion draws its strength render it entirely independent of any assistance from the side of philosophy. It is a law of human evolution that religion will continue to do so.

He continued to ignore those critics of Social Evolution who had paraded considerable historical evidence to show that religion had frequently allied itself to speculation, and had presumably gained by obtaining converts and reinforcing belief. Nor did he comment on the status of his own evolutionary 'explanation' of religion, which was presumably rational. Kidd's mind focussed rather on the long-term survival of religion as psychic process, essentially insulated from the fashions of cerebration. Philosophy itself, he concluded, was the product of a transitional stage in human development. That stage would pass: 'The future belongs to those sections of the race amongst whom will be found, not the functions of religion harmonised under the sway of reason, but the functions of reason harmonised under the sway of beliefs providing ultra-rational sanctions.' This was a mysterious, if not obscurantist, doctrine to propound to a generation bred on the idea of scientific progress. Predictably they found it hard to swallow.

As Kidd's name became almost a household word in America, invitations began to arrive for him to lecture and publish there. The University of Chicago asked him 'to visit our Chatantanqua Summer meeting next July or August and give a course of lectures on some Sociological theme'.³⁹ To his delight, the American academic world welcomed him, more warmly than did established university circles in England. *Social Evolution* quickly appeared on reading lists in transatlantic colleges and universities. He was soon made aware that sociology was more firmly established as an organised discipline in the United States than in tradition-bound Britain. W.G. Sumner, Frank Lester Ward and Franklin H. Giddings, three big names in American sociology, all used Darwinian paradigms in their analyses of social behaviour, and their works were widely studied in sociology and psychology

courses. Giddings and Kidd corresponded. Chicago had a flourishing department of sociology, founded by the Germantrained Albion W. Small, who also started the American Journal of Sociology (1895) and the American Sociological Society (1905). In the first issue of the American Journal of Sociology, Small quoted Kidd at length in support of his own passionate conviction of the unity of the social sciences.⁴⁰ He did the same thing when urging the University of Chicago to set up a journal of sociology.⁴¹ Small's colleague George E. Vincent cultivated Kidd. He hoped no doubt that Kidd would participate in his own well-organised programme 'The Province of Sociology'. An important segment of that course was devoted to the Darwinian legacy for social theory.⁴² Books like Small and Vincent's Introduction to the Study of Society (1894) had no counterpart in Britain, and Kidd's mind turned to the possibility of writing a general text. Meantime he agreed to contribute to an American encyclopedia being edited by reformer and 'Social Gospeller' W.D.P. Bliss. The Rev. Mr Bliss thought of the project as a 'sort of university extension work' popularising 'the best thought' for earnest but not always informed workers in the cause of social reform. Kidd sent his piece on 'Biology and Social Reform' to Bliss in January 1895, but publication of the encyclopedia was delayed until 1897.⁴³

Kidd discussed 'The Future of the United States' in an interview secured by the New York *Outlook*.⁴⁴ As usual he steered away from personal issues: 'The author takes his success calmly, and is much more interested in his studies than himself . . . he discussed the value of being interviewed as he would discuss any other impersonal problem.' He prophesied that both England and America were heading into a future in which the masses must inevitably enjoy equal political rights and equal social opportunities. Everywhere one saw a movement towards the abandonment of the doctrine of the noninterference of the state in social matters: 'There is a tendency to strengthen, and equip, at the general expense, the lower and weaker against the higher and wealthier classes of the community.' America was subject to these underlying forces, but obstacles to social altruism were posed by the newness and largeness of the continent, which encouraged large-scale monopoly capitalism and a raw money-making capitalistic ethic. 'The ease with which money could be made has drawn off into money-making a large amount of a certain class of ability which in this country contributes very much to the creation of a healthy public opinion.' The rapid accumulation of wealth had caused 'a false and tainted standard of public opinion in many things'. What America needed was a sturdy, vigorous sense of public morality in order to remedy social evils and pass anti-capitalist legislation. Ignoring the Puritan legacy, he lamented the absence of a social force comparable to that of the 'Nonconformist conscience' in England. However he was confident that American corruption and materialism was a passing phase. The growth of benevolent institutions and humanitarian movements; the victory of anti-slavery in the recent civil war (he accepted uncritically that the war was fought over a 'purely humanitarian and ethical question'); the rise of progressive opinion on women, temperance and the rights of labour – all suggested an evolutionary advance to a higher stage of life based on a 'far more socialistic' and efficient form of competition. Progress, however, would depend on maintaining an ethical-religious basis for culture, on cultivating man's capacity for self-transcendence. Technology and intellect alone were inadequate, would stultify personality by generating wealth without controls: 'Voluptuousness and epicureanism have everywhere been, and everywhere continue to be, the accompaniments in such circumstances of irresponsible wealth and power, the corresponding mental habit being one of cultured contempt for the excluded and envious masses.'

He predicted that the twentieth century would be dominated by two great events: the rise of a socialised liberal capitalism, and the 'westernisation' of the rest of the world. The white races would permanently occupy the temperate zones. The great issue of the age would then become relations

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with the coloured races in the resource-rich but undeveloped tropics:

With the advance which science is making, we shall recognize that it is in the tropics . . . that we have the greatest food-producing and material producing regions upon the earth; . . . the natural highways of commerce in the world are those which run north and south, and we have the highest possible interest in the proper development and efficient administration of the tropical regime, and in an exchange of products therewith on a far larger scale than has been attempted or imagined.

The only way of governing such areas, consistent with the ethical ethos developing in the west, was by a form of trusteeship administered from the temperate regions. European settlement of the tropics had been shown by experience to be impractical (not a view shared by all of his contemporaries). Forced native labour was morally inadmissible. The coloured races, left to themselves, did not possess the qualities of social efficiency necessary to develop their resources. (This view was very widely held.) A system of trusteeship would respect their rights, while ensuring a vital supply of raw materials to the world economy. In this process the United States was destined to play a vital role, especially in the hemisphere: 'The necessity of the future predominance of the influence of the English-speaking peoples over the American continent is, indeed, already recognized by a kind of national instinct which may be expected to find clearer expression as time goes on.' These words were given sharper point four years later with the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, which precipitated an era of so-called 'new imperialism' in American history.

For a time Kidd harboured hopes of obtaining a full-time journalistic job through his American connections. In September 1894 he made the acquaintance of a visiting American journalist, William Price Collier, the energetic and amiable representative of the New York *Forum*, controlled and edited by the southerner-reformer Walter H. Page. Page had already tried to interest Kidd in contributing to a series of articles depicting the formative influences on great writers.⁴⁵ Price Collier pressed him to write for the Forum. The two men became close, dining and clubbing together. The Kidds spent weekends with the Price Colliers at the latter's holiday home in Bridgnorth, Shropshire, times of golf and talk. When Maud became seriously ill in November, perhaps a side-effect of the new pressures in their life, the Price Colliers suggested recuperation at Bridgnorth. It was Kidd's first experience of American hospitality and geniality, and he was impressed. He gave a copy of Social Evolution to Price Collier, who claimed to have read it four times. Out of their discussions came the idea of launching a European Forum, an international review to be edited by Kidd. He seems to have been dazzled by the idea. However in New York Page was preoccupied with sharedealings designed to maintain his controlling interest in the Forum, and he evinced little interest in such a speculative project as an international review. Competition was already stiff in this field. After wintering in Italy (where he 'had the pleasure to introduce Social Evolution at the Vatican'),46 Price Collier wrote to Kidd in May 1895: 'Among other disagreeable things - mostly bills - I find on my table a communication implying that after all my energies Mr. Kidd and my train the Forum were never properly coupled and there was no excursion.⁴⁷ Kidd was disappointed and disillusioned. Henceforth he kept the unfortunate Price Collier severely at arms length, despite the latter's continuing cordiality. The strain of fame may have been telling on the author as well as on his wife. He tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade the Pall Mall Gazette to publish his article 'Of Coot and Heron' under a nom de plume.⁴⁸ Again, after negotiations had been made with Longman to publish a collection of his nature articles, provisionally entitled The Town Naturalist, he suddenly pulled out. In both cases he feared that his reputation might be prejudiced by printing material not up to the high standard of his book.⁴⁹

The pressures came to a head in the new year, 1895. Kidd

resigned from his clubs and societies, and withdrew from public life. He was not to return until 1902.⁵⁰ In this way he escaped the tortures of the fame machine. He also gave himself time to prepare for another big book. Its shape was not to come into focus for some time. The next few years were a period of creative latency for him. He sorted out his ideas on empire, and began to lay the foundations for what he fondly hoped would be a system of evolutionary philosophy.

He was sustained socially and intellectually by friendships, particularly with Grant Allen, William Clarke, W.T. Stead and John Saxon Mills. From the young Saxon Mills, liberalimperialist journalist, came almost discipleship. The two formed a working partnership in the cause of tariff reform, of which more anon. From the older men came mature companionship and the challenge of alien ideas and free minds. Kidd seems to have been fascinated by some polar opposite within each of them.

Grant Allen and Kidd never reconciled their differences over religion. Yet both shared a deep interest in the new biology of the 1890s, and they became friends in 1894. Allen, born in Canada, Oxford-trained, was a Spencerean with socialist learnings, cosmopolitan and agnostic, a feminist, reformer and born rebel against convention. His novel The Woman Who Did (1895) stirred a hornet's nest, being widely deplored as a feminist tract, an attack on marriage and a warrant for sexual license. When he proposed to publish a treatise on The Evolution of the Idea of God (Spencer talked him out of calling it The Evolution of God by pointing out that 'you do not believe in God's reality, and therefore propose to trace the evolution of a thing which, according to you, does not exist'),⁵¹ the publishers took fright. Allen sent the manuscript to Kidd, who urged it upon Macmillan. (Kidd's own commission for the negotiations was to be 10% on returns from America and sales over £200 in England.) They refused to publish, and it was ultimately printed by Grant Richards. Kidd was impressed by Allen's integrity, his Celtic enthusiasm, his fearless truth-seeking. They shared a fatal attraction to

synthetic philosophies propounding universal laws of development. Kidd was prepared to foster his friend's book as a stimulus to debate, although he regarded as misguided Allen's thesis - influenced by Spencer and Sir James Frazer that ancestor-worship ('ghost worship') was the basis of religion. Kidd frankly declared to Allen that he disagreed with his book 'toto coelo, its conception, argument, conclusion all. I am utterly amazed that a Darwinian could have written it.'52 The friendship was resilient enough to survive straight talking. 'Honest criticism is always good for a subject', Allen felt.53 The Kidds and the Allens regularly visited, Kidd particularly enjoying weekends at Allen's home in beautiful Hind Head in Surrey. Both men were walkers and naturelovers. Allen called London a 'squalid village': 'For myself, I loved better the densely-peopled fields than this human desert, this beflagged and macadamised man-made solitude.'54 His feminist influence was to bear later fruit in Kidd's work.

William Clarke, although a social reformer like Kidd, was an acrid anti-imperialist. The two men relished no-holdsbarred verbal clashes as they walked for miles during weekends at Croydon. Clarke had a brusque forthrightness. an abhorrence of compromise, Celtic engagement, and a mystic-Puritan spirit that appealed to Kidd. A versatile journalist of broad interests and learning, he was on the staff of the Spectator and the Daily Chronicle, and wrote for a number of political and literary reviews in Britain and America. His politics were somewhere between ultra-liberalism and socialism. He was in fact a member of the Fabian executive during the 1880s. His Fabian essay 'The Industrial Basis of Socialism' (1888) attacked American rings and trusts, and may have influenced Kidd in his perpetual suspicion of monopoly capitalism. Clarke – essentially an idealist of the Whitman–Emerson type – became disenchanted with politics, as later did Kidd. His tone became iconoclastic and cynical. He took up the cry of 'national degeneracy' before the Boer War turned it into a slogan. He loved America. He had made a successful lecture tour there in 1881, drawing large audiences,

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'tasting that which his soul loved, the literary and philosophical wine poured forth by America's foremost men',⁵⁵ making friends of Edwin Mead, Wendell Phillips and Henry Demarest Lloyd. He returned for the Chicago exhibition of 1893, giving an address as a delegate to the International Labour Congress which Lloyd organised. No doubt he urged Kidd to make a transatlantic tour. But even America, Clarke felt, was diseased by militarism and capitalism. The malevolent spirit of Jingoism and 'manifest destiny' was abroad in the western world. Clarke hated it:

Not big monotonous empires of shopkeepers and stockbrokers such as Mr. Chamberlain apparently looks forward to, but small communities, in which there is a vigorous local feeling, but connected with a certain cosmopolitan feeling, such as the Italian commonwealth of the Middle Ages, seem the best breeding places of great and original men. The big empires of history have been singularly barren.⁵⁶

Clarke reprimanded his friend for taking the British side in the Venezuelan dispute that embittered Anglo-American relations at the time. British opinion was outraged in 1895 when President Cleveland demanded that Britain arbitrate the long-standing boundary dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela, and declared the authority of the United States to be absolute and unchallengeable in North America. Britain rejected the request. Cleveland sent a warlike message to Congress emphasising American determination to resist as 'wilful aggression' any British encroachment on Venezuela's land. A war panic set in. Clarke, characteristically, took the unpopular side. He predicted that the United States would enforce the Monroe Doctrine against England, which would eventually be thrust out of the hemisphere, and a good thing too. Canada would become independent: 'You have to disabuse your mind of the notion that the United States are English.'57 Clarke feared that Kidd was too much under the influence of W.T. Stead, one-time editor of the Pall Mall Gazette and a prominent liberal imperialist. Stead invented the

phrases 'Cut and Run' and 'Scuttle' to express his contempt for the policy of 'Little Englanders'. He was an apostle of imperial federation and a strong navy ('two keels to one' against Germany):

Do not use the cant phrases of that charlatan W.T. Stead: you are too much of a thinker to wear his cast-off rags. Is it Jingoism to say that England shall not steal other people's territory? What is Jingoism in America is, it seems, noble patriotism in England. If your 'expansion' doctrines are good for England they are good for America. Stead's cant of 'Little Englander' is claptrap. England is England, and you can neither add to nor take away from it: what you can do is to enable capitalists here to grab at regions in other parts of the world, enrich themselves and reduce the natives to virtual slavery. This is what is going on in Africa, and I will fight it as long as I live. Unlike you I do not desire to see the English race everywhere. I do not like the creature well enough.⁵⁸

After a stock market crisis, Britain compromised over Venezuela, agreeing to arbitration. Clarke was exultant about 'this tremendous smashing of "Pan-Anglican gimcrackery" (John Morley's phrase)'.⁵⁹

The Venezuelan settlement eventually paved the way for the 'great rapprochement' between Britain and America. However Britain's humiliation in the hemisphere, plus worsening relations with Germany over the balance of power and colonial rivalry, underlined the issue of British naval strength. Impressed by the effectiveness of a simple national policy such as the Monroe Doctrine, authoritatively enunciated, Kidd speculated whether Britain might not foster world peace by similarly enunciating as fixed policy that Britain would maintain a navy strong enough to secure her and her commerce against any possible combination of foreign fleets. He sent off an excited letter to Milner:

Do you not think that the events of the past weeks have made one of those golden opportunities (which do not often occur in history) that the government ought to take advantage of. . . ? I mean in this way. The American Monroe doctrine is, in its right and best sense, of course essentially defensive. It is really our own policy in another

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form. The Americans wish to proceeed with the exploitation of their splendid natural inheritance without the military complications and entanglements which curse the Continent of Europe. Why can't we have – what is really the same policy – now laid down once and for all equally clearly in a manner which, if I am not greatly mistaken. the popular mind would readily grasp and applaud. Our natural inheritance is the track of the world. The first British interest is similarly, not only the peace of a continent, but of the world: for our trade and commerce are no longer only our riches; they have become the very bread we eat, the very conditions of existence of large numbers of our population. We ought not to have such an interest exposed to every chance of friction and complaint amongst the more military people around us. . . If this idea was once laid down in a kind of official pronouncement (e.g. in the Queen's speech) it would I feel sure ... in time become a fixed principle of national policy elevated above party considerations. It would even, I think, tend to stop the rival navy building by foreign powers... Its purely defensive nature might easily be shown; for we could not invade, nor seriously threaten, our neighbour's existence with a fleet however strong. But it would materially help to keep the peace of the world... Would it be possible to urge the matter with any of the powers that be?⁶⁰

Milner recognised the element of naivete in this strategy:

If we could keep such a doctrine for home consumption, it would be invaluable. But that is what cannot be done, and I feel, as you do, that it must not be allowed to have the appearance of menace . . . we have to deal not with reasonable people, but with a world suffering momentarily from a paroxysm of jealousy and suspicion. Under these circumstances, I should prefer, while investing my last penny in war ships, to abstain from anything like a pronunciamento [claiming to treat] the Ocean as the United States claim to treat the American Continent. . . [This would only render more difficult the task of making British sea power dominant.] That that power is essential, I agree. And we are still a long way off it. But we have been 'creeping up'. It may be a little inglorious but I would rather incline to go on strengthening the Navy with as little noise as possible.⁶¹

In July 1895 Kidd was elected a member of the London Library, an excellent centre for research. He could now exchange, when he wished, the vaulty spaces of the British Museum Reading Room for a sedate desk with a view of the sparse trees of St. James Square. He continued to read on evolution, including the 'popularisers' such as Grant Allen and young H.G. Wells, ⁶² A.J. Balfour and Henry Drummond.⁶³ Drummond's Ascent of Man (1894) had described Kidd as 'a brilliant writer', but one who was weakened by 'a false reading of Nature' that portrayed the selfish 'struggle for life' as the supreme fact of biology, and divorced ethics from the rational order. Kidd repaid Drummond in the same coin. There was a 'ring of greatness' about the Ascent, but it was essentially 'poetry of science', not science, and was marred by 'a scarcely concealed desire to hurry the reader on anyhow to a preconceived moral conclusion - that fault which so often does violence to the best intentions in a lower class of literature'. For good measure he attacked Drummond's racist genetics. and hinted that he had borrowed too heavily from John Fiske's Destiny of Man (1884).

Economics also engaged Kidd's attention, being central to the issues of empire and reform. His views, while consistent with the Ruskinian tradition, anticipated attitudes that have become popular in the later twentieth century. Alfred Marshall in particular made a lasting impression upon him. Marshall's attack upon traditional economics as too narrow and technical appealed to one who advocated the unity of the social sciences. Kidd also believed that economic analysis needed to be situated more firmly in an historical and social context. Economists could not afford to ignore the intimate relation between economics and history, biology, ethics. Orthodox scholars like J. Shield Nicholson fixed their attention on factors such as wealth, defined narrowly and functionally, and claimed that political economy was independent of ethical theories.⁶⁴ They rejected Ruskin's famous dictum that 'There is no wealth but life.' Economics continued to treat man as a 'covetous machine' and set up laws of labour, sale and exchange based on materialist goals.⁶⁵ Kidd opposed such reductionism. Biology showed that man acted, not as an

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economic automaton, but as part of a complex ecology. Economics really dealt with aspects of the highest phase in biology, the complexities of the struggle for existence in human society:

If the principle of competition occupies this central position in the science, then political economy, if it is to retain the influence which it has won in the past, must be concerned not only with the study of our social phenomena as they exist, but also to some extent with the study of the forces which are behind them, and which are continually modifying them . . . it is this neglect of the study of the springs of human conduct which has brought the older school of economists into a kind of antagonism with a large section of those who are in actual touch with the political and social problems of the time.⁶⁶

Again, because political economy dealt with the results of man's actions in society, 'that science must ultimately have very intimate connections with the department of knowledge which treats of man as a source of action, namely ethics'. Economics, he contended, had two roles. Firstly, to enunciate principles partaking of the character of physical laws (such as the law of diminishing returns). Secondly, to study the forces moving society, to judge the impact of these forces upon social phenomena, and (if I read him right) to encourage right conduct consistent with man's evolutionary possibilities.

The death of T.H. Huxley in 1895 served to highlight Kidd's ambiguous position in Social Darwinist circles. He admired Huxley as a scientist while rejecting his iconoclastic attitude to religion. Kidd felt that in Huxley's later work, especially in the celebrated Romanes lecture of 1893, there was an encouraging emphasis upon the importance of the ethical process as a check against primal struggle. Huxley's more bellicose followers, however, labelled Kidd an obscurantist, one who perverted Darwinian science in order to defend the dark forces of superstition and clericalism. Some remarks of this sort appeared in one or two obituaries of Huxley. Kidd felt put upon. He complained in the *Daily Chronicle*. From the beginning it had been 'a necessity of the situation' that he must have against him 'all the sharers of a certain class of views of which Professor Huxley, and, to some extent, Mr. Herbert Spencer, have been the principal exponents in England'. This was a heavy handicap for an unknown writer, and he asked to be judged without prejudice generated from the science– religion debate.⁶⁷ Signs of an incipient persecution complex were to surface again in his personality during times of stress.

He continued to decline invitations to address clubs and debating societies, church assemblies, radical and working men's societies. 'I am afraid that I look upon it as more or less a waste of force', he told one suppliant.⁶⁸ Perhaps the most tempting offer came from Walter H. Page in New York on behalf of the Nineteenth Century Club, which offered to pay his travel and other expenses so that he might address them on the topic: 'Is there Real Progress towards an Equalization of Opportunity?' This was quite an honour, as the club was a cultivated, non-sectarian group whose distinguished guest speakers had included Oliver Wendell Holmes, C.W. Eliot (president of Harvard), Justin McCarthy, Goldwin Smith, John Fiske and Moncure Conway.⁶⁹ He was also urged to lecture in the United States by Lyman Abbott, editor of the New York Outlook and another 'Social Gospeller', who met Kidd whilst on a summer trip to England: 'Your volume would introduce you to appreciation and eager audiences – especially if you had something to say as to future industrial prospects."⁷⁰ The idea of an American trip began to lodge firmly in his mind.

One invitation he did accept was from the chairman of the Board of Philosophical Studies at Cambridge to dine at King's, there to talk with other interested people about the establishment of sociology in the university. He went up to Cambridge in August, to be wined at Peterhouse and Emmanuel Colleges.⁷¹ In this way he was to be associated with the movement to establish sociology, not only as a university subject, but more widely as a professional discipline. E.B. Tylor had been teaching sociology (not quite officially) at Oxford since the mid-1880s. Cambridge followed suit in 1900 and London University in 1908. Kidd was to be one of the founding fathers of the British Sociological Society when it was set up in the 1900s.

The eye trouble brought on by the detailed statistical work of his new job worsened in September. His specialist advised him to leave off all work for three months. Dismaved, he sought a further opinion from John Tweedy, a Harley Street specialist, Professor of Opthalmic Medicine at University College, London. Tweedy had been recommended by Lady Stanley, whom Kidd had met socially the previous year at the house of Lady Jeune, a writer on social problems whose patronage was to be of considerable help to him in the future. Tweedy found 'a high degree of insufficiency of the internal recti [muscles inside eye], amounting to what was almost actual divergent strabismus [turned eye or 'squint'] . . . I have suggested a further rest and three months systematic muscular exercise for the internal recti, and hinted that if after six weeks there is not a decided improvement. I would suggest tenotomy [surgical destruction or weakening] of one or both of the external recti.'72 Kidd took leave, holidaying in Germany, finding time to study the influence there of Lutheranism. He obediently did his eye exercises. No operation became necessary, but the condition was slow to improve. The prospect arose of his being invalided out of his job. Although entitled to superannuation, he would have to exist largely on his literary earnings. Luckily they were now substantial. He began seriously reviewing the stock market for profitable investments. He had dabbled in shares from 1890, buying small holdings in CSSA, Aerated Bread, Buenos Ayres and Cunard stock. Birkbeck Bank now advised him on Argentine and Canadian railway stock. He later invested solidly in Canadian Pacific Railway. The stock market fascinated him, and he proved to be a speculative investor with flair. He made a number of 'killings', but, characteristically, was careful never to over-extend himself.

This was a difficult and frustrating period for Kidd. He was in constant pain from his eye condition, which severely limited his reading. Fame had brought with it trauma, from which he

retreated hermit-like to the quiet and simple surroundings of his Croydon home. 'Mr. Kidd is a man who dislikes publicity [wrote one interviewer], and whose only regret in connection with his book is that he did not produce it anonymously.'73 Politically too he felt frustrated. He saw that the need of the age was for constructive reformism that should preserve both competition and order. He was dissatisfied with the complacent Conservatism of Lord Salisbury's seemingly perpetual rule. He was dissatisfied also with English Liberalism, which seemed unable to detach itself from the outworn dogmas of utilitarianism and laissez-faire. He was struck by passages in Newman's Apologia that rejected the 'Liberalism of the Anti such as we have had it in Bentham and Austin, in Dugald Stewart and James Mill'. He foresaw, as Newman did, 'the bottomless anarchy which lay behind mere individualism without any living constructive principle of its own beyond'.⁷⁴

Like Milner, Kidd lacked patience with the existing party system. He was always attracted by ideas of a 'new force' in politics, which is why he was ultimately drawn into Joseph Chamberlain's magic circle. As early as 1896 he proclaimed himself willing to ally himself with

a few kindred spirits who realize how great and urgent the need of our time in England is for a new departure in thought – for movement philosophical and ethical on one side – speculative on the other which would lay the foundations of a political faith deeper and more organic than any of the parties seem to possess at present.

An interview in the American magazine *Great Thoughts* gave an insight into his thinking at the time.⁷⁵ Asked about the present Liberal outlook he replied:

I feel strongly the necessity for a new departure in thought. There is more the matter with the Liberalism of our time than a mere reverse at a general election. It is probably true also, though it may sound paradoxical, that the party ultimately most vitally interested in the healthy development of the principles of Liberalism is the Conservative Party.

Do you think the Liberal party has outlived its principles?

I do not see how anyone possessing an insight into the meaning of our social outlook can for a moment believe that the old Liberal watchwords can continue to be sufficient for the future. The more you study our Liberalism in England the more you probably come to see how intimately and essentially it has always been connected with certain doctrines and methods of thought from which the foundations have recently been shifted and were to a large extent actually removed.

He meant by this the political philosophy of individualism associated with thinkers such as the Mills and John Morley. However the driving force behind Liberalism had always been provided, he thought, by Nonconformity in England and Presbyterianism in Scotland. In this view he anticipated an historical perspective later popularised by Elie Halévy and G.M. Young.

'The future of Liberalism' became a recurring topic of conversation when Kidd met Clarke, Saxon Mills and others on the fringe of the Liberal party. Saxon Mills floated his mentor's ideas in the Daily Chronicle and the Westminster Gazette. Kidd thought of working up into a book his thesis on the role of Nonconformity within the Liberal movement, which he argued was more likely to be refurbished by the 'ultra-rational' force of moral outrage than by secular philosophies. Such views naturally appealed to leading Noncomformist Liberals. One such was Percy William Bunting, editor of the Contemporary Review and an executive member of the National Liberal Federation. The son of Jabez Bunting, the great leader of the 'Methodist Connection' in the midcentury, Percy Bunting was a social reformer and an apostle of the 'forward movement' in Methodism. He was a noted champion of native rights in South Africa. As chairman of the National Vigilance Association, promoting moral purity, he stood at the opposite pole to Kidd's friend Grant Allen. Bunting encouraged Kidd to write on 'the constructive powers of the Evangelical religious ideas'.⁷⁶ The two men had many long conversations over afternoon tea at the Central Liberal Club (Bunting nominated Kidd for membership of the

National Liberal Club in 1902). This book, however, failed to materialise.

As a frequent guest at London clubs, such as the Reform Club (to which he was introduced by his publisher Frederick Macmillan), Kidd got to know a wide range of people, mostly on the Liberal side of politics. His ideas circulated within, and were disseminated from, these 'salons'. He gained limited entry also to the country-house set through Lady Jeune and her Stanley and Allhusen relatives. He relished weekend visits to places like the Allhusen's Stoke Court house. There he met Sir Henry Thompson, the eminent surgeon and polymath. 'He knows as much as ten ordinary men', Kidd commented.⁷⁷ The two men corresponded on Darwinism. In February 1898, Sir Francis Jeune successfully proposed Kidd for membership of the Athenaeum Club, a prized honour.⁷⁸

Under continuous treatment from Tweedy for his eye problem, Kidd was forced to apply for further sick leave in 1897.⁷⁹ He finally resigned on 19 November. Tweedy certified that he was unfit to resume official duties. His condition 'renders it impossible for him to read or write for more than short periods at a time: and the difficulty increases. . . In my opinion the disablement from which he is suffering is likely to be permanent.'⁸⁰ Treasury granted him a superannuation allowance of £115 per annum.⁸¹

With his departure from the civil service, Kidd's spirits lifted, his horizons widened. *Social Evolution* was appearing in translation in a number of countries, protected this time by copyright, and receiving appropriate attention (not always respectful: Gustave Fischer, his German publisher, blamed slow sales on 'the palpable ignorance of the Author of all German social-political literature';⁸² but then Fischer had been goaded by Kidd's constant harassment on contracts, prices, and promotion). The appearance in 1897 of a Russian translation pleased Kidd. He was less gratified when the publishers, perversely, commissioned a preface by N.K. Mikhailovsky, a leading Comtean and Populist who had

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criticised Kidd's philosophy in his journal *Russkoe Bogatstvo* (*Russian Wealth*). Mikhailovsky was a respected sociologist, father of the Russian school of 'subjectivists', similar to the 'psychological' school of American sociologists represented by Lester Ward and F.H. Giddings. He claimed to have anticipated by some ten years ideas expressed in Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* (1883). Kidd received an interesting letter from I.M. Rubinoff, translator of *Social Evolution*, showing how the book was being used in the ideological conflicts taking place in Russia:

The teachings of Karl Marx have had of late a profound influence on the Russian educated classes and it can be said without mistake that the coming generation will be a purely Marxist school. This new movement could not help coming into a conflict with the older 'peasantists' ('populists' as it were) who claim that it is not necessary for Russia as for other European countries to pass through the capitalist stage before reaching the collectivist state of society (which for a long time has been and is the common ideal of the Russian 'intelligence')... The battle between the old and new schools is fierce and merciless. No wonder then that a tinge of it clings to every article on social or economic questions published in Russia at present... agreeing with your social Though not philosophy. he [Mikhailovsky] vet thinks your book useful so far as it will help him struggle against the Marxist ideas in their application to Russia.⁸³

Kidd's international impact was underlined in another way when in May 1898 the English Marxist and eugenist Eden Paul brought out a paper applying Kidd's ideas on social evolution to Japan.⁸⁴

The outbreak of hostilities between Spain and the United States over the Philippines on 25 April 1898 caused Kidd to suspend work on his large project, tentatively titled 'Religion, Democracy and Evolution'. He thought the time apt to propagate his views on the topical issue of resources imperialism: 'this is a subject on which I have deep convictions [he wrote to Moberly Bell of *The Times*] and one in which, I am afraid, we are at present simply drifting'.⁸⁵ *The Times* accepted his offer to write a series on the subject. The three

articles duly appeared between 29 July and 15 August, and were later in the year published by Macmillan of New York as a long pamphlet under the title *The Control of the Tropics* (price 75 cents). He carefully protected copyright, and obtained a royalty of 15%, to be increased to 20% after sales of 3000.⁸⁶

His central position on empire had already been outlined in Social Evolution, and in newspaper interviews. He had based his prediction of the future world domination of the white races, and especially the English-speaking peoples, not on any claim of inherent genetic superiority, but upon their superior social efficiency, evolved over long periods of time. Social efficiency was related less to intellectual than to ethical development, and to the presence in the culture of qualities such as energy, practicality, enterprise, concentration, application, strength of character, humanity, probity and simpleminded devotion to duty. These qualities had emerged out of the competitive process. This, in combination with the socially cohesive influence of religion, had produced levelling and democratic tendencies in the west conducive to a humane but also virile life style. It followed from his view of the primacy of environmental over hereditary factors in race that western superiority could not be regarded as permanent: 'All the conquests of the mind, all the arts and inventions of life, will be open to the rest of the world as well as to these [western] peoples, and not only may be equally shared in by others, but may be utilized with effect against the Western races themselves in the competition of life.'87 This conviction was to deepen within him as time passed. He became increasingly disillusioned about western expansionism. By the end of his life he had become a strident expounder of the 'west in crisis' theorem. In 1898, however, his emphasis was still upon the demonstrated success of the western system. The white races had climbed to the top of the evolutionary ladder after eons of ceaseless struggle and social development. They represented, for the moment and probably for a long time, the summit of human progress, the triumph of altruistic, group-oriented development over anarchistic individualism. Their imperial

success was inevitable. The great rivalry of the future would be between the western powers themselves for control of lands and resources not yet alienated to the Europeans. The ethical issue of the age was how this should happen.

Control of the Tropics presented a quite modern-sounding analysis of the critical importance of tropical resources for the scientifically based industrial centres of the world. Europe and America were undergoing in the last third of the nineteenth century industrial changes and upheaval amounting to a 'second industrial revolution'. The scope of industrial and finance capitalism became global. Markets and corporations became international, as did the search for new materials and resources essential to the massive new technology of the age of electro-technics. Kidd saw an inextricable connection between empire and international economics (unlike some modern historians). What was needed, particularly in Britain where mindless empiricism was endemic in politics, was a blueprint for empire which should recognise economic realities and future needs. What was needed was a policy that would secure vital resources for the world's advanced economies, and at the same time resolve in a humanitarian manner the question of the white man's rule over indigenous peoples.

Kidd furnished statistics to show the growing importance to Britain and America of tropical products. Britain imported cotton, rubber, coffee, tea, cocoa, drugs, dyestuffs, gum, jute, sugar and tobacco in increasing volume from the tropics (defined as the belt of territory within the parallels of 30 north and 30 south). Roughly one quarter of British exports went to tropical areas in 1896. Total trade of the United Kingdom with the tropics in that year was worth £138 million, out of a gross total of £738 million. The United States imported \$250 million, or over one third of its imports, from the tropics in 1895, coffee and sugar being the most valuable items. Total American trade with the tropics was worth \$346 million, out of a total of \$1538 million. Kidd used his statistics like weapons. He made much of the claim that British trade with the tropics amounted to 38% of its total trade with the rest of the world, while the corresponding figure for the United States was 65%. He obtained these figures by omitting from consideration the 'obscuring factor' of the commerce conducted within the English-speaking world, including the massive Anglo-American trade. This procedure was open to criticism as sleight of hand.

According to Kidd, these tropical regions would be the new growth areas in world economics. The European peoples had virtually completed their colonisation of the temperate zones, largely white-settled and destined to become 'Europeanised' in culture, living standards and political systems. Such temperate regions would tend to become self-governing. They would industrialise and set up protective barriers against outside competition: 'There can be little doubt that in these circumstances the more advanced peoples, driven to seek new outlooks for their activities, will be subject to a gradually increasing pressure to turn their attention to the great natural field of enterprise which still remains in the development of the tropics.'⁸⁸

He regarded as anachronistic the three major models of tropical imperialism hitherto developed. Firstly, there was the 'plantation' system, widespread in previous centuries, typified by British rule in the West Indies. It utilised slave labour or, in its modern variant (as in the Dutch East Indies, or Spanish Cuba and Philippines), forced native labour. This system was almost exclusively exploitative. The territory was worked primarily as an estate of the occupying power and there was complete subordination of native interests to those of the colonisers. Secondly, there was the model of white acclimatisation and settlement, a concept which 'infatuated' powers such as France and Germany, and under which five million square miles of the tropics had been brought under European control during the scramble for colonies of the last two decades. These powers rightly saw that their future depended upon gaining access to an economic world transcending that of Continental Europe. Otherwise the world outside Europe would be ultimately controlled by the English- and Russianspeaking peoples. Kidd quoted with understanding the French economist Beaulieu: 'colonization is for France a question of life or death, - either France must become a great African Power, or she will be in a century or two but a secondary European Power'. However the Continental nations laboured under the misconception that they could reproduce in the tropics the temperate English-style settlement colonies. White acclimatisation in the tropics was impossible. There was an 'innate unnaturalness' about the whole idea: 'In the tropics the white man lives and works only as a diver lives and works under water.' (Charles Pearson had popularised this dogma in his widely read National Life and Character, 1893.) The slow process of evolution had produced a profound dividing line between the inhabitants of tropical and temperate regions. The newly acquired tropical colonies waited for white settlers who never came, and never would. In the meantime the occupying powers tended to revert to the old plantation system, at the same time selfishly railing off immense regions from world trade.

The third system was one adapted to the tropics from British colonial rule in temperate zones. It tried to apply to underdeveloped areas and peoples a set of political and administrative rules derived from the imperial connection with the more mature and independent white settler colonies (such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa). In the same way that the white commonwealths had become largely selfgoverning, it was expected that the British tropics would ultimately mature into independent modern states through self-development under native auspices. The ruling concept was that of mid-century free-trade imperialism. The material progress achieved through colonial rule proceeded 'only under the fiction that the Power which represents civilization is in occupation only temporarily'.⁸⁹ Kidd helped to popularise the idea that Britain had been grudgingly driven into the scramble for empire in Africa and Asia by European competition, and against a deep-grained tradition. Under such new pressures, the policy of self-development had broken down, leaving a

vacuum: 'There has as yet arisen in England no party and no school of thought which has provided any formula by which the expansion and even the encroachment of the Continental Powers of Europe in Africa, and elsewhere in the tropics, could be consistently met by Great Britain.'⁹⁰

In accordance with his concept of 'social efficiency', he suspected as unrealistic any expectation that an underdeveloped people could rapidly achieve under its own auspices a modern, workable, or free society. The human qualities necessary for such a transition could emerge only through slow social evolution. He cited the gloomy spectacle of Brazil, and other resource-rich Latin American republics, that had sunk into a condition of anarchy and bankruptcy. Outwardly independent, they had degenerated into disorganised military camps, whose real rulers were foreign trading firms and international companies: New York coffee merchants, German railroad corporations, English banking houses. The deeper truth was that 'Democracy is not simply a form of government but a stage of human evolution.^{'91} Meantime the resources of such areas remained undeveloped, and practically beyond the reach of civilisation.

Kidd advocated the development of essential tropical resources as a trust for civilisation. Britain and America could not simply stand aside: others would step in and exploit ruthlessly. A policy of trusteeship, on the other hand, would respect the welfare of indigenous peoples. It would bring their culture into intimacy with a supervisory white civilisation representing 'higher ideals of humanity, a higher type of social order'.⁹² The tropics would not be developed by the natives themselves. Existing cultures were in a rudimentary stage of evolution. The 'natural inhabitants' of the tropics represented 'the same stage in the history of the development of the race that the child does in the history of the development of the individual'.93 Their progress could be accelerated, however, by bringing them under a programme of administrative efficiency, a responsible programme divorced from profiteering and exploitation, masterminded from the temperate European homeland. The system would best be administered by a white official elite, not by a white settler group. The official must not be allowed to rule according to local standards, but only according to the high ethical ideals of western civilisation: 'If he has any right there at all, he is there in the name of civilisation.'94 In general 'no violent hands must be laid on native institutions, or native rights, or native systems of religion, or even on native independence, so far as respect for existing forms is compatible with the efficient administration of the government'. Progress upward must be gradual, must 'proceed on native lines, and must be the effect of the example and prestige of higher standards rather than the result of ruder methods'.95 One of the better aspects of British rule in India, he felt, was the recruitment of Indians to the Indian Civil Service in open competition with Europeans, the entrance being through an English university. The 'best and most distinctive product which England can give, the higher ideals and standards of her Universities . . . is made to feed the inner life from which the British administration of India proceeds'.⁹⁶ As the development of the tropics was a trust for the whole of western civilisation, no colonising power should be permitted to levy colonial tariffs or to retain for itself exclusive advantage in its colonial markets or trade. Imperial policy should at all times be subject at home to close public scrutiny, however irksome to the bureaucrats.

Control of the Tropics provoked a predictable, if not particularly noisy, debate in Britain between pro- and antiimperialists. Typical of pro-empire opinion was the *Spectator*'s judgment that Kidd 'has crystallized in a few weighty chapters ideas which are vaguely floating in men's minds. . . [The work] was an eloquent and convincing appeal for a new conception of the duties of civilized States towards tropical dependencies.'⁹⁷ By the opposing side, notably less vocal, he was accused of using scientific jargon to justify crude Jingoism: 'Mr. Kidd's argument is really nothing more than this [alleged *The Nation*]: "We are better and stronger than you, and can manage your property better than you can

yourselves; therefore we shall take it from you." This used to be called spoliation; to make it sound moral, Mr. Kidd calls it establishing a "trust for civilization".⁹⁸ Kidd got some strong buffeting on the issue whether white men could be acclimatised in the tropics. Correspondents to the newspapers sent in numerous examples of successful adaptation of Europeans in hot climates, in places such as Queensland, the American south, Cuba.⁹⁹ The *British Medical Journal* authoritatively denied Kidd's thesis and accused him of speaking 'with a dogmatism hardly warranted by his knowledge of the subject'.¹⁰⁰ A.R. Wallace, who advocated cooperative Ruskinianstyle white settlements in the tropics, lauded the healthiness of hot climates provided sanitary precautions were taken: 'No great problem can be solved if we begin by assuming data which are erroneous.'¹⁰¹

The overall impact of Kidd's concept of 'trusteeship' on British policy can be assessed only when the correspondence of numerous colonial officials has been retrieved and government archives fully examined. It is known, however, that his ideas circulated among a wide range of intellectuals and officials. He canvassed them persistently in his own contacts with the world of journalism and politics, as well as within the talented circle around Lord Milner. His defence of empire and analysis of international economics impressed administrators and politicians, including Joseph Chamberlain, and led him into the great political debate on tariff reform. Sydney Haldane later judged as pioneering Kidd's application to empire of 'a programme of administrative and engineering efficiency'.¹⁰² In 1919, when the question of disposing of Germany's colonies occupied world attention, the famous pro-consul Lord Lugard harked back to Kidd's essay on the tropics in order to foster the concept of trusteeship. It was, he said, 'an essay perhaps the most suggestive and the most inspiring to the tropical administrator which the English language contains in so brief a compass'.¹⁰³

It was in the United States, euphoric about its hundred days' victory over Spain but also torn by divisions over the acquisition of empire, that Kidd's book seemed supremely opportune. 'A Great Mission Mapped Out for the English-Speaking Race' was how the New York Daily Tribune headlined its review.¹⁰⁴ On such grounds his book was widely used to justify retention of the Spanish colonies. The New York iron manufacturer, politician and philanthropist Abram Hewitt sent a copy of Control of the Tropics to President McKinley while the terms of peace were still undetermined. He urged McKinley to read it. 'It presents a novel view of the important questions which it has fallen to your lot to handle.' Hewitt was not certain that he totally agreed with Kidd 'except so far as he stands upon the ground that the control of the tropics must necessarily be assumed by white people, and possibly by the Anglo-Saxon race'. While Americans would never colonise tropical islands, they might supply the necessary control.¹⁰⁵ According to the New York *Daily Eagle* the book constituted 'a perfect answer to the class of reasoners who hold that this country should confine herself to the present limits of her territory and who claim that an "imperial policy" is a profound mistake'.¹⁰⁶ The geo-political, evolutionary and ethical arguments Kidd used jolted the debate over Cuba and the Philippines out of its parochial ruts, and proved a god-send for expanionists: 'The word he has to utter [said the *Independent*] has not been spoken before, certainly not on this continent.'107 The anti-expansionist Yale Review regretted that Kidd's readers would be expected to draw the lesson 'that imperialism is the duty of the hour for the United States'.¹⁰⁸ Franklin H. Giddings solemnly cited Kidd's arguments in his Democracy and Empire (1900). Tropical countries such as Cuba and the Philippines

must be held as territorial possessions, to be governed firmly, in the interest both of the world at large and of their own native inhabitants, by administrative agents appointed and directed by the home governments of northern nations... The task of governing from a distance the inferior races of mankind will be one of great difficulty – one that could tax every resource of intellect and character; but it is one that must be faced and overcome, if the

civilized world is not to abandon all hope of continuing its economic conquest of the natural resources of the globe.¹⁰⁹

The anti-imperialists were cynical. The Boston *Saturday Evening Gazette* thought that 'it is only another form of the old, old story of the strong despoiling the weak, and demonstrates anew that necessity knows no morals'.¹¹⁰ A socialist critic in Rochester's *Post Express* subjected Kidd's views to searching criticism. He detected racism in claims that Britain's temperate white settler colonies had proved notably successful. British policy had worked admirably in Australia, Canada, the Cape and New Zealand, 'where the original inhabitants are exterminated – a trivial fact which Mr. Kidd ignores'. His tropical blueprint had affinities with slave-holding: 'It is based on the same theory of the incapacity of the black races for civilization, except under control of the white races, and it is not a whit more pious and self-righteous.' His theory simply put a veneer

on the old predatory instinct for land-grabbing and man hunting. . . We are asked to accept as a philosophic political system the vague proposition that certain nations shall take charge of a great part of the earth and its inhabitants 'in trust for civilization', leaving the nature of the trust, the character of civilization and the means to the end all to the discretion of the so-called trustees. He who proposes such a scheme gravely is simply a hypocrite, if he be not a visionary.

The reviewer pressed on Kidd's Achilles' heel when he asked whether there were no crying evils and social injustice in the very heartlands of western civilisation itself. Was the west morally capable of enlightened colonial rule, when it was itself riddled with militarism, class discontent and poverty? Would the conquest of the tropics relieve the conditions of the oppressed at home? 'Not unless the old order changes, and the plunder goes to the masses rather than the classes.' Would the conquest benefit the black and yellow races to be subdued? 'Not without a new spirit and not unless new elements of selfdenial be developed in the conquerors.'¹¹¹ Kidd's sentiments later moved in the same direction.

By the time Control of the Tropics appeared. Kidd was himself in America. The arrangements for the trip were probably made in the previous year, and it is likely that either the New York Outlook or the Twentieth Century Club paid some expenses. The Spanish war made him even keener to see America, while Americans were eager to meet the author of both Social Evolution and the book of the hour on empire.¹¹² Before embarking he obtained letters of introduction. including a set from Lady Jeune to Henry Cabot Lodge, Sir Julian Pauncefote (the British ambassador in Washington), Goldwin Smith and others. She described Kidd as 'my friend' and 'a very interesting and remarkable Englishman'.¹¹³ He asked The Times to mention his forthcoming visit,¹¹⁴ and secured an interview with John Hay, American ambassador at St. James, on August 19, seven days after armistice had been proclaimed between Spain and the United States. The interview made a lasting impression upon Kidd. Hay, soon named by McKinley as Secretary of State, was to become a memorable figure in American foreign relations as an architect of Anglo-American rapprochement and the 'Open Door' policy on China. The two men discussed tropical resources. Kidd recalled the conversation in 1910:

Mr. Hay's last words were impressive. 'The great truth', he said, 'which democracies of manufacturing countries in the temperate regions have to learn in the future is that a large proportion of the trade between their countries is at present mere waste. It should be the object of enlightened government to curtail and restrict such trade rather than to develop it. The great trade of the future will be between supplemental regions of the world, and it will be for this trade that the great international wars of the future will be waged.'¹¹⁵

The concept of complemental trade was to feature in Kidd's later theory of tariff reform.

He sailed from Liverpool on 20 August on the Cunard steamer *Lucania*, arriving in New York on the 27th. He stayed just over two months. Kidd being Kidd, the visit was hardly a

Roman triumph, although one was available for the asking. The *New York Times* observed at the close of his trip:

Mr. Kidd, it may surprise our lion-hunters to know, has been in this country for several months. Being a man of modesty and good taste, his arrival was not announced by the loud sound of trumpets, and he did not proclaim his impressions of America while on his way from the pier on which he landed to the hotel in which he passed his first night in the New World. He has therefore been able to make a leisurely tour of many States, and to study our tricks and our ways without himself being an object of humiliating curiosity.¹¹⁶

At his hotel (the Windsor) he penned two pages of 'Things that struck me first' (a practice he unfortunately discontinued). Preeminent were the 'blocks of titanic buildings... mammoth hotels, groups of offices and institutions all under the common roof, 16, 18, 20, 22 and more stories high, and palaces and more inside'. These titans seemed to him to represent the century of socialism 'less wasteful, more efficient . . . but still everywhere individualistic to the very core', lending themselves to striking architectural effects: 'A genius in architecture has a new and very striking field here.' He noticed the coarse grass, the unfamiliar trees, 'very clean air like Paris. No smoky coal burnt', the 'perfection of the street tramways'. 'I arrived on Saturday and the impression was distinctly of few people, of absence of rush, hurry, bustle and business compared with London.' The place gave a 'Colonial suggestion', partly because of the sprinkling of coloured people on the streets. He noted the 'grey English type of the people, a feeling intensified by the speech and dress', 'the un-English, and suggestion of French or Continental style in the shops and buildings', 'no top hats now (only two worn in Church congregation in 5th Avenue I attended). Straws predominate. . . Hansom cabs much as in London only fares absurdly high. . . More shops open on Sunday.'117

Kidd was taken in hand, with splendid American hospitality, by William B. Howland, treasurer of the *Outlook*, George P. Brett, president of New York Macmillan, Walter H.

Page, who had left the Forum to edit the Atlantic Monthly in Boston, and Abram S. Hewitt, iron manufacturer and one time Democrat mayor of New York (one of Lady Jeune's contacts). They took him into east coast society and intellectual circles, and equipped him with introductions for his visit to Chicago and the west coast. A stream of visitors called on him at his New York and other hotels, as evidenced by an impressive collection of calling cards kept in his papers. The names include Herbert Putnam, librarian of Congress, G.F.W. Holls, pacifist attorney and friend of St Loe Strachey, William H. Rideing, editor of the North American Review, E.W. Burlingame, editor of Scribner's Magazine, Mayer Sulzberger, lewish theologian and judge, Volney W. Foster, treasurer of Chicago's National Republican Campaign Committee, Edward T. Devine of the New York Charities Aid Association, John Powell Lenox, art lecturer and writer, Luther H. Gulick, physical educator, and the Rev. Washington Gladden, author of Ruling Ideas of the Present Age (1895). There came readers of his books, businessmen, doctors, attorneys, clergy, farmers, teachers, all anxious to meet the great man. Others, secretaries of debating societies, university clubs, women's groups, wanted to draft him as a speaker, a fate he skilfully evaded. He kept press interviews to a minimum. Although he discussed Cuba and the Philippines with great seriousness in private, he made a point of refusing to comment publicly on American post-war policy until he had thoroughly acquainted himself with the American scene. This discretion was not easy to maintain. Newsmen were persistent. And he found himself unable, with politeness, to escape making his quota of afterdinner speeches at the numerous social occasions organised by his American friends. He confined himself to outlining the themes of Control of the Tropics, although sometimes enlarging on American destiny in the question-and-answer sessions that followed. In this way his views gained a sort of underground currency in the north-east.

Within a week of his arrival George P. Brett had secured Kidd's signature to a contract with the Macmillan Company

of New York (since 1896 a separate American corporation) for publication of his next *magnum opus*. The subject was to be, tentatively, 'Religion, Democracy and Evolution', about 240,000 words, with a 15% royalty (20% after sales of 3000), and an advance of £1000. The royalty was later raised to a flat 20%. Kidd agreed to deliver a manuscript not later than 15 December 1899, the book to be published circa February 1900.¹¹⁸ He was to regret this pressing deadline. The *Outlook* in a 'scoop' interview with Kidd on 'America's New Duty', reported:

Mr. Benjamin Kidd, the author of 'Social Evolution' – a book whose sale of 200,000 copies exceeds that of any other work on social philosophy – came to this country last week to study American conditions, with a special view to the production of a book on which he is engaged which is to take the shape of a further development of social philosophy on the lines followed in 'Social Evolution'. But of this he would not now speak.

His preoccupation now was with the American crisis. The *Outlook* commented:

Though an unflinching and aggressive Liberal and Radical upon all questions relating to the equalizing of opportunities, Mr. Kidd's attitude to the control of the tropics by English-speaking races represents a considerable development from the standards which have controlled English development under the influence of the Liberal party in the past half-century. This does not mean that he cares for the assertion of power over foreign peoples. Of this in itself he spoke throughout with a deep underlying tone of dislike. The note which pervaded all he said was simply that of the duty of the Anglo-Saxon peoples to their own ideals and principles in the crisis upon which they have entered. . . We are driven, he says, by economic forces over which we have no control.¹¹⁹

He believed that the United States had a unique opportunity to apply the colonial policy of 'trusteeship' in the old Spanish colonies. But he was not certain that the chance would be grasped. Many Americans advocated white settlement and exploitation of their new acquisitions. The Chicago *Tribune*

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declared him 'entirely mistaken if he thinks that Cuba and Porto Rico will not be speedily colonized and Americanized by permanent immigration from this country'.¹²⁰ Some advocated a neo-mercantilist colonial system. If, said Kidd, America decided both to retain the Philippines, and to maintain a tariff operating like Spain in her own favour, she would give away her respect before the world:

She may occupy the Philippines with a clear conscience and an open face to the world if she occupies them in the name of higher ideals of government and a trust for civilization, giving equal opportunities to all. You have a right to have what tariffs you please at home. It is a different matter to impose them on others to your own selfish advantage.¹²¹

On 15 September he left New York for Chicago, stopping there briefly before travelling west across the continent, probably on the Santa Fe railroad through Kansas, New Mexico and Arizona. Unfortunately no diary or memoirs dealing with his American trip appear to have survived (apart from brief notes on the willow swamps of Missouri and the flora of New Mexico). Walter H. Page, however, packed him off with four pages of advice on places and people to see, and a satchel full of introductory letters:

I ran across Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was very sorry not to see you. He wished me to make sure that he sees you when you come back here – as come back you must. Here will be John Fiske, Edward Atkinson, William James, James Ford Rhodes (historian of the U.S. from 1850 to 1872) – four men whom you must see, if you propose to say or think that you have seen the U.S. Then there are dozens of such men as Lodge and Cummings to a larger group of Harvard professors. All these and more will be here when you return. And nothing could give me greater pleasure than to bring it about that you see them and get your point of view right as to what we are doing in the U.S. . . . Don't spend all your time in our big cities. Buy your ticket so that you can go or come through Indianapolis and Louisville. . . Louisville is southern and you ought to see something of the south. In Indianapolis lives James Whitcombe Riley, the most popular poet we have – a man of the masses, well worth seeing. He

smells of the sod. . . Howland [Louis Howland of the *Indianapolis News*] can give you good introductions – perhaps to his old friend and neighbour Benj. Harrison, formerly President of the U.S.

In Louisville the most interesting man and one of the most interesting in America is Henry Watterson, editor of the *Courier-Journal* [an expansionist]. You will not elsewhere see another of his type. Before you go to Washington I wish to write other notes for you. There are men there that you must be sure to meet.¹²²

Page's letters of introduction were fulsome. In one he wrote: 'It is not every day that a writer whom one wishes to know comes along who is at the same time so frank and companionable. Bless your life, he might be an American citizen for all that you could guess from his straightforward way of getting at great subjects.'¹²³

On 22 September he arrived at Riverside, where his brother Charlie was a prospering orchardist. Charlie had emigrated to California in the late 1880s, got a job in citrus-growing, brought his girl Polly out from England and married her. Their eldest son Ernest was born at Riverside in 1890. After a week spent in the Los Angeles district Kidd travelled to Nipomo, near Santa Maria, no doubt to visit his sister Annie ('Sis'), who had married a Winnipeg doctor in 1894, then emigrated to the Santa Barbara region. Kidd took a great interest in California's flourishing agriculture. He was particularly impressed by a visit to a 'bee-ranch' in the south. He was amazed at the scale of operations – one proprietor managing a thousand beecolonies, whereas English bee-keepers rarely kept more than a score or two:

The hives were spread on the grass on the hill-sides, and every detail of the management was in keeping with the latest ideas on the subject . . . new colonies were manufactured as required with the greatest ease and regularity. . . The wild sage bushes which covered the hills gave an abundant yield of honey, and it was not unusual for a single hive to produce over 200 lbs of honey in one season. The yield of honey was indeed by the ton. It was packed in large tin receptacles cased outside with wood, and sent east during the season literally by the train-load.¹²⁴ He stayed for a few days in San Francisco and Oakland, encountering in Oakland another itinerant scholar, the 'realist' philosopher Samuel Alexander, professor at Manchester. Kidd was much struck by the unashamedly expansionist feelings of westerners. He later told a Boston audience:

When I stood at San Francisco the other day and looked out across the Pacific a man said to me, 'Why they do not realize over in New York and these places that we are the nearest ground to the Philippine Islands here – that we are much nearer the Philippine Islands than New York or Boston.' 'How do you make that out?' I asked. 'Well, everything is measured by money nowadays. It takes 16 days and an immense amount of money to carry goods across the continent to New York. That freight can go to the Philippine Islands in nearly the same time, and much cheaper.'¹²⁵

He departed San Francisco on 6 October, probably travelling east via Nevada on the Central Pacific railroad. When he arrived back in Chicago, it was in the grip of massive peace celebrations. He stayed eight days (10-18 October), making forays into neighbouring regions. It was probably at this stage that he briefly visited Canada.

Chicago was at this period one of the most exciting and 'futurist' cities of the world. Steel-framed buildings of ten, twenty or more stories clawed their way skywards. Louis Sullivan, the 'father of modernism', led the Chicago school of architects. His Auditorium (1889) included a hotel and opera house and was Chicago's pride and joy. Sullivan's elegant Carson, Pirie Scott emporium was being built in 1898. The other side of Chicago's life was represented by the blood and stench of its stockyards, which Kidd visited. Here was his chance also to see at first hand America's flourishing universities and colleges, an experience he never forgot. He toured Chicago University's celebrated school of sociology, vigorously organised by Albion W. Small and George E. Vincent. No doubt he later conveyed details of Chicago's courses, including Vincent's 'Province of Sociology', to the informal committee that was considering the establishment of sociology

at Cambridge. However it seems that he may have encountered trouble with Albion Small. What passed between the two men is not known. What we do know is that while Small had praised Kidd in 1895 (above), he was damning him by 1899. In reviewing Robert Mackenzie's *From Comte to Benjamin Kidd*, Small declared:

This is precisely the sort of book to be expected from an author who confesses that he has been using Kidd's *Social Evolution* as a textbook for a class in sociology. Mr. Benjamin Kidd has about the same standing among the sociologists that Darius Green would have among the physicists. The author's evident assumption to the contrary excludes him from serious attention by the sociologists... All sociologists concede some sort and degree of credit to Comte for formulating the demand for sociology... the sociologists regard Comte rather as a proposer of the sociological problem than as a very large contributor to its solution. On the other hand, I have yet to learn of the first sociologist of any recognized standing who has ever consented to class Benjamin Kidd among sociologists at all.¹²⁶

What seems likely is that Small resented Kidd's association with the 'Social Gospel' movement and 'new economists' such as Richard T. Ely (see below). Small had clashed with these groups in 1895 when he supported the University of Chicago's dismissal of the radical political economist Edward Bemis.¹²⁷ Kidd was to raise the issue of academic freedom in his future writings, taking a position close to that of radicals like Henry Demarest Lloyd.

Walter H. Page also introduced him to leading academics such as William R. Harper, President of Chicago University, and James Laurence Laughlin, head of the Department of Political Economy at Chicago and an opponent of William Jennings Bryan's silver campaign. Kidd himself remained unconvinced of the perils of 'free silver'.¹²⁸ Page also gained him access to the banker-capitalist Franklin H. Head, 'a friendly and useful man, the real key in fact to Chicago'; to the literary critic and associate editor of the Chicago *Dial*, William Morton Payne, 'the real . . . editor of the one critical journal in the Middle West . . . a dry but sensible fellow, who is sure to have read your book (and to have written about it)'; and to the custodian of the Newberry Library, John Vance Cheney, 'a poor poet but a good librarian of one of the great libraries. These will open Chicago to you from several points of view.'¹²⁹ William B. Howland introduced him to the seminarian-sociologist Graham Taylor, Professor of Social Economics at the Chicago Theological Seminary and founder of the Chicago Commons Social Settlement.

During this time he may have visited the neighbouring campuses of the Universities of Minnesota and Michigan, and Madison State University, Wisconsin. Richard T. Ely of Madison State University, whom Kidd presumably met in New York, was anxious that Kidd should see for himself some mid-western colleges and campuses: 'I do not think anyone is able to understand our country and the forces which are now giving it shape who does not take into consideration our state universities.'130 Ely furnished him with introductions to Cyrus Northrop, President of Minnesota University and formerly Professor of English Literature at Yale, to William Watts Folwell, Professor of Political Science at Minnesota and Chairman of the State Board of Charities and Correction, and to Jesse Macy, Professor of Political Science at Iowa College, Indiana. Kidd saw Ely again at some stage of his trip, probably at Madison in early October. Ely had already discussed Kidd's influence upon the science-versus-religion debate in a paper on 'Religion as a Social Force', noting the enthusiasm which he generated among 'religious teachers' as well as 'scientific evolutionists'.¹³¹ Ely, an economist with Christian Socialist leanings, was particularly influential in Protestant reform circles. He and Kidd shared many values: a preoccupation with the ethical implications of technology and industry, a concern for social justice, confidence in the ability of the social sciences to create a science of society, a desire to humanise and moralise economics, a belief in 'Christian sociology'. Ely's 'social law of service', which embodied self-sacrifice, was akin to Kidd's principle of altruism. His strictures on the anti-social effects of monopolies and trusts probably influenced Kidd. Ely

had in 1894 established a separate school of sociology at Madison, and himself taught sociology.¹³² He was a key figure in the 'Social Gospel' movement, a movement that Kidd was drawn into during his visit. The ministers of social gospel included Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden, William D.P. Bliss and Josiah Strong. Kidd met them all. Gladden used extracts from Control of the Tropics in his pro-war Our Nation and Her Neighbours (1898). Bliss had already recruited Kidd to write for his Encyclopedia of Social Reform. Josiah Strong's virulent Anglo-Saxonism had contributed to the intellectual climate favouring intervention in Cuba, but he radiated a more Kiddian idea of the white man's burden in his Expansion Under New World-Conditions (1900). The Anglo-Saxons would use their biological advantages, acquired through long ages of struggle, not to honour their own race but to exalt, enrich and free mankind generally: 'the movement is upward, and the greater altitudes will surely be gained'.¹³³ It was no doubt through the social gospel circle that Kidd was led to read Henry Demarest Lloyd's radical anti-trust works, including his classic Wealth Against Commonwealth (1894).

The citizens of Chicago invited Kidd to attend their Peace Jubilee to celebrate the 'splendid achievements of the American Army and Navy' in the late war. The festivities were to be crowned by a banquet tendered to President McKinley by a glittering assembly at the Auditorium on 19 October. Kidd declined the invitation, but was still caught up in the whirl. He listened to Horatio L. Wait address the Chicago Literary Club on 'the Deeds and Needs of Our Navy', and joined in debates on empire at the Quadrangle Club. He met the editorial staff of the Chicago Times-Herald. The Union League Club invited him to a dinner planned to honour President McKinley on 15 October. However the late arrival of McKinley's train from St Louis prevented Kidd meeting the man who presided, at times uneasily, over America's 'splendid little war'.¹³⁴ On Sunday the 16th he listened to Booker T. Washington address a Methodist Episcopal congregation at a Union Thanksgiving Service at Studebaker Hall.

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The *Times-Herald* and *Chicago Chronicle* ran interviews with him. The *Times-Herald* commented:

Mr. Kidd is a Britisher in whom it is easy to distinguish under an outward aspect of reserve an abiding admiration for American institutions and the people of the United States. He believes this nation has a great destiny before it. Although he would hardly say so, and showed great reluctance to speak on the subject, it was also easy to see that he considers only one solution to the problem presented by the Philippines. . . 'It seems to me hardly possible, in the light of experience', said Mr. Kidd, 'to administer such dependencies as if they were part of the United States.'

The closest parallel to 'trusteeship' he saw in the British administration of Egypt under Lord Cromer. Such rule recognised frankly 'that we are dealing with a country and a people to which, at present, the principles that control the development of our western democracies cannot be applied'. Such a system recognised also that the country must be developed 'not on our lines, but on native lines'. Colonial occupation must seem 'on the square' to the inhabitants. It must be seen by the world as a trust for civilisation and not a matter of imperial self-interest. He would not be drawn on the exact form of government that was best adapted to the Philippines.

Kidd's paternalistic philosophy on race and colonialism was clearly revealed in his remark that the American republic had already successfuly experimented in trusteeship in its dealings with its resident Indians and blacks: 'The present condition of both these races is strictly in keeping neither with the letter nor the spirit of the American constitution. And yet what has happened in their cases is that the organic life of the United States has burst the logical bonds which it has outgrown.'¹³⁵ He put the issue thus in another debate:

You have already, it seems to me, in the United States accepted the principle that all races and peoples are not equally ripe for the full responsibilities of self-government. The negro in the United States is a citizen only under conditions which are incompatible with the

fundamental principle of the American constitution. The Indians are considered in the light of wards of the United States, and in the case of territories, it is recognized that a preliminary stage is desirable and necessary before admission to the fuller privileges of the commonwealth. It does not seem to me impossible to apply principles which have here worked under far more difficult circumstances so as to lead to the control of tropical territories according to the standards of the United States.¹³⁶

Asked whether it would not be simpler for America to confine itself to its own home development, Kidd told the *Times-Herald* reporter:

You cannot escape your own destiny. . . One has only to look at a map of the United States one hundred years ago to see that you are dealing with a law of organic growth. You are now only confronted with the same inevitable destiny at a later stage of growth. Nothing can prevent the United States from becoming one of the leading, nay probably the leading, world power at no distant date in the future.

The Philippines and Puerto Rico had fallen into American control

without your going to seek them; without violating any right acknowledged by the conscience of civilization. Speaking apart from all national prejudice...it would seem the judgment of the historian of the future is likely to be that not only is it the bounden duty of the United States in the higher interests of humanity, but that it is also its deepest interest from the standpoint of its own citizens, to retain as large a share as possible in the future control of the Philippines.¹³⁷

His picture of Uncle Sam, the reluctant imperialist, did not appeal to the anti-expansionists, who believed that McKinley had been propelled into war by sinister business interests, militarism and geo-political ambition. On the other hand, his thesis that American expansion (however reluctant) was part and parcel of a general imperial movement in the west dictated by international economic forces hardly fitted the prevailing national image of an America that had separated itself from the corrupting influence of the Old World, and was stamping out for itself a history of unique contour. Despite these ambiguities, Kidd found himself to be profoundly in tune with the dominant national mood when he reinforced the concept of manifest destiny, and spoke of America being in the right.

The debate was resumed when he returned to New York on 18 October. He got caught up in a hectic round of lunches, dinners and the abundant hospitality of friends, sight-seeing and slum-visiting. He moved freely in journalistic, publishing and academic circles (the latter including Princeton, Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania), met politicians, talked endlessly. Public interest in him was heightened with the appearance in October of Control of the Tropics, copies of which he sent to President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt and other prominent Americans. He was made an honorary member of a string of clubs, including the Century and Uptown Association Clubs in New York, the Union League Club in Chicago, the Tavern and St Botolph's in Boston. During his stay he made the acquaintance of Americans from a wide spectrum, including an understandably high quota of expansionists and conservative Republicans. Whether they were entirely congenial to Kidd, the Liberal and social reformer, is not recorded.

Although he detested the role of performing flea, he found that some public obligations were unavoidable. On 19 October the New York Charity Organization Society gave a small dinner in his honour at the University Club in Madison Avenue. The guests included the poor-reformers Edward T. Devine, James B. Reynolds and Frank Tucker, Samuel M. Jackson of the Prison Association, the historian James Harvey Robinson of Columbia, journalists Dexter Marshall and Albert Shaw. Kidd spoke. So did Josiah Strong and Franklin H. Giddings, now Professor of Sociology at Columbia. Strong employed Kidd's concept of social efficiency to justify the ultimate displacement of competitive social systems by a 'New Solidarism', both domestically and globally, struggle being replaced by the restraints of social control and higher evolu-

tionary laws.¹³⁸ Strong described the proceedings thus:

Some months after the fateful battle in Manila Bay, at a dinner in New York, given in honour of the English philosopher, Mr. Benjamin Kidd, that gentleman remarked: 'In my judgment, the gun fired by Admiral Dewey in the Bay of Manila was the most important historical event since the battle of Waterloo.' Following him, Professor Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University, said: 'I find myself compelled to differ from the distinguished guest of the evening in his estimate of the battle in Manila Bay. In my judgment it was the most important historical event since Charles Martel turned back the Moslems . . . because the great question of the 20th century is whether the Anglo-Saxon or the Slav is to impress his civilization on the world.'¹³⁹

Two days later Kidd put the expansionist side of the Philippines issue in a debate sponsored by the Outlook Club at Montclair, New Jersey, as part of the celebrations marking Princeton's 152nd anniversary. For an opposing view Howland, Vice-President of the club, turned to Jacob G. Schurman, President of Cornell University, and author of The Ethical Import of Darwinism (1888). Interestingly Howland described Schurman's 'views as to the Philippines and a general colonial policy for America [as] decidedly conservative'.¹⁴⁰ At Lowell on 25 October Kidd addressed six hundred of the Middlesex Women's Club at Colonial Hall. It was, however, on 26 October that Kidd gave his most demanding performance, a lecture to the Twentieth Century Club (the Nineteenth Century Club a little prematurely re-named). It took place in Ashburton Place, the hall of the Boston University Law School, the topic 'The Problem of the Philippines'. The occasion was arranged in September by Edwin D. Mead, editor of the New England Magazine, who promised: 'You would have 500 of the most earnest men and women of Boston to hear you and give you a warm welcome.'141 He offered a fee of \$50. Kidd asked for, and got, \$100. The address - largely Control of the Tropics updated for an American audience, but hardly mentioning the Philippines elicited a rare, and unflattering, personal comment from the

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press. The anti-expansionist Congregationalist reported:

Benjamin Kidd is not a Teuton, neither is he a Celt. Consequently he is not a typical Briton in appearance. His life as a subordinate British government official and his studies as a historian have not fitted him for speaking to audiences, and he is too modest and too honest to claim to be a popular speaker. Hence it must be frankly confessed that those who heard him last week at the Twentieth Century Club, Boston, were not charmed by his manner. But his suggestive generalizations respecting colonial administration and race expansion were rewarding to those who persisted in listening, and his replies to his critics showed that he was clever in retort. . . If it be said that the spirit which prompted Mr. Kidd to avoid seeming to interfere in settling our problems was admirable, it must also be said that the art of concealment was not perfect. . . In substance, Mr. Kidd's message was, that from the Alleghanies to the Pacific the plain people *feel* that our duty is to hold the Philippines as well as Spain's West Indian possessions. To those who reply that such a feeling is unreasoning and unethical, and that it conflicts with the declared purposes of the war and instantly will compel us to modify our governmental fabric, Mr. Kidd replies in the words of Sir John Seeley, whom he considers the most discerning philosophical historian of British expansion, that 'the instinct of development in a truly living institution is wiser than the utterance of the wisest individual man'.142

Before quitting Boston for New York, and England, Kidd embodied his Boston lecture in an article for Walter Page's *Atlantic Monthly*, which had been badgering him for a contribution.¹⁴³ It proved popular. Page later wrote: 'Your Atlantic article is quoted and referred to in some part in the U.S. every week, even now. It proved a most valuable campaign document for the expansionists.'¹⁴⁴ He interpreted the Spanish war as merely the latest in the historic clash of Latin and Teutonic races and civilisations. This continuing warfare had encompassed the Dutch emancipation from Spanish rule and the German emancipation from southern European, later Austrian, influence. It also encompassed the world war between Britain and France during the Napoleonic era, a

struggle whose outcome ensured that the North American continent became an English-speaking province. The isolationism of Washington's Farewell Address was appropriate to a nation of six million people surrounded by hostile powers. Its meaning was lost after 'the great wave of English-speaking civilization [had] flowed, submerging, nay, obliterating all other forms', when six million had become seventy million who already reckoned to be two hundred million:

The people whom Henry Adams described as living at the beginning of the nineteenth century 'in an isolation like that of the Jutes and Angles of the 5th century' have tamed a continent, have covered it with a vast network of the most magnificent railroads in the world, have grown to be the largest and most homogeneous nation on the face of the earth, with a great world movement behind it, and certainly a great world-part in the future before it. It is because the man in the Western states today, in a dim instinctive way, realizes these things, because he has himself been in the midst of this development . . . that he seems to be willing to take the risks which more theoretical minds hesitate at.

The United States was destined to become the leading world power of the twentieth century. It would not, therefore, 'be able to escape the effect of its connection with what are really world-principles'. As continental settlement closed, America must enter a great era of industrial expansion. It would be driven to seek the widest markets and world-wide resources for its manufacturing. Its dependence on the tropics would steadily intensify. It would be forced into imperialism for the reasons given in *Control of the Tropics*:

No nation can remain permanently indifferent to the condition of a country in which it has large and vital trade relations. Although the United States interfered in Cuba in the cause of humanity, it must be remembered that it was the close trade connection of the American people with the island which directly and forcibly compelled the attention of the public mind to what was taking place there.

He believed that because the United States had a flexible civil service (provided ability was highly paid within it) and an

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advanced educational system ('the university system of education has already reached a kind of development which is far in advance of anything that we have in England'), the country was splendidly positioned to administer colonies according to high traditions of public duty. On this flattering note, Kidd sailed home. He boarded the *Lucania* at New York on 29 October, arriving at Liverpool on 5 November.

He gave his 'Impressions of America' in an interview granted to *The Echo*. The western states, especially the Pacific seaboard, were hottest to retain the Philippines:

I asked one most intelligent man in San Francisco how annexation would be reconciled with the spirit of the Constitution. His answer was simply, 'I ain't passing any sleepless nights about that. Some things have got to be done. This is one of them. . .'. In the Eastern states many of the more thinking classes, while feeling that political forces were working towards retention, were occupied with exactly the same problem as has confronted the Liberal Party in England during the latter half of the 19th century – namely, how the principles of Liberalism and representative government are to be reconciled with the political control of tropical dependencies. . .

Mr. Kidd suggested . . . as a step towards clearer thinking on many social and municipal problems of the day – street locomotion, municipalisation of the instruments of production, cooperation, and so forth – the transportation of our theorists to America for a term of study, and the subsequent locking up of them for a six months' period of silent reflection.¹⁴⁵

3

PRINCIPLES OF WESTERN CIVILISATION

Kidd's life was marked by alternations of participation and withdrawal. After his outburst of activity in America he cloistered himself away from the world to write the book that appeared as Principles of Western Civilisation in 1902. 'I can only give myself one day off in the week', he told an editor wanting reviews and articles, '- any longer at a time severs things too much.'1 He sequestered himself in the British Museum reading room, breaking out occasionally to lunch with his editor friend E.T. Cook at Russell Square or to club with young Turks in the Liberal movement such as John Saxon Mills. Even the outbreak of the Boer War - an event that monopolised politics, involved his mentor Milner as High Commissioner at the Cape, and raised momentous implications for colonial theory - evoked from him no significant public pronouncement. His first priority was to enlighten the world about the fundamental principles underlying modern thought. This took longer than expected. The original deadline agreed with Macmillan, New York, for 'Religion, Democracy and Evolution', its abandoned title, was 15 December 1899. He was unable to meet it. Macmillan pressed him in 1900, primarily in order to announce the book in their autumn lists. Kidd wrote in the margin of their letter: 'Said no chance of book this autumn and please do not rush me.²

The American trip had kept his name in circulation and solicitations for papers and reviews continued to pour in. Most he refused. His fame had spread even to Hungary. Felix Somló, editor of the new Hungarian review *Husravik Szarad*, treating social issues from a scientific point of view, tried without success 'to make known your name (in our country well known and honoured) as a fellow-labourer of our

review'.³ He also rejected a chance to become editor of the civil service journal the Civilian, a job he would once have jumped at.⁴ Even Howland he kept at bay. 'I shall hope to see you while in London'. Howland wrote in the summer of 1899. 'and if I could persuade you to write something which we have in mind for The Outlook I shall be glad. You are a man hard to persuade, however, and I have not much hope.'5 Walter H. Page, having helped found the new publishing house of Doubleday, Page and Company (1899), despatched his partner to see Kidd during a summer visit to England in 1900: 'Perhaps he will be able to bring back word what has become of you - to explain your long silence, and to ascertain when you are coming to the United States again, and to remind you that most wonderful changes of an economic and social kind are taking place here." In 1900 Page established the World's Work, a magazine devoted to politics and practical affairs, and one that was to become a landmark in American journalism. (Page served as editor until Woodrow Wilson made him ambassador to Britain in 1913.) Kidd found himself pressed, reluctantly, into service for the persuasive Page.

In a similar way he found himself doing occasional journalism for the Daily News. One of two morning Liberal papers, the Daily News was pro-empire. E.T. Cook, the editor, strongly supported Lord Rosebery, at that time a leading liberal imperialist. Cook, moreover, was a friend of Kidd, with a habit of getting his own way. In conversations in 1900 the two men discussed how best to further 'the cause' of a revivified Liberalism, emancipated from archaic notions of laissez-faire and antipathy to empire. Cook asked: 'Could you not from time to time write a leader suggested by crucial events and discussions . . . or leaderettes dealing shortly with individual points?'7 Kidd duly produced appropriate pieces, obtaining the 'best rate' of three guineas per column. (This was not in fact up to the £6 per column paid him by the Spectator for 'specials', and Kidd's letters to Cook are interspersed with complaints whenever Cook, as he often did, failed to instruct his accountant to pay the correct sum.) He wrote for the News

until it was bought up in 1901 by a rival 'Little England' group associated with Lloyd George.

In May 1901 Kidd lost a valued friend when William Clarke died. Clarke had broken his long association with the Daily Chronicle when that paper, under H.W. Massingham's editorship, supported the Boer War. Relieved of the stress of daily journalism and midnight stints, he wrote some of his best work in his quiet country retreat: essays on culture, politics, theology, philosophy and science, mainly for St Loe Strachey's Spectator, but also for The Economist and Manchester Guardian.⁸ Clarke viewed the Boer War as a plutocratic plot engineered by international monied interests, and was appalled by the war hysteria in England. He found that his political articles were not wanted by the pro-war press barons. He died while travelling abroad, suffering a diabetes attack while touring his beloved Herzegovina with Herbert Burrows and J.A. Hobson. St Loe Strachey wrote to Kidd: 'He was as you say a valiant fighter. Though I am afraid he thought me a blood-thirsty Jingo, we always got on well. . . For the last two years he had practically written no leaders and he was so much out of sympathy with my view of the war."⁹ Although Clarke and Kidd were dialectically opposed on many issues (including the role of reason in evolution), some of Clarke's insights lodged in Kidd's mind. They included the claim that massive industrialism, unchecked, led not to democracy but to a new aristocracy of wealth. Clarke agreed with William Jennings Bryan that America was endangered by 'the power of rich corporations, the division of wealth, the control of legislation by trusts, the complete domination of great States like New York and Pennsylvania by "bosses" '.¹⁰ Clarke also pointed to Britain's technological obsolescence and predicted its industrial decline. Such prophecies evoked Kidd's remedy of tariff reform and the creation of an imperial 'common market'. Clarke was scornful that England would be saved by her overseas empire: 'The naked truth which the solid Imperialist will not face is that the various countries composing the British Empire have not common economic interests, never had, and never will have. . . As Macaulay said, an acre in Middlesex is worth a principality in Utopia – a hint for present-day expansionists.¹¹

It was, however, Clarke's passionate invective against the 'curse of militarism' that marked Kidd's sub-conscious mind. When World War I provoked in Kidd an anguish like that roused in Clarke by the Boer War, his response was to be remarkably similar. In 1916 he would echo Clarke's words of 1901: 'The prophet of the twentieth century is Friedrich Nietzsche, with his brutal "over-man" responsible to none, with no law but his pride and egoistic will. It is not a pleasant outlook for the friends of humanity and democracy.'12 Clarke regarded as delusive current justifications of war in Darwinian terms, preferring Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid as the leading factor in moral evolution. War was profoundly antisocial. It plunged man into the very abyss of brute force: 'It is surely intended that we should proceed through nature to spirit, and every power that pulls us back into the slough of animalism means so much ground lost. Our chief business is to eliminate the "ape and tiger" from our being, and to rise on the stepping stones of our dead selves to higher things.'13

Clarke's death left a vacancy on the *Spectator*'s staff that Kidd offered to fill. Strachey, however, drew back:

I am afraid we could not run in double harness. To be quite frank though I admire your work greatly, I don't think we should always see eye to eye, and you naturally and properly would not care to subordinate your view to mine, any more than I could mine to yours. Your work is so strong and individual that you ought to be an Editor not a contributor. That is the long and short of it. Besides I have already filled Clarke's post.¹⁴

Editorial jobs were few and far between, so for the moment Kidd put aside his journalistic ambitions. He threw all his energy into completing his big book. In November he arranged with Macmillan, London, to publish the English edition of *Principles of Western Civilisation*. This edition was to appear at 15 shillings, and Kidd was to receive two-thirds profits, with

the proviso that, if sales exceeded 4000 in any year, he was to be paid 5% royalty on the published price of every copy sold beyond 4000.¹⁵ Copyright was carefully protected, especially for the American edition. Again he kept close watch over printing and promotion of his book. Macmillan (London) sent out letters and advance copies to forty-five editors. Word spread, at home and abroad, that Kidd was launching an ambitious new work. It was awaited with considerable interest.

Principles of Western Civilisation was a manifesto endorsing an evolutionary teleology against the Darwinian version of evolution as random process. It celebrated purpose as against happenstance. Its focus was on the future, the end goal of human life, rather than on transitory present adaptation. What Kidd believed to be a selfish materialist time-bound gestalt was replaced by an altruistic transcendental futurist gestalt. Like modernist architects, he was against the individual and for the collective and the universal. He proclaimed an evolutionary ethics, even an evolutionary determinism, that endorsed the subordination of existing individuals to a collectivity of individuals, the most important of whom were generations yet to be born. This one idea he believed, with alarming confidence, to be original to himself. He proclaimed it throughout the book, with wearisome reiteration, as the secret key to evolution, the ruling principle of developing western civilisation. This vision, supposedly based on positivist science, only brought him into conflict with it.

It was an idea in Weismann's *Duration of Life* (1881) that led Kidd to stress the future needs of the species over the shortterm interest, even survival, of the individual. Weismann's experiments caused him to conclude that in the higher forms of life natural selection tended to secure, not the longest life to the individual, but a shorter duration, an adaptation that benefited the species by lessening the burden of the aged and less adaptive upon the group. Behavioural traits such as selfsacrifice of the individual in the cause of the group, early death of the individual in the cause of group vitality, raised questions against the classic Darwinist position that natural selection only favoured behaviour and characters profitable to actually existing individuals, or a majority of their kind for the time being. Darwin was not immune to teleology and 'progressivist' views of evolution. But he always insisted, positivistically, that natural selection worked, could only work, under present conditions, and solely by and for the good of each being.

Kidd believed that Darwinism – like the capitalist doctrines it fostered – was a reductionist theory of competing interests, restricted to the struggle for existence as it went on at a particular time. Such concepts underestimated, even in the present, the significance of mutualist and cooperative behaviour (emphasised by Kropotkin and many reformers who followed him). Moreover the Darwinists virtually defined out of existence any criterion of 'fitness' related to the ultimate fate of a species in the future. Kidd thought this indefensible. Natural selection acted through the medium of the largest numbers:

The qualities in favour of which it must, in the long run, consistently discriminate are those which most effectively subserve the interests of the largest majority. Yet this majority in the processes of life can never be in the present. It is always, of necessity, the majority which constitutes the long roll of the yet unborn generations. Other things being equal, that is to say, the winning qualities in the evolutionary process must of necessity be those qualities by which the interests of the existing individuals have been most effectively subordinated to those of generations yet to be born . . . we may go so far as to say that, under the law of Natural Selection, as we come to understand it in this light, the interests of the individual in those adjustments 'profitable to itself', which filled so large a place in the minds of the early Darwinians, have actually no place, except so far as they are included in, and have contributed to, this larger end in the future. $(pp. 42-3)^*$

^{*}Page references in brackets in the text are to B. Kidd, Principles of Western Civilisation: Being The First Volume of a System of Evolutionary Philosophy (Macmillan, London, 1902).

Modern biology, he claimed, supported his concept of 'projected efficiency', not present efficiency, as the ruling principle of evolution. An individual's death – a central preoccupation of the human mind – was not related to his selfinterest, but served the larger interest of his kind. Parenthood, as it became more complex and burdensome to the individual parents in the higher species, conferred advantages on generations always in the future. As such functions developed under the stress of natural selection, the burden of the future pressed with ever-increasing weight upon the present:

however injurious, or even fatal, to large numbers of the existing individuals at any time may have been the conditions of existence, if such conditions were, nevertheless, those most advantageous to future generations of their kind, Natural Selection must have discriminated in favour of the form of life amongst which they prevailed . . . that form must have come down to us as a winning type. (p. 61)

Germ plasm theory also demonstrated the long-term durability, almost immortality, of the reproductive cells, carrying the genetic codes of heredity. The transient interests of the individual paled into insignificance when compared with the long-term role of such cells – a role of providing essential materials for future adaptation. His argument evokes echoes of the present-day debate over theories of 'the selfish gene'. Kidd would never have countenanced any idea of man serving his genes, sometimes taken up today. Genes to him were simply a wonderful mechanism for achieving the final purposes of human evolution.

He insisted that prevailing social theories were obsolescent, because they failed to recognise the principle of 'projected efficiency'. They were rooted in present-minded concepts of self-interest. They were associated with an earlier phase of social evolution characterised by the 'ascendancy of the present'. They would be supplanted by a new altruistic, futurist social science as a new social order inherited the world, one founded, not on self-regarding competition, but on a truly scientific basis: the advanced evolutionary principle that subordinated the interest of present people to 'that silent majority which is always in the future' (p. 6). Kidd saw himself as a man of destiny, the man who first proclaimed this new master-principle of the science of society.¹⁶

Benthamism, Spencerism, Millite individualism, Marxism – all celebrated the 'ascendancy of the present', all were progressivist doctrines mesmerised by a struggle between present and past, all focussed upon 'a fixed social and political condition in which this self-conscious and self-contained present shall be at last completely emancipated from the past in conditions in which the gratification of the desires . . . of the component individuals shall have been made as complete as possible' (pp. 10-11). All would pass away because their intellectual basis had been completely struck away.

Prevailing concepts of politics were no more than models based on the adjustment of forces within the state, mere theories of the organisation of interests. Laissez-faire capitalism conceived of a free and uncontrolled struggle in pursuit of individual gain. 'All sense of responsibility - personal, social or collective - was regarded as divorced from the incidents and results of the competitive process' (p. 22). Such doctrines were really modern variants of primitive and classical ideas suited to a more primal stage of social evolution. Their ethical content was deficient, if not entirely absent. So too positivistic science had tended to separate metaphysics and evaluative morality from the mainstream of thought, just as in the past clan exclusiveness had hindered the growth of ideas of universal morality. Benthamite utilitarianism, and its offspring Manchester economics, were essentially dogmas of hedonistic individualism (Kidd had no appreciation of the social theory of morals implicit in Bentham's greatest happiness principle). Marxism was a materialistic and reductionist doctrine. (Kidd anticipated Spengler's cry that 'Materialism, Socialism and Darwinism are only artificially and on the surface separable.')¹⁷ Nietzsche's idea of the superman justified elitism and power (Kidd had no time whatever for the

English Nietzscheans and rejected every advance they made to him). All such philosophies were rooted in the present. Already there was cast upon them the shadow of the future, a future transcending materialistic self-interest and force, a future of the infinite, the universal and the good.

Much of Western Civilisation was devoted to a circuitous tour of history. He emerged with a two-stage theory of development. Man's progress was a progress towards higher social efficiency, as the cosmos itself moved towards consciousness. Society, rather than the individual, became greater and more effective. Stage I saw the natural selection of types of social order in which the individual's interests became more progressively subordinated to those of the social system around him. Stage 2 supervened when a new controlling principle emerged: the future began to control the present, natural selection having made ascendant a higher type of social order and efficiency wherein present were subjected to future interests.

Adaptive advantage was conferred on communities in the early history of man where there was military subordination of the individual to the group. After an enormously long time of 'immense, world-evolving stress' (p. 143), the supreme type of present-oriented military society arose with the great civilisations of the ancient world. (With Kidd, as with most Victorians, this meant preeminently Greece and Rome.) The very life-principle of those societies was that of vigorous, conscious self-assertion. Greece and Rome bore the same mark: 'Every tendency in ethics, every principle in politics, every instinct in art, every ideal in religion, must have some relationship to the omnipotent governing principle of the ascendancy of the present which has hitherto controlled the development of the world' (p. 157). Kidd had dutifully read the classic authors of Graeco-Roman history, including Mommsen, Gibbon, Bluntschli, Freeman, and lesser luminaries. He raided them ruthlessly to find ammunition for his case. The institution of exclusive citizenship he saw as vital to the whole fabric of classical civilisation. It reflected a provisional, kinship-oriented view of society and the state. It justified slavery and rule by force, denying rights to those outside the magic circle. The widening of the scope of citizenship and law in the later Roman empire he saw as merely a symptom of decline, a concession to circumstances. Ancient religions were localised and materialist, worship being largely a matter of obtaining favours and averting evil. In general the ethos of the ancient world lacked a sense of relationship to the universal and infinite. The human consciousness was bounded by the horizon of existing political organisation, the state claiming the entire rights, duties and life of the individual. There was virtually no sense of duty to principles and meanings transcending immediate personal or state interests. Humanity, however splendid its genius, was without a soul.

Deep within this society of supreme military efficiency were embedded the seeds of a more advanced system, the first great organic system of society. It was destined to challenge, and inevitably defeat, the influence of the omnipotent present. The latter would persist, but along a downward curve. Kidd revealed here a taste for dialectic that he seems to have acquired from a reading of the German idealists recommended to him by J.S. Mackenzie. He spoke of the supreme conflict between the old and new stages of evolution, of the 'demiurgic stress' under which rival systems were unconsciously pitted against each other, of nations, peoples, types of civilisations meeting, clashing, testing their principles. Mankind progressed through the clash of contradictory social systems. It was a blend of Darwinism and Idealism, and it can be recognised again in the works of apocalyptic writers of the age such as Haeckel and Spengler.

The new, the future, was foreshadowed in a religion, the new religion of Christianity. It generated the principle of abasement of self and put men in touch with the cosmic and infinite. (Kidd largely ignored the contribution of earlier mystic religions and Platonism.) We are, he said, in a new world: 'We move amongst men in whom the sense of an equilibrium between the individual and his surroundings, between the individual and his interests in the present, between the individual and his own nature has been absolutely annihilated' (p. 214). Virtue was no longer, as with the ancient philosophers, a matter of self-sufficient and well-intentioned men coming to terms with reality, with death the end of all things. Virtue meant willing surrender to God. It recognised transcendental principles and absolute morality. Personal consciousness rose to the cosmic, but the sense of relationship was direct, personal and compelling. The Christian ideal scorned the works of this world, a world based on force. It exalted the weak, the poor, the disinherited over the gifted and successful. It opposed infanticide, suicide, slavery, exhibiting a new attitude of responsibility to human life. The evolutionary significance of this historical change had never been properly recognised:

we have travelled to the verge of the statement of a natural law of wide reach and significance... there flashes on the mind at this point a first view of the scientific significance in the great drama of evolution of those concepts of the Christian religion such as 'justification', 'salvation', and 'atonement' over which the human will has for ages waged such dogged, prolonged and bitter controversy. (p. 219)

In such ideas we see anticipation of the ruling principles of the truly scientific and harmonious stage of human society destined to arise when the present and finite had passed under the control of the future and infinite.

It was a paradox – but one central to Kidd's synthesis – that the soft religion of a persecuted minority should be carried to the world by races in whom the military qualities had been most searchingly selected: at first by the Romans, and then, when the western world was under siege from Mohammedanism (a system occupying a lower stage in the evolutionary process), by the 'barbarian out of the twilight of the stern north' (p. 234). Eastern religions had noble qualities, but failed to achieve their evolutionary potential because no eastern people had been able to provide the necessary military milieu.¹⁸ The book argued throughout that only those races that had achieved peak social efficiency appropriate to the stage of evolution they occupied could make the leap to the next, and higher, stage – even when the qualities required for success in the next stage were dialectically opposed to those dominant in the preceding phase. Thus was explained much of the drama, conflict and tension apparent during great turning points in history. The fall of the Roman empire, the effort to unify recently pagan peoples under Christendom by Charlemagne and the Popes, the rise of feudalism: in such epochal events disorder vied with creation. By the early Middle Ages the world was 'like the wrack of a giant nebula in space, its chaos and disorder invisibly caught in the sweep of an integrating principle infinite in reach' (p. 238).

The Middle Ages saw a great step taken towards the ideal of the future. The Papacy and Holy Roman Empire personified, if imperfectly, the ideal of other-worldliness. The conflict between the temporal and spiritual powers became the lifecentre of western history. Even the state proclaimed itself converted to the higher role of guardian of spiritual interests, now placed above temporal welfare. The struggle for power between king, emperor and Pope was itself articulated in religious terms. Here lay a serious difficulty, a paradox that was to take centuries to resolve. The spiritual world had become enmeshed with the secular, and a dangerous potential for absolutism was created. Secular rulers dispensed with trammels upon their rule by claiming to act as guardians of religion. At the same time the Catholic and Apostolic church declared all men subject to the pontiff of Rome. Ecclesiastical jurisdiction encroached upon secular tribunals, while the church relied upon civil enforcement to chastise sin. The Inquisition's persecutions epitomised this trend. A new absolutism rose upon the horizon, and there set in 'an almost complete paralysis of the speculative and critical faculties of the human mind' (p. 283). History had elevated the supreme concept of spirituality, but the process was still trapped within

the closed circle of the state. Or as Kidd put it, in his convoluted way:

To all appearance, the movement in which there was involved the infinite potentiality of the emancipation of the future in the present – in which there lay inherent that free conflict of forces out of which the greater future can alone be born, and towards which the whole process of evolution in human society must ultimately ascend – is itself imprisoned in an absolutism of the still ascendant present. (p.283)

The Reformation provided the way out of this impasse, the new antithesis to the prevailing ethos, out of which the modern synthesis sprung. Movements of religious and nationalist revolt against Rome combined with a cultural and scientific renaissance to cause a slow dissociation of the religious consciousness from all ultimate alliance with the authority of the state. This did not happen immediately of course. Indeed the short-term effect of the Protestant revolt was to join civil and ecclesiastical powers, even to create theocracies, as in Calvin's Swiss republic. The Renaissance, however, helped to liberate the human mind, reviving art, literature, science, promoting a spirit of inquiry and research. New movements in science and political philosophy implied, 'although men did not know it at the time, the beginning of the separation of the theory of the State from the principles of ethics and religion' (p. 295). Even more important, the religious and nationalist wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries broke down the structure and hegemonies of the medieval past, weakened ecclesiastical power (particularly in Protestant Europe), and produced a new era of religious and political toleration.

The lead was taken, not by the Latin races, still enchanted by the spirit of the ancient civilisations, but by the more virile races of the north. While the Mediterranean countries remained under Catholicism and absolutist rule, the future belonged to the liberal parliamentary system evolving in the Protestant north, especially England. There an essentially secular political system permitted the free conflict of opposing forces, organised as parties in the parliamentary arena. The American constitution registered this evolutionary landmark when it prohibited the establishment of religion. Religion was no longer corrupted by the powers and principalities of this world. It could become a true ideal, an aspiration, inspiring the major humanitarian and democratic reforms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but transcending any particular existing human system. As Kidd put it, the 'controlling consciousness of the systems of religious belief associated with our civilisation' was projected 'beyond all the forms and principles of the present; beyond the content of all systems of authority whatever in which it had hitherto been imprisoned within the bounds of political consciousness' (p. 326).

Meantime the revolutions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had unloosed a new system of capitalist competition. Within it the socially efficient northern races, especially the Anglo-Americans, excelled. Causes, institutions, opinions and interests maintained their very life through the challenge of criticism and competition in a free-for-all economic ethos and individualist political ethos. Progress took place through free conflict. But, as explained in Social Evolution, the more savage and primal characteristics of capitalism were softened by the altruistic influence of religious humanitarianism, politically expressed in a rising mass democratic movement. Kidd thoroughly approved of this development. He has not always been understood on this matter. He was not, as some have suggested, an anti-democratic elitist, desiring a managerial control of the masses for their own good.¹⁹ The people, he often said, were wiser in their instincts than the intellectuals, with their rationalised selfishness. Democracy was bringing about, against the interests of the ancien régime and the capitalists, a socialised liberal capitalism. Competition would remain, must remain, would indeed be raised to new heights, a more efficient level, to maintain biological improvement. But the controlling principles of human action would become increasingly organic, altruistic, and projected beyond presentminded materialism.

Kidd's American experience had led him to place that society in the vanguard of progress. He spoke of how he had stood 'in the midst of the rushing tide of the life of New York or Chicago'. For such an observer of

the fierce stress and freedom of American life, industry and progress at the present day – an overwhelming sense of the character of the future takes possession of the mind. It is the principles of our Western civilisation as here displayed, and no others, that we feel are destined to hold the future of the world. It is not into the end but at the beginning of an era that we have been born. (p. 340)

One is reminded of Senator Beveridge's toast in the opening section of Don Passos's *The 42nd Parallel*: 'The twentieth century will be American. American thought will dominate it. American progress will give it color and direction. American deeds will make it illustrious.'

Kidd was still hoping in 1902 that the way to a future harmonious world order lay through philanthropic imperialism, trusteeship, on the part of the Anglo-Americans.²⁰ He foresaw the 'ideal of a stateless competition of all the individuals of every land, in which the competitive potentiality of all natural powers shall be at last completely enfranchised in the world' (p. 343). It would not, however, be a matter of unrestrained free trade, of capital in pursuit of profits, professing no principles and no responsibilities. Imperialism, like capitalism, indeed as part of capitalism, must be brought under the control of the ethical principle.

Western Civilisation made an even more searing indictment of nineteenth-century capitalism than did Social Evolution. Laissez-faire and Manchester economics lauded free competition (he said), but led to its negation. The strongest competitive forces, as in nature, tended to become absolute. In time they suppressed free competition. As history had broken the hegemony of Caesars and Popes, it would have to break that of monopoly capitalism in the future. In economics, as in politics, the world was moving towards equality of opportunity. Socalled free exchange was not fair exchange. He commended Henry Sidgwick's view that 'the distribution of wealth in a well-ordered State should aim at realising political justice'. Current moral consciousness would no longer tolerate inequalities of opportunity such that 'one party should be in a position to profit not only by inevitable ignorance or distress, but by the actual disability or the enforced disadvantage of the other' (p. 370).

Kidd denied the assumption at the heart of laissez-faire doctrine, that uncontrolled and self-regarding competition led to social harmony, or carried the whole social process in a desirable evolutionary direction. Moral intervention was necessary by society itself to ensure desirable social goals. The worker, the weak, must be equipped at the general expense to take part on more equal terms in the conflict of forces going on in life at large. There was developing in the state itself, through the emotion of social justice, 'an entirely new attitude of collective responsibility towards all the principles regulating and controlling that play of forces of which modern business and industry have become the theatre' (pp. 372-3). Such ideas were not far removed from those of the Oxford Idealist T.H. Green or the pragmatic socialists of the Fabian Society like the Webbs. Kidd is still occasionally presented as a crude Social Darwinist, a capitalist apologist. It is a portrayal which could hardly survive a reading of chapters ten and eleven of Western Civilisation.

If he believed that domestic capitalism was coming under control in the advanced democracies of the west, he seemed less assured about international capitalism. The growth of giant global corporations such as Standard Oil was 'the most remarkable economic phenomenon of the modern world' (p. 419). Using economies of scale, centralised organisation and ruthless methods, they tended to suppress their less efficient rivals. They were 'fighting organisations tending in time to become absolute' (p. 417). Free competition disappeared, to be replaced by monopoly. The great trusts of America, Britain and Germany took on an organic life of their own. They claimed to serve the best interests of society, but in reality were

boldly self-aggrandising, fixing prices, defying market forces, extracting profits 'altogether exceeding the remuneration of social service or of efficiency' (p. 418). Kidd had read Henry Demarest Lloyd's *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, and followed the anti-trust movement in the United States. He appreciated the difficulty in curbing trusts. It was not possible to strike at trusts

without at the same time striking at something which is inherent in the competitive process as it now exists, namely, the 'Great Industry', in private hands. . . The powers, the resources, the aims of these combinations tend to overshadow those of the State itself. Yet what is becoming clear to the general mind is, that not only are they all exercised without any relation to the social responsibilities with which the purposes of the State are identified, but that, under existing conditions, it is an inherent law of their being that they should be so exercised. (pp. 422–3)

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He saw few socially redeeming features about the conspicuous wealth generated by trusts and big business. He was particularly hard on the new billionaires of the Carnegie– Rockefeller type. He spoke of 'the inherent and elemental barbarisms . . . under which a private citizen is able to accumulate out of what must ultimately be the "enforced disadvantage" of the community, a fortune tending to equal in capital amount the annual revenue of Great Britain or the United States' (p. 425). Their charitable works and endowments were like gifts paid to the church in medieval times, a penance for sin. Kidd quoted F.C.S. Schiller's prediction that 'capitalistic influences' in American academic endowments would create evil in the future.²¹ (The accusation acquired a powerful new life within the radical movement of the 1960s and 1970s.) Kidd commented:

it is not a healthy social state in which enormous sums of wealth and capital are devoted to public purposes, under such conditions of private charity. . . It is easy to conceive to what a state of profound public and private demoralization, and even degradation, such practices might lead if continued on a large scale through a few generations. (p. 426)

The influence of the American Social Gospel movement was detectable here. The modern church must make its stand against the hypocrisy of the ruling ideology. Kidd applauded Shailer Mathew's prophecy that the religious consciousness must sooner or later see 'the inconsistency between its teaching and the prevailing forms of economic oppression and corruption' (p. 374).

Kidd argued that, with the rise in living standards achieved by labour in England and America, international capitalism had sought cheap black and yellow labour abroad. The 'lowest and most animal conditions in human labour' had been forced upon undeveloped races in an irresponsible scramble for gain (p. 447). European expansion was the product of rivalry for resources, of nations competing for a falling margin of profit in a common market. A newly westernised Japan had now entered the lists to wrestle with the western powers for trade and influence. (Kidd was to follow Japan's rise to power with great interest.)

His analysis of the west's exploitation of China was to make a considerable impact upon younger Chinese intellectuals, some of whom later joined the revolutionary Marxist camp. In the first stage of laissez-faire penetration, the ruling policy was that of non-interference. In the second stage all efforts became concentrated on the objective 'of keeping the door of trade equally open to comers of all nationalities, while still repudiating all responsibility for the tendencies and results of the competitive process' (p. 451). The open door policy meant in practice the policy of 'the lowest common denominator'. With the imposition of a kind of international control by the powers, including Japan, the standards of the least socially advanced imperial peoples would necessarily be forced upon the Chinese, according to the iron law of competition. Thus 'the competitive exploitation of Chinese resources proceeds in an environment of international intrigue, of social squalor,

and of moral outrage and degradation, almost without equal in history' (p. 452).

Kidd was vivid when he exposed the evils of global trusts and big business. His prose was reminiscent of the American 'muckrakers' of the time. But he was vague in proposing solutions. Somehow all would be right when the 'predestined' next phase of evolution set in. A righteous public opinion – already evident – would 'subordinate the uncontrolled rivalry between aggregates of capital to the larger meaning of the social process as a whole' (p. 440). How was not explained.

He dismissed the socialist remedy, although his own ultimate 'universal empire' had very socialist overtones. The socialist analysis, he granted, was powerful and appealed to western idealism. It recognised the essential truth that laissezfaire was nothing more nor less than 'a surviving principle of barbarism, necessarily tending, under all its phases, towards the conditions of absolutism' (p. 455). The socialist movement was the first effort of the world's masses to humanise capitalism's crudely competitive ethos. It was a necessary phase in human evolution towards a more altruistic social order. However, Marx reduced the social process to a gigantic class war, to economic struggle. Marxism, despite its insights, was ultimately a doctrine of superficial materialism. It was present-oriented, focussing on the existing class war (Kidd neglected the historicist and teleological aspects of Marxism). Its solutions to the human condition were 'mechanical schemes for the regimentation of existing society' (p. 456). It had no understanding of the principle of projected efficiency.

What was required was something else. What was required was the *conversion* to a new order of things of a civilisation that had raised military prowess and social efficiency to new heights – 'we are *par excellence* the military peoples, not only of the entire world, but of the evolutionary process itself in human history in the past' (p. 458). The processes of force, militarism, competition, the role of a virile vanguard race, had been indispensable for biological progress. There was no other way for the future to be born. But the future must also see – as the past had seen at critical points of transition – the triumph of a new dialectical principle over the prevailing one. The prestige and power of the advanced peoples would come to be ranged behind the new principle of social responsibility and duty to the future.

When Kidd got down to specifics – which was not often – his future world order looked suspiciously like that of the new liberals and Fabians, shorn of secularist scepticism and fear of mass democracy. The motive power would be provided by 'the general will', a critical role played by 'an informed and centralised system of public opinion'. Concepts of nationality expressing merely tribal or local egoisms would fade away. Universalism and collective life based on great ethical ideals would take their place. History would see a rivalry between a few great, clearly defined systems of social order, merely different expressions of the futurist ideal. The role of the state would be vital. No longer would the state be thought of as 'an irresponsible and almost brainless Colossus' (p. 469), organised to secure men in possession of their gains. Nor would it be utopian, securing a 'fixed condition of ordered ease'. Biological competition would continue. But the state would gradually assume control over economic processes:

No mind in our civilisation has, in all probability, as yet imagined the full possibilities of the collective organisation – under the direction of a highly centralised and informed intelligence, acting under the sense of responsibility here described – of all the activities of industry and production, moving steadily towards the goal of the endowment of all human capacities in a free conflict of forces. (p. 470)

This, he insisted, was no dream of excited imaginations. It would take place without confiscation, class antagonism, or regimentation. It was no more than 'a simple and sober reality of the future' (p. 471). The Western Demos was marching steadily towards universal empire 'in full consciousness of the nature of the majestic process of cosmic ethics that has engendered him' (p. 473).

Principles of Western Civilisation was a grave disappointment to almost everybody. The problem was largely one of style. The book was overblown, maddeningly repetitious, jargonesque, opaque. It was riddled with Kidd's own brand of clichés. (The phrases recur ad nauseum that such and such a phenomenon provided a 'remarkable spectacle' making a 'striking effect' upon the mind of the observer, or that the evolutionist, as he constantly reviewed the past, found slowly awakening within himself a 'dim consciousness' of the lifeprinciple of the universe that was about to be revealed by the author.) Kidd saw himself as the bright new intelligence of the age, the man who had decoded the riddle of the universe and was prepared to give his secret to the world. He wished to build a cathedral of words, a Gothic spectacle, a work of truth and inspiration. Instead he raised a giant silo, where the grain - and there was a good deal of it - had to be winnowed from a vast mountain of chaff. Understandably, the book won neither popular nor scholarly acclaim. The decline of Kidd's reputation may be dated from this time. He had shot into sight like a Chinese rocket, and he now seemed about to 'fizz' and fall back into oblivion.

The reaction of his friend W.T. Stead, which led to a breach between the two, was instructive. Stead, planning to notice the book for *Review of Reviews*, wrote on 19 February 1902:

I am proposing to review your book under the title 'A Transcendental Version of the Gospel According to Mr. Rhodes' [Stead had broken with Milner and Rhodes over the Boer War]. You ought to publish a popular primer of your book in which you . . . eliminate all German barbarisms with which you disfigure your style, and set out in plain words for the plain man what it is you are driving at. As it is I am very much afraid he will have to leave the book with the same confused idea of awe with which he contemplates Martin's picture of the Last Judgement. It is very majestic and very sublime, and the Archangel with his trumpet – in other words Mr. Benjamin Kidd with his megaphone – is a very awe inspiring figure. But that is all it comes to.²²

Stead's review was along these lines. He sent the proofs to

Kidd with the disingenuous remark that, as the review 'is characterised by geniality, good temper, tolerance and appreciation . . . I hope that you will be merciful and not resent too bitterly the picturesque decorative work with which [it] is somewhat overlaid'.²³ Kidd was not the man to endure such irreverence. He sent an angry letter that accused Stead of misrepresentation and impudence that 'simply take my breath away. I cannot make anything of it if it be not that you have become a recruit to the forces of reaction. Or is the review an example of "malignant ingenuity"? . . . I return [the proofs] without alteration or suggestion. You will find their virgin absurdity [deleted: mendacity] inviolate.'²⁴ Stead defended himself:

I think I may be accused of having dealt with a serious book somewhat too lightly, but I cannot for a moment admit that I have misrepresented you in any shape or form. I have indeed been scrupulously careful to quote your own words. I think perhaps I would have done you most justice, although I might have exposed myself to further accusations of misrepresentation if I had endeavoured to translate your somewhat obscure Germanic sentences into the English vernacular.²⁵

Kidd remained resentful of Stead's treatment of 'a fellow Liberal', and spurned all peace offerings: 'Is there no longer anything in the world for you but South Africa? "Principles of Western Civilisation" was begun five years before the war . . . there is no reference to South Africa in the work.'²⁶ It was only the beginning of a series of angry altercations between Kidd and his critics. His friends trod a tightwire when dealing with the book, so raw were his nerves about it. He resorted to his favourite defence: 'I cannot I fear hope to escape trenchant attack; the book is far too radical an analysis of phases of thought that have long been awry. But I am looking to the younger thinkers to justify me in the end.'²⁷

The book proved disastrously easy to lampoon. Frederic Harrison, the doyen of English Comtism, ridiculed 'this gaseous volume' that revealed:

the depth of imbecility which can now-a-days be reached by what is called philosophy. The public must have its philosophy at once vague, grandiloquent, transcendental, with much parade of evolutionism, and a grand scorn of anything utilitarian or democratic. But is rarely gets such a mass of sonorous fatuity as in this bulky collection of *Principles*.

Harrison dismissed as 'rank nonsense' Kidd's 'discovery' that the present was under the control of the future:

The future has not yet happened; but Mr. Kidd knows what it is to be... One is glad to see that he does not allude to Comte or Positivism, as he would not have understood either. This is curious; because no philosopher has so systematically treated of the Future as Comte does. But, of course, with Comte, it is always to insist of what we, who are moulded by the Past, will make of the Future – not what the Future is now making of us, any view about the Past being idle waste of thought. Metaphysics of this 'Christian science' sort will rejoice the heart of Mr. Beit [Alfred Beit, Rhodes's financier partner] and Lord Milner. Empire-builders and company-floaters sneer at the Past, and sacrifice the Present; but they prophesy a glorious Paradise hereafter in this world and the next, if we will only mock at the Past, and bear our burdens in the Present.²⁸

Kidd was accused of the opposite tendency by W.M. Daniels in the *Atlantic Monthly*, with the reminder 'that in the sharp competitive struggle of today any undue subordination of present efficiency to the interests of the future makes commonly not for the survival, but for the extinction of the race that attempts such subordination'.²⁹

Jack London's War of the Classes warned the workers against doctrines such as Kidd's:

The question to be solved is not one of Malthusianism, 'projected efficiency', nor ethics. It is a question of might. Whichever class is to win, will win by virtue of superior strength; for the workers are beginning to say . . . 'Malthus be damned'. In their own minds they find no sanction for continuing the individual struggle for the survival of the fittest. As Mr. Gompers has said, they want more, and more, and more. The ethical import of Mr. Kidd's plan of the present generation putting up with less in order that race efficiency may be

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projected into a remote future, has no bearing upon their actions. They refuse to be the 'glad perishers' so glowingly described by Nietzche. . . It is no longer a question of whether or not there is a class struggle. The question now is, what will be the outcome of the class struggle?³⁰

One American newspaper declared that 'there is a good deal of the unconscious philosophical charlatan in Mr. Kidd'; another that he was 'the victim of his own verbosity'.³¹ But the most sustained derision came from the *Saturday Review* ('an enemy had evidently done that review' wrote a friend of Kidd):³²

He feels bound to maintain his conception of his own importance by using the most inflated, bombastic, and turgid style that was ever used by mortal man. . . We shall never see the word evolutionist again without a shudder as we recall his portentous solemnity, his persistent buttonholing of you while he expatiates on the obvious, his involved sentences . . . and his air of showman and cicerone who shows you his cheap curiosities so as to remind us ludicrously of the Italian guide who introduced Mark Twain to the memory of Christoforo Colombo.

Kidd was popular, explained the reviewer, because, like Wells and Bellamy, he catered to an interest in the future. He appealed to the semi-literate, the half-educated who were impressed by 'a sort of pot-pourri of theology, science, philosophy, history, sociology popularised into something with "an earnest moral purpose" '.³³

Others were more charitable. There was even some recurrence of the kind of praise made about *Social Evolution*. But Kidd also had to contend with the disciplined criticism made by acknowledged scholars of his concepts and methods. J.H. Muirhead and Leslie Stephen were most significant in this respect. Muirhead was a prominent Idealist philosopher, with a chair in philosophy at Birmingham University. He was an admirer of *Social Evolution*, 'that brilliant and audacious essay'. He also approved of Kidd's social message:

Though expressing himself obscurely, and often contradictorily, Mr.

Kidd puts forward a plea for the interpretation of history as the evolution of a moral purpose. . . He rightly interprets the significance of the present age as springing from the fact that for the first time in history this purpose has risen into clear consciousness, and promises to become an operative motive in public and private life.

Muirhead, however, felt that Kidd justified his position in a muddled philosophical way. His assumptions of inherent antagonism between reason and religion, the individual and the social organism, led 'to the depressing and inconceivable conclusion that the progress of civilisation depends on the enthusiastic acceptance of principles of action which it is impossible to justify to the reason; they seemed to be in flagrant opposition to the best attested results of modern philosophy'. Kidd identified reason with logical intelligence. Although professedly an admirer of Kant, he ignored 'that indwelling principle of rationality which it has been the work of the Kantian philosophy, and we might say of the whole Romantic movement, to bring into prominence'.

Nor was Muirhead impressed by Kidd's 'new theory' of projected efficiency. At one level, it was an old theory, namely, that nature sought the survival of the race rather than the individual, a position adopted by Aristotle, Tennyson and Darwin amongst others. At another level, it merely postulated that as civilisation advanced mankind rose to an ever larger ideal of the essentials of individual and social well-being. It was when Kidd assumed a fundamental antithesis between the individual and the universal, the present and the future, that the trouble began:

How, for example, in an individual or group in which the instinct or the conscious purpose of self-preservation has been superseded by an instinct or conscious endeavour, which has for its object the welfare of remote posterity, could we suppose survival taking place at all?... Granting, however, that Mr. Kidd can make it comprehensible to us how the 'future' may become an end, and thus set bounds to the domination of the present, in whom, we may further ask, does this future become a reality? Who are the heirs of the sacrifices to which the present generation is summoned? The law of evolution, upon the theory before us, secures that human motive shall be more and more concerned with the future, that the present generation shall more and more regard itself as merely a trustee for the coming. The former holds a bond upon life's assets, but it is a bond apparently which is never exchanged into solid coin... instead of a concrete purpose, giving unity to life and history, we have the 'false infinite' of indefinite progress towards an unrealised and unrealisable ideal.³⁴

Muirhead's misgivings on this issue were shared by others. Leslie Stephen, the prominent utilitarian, wrote:

'Heredity', according to some people, is bad enough because it makes them suffer for the sins of their ancestors. 'Progenity', or, as Mr. Kidd calls it, 'projected efficiency', makes us suffer for the good of our descendants. I am to bear a burden to enable my grandchild to live; and he, as the efficiency is further projected, will have to bear one for the good of his great-grandchild. The race, it seems, is always making advances of happiness in hopes of a repayment which is always being postponed. Meanwhile the struggle goes on in precisely the same way: the weakest is always being thrust to the wall, and the only difference is that the strongest is himself no better for his victory... A race cannot possibly succeed in virtue of qualities which fit it for the future unless they also fit it for the present. To put it in that way is to invert cause and effect... The argument ... seems only to state the very obvious truth that those forms will continue to have descendants which are either themselves fitted to permanent conditions and have transmitted such fitness, or are themselves fitted to the conditions, and whose descendants have in some way managed to make a better use of their inherited properties. But a sacrifice of actual fitness in consideration of something that will be fitness hereafter must always be suicidal. When therefor Mr. Kidd uses language which seems to imply some kind of mysterious preadaptation, his theory seems to be equally incompatible with Darwin or Weismann, or any intelligible view of the struggle for existence... Whether we consider an animal species or a social institution, the evolutionist must study the actual world, and not pretend to base his speculations upon data outside of all possible experience.35

There could hardly be a better statement of empiricist

objection to Kidd's semi-mystical, and non-testable doctrines. Stephen's was a subtle, restrained, but at times devastating critique, exposing confusions of logic and inaccuracies of scholarship wherever he found them. On Christianity - as with classical and medieval history - he showed Kidd to be tendentious and one-eved. Christianity had succeeded (said Stephen) not because it sacrificed the present to the future (and which future – the human future or a non-earthly future?), or was really transcendental ('it is a commonplace that a race which seriously accepted the morality of the Sermon on the Mount would have been stamped out'), but because it was suited to the needs of the time. It succeeded 'by accepting laws good both in the present and future, and managing in a roundabout way to give sound rules of social welfare, obscured by the necessity of adopting transcendental or supernatural language'.

Stephen had much in common with Kidd on politics and social reform. Kidd was not alone (he pointed out) in regarding the doctrines of laissez-faire and Spencerism as obsolete. They had become too closely associated with a school of empiricism that indeed interpreted experience too narrowly, had become 'anti-mind' and tended towards 'atomism' and mechanistic theories of society emphasising egoism and self-preservation. (Pringle-Pattison thought that 'Mr. Kidd has done good service, I think, in calling attention to the process of degradation which the principles of modern Liberalism have undergone in being separated from their ethico-religious presuppositions.')36 However, Kidd exaggerated the 'presentism' of the empiricists. They had after all popularised the doctrine of progress, while Spencer looked forward to a millennium (albeit rather different to that of Kidd). Kidd was in a difficult position, an avowed Darwinian who attacked the philosophical basis of Darwinism. Darwin at least had devised an effective working theory, and kept to the solid ground of verifiable experience. Evolutionary theories, like Kidd's, that started from a transcendental base 'gave rise to mere cobwebs of the brain, which led to no tangible result'.

Stephen was temperamentally more of an individualist than Kidd. But he agreed that individualism had failed to appreciate the 'organic' character of society. The theory of 'let alone' demanded free play for the egoistic aims of industrial bodies, and could lead to oppressive or demoralising systems. Kidd, and the socialists, rightly wanted social arrangements that did not outrage a sense of justice. On the other hand, he and Kidd were agreed that 'the Socialist overlooks the utility of the industrial structure, and in advancing an absolute equality attacks the necessary conditions of progress'. The problem was to achieve a just industrial system that rewarded people in proportion to their utility to society. The urgent task was to articulate the proper relations between the state and the individual. Stephen was sceptical of theories proposing to 'sacrifice' the present to the future, the actual to the transcendental. They tended to encourage a politics remote from the actual world, to confuse real issues. (Pushed further, this becomes the quintessential pragmatic argument against political idealism.) There was no getting away from 'the good old struggle for existence', Stephen concluded: 'We have still to trust to experience and to muddle on by letting institutions and creeds fight it out by keen competition.' Kidd had put aspects of the modern struggle in a striking form; but 'I cannot see that his special formulae, derived from Weismann, take us any further, or, in fact, do anything except put some sound doctrines into a distorted and not very intelligible form.'37

This was more or less the tone of the serious journals, both in Britain and the United States. The *Athenaeum* disliked his 'contemptuous dismissal of many modern thinkers', denied that he had advanced sociology, and said of his major theme that 'when resolved into its elements it is found to dissolve into that perpetual conflict between the egoistic and altruistic impulses which has been the commonplace of ethical speculations since the dawn of reasoning'. Kidd misinterpreted both Christianity and the Greeks; while his identification of socialism and the Manchester school with the interests of a tyrannous present 'is to be heedless of the force of the dreams

of a renovated society which provided both with their compelling power'. His fundamental error was his absurd identification of the future with the infinite:

By 'the future' Mr. Kidd seems generally to mean 'the advantage of the incomparably larger generations yet to come', which he calls 'the end of the Cosmic process'. Yet this is repeatedly termed the 'Infinite'; and we are submitted to visions of the coming time as animated by an engine-like efficiency, with an 'Infinite' to guarantee its respectability. But in the interests of finite men on a finite planet, the life of each limited in time, if the 'Infinite' is not here, it is nowhere.³⁸

Paul Reinsch of the University of Wisconsin accused Kidd of confusing the universal, the ethical and the future. How could men make ethical judgments, of overriding significance in the here and now, based on future development unless it was assumed that the future could be predetermined with accuracy? If the future was to control the present in this way, it must control by becoming part of consciousness, based on exact knowledge of the actual content of the future, not vague peering into the future by which men had always directed their actions. But Kidd posed a 'metaphysical puzzle' by placing the controlling centre of human action beyond consciousness. The only way out of this puzzle, apparently,

is to take refuge in the idea of the subconscious or of the unconscious, in the mystical forces of human nature, or in the creation of a religion of the future . . . we cannot avoid the conclusion that, beyond the general idea that in forming our ethical judgments we must look towards the future, the author's theory is devoid of positive content. It points the way rather to an evolutionary religion, or an evolutionary poetry, than to an evolutionary philosophy, because the first object of the latter should be to explain the actual processes of evolution; and that the author's theory absolutely fails to do.³⁹

Whilst the learned journals, even in America, were lukewarm,⁴⁰ religious groups in both countries were loath to repudiate their erstwhile hero. Some churchmen, however, had become suspicious of Kidd's orthodoxy. He viewed God as an abstract 'life-principle', rather than as the living personal God of Christianity. He leaned towards the Deistic heresy (always a danger for 'vitalist' scientists, and, although Kidd would have denied the label 'vitalist', he had many affinities with that school). One reviewer complained: 'There seem to be two rules which writers on political science must adopt if they desire at this time to be widely read. The first rule is, that they must talk a great deal about evolution; the second is, that they must never mention the name of God.'⁴¹ Kidd talked of evolutionary destiny instead of God. The Anglican *Church Quarterly Review* declared that Kidd's ultimate theology was 'markedly anti-catholic':

he entirely fails to perceive the significance of the Church as the visible mediation of that reality which truly transcends all earthly forms, and the divine instrument for the working-out of that indwelling purpose which is the true dynamic in Nature and the genuine 'destiny' in history. But this is not all. Because religion, according to Mr. Kidd, is essentially non-rational, it can never be the consecration, the unifying centre, of the whole of man's life; and because of this, too, it brings us perilously near those ignorant and mischievous enthusiasms which, upon pretext of a higher morality, are proud to flout the great historical sanctities of the human conscience as embodied in Church and fatherland.⁴²

Some of the three hundred or so reviews in the Englishspeaking world were enthusiastic. The London *Times* claimed that 'it must take high rank in English speculative literature', even though 'not written in a calm or judicial manner' and marred by 'a loose espousal of Socialistic theories'.⁴³ An American newspaper also warned its readers: 'In its general trend the book is an apotheosis of socialism, and an assault on individualism – one of the dangerous sort that have become rather common of late.'⁴⁴ A Milwaukee headline read: 'Great Book by Benjamin Kidd. . . Shows Immense Power', while a Philadelphian journalist wrote that 'no more thoughtful and impressive study has been written'.⁴⁵ The *New York Tribune*'s praise was fainter: 'we must on this occasion dissent from the dictum that the style is the man. Mr. Benjamin Kidd is too considerable a man for that.'46 The British dominions reacted more warmly than the imperial metropolis, possibly because of Kidd's fulsomeness on Anglo-Saxon race efficiency. A lyrical review, probably by Saxon Mills, appeared in the Cape Times, while Sydney and Dunedin registered favourable opinions.⁴⁷ The Toronto Globe declared that the book 'marks an epoch in thought. It is one of those rare intellectual analyses that cleave the disordered mental atmosphere as a shaft of sunlight illumines a befogged day.'48 In England Strachey's Spectator welcomed a book 'which every thoughtful person will have to read'. It had the 'paramount charm' of a constructive outlook: 'After all the philosophy of Pessimism, his is a philosophy of Optimism. In an age of apparently increasing Materialism, and with the aid of the very calculus which Materialism has been supposed to supply and support, he rehabilitates Idealism.'49

The poor reception given to Western Civilisation was a nasty shock to Kidd, a blow to his self-esteem. The ridicule was hardest to bear for one who took himself so seriously. His personal insecurities surfaced whenever doubt was cast upon that which gave solidity and purpose to his life: his intellectual goods, crafted with travail and agony by a self-made man, and selflessly given to the world for its enlightenment and redemption. To have the gift spurned was indeed a bitter blow, and he retaliated. Kidd was always an 'outsider' in the English intellectual world, living on the fringes of the literary and social establishment, tolerated but not accepted by that world. He was painfully aware of this – which is probably why he was so pathetically grateful for the kindnesses shown to him by aristocrat intellectuals such as Lady Jeune. Elements of alienation recur throughout his work, and are no doubt reflected in his periodic flights from the real and busy world, his self-exiles into a protective private world.

For the moment, however, he was in the mood to fight. He got into wrangles with the scientific world over 'projected efficiency'. ('Of course you will be attacked', warned T.H. Warren, President of Magdalen College, 'I should expect the Positivists to be stirred up, "the Naturalists", as Mr. Balfour calls them.')⁵⁰ Kidd was particularly upset when Nature published an unfavourable review by 'F.W.H.' (who was F.W. Headley). Headley pronounced the argument confused: 'A formula that embraces evolution and transcendental antimaterialism must, of necessity, be very vague.' Worse, he questioned the soundness of Kidd's biology. How was it possible, he asked, that 'projected efficiency' could decide a struggle that has to be fought out in the present? Headley was a eugenist and a 'degenerationist'. He criticised Kidd for advocating a softening of competition, a lessening of Malthusian pressure, that would have the effect of preserving the weakly and the genetically defective. Had not Weismann predicted that, as soon as the stress of natural selection was relaxed, a species began to lose the powers it had gained? He charged Kidd with adopting those of Weismann's theories that suited him, even the most disputed, but ignoring those that conflicted with his own position.⁵¹ Kidd demanded space in Nature to rebut Headley, who 'in almost every paragraph runs against the cause of the scientific spirit'.⁵² The embarrassed editors presided over a private exchange of views between Kidd and Headley, but finally prevailed on Kidd not to go into print: 'I agree with you [he wrote to them] that on the whole it is better that the correspondence should not be printed. F.W.H.'s reply is somewhat flippant.' Headley lacked the chief quality expected in a reviewer 'namely knowledge of the subject with which he was asked to deal'. Kidd deleted: 'I ought to say however that I think I have been very badly treated by Nature in the matter.'53

Another long-winded dispute was precipitated by a letter from A.R. Wallace objecting to the concept of 'projected efficiency'. Wallace had championed *Social Evolution*, but was less impressed by its successor. His letter to Kidd has not survived, but the burden of his criticism is clear enough from Kidd's reply, which gives the most careful defence that he made of his position. He was unrepentant, and took the tone that Wallace was being superficial: It is of course possible . . . that in dealing with a matter that has been developing in my own mind for some fifteen years in a single chapter . . . I may have taken too much for granted. . . I do not know how far you had got with the book but you will see before the end that I have remained fully conscious of the bearing of the fact that adaptation as you say 'is always to present environment'. As I have put it more than once, 'the battle ground upon which Natural Selection can alone discriminate between such types of efficiency as may arise remains, and must always remain, in the present time'. But my argument is that amongst every surviving form, as amongst all the forms which will endure in the future, this present efficiency (i.e. adaptation to existing environment) must include, latent or otherwise, the qualities which will contribute to efficiency in a future and possibly changed environment. I am well aware of the fact that, as you say 'the unknown and non-existent future has no effect and can have no effect in evolution till it becomes the present'. But the future is always becoming the present: and if the mind is carried back over the history of the development of form and function in any type it will, I think, come to be seen that it is really those qualities which have offered the best basis for adaptation in the as yet non-existent future which have in the end controlled the process throughout. The forms whose efficiency in the present did not include the qualities, either latent, active or indifferent, which will contribute to efficiency in the future will not maintain their places when the future becomes the present. They do not, therefore, count. They become as it were blind alleys in the evolutionary process. . . A great number of forms of life are always at any particular time adapting themselves to the same environment in different ways, and amongst these it is the forms in which the highest potentiality of adaptation in the future is already inherent which will inherit the future when it arrives. My divergence from the views of the early Darwinians may I think be put in this way. I am not only regarding that infinitesimal cross-section of the evolutionary process which is in the present, but am looking at the process end-on as it were. Viewed in this way it seems to me to be about the slow evolution of the great functions of life that the main struggle has always centred. Adaptation to the needs of the passing present, so long as the form has been able without retrogression to preserve itself from extinction, has been a secondary matter compared with larger and often determining efficiency in the future. Take for instance the evolution of the air-breathing lung of the higher

animals, reputed to have come down through the type of the *dipnoi* mud-fishes. These fishes were, at the time, probably a lowly form already to all appearance, from their habits, worsted in the main struggle amongst *pisces*. Yet theirs was the only adaptation amongst pisces which included the potentiality of the future. If you go back over the details of the evolutionary process in your mind you will I think see that the forms which are constantly becoming extinct fail to hold their place in the present rivalry owing, as a rule, to causes which lie in the past history of the type. Their differentiation in response to an earlier environment has often been too complete. They are not able to respond as effectively as less differentiated forms when the future becomes the present in a changed environment. In the evolution of the determining functions of life it is it seems to me the principle of projected efficiency that controls the process everywhere in the end. Take the case of the primates where the evolution of brain-function has been correlated with development of a grasping organ. Looking at the conditions some stages back in biological time it would not have been possible to predict on your principle of adaptation to existing environment the part which the Lemurs were destined to play in the evolution of life. The forms in which adaptation to existing environment (in large size of body and well-developed weapons of attack and defence) had been carried furthest were apparently the highest types and were in fullest possession of the world. But they have since been dropping out of the struggle. It was comparatively undifferentiated Lemuridae – related as Huxley has said to the lowest, smallest, and least intelligent of the placental Mammalia - which were destined to become the dominant type and to carry brain development to its highest potentiality...

In my own long study of the forms intermediate between the social life of *bombus* and that of *apis mellifica* the same conclusion has been before me... An example nearer home is that of the struggle between Mahommedan civilisation and our own in western history. Judged by your test of adaptation to existing environment Mohammedan civilisation was for the time being quite equal to the other. It was probably in this respect its superior. Yet the other civilisation contained the germs of a higher potentiality in the future; and now Natural Selection as 'the non-existent future' becomes the present has in virtue of this fact begun to discriminate against its rival – projected efficiency.

I think the principle will be established. It is in some respects a

more inclusive one than that of Natural Selection as originally stated, for looking back over the mechanism of the evolutionary process the law of Natural Selection . . . is, it seems to me, shut up within it.⁵⁴

Kidd concluded by regretting 'that I cannot accept your offer of agreement with me provided I put the argument on a teleological basis'. The argument for projected efficiency must stand or fall by the same kind of reasoning that established the deductions made by Newton from the facts of gravitation.

Although Kidd was never fully aware of it, Western Civilisation was to enjoy a considerable vogue, and to make perhaps its most historic impact, in early twentieth-century China. The book, according to a biographer of Mao Tse-tung, 'possessed an incalculable influence, for it sought to answer the precise questions which disturbed the Chinese. The evidence of Western civilisation they knew: the principles by which Western civilisation arose and commanded its own strange progress were unknown.'55 China in the generation after 1890 was in trauma induced by western penetration. The decline in imperial power generated a decline of confidence in Confucian orthodoxies. Small groups of scholars and reformers outside the world of officials and *literatus* turned towards western thought, especially scientific thought, in order to meet the challenge of the foreigners. Their ideas consisted of an intriguing amalgam of old and new. What they took from western thought was not necessarily taken from what we now regard as the classic sources: Darwin, Spencer, Marx. They, like mass readerships in the west, seized upon the popular sociology, and the pulp politics, of the day. The Bellamys, Georges, and Kidds of the period played their part in shaping the mental structures of the world, even though their names have now faded from memory.

Western Civilisation was translated by Yen Fu, a student who trained as a naval cadet in England, and who on his return home translated Origin of Species and became an important populariser of western science.⁵⁶ Darwinism proved to be supremely intelligible to a country used to Malthusian population pressure, and must have seemed a statement of the obvious to those who had competed in the traditional examination system.⁵⁷ Kidd's exposition of social evolution extended the Darwinian analysis, shedding light on the human past, and offering teleological hope for the future. Western Civilisation inspired Mao's early mentor Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Indeed, as far as is known, Marx's name was mentioned in Chinese first in 1902 by Liang in an essay on Kidd.⁵⁸ Liang combined faith in progress, founded on inexorable struggle, with a very Kiddian brand of 'Darwinian collectivism'.59 China's stagnation he traced to the absence of warring nationalities after the feudal age of the Chou dynasty. A unified empire and a classless society had proved to be a misfortune in the guise of a blessing. Liang was drawn to Kidd's social theory because it enabled him to reconcile a Social Darwinist concept of struggle with his own feeling for ch'ün, collective power and group cohesion. Group, rather than individual, evolution was the key to higher evolution. Liang was impressed by Kidd's attacks on the egoistic and anti-social implications of individualism, especially as rationalised by modern social doctrines. He was much impressed also by Kidd's words on death. 'By virtue of death [wrote Liang] everyone can make himself profitable to his race, by virtue of death the existing race can make itself profitable to the future race. How great is the use of death!"60 The higher a species stood on the evolutionary scale, the harder it worked, not just for the collective interest of the species, but for the collective interest of the future. Liang called this wei-lai-chu-i (futurism). It was the lesson he passed on to Mao, whose later Marxism was grafted on to a core made up of historic Chinese revolutionary doctrine and western scientific progressivism.

Liang encountered western ideas in Japan, while in exile for political subversion (1898–1912). His writings and those of other radical exiles were smuggled from Japan into China, where they flourished in Shanghai and other centres. In an article of 1902, which took this route, Liang exalted Kidd as a great and revolutionary figure in the pantheon of evolution:⁶¹

The heaven and earth of the twentieth century has drawn its curtain now for more than a year. During this time not a few famous writers have offered to the world of knowledge wild-swan works and massive productions. Standing out among these as the words of a man pressing on into a lonely path is Principles of Western Civilisation, by the Englishman Benjamin Kidd, a book destined to influence all the races of the world, to be a great light to the future. Kidd is not merely a great transmitter of the evolutionary thesis; he is also a stout upholder of the revolution of evolution. Since Darwin produced his Origin of Species a new heaven and earth has been opened to the world of thought. Not only was natural science changed, but also history, political science, economics, sociology, theology, and ethics all have been deeply affected. . . By evolution the roots of age-old tenets have been thrown away. Every intelligent man recognises that the success of evolution is of the order of the universe... That is so, and yet no one can point out for certain what the evolution of man is going to be, what is the road it must follow, what the end at which it must arrive. This is the great question of the world. . . Marx and Huxley can make difficulties for others; they are unable to solve the problems for men. Kidd stands out above all others and takes a step forward. . . Kidd maintains that man is like the other animals: without struggle there can be no progress. Whether it be a struggle between individual and individual or race and race, the outcome is that the unfit is defeated and perishes while the superior who is equal to the situation flourishes. This is an unchanging law, and in this movement of evolution there must be the sacrifice of the individual for society, of the present for the future. Therefore the man who grasps at his own immediate profit misunderstands the theory of evolution. He is indeed a criminal to the evolutionist... He is not a help but an injury to the cause of man's survival.62

TARIFF REFORM

In retrospect it seems inevitable that Kidd should have been swept into the political maelstrom that engulfed Britain at the time of the Boer War. He had always been interested in politics, indeed nourished some political ambitions for himself. His ideas brought him into contact first with Milner and his circle, then into the world of Joseph Chamberlain. He was attracted by the larger-than-life figures of Milner and Chamberlain, pro-consul and statesman, imperial firebrands whose ideas of Anglo-Saxon expansionism crossed party lines and enjoyed wide popular support. Himself a Liberal, but of the 'new' variety – flexible, progressive, willing to question old shibboleths, sympathetic with the ideals both of 'national efficiency' and imperial unity - Kidd could hardly evade the challenge of putting his theories into practice at this critical moment in British history. He put aside for the moment his grander intellectual projects and launched into the closely linked campaigns for imperial reconstruction and tarrif reform; issues which threatened to rupture the existing pattern of politics. Never a narrow party man, he sought centre ground that might attract genuine patriots from all camps. Although adopting the role of theorist for the 'Liberal Imperialist' minority within his own party, he enthusiastically supported Chamberlain on the other side of the political fence. Chamberlain he saw as a man after his own heart, directly inspired by his own imperial vision, a man who had divined the historical necessities of his time. As Chamberlain was buffeted by the forces of Tory tradition and economic orthodoxy, so those who shared his vision in the Liberal ranks were accused of economic heresy and the betrayal of party unity. Kidd's loyalty, to Liberalism wavered under the on-

slaught. Unused to the bloody enmities of politics, and discouraged by Chamberlain's electoral defeat of 1906, he finally withdrew to the more idealistic realm of social prophecy.

The publication of *Western Civilisation* freed Kidd from the self-imposed seclusion that he sought for concentrated work. As he wrote in February 1902 to G.H. Thring:

I have not been a member of any institution, or society, or club for some seven years and for a considerable part of that time I have not accepted any engagement to go anywhere or to do anything. As the work is finished I want to get back to my kind again. . . I do not intend to go into exile on such strict conditions any more.¹

His exile had not in fact been quite as anchoretic as this suggested, particularly since 1898 and the trip to America. Journalism had kept him in contact with politics. As we have seen, he wrote occasional 'leaderettes' for the Daily News, which was vigorously expansionist until taken over in 1901 by a 'Little England' group associated with Lloyd George. He was on friendly terms with its editor E.T. Cook, a prominent Liberal Imperialist, a friend of Milner and one of Rosebery's firmest allies in the press. Also active in this world was Kidd's affectionate and self-confessed disciple, John Saxon Mills, whose stint as editor of the Cape Times during the Boer War did not diminish his enthusiastic Anglo-Saxonism. Saxon Mills had been a founding member of a young Liberal movement that favoured the war and a strong empire in opposition to the Liberal party's tradition of non-intervention and anti-imperialism. Saxon Mills dated the schism in the party over these issues from a particularly stormy housedinner in 1900 at the Eighty Club, a club favoured by the Liberal elite that 'became henceforth a cock-pit of contending factions' over the war:

The pro-Boer section . . . brought forth a progeny of strange organisations of which one bore the unmistakeable title of 'Stop the War Committee'. It became evident that something must be done if Liberalism was to be saved from a solid identification with this infatuated and disastrous policy. A few of us decided to start an organisation of our own with this object, the first suggestion being actually made, of all places in the world, in the National Liberal Club. The result was the Imperial Liberal Council . . . which rapidly grew in numbers and influence, and finally received the blessing of the distinguished permeators themselves [Rosebery and leading Liberal Imperialists]. Sometimes I think these leaders might have recognised us a little earlier. . . I need not relate how the Council was bodily taken over and merged in the Liberal League.²

The Liberal League was founded on 24 February 1902 (while Saxon Mills was in South Africa) by Rosebery, Grey, Haldane and their friends to serve the Liberal Imperialist cause. Kidd joined at once. So did Saxon Mills on his return from South Africa, when he threw himself impetuously into the struggle to patriotise and imperialise the Liberals.

The Liberal Imperialists were a group of talented MPs who had acted together from the mid-1880s as something of a covert pressure group to achieve influence within their party. Mostly young and ambitious, they were interested in a diversity of issues. Imperialism was not at first markedly among them. Their leading spirits included R.D. Haldane, Edward Grey and H.H. Asquith. As John Morley's Gladstonian ideas lost favour with younger Liberals, the group looked to Lord Rosebery for leadership. His global and imperial ideas began to exert greater sway. Imperialism became an important, but never an exclusive, plank in the group's platform. Social reform, 'new liberalism', 'national efficiency' continued to appeal, with varying degrees of attraction, to the movement.³

The imperial issue moved to centre-stage with the rise of global tension during the 1890s and the outbreak of the Boer War. The Liberal Imperialists were presented with every chance to impress their vision upon their fellows. They performed less than impressively, dividing but not capturing the party. The leadership of the Liberals was grasped, not by the brilliant if erratic Rosebery, but by the astute Scot Campbell-Bannerman, a 'Little Englander' whose criticism of

the war provoked calls for his lynching in South Africa. The arts of political manoeuvre and organisation seemed to elude Rosebery's followers. Although wartime patriotism favoured them, it was the opponents of the war, and critics of its mishandling, who made the running within Liberal ranks. The division lists in parliament exposed the 'Limps' (as Beatrice Webb called them) as an embattled minority. They lacked coordination, judgment and leadership. Rosebery was a puzzle and a disappointment to his friends. Asquith seemed enigmatic and almost a neutral, suspected of nursing personal ambitions: 'Grey, Haldane, Asquith, and Fowler stood at the head of a sectional organisation which had some money, some views, but few followers.'⁴

On 16 December 1901 Rosebery called for a 'clean slate', insisting that Liberals associate themselves with 'the new sentiment of Empire which occupies the nation'.⁵ He sketched the outlines of a programme of domestic reconstruction on lines of national efficiency in commerce, industry and defence. In the battle of tactics that ensued Rosebery found himself outmanoeuvered by Campbell-Bannerman, who provoked Rosebery into a dramatic gesture of separation from his party leader. The Liberal League was born in these circumstances. Its task was to mobilise public opinion behind Rosebery's national policy. It included most of the senior Liberal Imperialists as office-holders. Rosebery was president, Asquith, Grey and H.H. Fowler vice-presidents, Haldane and E.T. Cook founding members. The League incorporated the Liberal Imperialist League (originally Saxon Mills's Imperial Liberal Council), the organ of the young Turks who supported Rosebery. A move was made to build up the League's power base in the local constituencies, but Asquith blocked any open separation from the official party structure. Although not strong in parliamentary representation, the League attracted a following in the constituencies (especially in Glasgow and London) and from Nonconformity. Its membership ranged from collectivist-minded reformers (Asquith, Haldane and even the Fabian Sidney Webb), through wealthy landowning traditionalists more interested in empire than reform (Lord Brassey, Sir Charles Tennant and the Duke of Sutherland) to the Dissenting imperialists (Fowler, Robert Perks, Guinness Rogers) and the journalists (E.T. Cook, Wemyss Reid, Cecil and Leicester Harmsworth). Press backing came from the Harmsworths' *Daily Mail* (and their journal the *New Liberal Review*), Harold Harmsworth's *Leeds Mercury* and *Glasgow Herald*, and Robertson Nicoll's nonconformist *British Weekly*.

Kidd was one of those Liberal supporters outside politics whom Rosebery hoped to attract by his promise of a new departure for Liberalism. While holidaying in February 1902 at the Grand Hotel, Swanage, Kidd wrote Rosebery a 'cordial note'. In reply his lordship hoped 'that Mr. Kidd will see his way to joining the Liberal League', which he did.6 The two men had a number of discussions during 1902. On the eve of Rosebery's Glasgow speech of 10 March, Kidd sent him advice and encouragement. The letter reflected both Rosebery's impact on events and the vagueness of his programme. Kidd was particularly nervous about Rosebery's notoriously hardline opposition to Irish Home Rule, a subject on which the younger Leaguers had been advocating flexibility. Kidd described himself 'as one who has for years seen that the Liberal party must either perish or develop along certain lines, along which you have been anxious to guide it'. But on Home Rule he feared that 'the newly formed Liberal League is in danger of taking a step away from what I take to be the realization of vour aim':

I hope you are not going to abandon Home Rule, in its larger sense. You hold the Liberal party at the present moment in the hollow of your hand. The reorganisation of the Empire is the work of the Liberal party but a settlement of the Irish Question is involved in it. I do not speak of Gladstonian Home Rule which never seemed to me more than an absurdity and an anachronism. But Ireland as a loyal working partner is not, it seems to me, an impossibility. As a matter of fact we want the whole standpoint from the Gladstone era changed and a working arrangement made between a group of

nations on terms of equality as in the United States . . . your idea of New Empire would carry all before it.⁷

Kidd could hardly have been gratified by Rosebery's continued description of himself as virtually at one with the Unionists. Rosebery's speeches of the time conceded Ireland's need of 'equality of treatment', but he envisaged a low-powered level of local self-government as the most that Ireland could expect in the foreseeable future, and stressed the Ulsterist strategic fear of a hostile Irish parliament close to the heart of empire.

Kidd was not yet fully committed to political struggle. He was embroiled in angry recriminations over hostile reviews of *Western Civilisation*, and still had his literary and journalistic career to foster. At about this time he was angling for a place on *The Times*. He wrote to Moberly Bell, then managing director of *The Times*: 'I think I could do really good work for the office if you could find a niche for me.'⁸ The famous 'Thunderer' was noted for its Milnerite sympathies – suffered from *religio Milneriana* as the saying went – and would have suited Kidd admirably as a platform for his 'philosophy'. However, Moberly Bell failed to oblige, although he continued to cultivate Kidd as a contributor.

Western Civilisation, regrettably, had not clinched Kidd's place in the pantheon of great thinkers. However it sold moderately well, and its author continued to attract attention, and even tangible commissions. Albert Dawson, editor of the *Christian Commonwealth*, read the book with 'even greater interest and delight' than *Social Evolution* and begged an interview so that he could offer his readers a personal profile, with portrait.⁹ Kidd sent out complimentary copies in profusion, including one to Theodore Roosevelt, who had become President in 1901 after McKinley's assassination, and one to Arthur Balfour, who became prime minister in July 1902 after Salisbury's retirement. Both were polite and promised to read the tome. Franklin H. Giddings also promised to read his copy 'with a keen relish, and I know from past experience that it will be provocative of many new thoughts'. Giddings sent in return

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a copy of his own Inductive Sociology (1901) - 'its a tough, dry thing' – and undertook to visit his friend should he come to England in the summer.¹⁰ The Ayrshire ILP requested free copies for their bazaar in aid of Social Reform, adding that it 'is creating a great interest in all things socialistic at the present moment'.¹¹ (Nineteenth-century labour groups displayed a noticeably more catholic enthusiasm for speculative works than do their twentieth-century counterparts.) More lucrative was a £40 commission from Harper's Magazine for a 3000 word essay 'in which you would show the character and advantageous situation of man' in an 'emancipated future' founded upon the principles of western civilisation. This appeared in January 1903 with the Wellsian title 'The Man Who is to Come'.¹² When Cecil Rhodes died in March 1902 Henry Newbolt, editor of the Monthly Review, tried to persuade Kidd to make an obituary assessment of the 'Colossus of Empire' from the point of view set out in Western Civilisation: 'His idea of efficiency was certainly "projected", but he seems to have been at the same time under the influence of the "economical" theory of civilization.'13 Kidd resisted the temptation to resolve the paradox.

Kidd's desire for recognition as a sociologist was appeased in April 1902 when he was invited to make a major contribution to the famous *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It is not widely known that his initiative led to the first appearance in the *Britannica* of a separate article on sociology. Hugh Chisholm, the editor of the forthcoming tenth edition of the encyclopaedia, approached Kidd initially to contribute a prefatory article to a major volume. This finally appeared under the title 'The Application of the Doctrine of Evolution to Sociological Theory'. The usual haggling over terms took place. On 11 April Chisholm grumbled: 'The fee you suggest is double what I proposed, and I thought my offer would be considered a liberal one.' He had in mind ten pages, each about a thousand words, at £5 per page. Other distinguished writers had accepted his rate. If Kidd were paid a higher amount, dissension was likely. Kidd agreed to this

commission, and duly delivered the manuscript on 16 June.

Chisholm considered that 'it covers the ground very well, and it is a very interesting account; and it is conceived in right encyclopaedic spirit'. This was a curious verdict on what now appears to be a tract justifying the themes of Social Evolution and Western Civilisation. Kidd emulated the early nineteenthcentury coup of James Mill, whose 1820 essay on 'Government' for the Britannica was a piece of thinly veiled propaganda for Benthamite utilitarianism. With poetic justice, Kidd's propaganda denounced Bentham and Mill, as also Spencer, Huxley and Wallace. This article contained one of his earliest onslaughts against Spencer's concept of the social organism, 'the central principle round which Mr. Spencer afterwards constructed his system of social philosophy, and round which the thought, and even the political development, of more than half a century have revolved'. Spencer denied that the welfare of society or the state transcended that of the individuals who composed it. By claiming that 'the corporate life here must be subservient to the lives of the parts', he had expressed ideas 'which made the last quarter of the 19th century a period of apparent reaction'. However, Kidd's organic evolutionism would win the day. The age was moving towards 'what may be called a phenomenology of human evolution in its more organic relations'. Spencer's theoretical concern for individuals had been associated with harsh attitudes towards the poor and the weak. Even Darwin himself, while praising man's moral qualities, worried that 'we civilised men do our utmost to check the process of elimination; we build asylums for the imbeciles, the maimed, and the sick; we institute poor laws'. Huxley regarded man's ethicality as in opposition to the brutal process of nature ('the cosmic process'). Kidd's theory resolved the paradox or so his article claimed:

So far from it being possible to regard the ethical process as in opposition to the cosmic process, it must, it would appear, be taken that the ethical process *is* the cosmic process, and that it is through

the principles and mechanisms of the ethical process that the struggle for existence and natural selection are producing, on the largest scale, and in the most effective manner, their most characteristic results in the development of life.¹⁴

Kidd was fascinated by the possibilities of using the Britannica to upgrade the social sciences in Britain. He bombarded the unfortunate Chisholm with advice on the revision of the old ninth edition, suggesting extensive crossreferencing to his own works in a string of related entries: e.g. on Darwin, ethics, evolution, Huxley, Spencer, and the science of religion: 'Some of the subject has really got much further than the writers seem to imagine. They do not seem to see how the general ground has been changed in their own subjects by developments that have taken place outside them.'15 The remark was just, despite the lurking egotism behind it. The Britannica was indeed regarded in America, and by practitioners of the rapidly advancing social sciences, as dated and conservative. Chisholm was not at home in this field and was inclined to accede to Kidd's greater authority. When Kidd suggested the need for an entire entry on sociology - to be written by himself - Chisholm promptly agreed. His apologetic attitude indicated sociology's still uneasy status in educated British circles: 'Sociology as a science is really so vague a term (covering anything from Anthropology to Politics) that this was the reason why the separate subject was omitted, on the supposition that it was practically included under other headings.'¹⁶ Kidd remedied this situation by describing sociology 'as the most advanced of all the theoretical sciences'.¹⁷ For 'Sociology' Chisholm could offer only \pounds_4 per page of 1300 words. After a meeting on 23 June these terms were agreed, the deadline to be 15 August. Kidd, as he liked, kept busy during the summer. The manuscript was with Chisholm by 6 August. The two articles for the Britannica fetched £74.18 It was not to be the last time that Kidd proselytised his work under the imprint of a general reference work.

It was in 1902 that Kidd came into contact with Joseph Chamberlain. That contact led to Kidd's recruitment into the tariff-reform campaign, Chamberlain's last great effort to break the trammels of conventional politics and lead a streamlined Britain into the twentieth century. Chamberlain had read Control of the Tropics in 1898 and was impressed. It dovetailed with his own vision of empire, unified and ordered politically and economically. Both men combined expansionism and Anglo-Saxonism with a policy of domestic social reform, although Kidd leaned more towards collectivist welfare than did Chamberlain. The latter's Birmingham radicalism stressed the salutary influence of market forces, thrift and self-help, while Kidd visualised a 'socialised' capitalism that raised competition by maximising equality of opportunity. Both believed that Britain's domestic prosperity depended upon the efficient mobilisation of resources available in British dependencies, colonies and spheres of influence. 'Imperial efficiency' they saw as the solution to Britain's declining industrial performance and the foreign threat to British world supremacy. Chamberlain openly praised Control of the Tropics in 1898 in the American Scribner's Magazine. There was, he thought, 'practically no limit to the potential results' of the opening up of untapped tropical regions 'to the white man's energy and enterprise'. He justified British and American expansion in Kidd's terms of a 'trust for civilisation' and the general preservation of free markets. Britain had so far 'simply blundered into most of the desirable places of the earth'. But in future its imperialism must become deliberate and systematic - in line with evolutionary destiny - or else the British would be excluded by rivals from large slabs of tropical trade 19

Chamberlain had once been the epitome of advanced middle class radicalism, a dissenting manufacturer who instituted 'gas and water' socialism in Birmingham. He masterminded the reorganisation of the Liberal party in the aftermath of the second Reform Bill. But he became the 'Great Defector' for rank-and-file Liberals after he broke with

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Gladstone by opposing Home Rule for Ireland in 1886. He split the party by leading his 'Liberal Unionists' into ultimate alliance with the Conservatives. Chamberlain saw himself, not as betraying radicalism, but as liberalising and energising conservatism. He hoped to become the leader of a brand of populist conservatism that would use the powers of the state to alleviate social injustice and build up national strength. Like the Liberal Imperialists who stayed in the old party, Chamberlain held strong nationalist sentiments and diverged from the traditional Liberal suspicion of a powerful state:

The imperialists . . . found no discrepancy between constructive reform politics at home and an imperial policy based on the desire to construct and improve abroad. Resolute Cobdenites, on the other hand, tended to be as opposed to State intervention at home as they were to the 'meddling' of the State in the affairs of other peoples and its aggrandisement through the growth of a territorial Empire.²⁰

Chamberlain, however, found little scope for his social reform energies under the torpid regime of Lord Salisbury. Appointed Colonial Secretary after the Conservative victory in the 1895 election, he transferred his attention to the empire. He initiated a period of dynamic change in colonial affairs. systematically tackling problems of defence, trade and organisation. His bellicose policies were a contributing factor to the outbreak of war in South Africa (although Milner's intransigence as High Commissioner precipitated hostilities whilst Chamberlain hesitated, worried whether British opinion would sustain the campaign). Chamberlain survived the war politically, although not without difficulty; and in 1902, when Salisbury retired, he was the only visible rival to A.J. Balfour, Salisbury's nephew, for the leadership of the Unionist government and the country. Aware of the entrenched power of the Cecils in the Conservative party, and his own lack of popularity among dyed-in-the-wool Tories, he declined to stand for leader, and backed Balfour. A serious cab accident injured him as the succession was being decided, threatening to put him entirely out of politics. However he made an

astonishing recovery at the age of sixty-six, although he never seemed quite the same man again to his close friends.

Chamberlain had not been long at the Colonial Office before he realised the close connection between empire and tariffs. As early as 1897, at the Colonial Conference of that year, he proposed, unsuccessfully, a plan for an imperial zollverein. His contact with colonial politicians pushed him steadily into the camp of tariff reform. This was especially the case with the Canadians, who advocated a system of colonial preferences. In April 1902, when the Chancellor, Hicks Beach, announced his war budget, an opportunity arose to break the sanctity of free trade. The government, looking for revenue to pay for the Boer War, proposed to revive the registration duty on imported corn, meal and flour. Chamberlain had himself suggested such a duty in 1894 to subsidise a pensions scheme. There was now the extra attraction that a discount, or even abolition, of the duty might be offered to the white dominions, in return for their giving Britain trading preferences. In this way Britain would begin to build up its own giant captive market, based on colonial raw resources and consumer demand, just as Britain's protectionist rivals Germany and America had created their own giant economic hinterlands, and fenced them off from competitors. As Chamberlain was fond of saying, it was an age of bigness, big nations, big empires, big corporations. Britain must join in, or be left behind.

It was while these events were maturing that Kidd made his entry into the Chamberlain circle. Kidd and Austen Chamberlain, Joseph's son, had corresponded during the eighteen months following Kidd's American tour, both agreeing on the need for closer Anglo-American links in the future.²¹ Joseph Chamberlain, his third wife American, had won popularity transatlantically by his partisan support for the United States during the Spanish war. He was an apostle of a 'Great Rapprochement' in Anglo-American relations, soured for so long because of the bitterness created by Civil War diplomacy and Britain's supposedly unneutral support for the Confederacy. Kidd's pro-Americanism, together with his notions on 'Control of the Tropics', made him an attractive figure to the Chamberlains.

Kidd met Joseph Chamberlain, perhaps for the first time, at an evening function in early April 1902. The meeting provoked a misunderstanding, and a spirited, if defensive, letter from Kidd. He had embarked on a project for compiling data, especially economic data, on colonial administration. Chamberlain apparently interpreted Kidd as desiring inside access to departmental files, even as pressing for patronage in the form of an unofficial job in the Colonial Office archives. The request was brushed aside by the great man with a remark differentiating 'thinkers' from 'practical men'. Kidd - always sensitive to sarcasm or imagined slights - brooded and penned a reply that provided a rare self-revelation. He stressed that he had come up the hard way, by grinding work and selfimprovement, and resented being thought an ivory-tower intellectual. Neither was he impractical in commercial matters. His own knowledge of 'city civilisation', he told Chamberlain, had been acquired in a hard school. He boasted of the money that he had made by investing the profits from Social Evolution in overseas railroads. He had taken part in the reconstruction of the Argentine Railway company, 'attending their city meetings':

Even the opportunity of leisure to write was acquired by me not simply through the sale of books but by study of Canadian economic conditions (when Canada was not much believed in) and investment as a result in Canadian Railways some years ago. When I was in America in 1898 it was the economic conditions which most deeply interested me.

Indeed, he confided, his business collaboration with one particular American had been so effective that 'within the last few weeks I have received a serious offer to join him as a partner in America. My view is, however, on other aspects of things. I want to do the work I mentioned to you in my own way for the empire. I know quite well what I am about. Will you not help me?'22

What Chamberlain thought of this outburst is not recorded. One is struck in retrospect by Kidd's commitment to the need of joining theory and practice - 'in economics it is the combination of both which will I think be required in the future' - and by his idealism. In an age of materialism he rejected materialism. His books sold well. He was indeed, as he said, a skilful financial operator: he made £200 profit in under six months in 1901 by speculating in Canadian Grand Trunk Railways shares.²³ He could have given up writing and lived a life of relative ease. The thought never seems to have entered his mind. For the moment he was obsessed by the pragmatic implications of his social theory. The task of the day for the thinking man was to do all in his power to help England in its urgent task of economic reconstruction. The nation had to be dragged out of the age of classic free trade, and made capable of coping with the modern age of monopolies, massive national competition and protectionism. If the coming age was one of bigness, Kidd was ready with big ideas.

Chamberlain soothed Kidd, who drafted a long answer stressing his desire to be allowed a more positive role in the administration of empire. He was not out for patronage, he did not desire any permanent post, he wanted only to observe the dynamics of empire at first hand, the forces and the men: 'The great object is to serve the empire in the larger terms I have mentioned.' He had sought in *Western Civilisation* to rouse the awareness of the English-speaking peoples regarding their future race history. They could only fulfil that destiny by thinking and working towards the great goal of unity and development. The Colonial Secretary's reply was discouraging:

It seems to me that your studies must be specialised and could not be made to fit in with any official work such as is now being carried out in our colonial administration. There are no commissions of enquiry working, or likely, as far as I can see, to be appointed to enquire into special subjects. The ordinary work of administration is supplied by a regular service, the entrance of which is of course at the bottom.²⁴

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No one knew this better, of course, than Kidd, once secretary of the lower clerks' association. He had expected more than an official mask from the venturesome Chamberlain. He surrendered the issue, although hopefully tendering his name should a future Commons enquiry be made.²⁵ Chamberlain had probably already ear-marked Kidd as a useful theorist in his own cause. He read Kidd's new book. As Kidd later boasted of *Western Civilisation*:

One of the politicians of first rank in this country who took to it on publication was Mr. Chamberlain. He read it through in his room at the House of Commons in the session prior to his visit to South Africa. When you remember that the book is not exactly light reading and that a number critics said they couldn't understand it at all [deleted: I was surprised and pleased to hear it] you may perhaps be surprised to hear of this occupation of the late Colonial Secretary in the interests of State in the summer of 1902. Liberalism as a whole has been I am afraid too careful and troubled of many things to read the book seriously as yet.²⁶

In May, a month after Hicks Beach's budget speech reviving the duty on imported grains, Chamberlain publicly warned that closer union with the colonies was threatened by economic pedantry and 'old shibboleths'. This was widely interpreted as a repudiation of free trade and a move towards a protective system of imperial preference. A Colonial Conference was scheduled to meet in July, and fireworks were expected from Chamberlain on tariffs. Kidd congratulated him on the speech, and elaborated the flaws in the 'Cobdenite view of free trade'. He pictured Chamberlain standing on the side of history while the Liberals were stranded in the past. They stuck to free trade out of sheer dogma, or out of a shortsighted political interest in unifying a party fragmented by Ireland and the Boer War: 'The Liberal Party creed is, I am afraid, in a bad way. It is not simply a party question.'²⁷

It was, however, not so easy to raise the issue above politics. The *Daily News* refused to print an interview with Kidd because he professed 'heresies'. Kidd got an apology from E.T. Cook, no longer wielding real power at the *News*, whose new

owners distrusted the Chamberlain–Milner school of empire. Cook suggested that he try the *Daily Mail* as a platform. Its bias was as flagrantly toward the other side of the dispute.²⁸ It was no coincidence that Kidd subsequently involved himself in a number of projects to start, or take over, journals that should offer a freer outlet for his views. That was to prove a dispiriting task.

Kidd felt frustrated for the moment in England, so he decided to go to South Africa to see things for himself in what had become the cockpit of empire. As remarked by Edgar Wallace, who had just started the Rand Daily Mail: 'All the world was drifting into Johannesburg; men and women whose names are household words came and went.'29 Kidd was strongly encouraged in the venture by his young friend Saxon Mills, who was now editor of the Cape Times. Saxon Mills was a Cambridge graduate, a barrister-journalist, impulsive, sometimes erratic, a man of warm affectionate nature who frankly owned himself a follower of Kidd. Their correspondence was of a genial kind only rarely found in Kidd's papers (his friendship with Lady Mary Jeune provided another example). Most of his correspondents adopted a respectful, businesslike, or else irritated tone with the famous, but prickly, author. Saxon Mills chaffed Kidd, even bullied him good-naturedly, in the manner of a favourite son, asking advice freely and openly using Kidd's 'big ideas' in his own journalism. 'I am engaged in culling a few "elegant extracts" from your works', Mills had written in 1898. 'The first I believe will appear as the "sermon of the day" next Tuesday.' Mills at that time was working part time for the *Echo*, and the letter indicates that as early as 1898 - particularly after the appearance of Control of the Tropics some of the young Turks in the Liberal ranks looked to Kidd for inspiration:

Your name is frequently on our lips. I had a very pleasant talk yesterday morning with W[illiam] P[ember] Reeves of New Zealand fame. He well embodies the new spirit which we wish to infuse into

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the Liberal party, – the wider imperial patriotism plus a strong democratic faith. . . The Zeitgeist is very much abroad at present, and we want encouragement, and direction how best to obey.³⁰

Kidd helped Saxon Mills to obtain a toe-hold on the *Daily News* by pleading his cause with E.T. Cook, the editor. In April 1899 Mills was appointed to the *News's* night shift (10 pm to 2 am), while working morning shifts for the *Echo* (8–11 am). He finally joined Cook's editorial staff at Christmas 1899. A year later Cook asked Mills to go to South Africa to edit the *Cape Times*. The job had been in the wind for some time. Lord Milner had urged it upon the brilliant young Leopold Maxse, but Maxse had refused because he felt he must stay in England to combat the German threat, a subject on which he was almost paranoid. Saxon Mills was clearly deemed by the powerful Milnerite group in South Africa (and London) to be a suitably youthful and enthusiastic apostle of imperial unity for the strategic post of *Cape Times* editor during the war. He asked Kidd's advice (of which no record survives) before accepting the job, which took him to South Africa in February 1901.³¹

Saxon Mills's letters to Kidd during this tempestuous period reflected both the anxieties of Cape society about the conflict, and his own sense of homesickness. His editorship lasted seventeen unhappy months. He was accused of being a turncoat and a toady of Milner when he shrilly supported suspension of the Cape constitution in 1902, after editorialising against suspension in 1901; and he was finally sacked by the proprietors in September 1902. Military restrictions on free movement, and the perception that he was remote from his lively and familiar London world, caused him to refer to his colonial experience in terms of exile and confinement. He was impatient to return to England, an impatience not materially reduced after his marriage in South Africa to a bride brought out from home. In a letter to Kidd written a fortnight after his arrival in Cape Town, he gave his impressions of leading people and urged his mentor to join him:

[I] have met Milner, Rhodes, Kipling, Hely-Hutchinson, etc. Rhodes is an insoluble human problem to me. He is like this continent, familiar and even civilised in parts but as a whole unexplained and mysterious. I am working hard to vindicate the Imperial policy and am being attacked . . . but that doesn't hurt, as I know I'm right and have only to hammer away to produce an ultimate effect. Milner quite approved your policy of getting the mines a-going again. I am sorry he has left us [Milner had transferred his headquarters from Cape Town to Johannesburg in February 1901], but H-H [Sir William Hely-Hutchinson, to whom Milner handed over the Governorship of the Cape Colony] is not a bad sort and is quite sound... I wish you were here to give us an occasional word of advice. I miss my family homily. . . How goes the book? When it is launched, launch yourself at Southampton for a trip here. I will promise you as good a time as we can supply and you will certainly find something to interest you.³²

Mills and Kidd continued to exchange views on the war; but Kidd's absorption in Western Civilisation prevented him not only from undertaking the trip urged upon him, but even from making significant public comment upon the war. As his letters to Mills have been largely lost for this period, we can only suspect that he shared his friend's antagonism to Campbell-Bannerman and the large body of Liberals who hesitated about the justice of the war. Such people, Mills felt, marched under 'a banner singularly compounded of the Vierkleur [the Boer flag] and the Union Jack . . . the English pro-Boers, not the Boers, are the authentic enemy at this moment in Africa'. He was disconcerted by the failure of the Liberal Imperialists to debar Campbell-Bannerman from the party leadership. The new leader 'is here regarded with a considerable amount of legitimate contempt. Can it be that the Liberal Imperialists have surrendered to the enemy?' He could only hope that party change would be fostered in England by such as Kidd. Perhaps his new book 'will help to the evolution of the new Liberalism towards which we are vaguely feeling'.33

Kidd prepared for his trip in his usual meticulous way. Very

much like Anthony Trollope, he made maximum professional use of travel. He equipped himself with a sheaf of introductory letters to prominent, or representative, people in the colonies. Despite their quarrel, W.T. Stead directed him not only to officials and politicians on both sides, but also to bankers, judges, mine owners, journalists, Cape Dutch and ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church, to contacts in Cape Town, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Stellenbosch. He advised Kidd to seek out 'generally all Cattle Dealers and General Traders'.³⁴ Lady Jeune once again generously supported one of her salon of literary luminaires. The daughter-in-law of Lady Stanley, she had attracted to her circle in past years politicians of all colours-including Chamberlain, Randolph Churchill, Bright, Parnell and Forster - and was acquainted from youth with leading literary figures, including Carlyle, Browning, Du Maurier and Tennyson. T.H. Huxley and Sir Henry Thompson, the pathologist, frequented her house, as did John Walter, owner of The Times. Kidd attended luncheons and dinner parties at 79 Harley Street ('there were few other houses in London where it would be possible to meet so many distinguished men . . . of both parties, attracted by charm of good-fellowship with the kindly and distinguished hostess', he recalled in 1909).³⁵ He continued, as in the nineties, to spend country weekends at the Jeune's estate, Arlington Manor, where he mingled with statesmen, editors and writers at Sunday luncheons. Chamberlain was a frequent guest. Five weeks before Kidd's departure Lady Jeune wrote: 'Are you free next Sunday and if so will you come to Arlington. . . I do so want to see you.' As a Milnerite and a reformist contributor to the New Liberal Review, she had much in common with Kidd. She supplied him with a fulsome letter of commendation to Milner.36

Kidd intended to write a series of articles on South Africa, and he bid for the highest buyer. The market however was saturated. He sounded out Moberly Bell of *The Times*, another frequent visitor to Arlington, and asked to be accredited as special correspondent. Bell was lukewarm. Kidd persisted: 'Will not the Times take me on my merits, give me a commission that will make it worth while to do the work well and let me put my shoulder into it? I know well enough how to write the article as the Times would require.' Bell was only interested in something original. The two men met, and Bell suggested $\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{s}$ per column published, but would still not make a definite commitment to take whatever Kidd sent: 'Speaking generally I should say that in two months you might find materials for half a dozen letters of say two columns each.³⁷ Kidd tried to extract a better rate from St. Loe Strachey, editor of the Spectator, who had in 1898 offered an attractive deal for reports on the American trip. Strachey was less enthused about South Africa: 'I am afraid I should not care to go beyond $\pounds 6$ per letter of 2 columns or thereabouts. I see I offered £6 a column before, but I presume the idea was that we should greatly interest our American audience by your criticism of their men and cities."38 Kidd was a great believer in his market value and balked at any devaluation of his talents. He interviewed Alfred Harmsworth, owner of the Daily Mail, at his Carmelite Street office in mid-August, possibly about a commission but again with no tangible results.³⁹ Although heartened by a cheque from Macmillan, London, for over £700 on 14 August, royalties on Western Civilisation, he had arrived at no satisfactory settlement on South Africa by his departure date. Moberly Bell sent a last-minute memo: 'Do you propose to write us any letters or have you made other arrangements?" Ultimately Kidd was to send The Times four articles on economic conditions in post-war South Africa. His study of the colony, he confidently predicted, would throw new light upon trends within the empire, and would link up with large issues in English politics.⁴⁰

On 23 August he sailed from Southampton for Cape Town on the steamship *Kildonan Castle*, travelling first class. Before leaving he prudently added extra insurance on his life. His landing permit – at that time required of all disembarkees in South Africa – described a man aged forty-four years, five foot seven inches in height, of medium build, pale complexion, with dark receding hair and hazel eyes. In the photograph we have of him, and according to the rare descriptions that have survived, the hazel eyes were piercing and brooding. (His eye trouble had much improved but still troubled him at times.) He gave his address care of the *Cape Times*, editor J. Saxon Mills. Mills was delighted to learn of the visit he had so frequently urged: 'you must come straight to us. We have a little villa.'⁴¹ Warned of the extravagant cost of living in the colonies, Kidd managed to obtain a free pass from the Commissioner of Railways, Johannesburg, no doubt through Milner. This enabled him to travel first class on the Imperial Military Railways.

He stayed in South Africa for two months. During this time he toured extensively in the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony (no longer a 'Free State'), Natal and the Transkei. He visited gold mines, talked to mines engineers and managers, to British and Boer farmers, tribal Africans, officials, politicians, businessmen, churchmen, and journalists. From Stead alone he had introductions to the Cape Governor Sir William Hely-Hutchinson, the Cape Premier Sir Gordon Sprigg, the Afrikaner ex-Premier, W.P. Schreiner and his writer sister Olive Schreiner, Dr Starr Jameson of 'Jameson Raid' fame, and Alfred Beit, Rhodes's financier friend. Evidence is scanty on his experiences, but it seems probable that he stayed with the Saxon Mills at Cape Town for ten days (9-19 September) before journeying by rail to Johannesburg, which he used as a headquarters for exploratory trips, including a brief visit to Pretoria. Bills from the famous Heath Hotel in Johannesburg indicate that he was a guest there from approximately 21 September until 25 October. He returned to Cape Town via Natal (27-30 October). The Saxon Mills had already departed for England in early October. On 12 November Kidd himself sailed home from Cape Town on RMS Briton.

While at the Cape he had interviews with the Governor (one on 11 September), and probably heard at first hand Saxon Mills's distressed account of his sacking from the *Cape Times*

(13 September). During his stay at Johannesburg Kidd resumed his old friendship with Lord Milner, as High Commissioner the most exalted and powerful man in the land. He met Milner a number of times, spending at least one weekend at 'Sunnyside', which Milner once described as

a villa which might be the residence of a prosperous London tradesman at Hendon or Chislehurst. It is on the outskirts of Johannesburg on top of a hill to the north of the town, well away from mines and places of business and looking over magnificent rolling country north towards Pretoria. The weather is splendid and we are nearly 6,000 feet above the sea.⁴²

The two men discussed Milner's plans to mobilise English opinion behind his reconstructionist programme for the colonies. They crossed swords politely about the labour problem on the Rand.⁴³ Both were obstinate and thin-skinned men. Milner was described by Edgar Wallace, the editor of the new Rand Daily Mail and no friend of His Excellency, as 'an unhuman man . . . the beau-ideal of a Civil Servant. He was consciously superior to common people . . . he was so sensitive to criticism that without knowing his past you could have betted that he had been a journalist who wrote leading articles.'44 Milner, however, was not too proud to seek Kidd's advice on ways and means of improving his image in the English press. Kidd suggested personal communication with influential editors, such as E.T. Cook. Milner took notice. Just before he left Johannesburg Kidd got a note from 'Ossie' Walrond, Milner's cheery and efficient personal secretary: 'HE [His Excellency] asks me to say he is writing to Cook. Whom ought he to write to at the Times? Buckle is the natural man he would write to. Will that be right?"45 After a lastminute conversation between Kidd and Milner, Kidd got a reminder from the great man: 'I hope you will have an early opportunity, on your return, of explaining to the Times people, and especially Mr. Buckle, if you can see him, the details of the problem of the development of the Transvaal, about which we have talked."46 Kidd must

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have felt agreeably at the centre of things.

The Rand was in a state of hectic activity, the mines having just reopened after the war: 'What a queer, mad, tragic place Johannesburg was in those days [Edgar Wallace recalled], with its overnight millionaires, its tremendous hospitality, its bubbling faith in quick and easy wealth . . . Johannesburg thought and talked of nothing but money, of stocks that were rising or falling, of borings in new fields, of assays that produced fabulous results.'⁴⁷ Wallace, characteristically, plunged into the market, made £12,000 in one week, and lost £20,000 another. Kidd, just as characteristically, observed, and later made some safe investments. He bought stock in Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa to the tune of at least £170. His main interest was in the mines, on which he meticulously collected data. His imagination was moved by the possibilities of using technology on a large scale on the goldfields:

The Rand industry extends at the present time in a practically continuous line for a distance of forty miles east and west of Johannesburg. Nearly every one of those mines has grown up and is worked as an independent unit handling its own coal, running its own engine house, and generating power for its own machinery, drills, stamps, etc. Nowhere in the world, however, do the natural conditions exist for such a saving of labour as could be effected in the Transvaal by the concentration and organisation of all these isolated energies. The whole tendency in America at the present day is towards the generation at a central station of the force required to work separated masses of machinery on this scale. Although the system is only the growth of a few years past, mines are now being worked in California and elsewhere by the transmission of electrical power for distances ranging from twenty to a hundred and fifty miles. In some cases successful transmission reaches the limit of 300 miles. It is obvious what a field there is for reorganisation along these lines in the Rand industry.48

Kidd naturally turned to technology to solve labour and resource problems. He had long been fascinated by inventions and machines, and more than once considered putting money into ingenious patents that came his way. One of his own pet projects was a scheme for using tidal power in the Essex marshes to provide natural energy.⁴⁹

His experience on the Rand reinforced his opposition to Chinese labour, a resource much favoured by mine-owners. He became convinced that sufficient black labour would become available, provided a total economic strategy was adopted by the industry and government. But his preferred solution was the use of white labour. He had personally witnessed mines run entirely by white labour in California, even where the rock worked yielded only ten shillings a ton. The average yield on the Rand was forty-five shillings a ton. He followed closely the various white labour experiments being made by mining companies with government encouragement.⁵⁰ He became friendly with F.H.P. Cresswell, general manager of the Village Main Reef mine, a pioneer in the white labour cause. Despite obstruction from the mine management, Cresswell claimed that high-wage white labour had proved to be efficient in his mine, and could be more profitable than black labour under certain circumstances. The London Times championed Cresswell, and his evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission in September 1903 antagonised his fellow engineers.⁵¹ He was finally obliged to resign his post. He returned to England, and there defended his cause. Kidd became one of his strongest supporters. The 'Cresswell Case' was to occupy a good deal of his time.

Kidd toured native locations and reserves in the Transvaal. He was struck by the general air of prosperity, despite the recent war. He studied the files of native claims made for compensation from the British government in respect of supplies commandeered by the Boers during the war:

The comparative wealth of the natives is a feature for remark; stock, domestic animals, and mealies they must have had in abundance... Although under the laws of the Transvaal Republic the natives were without political rights, could not hold land in their own name, and were, by an article of the Constitution, precluded from equality with the whites, not only in the State, but in the Church, no results differing much from those to be observed elsewhere appear to have followed. It must be put down to the credit of the Boers that the administration of the native laws was probably on the whole better than the laws themselves.⁵²

The fertile native lands, and private farms, were capable, he thought, of supporting a very large population. The manager of a large agricultural firm gave him figures, based on several years' experience, estimating that farming land in the Transvaal could support a black population of twenty million. Absentee white owners made large incomes renting to natives, who had little incentive to work regularly in town or mines. This, combined with black antipathy to the western work ethic, constituted the root cause of the country's labour shortage.

His travels in Natal underlined the evils of cheap labour:

In its midland districts, where deep, black soil or red sandy loam covers even the hilltops, it is impossible not to feel at every turn the character of the shadow which rests upon a land where the position of the native as hewer of wood and drawer of water in overwhelming numbers has tended to render all strenuous labour degrading in the eyes of the white man. The rainfall of Natal is in excess of that of England; the land suggests to the eye now the combes of the chalk districts of Kent and Surrey, anon the fertile valleys of Pennsylvania, or yet again the still richer uplands of Kentucky. The ground grows maize crops which rival in yield those of the State of Illinois, the basis upon which Chicago first grew into her world-famed prosperity. Yet the eye searches over the vast panorama . . . for signs of inhabitants. Outside the towns there is scarcely a trace of the white man. . . It is not however that the country is really uninhabited. As the eye gets used to the landscape the native huts, of the most squalid description to be seen in South Africa, are to be distinguished crowded in groups on the hillsides and in the valleys. . . When one inquires as to farming in the country the complaint is that nothing has really paid well in the past . . . there are no markets. The tiller of the soil, who out-numbers the European population by twelve to one, has simply no economic wants. . . Even to pay his rent and taxes he works but three months out of twelve. Although his wages are 10s. a month or less, Natal has found him too dear even at this; and to do work cheaper has

imported Asiatics, who now number some 70,000, or more than the whole European population. White agricultural labour is unknown in the colony. Thus does the curse of cheap native labour rest on the land.⁵³

One incident in the tribal lands demonstrated the problem of racial prejudice in South Africa, where contact was more direct between ruling and subject races. Kidd believed that the English people at home generally recognised 'the great principle of equality irrespective of race or colour upon which our civilisation is founded'. He once witnessed a street brawl in London between a white and a coloured man. It was watched by a crowd of passers-by: 'I was struck with the fact that no feeling whatever had been shown in favour of the white man', who was worsted. In South Africa he witnessed a rather different scene:

Armed with official credentials it had been my lot to visit one of the largest native kraals in the country. The Commissioner, who accompanied me, had been trained under one of the most sympathetic British officials, who had come into contact with the native problem in South Africa, and was himself remarkably free from preconceived opinions of any kind on the natives. We were received at the kraal by the 'king' and some of his chief men. . . The king was a fine looking man, considerably past middle age. As I was introduced by the Commissioner he bowed with dignity and extended his hand to me. I took it and we shook hands in European fashion. I saw a shade of annoyance pass over the face of the Commissioner. I had committed a grave error, according to local opinion. I was afterwards told that it would take some time to remove the effects of my indiscretion in thus taking the hand of the venerable looking old man as an equal.

Even democracy, he observed, had not solved the race problem in places such as British South Africa, or the Southern United States. 'Under outward forms of equality, under laws which in theory are no respecters of persons, under representative institutions which admit the negro in some places to equal voting power, there is always the fixed underlying determination that the negro shall never rule; and that under no conditions shall he be admitted even to social equality.'54

Not long after his return to England, Kidd's impression of South Africa appeared in *The Times*.⁵⁵ He was convinced of the country's immense economic potential, surpassing even that of the United States. It would become an industrial giant: 'In the Transvaal, at least, a coal and iron age is undoubtedly destined to succeed, and probably accompany, the age of gold.' But he did not minimise the nation's problems. He forecast the racial problems that eventually emerged when the apartheid system was adopted to cope with unplanned growth based on semi-servile black labour. Kidd saw that South Africa had structural problems that had to be overcome. It required a high capital input, a reorganisation of labour, and a reduction of living standards. At present the colonies suffered from a crippling combination: there was a high-wage, high cost-ofliving structure for the white minority, which refused to do manual work and reserved for itself managerial and entrepreneurial functions; at the same time there was a low-wage, low standard-of-living structure for the black majority on whose cheap labour the economy depended. The war had aggravated a chronic shortage of labour for the gold mines, the key to expansion. This shortage had driven up wages and prices, and caused demand for new, cheap labour, especially Asiatic. Kidd opposed coolie labour, as we have seen, clashing with Milner, who felt that he had exhausted every other expedient to get unskilled workers. By importing Chinese labour, Milner ultimately created a political storm in Britain that threatened his career. Kidd felt strongly that coolie labour, or semi-servile black labour, raised humanitarian issues and created long-term social and economic problems. His own ideal was that South Africa become a self-dynamic, largely white-populated society on the model of Australia or the United States. Failing this, it should attempt to integrate the black people into an economy in which there was genuine competition between white and black labour.

Kidd's thinking was governed by his *idée fixe* that the tropics should be the preserve of the black races, administered

paternalistically by a non-settling white cadre until the day, probably remote, when self-rule became feasible. The obverse of this was his conviction that the temperate regions were destined to be dominated by races of high social efficiency, i.e the white races (or those who socially emulated them, such as the Japanese). South Africa fell into this category. It was 'a white man's land'. Suited climatically to the whites, it would be ideally run by whites themselves on a basis of high wages and a high standard of living. Cheap black labour was the curse of the land:

It is no humanitarianism, but a prolonged and refined system of cruelty, which thus endeavours to maintain him [the native] in an unnatural position in a land already occupied by and suitable for the settlement of white men. The reaction when it comes . . . is only likely to be more violent. . . The proper place for the black man in Africa is in the tropical regions where the white man is no longer a competitor for his natural place on the land.

He argued that cheap labour was not essential, was actually harmful, to economic efficiency. American productivity was based on a highly paid labour force, and it outstripped that of Britain and Europe:

It is the greater efficiency of the organisation to which the intelligent highly paid labour lends itself, the constant incentive to the invention of better machinery and of labour-saving devices where labour rates are high, with the continual weeding-out of the least efficient . . . that tell up in producing results as a system. The economy of high wages or the cheapness of dear labour may sound paradoxical; it is nevertheless one of the well established facts of the recent industrial expansion of the United States . . . The resulting large consuming population, the strength and potency of a commonwealth thus founded on a class amongst whom the standards of living, of education, of intelligence, and of economic wants are high, have a far-reaching and lasting effect on national prosperity.

Ideas such as these, and his endorsement of white labour in the mines, aroused controversy in South Africa. More in line with colonial opinion was the guarded approval he gave to

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proposals to tax Kaffir labour, in order to induce men to break away from the tribal agricultural system, to compel them to work 'by the operation of economic causes similar to those which act upon the white man'. Kidd's analysis of Kaffir land practices, like that of his contemporaries, lacked anthropological sympathy with traditional value systems. Instead he emphasised the absence of a capitalist work ethic. He envisaged a gradual convergence of pay levels for whites and blacks under laissez-faire conditions; and made an impassioned attack on the operations of monopolies and trusts – the port and railway monopolies, the 'meat ring' and 'shipping ring' – that made the cost of living ruinously high. The first priorities for the post-war administration of South Africa must be to reduce the cost of living, and to encourage rapid settlement of British immigrants on the land. (This was consistent with Milner's strategy of counterbalancing the fecund Boers.) Technology must be welcomed as a primary method of reducing costs. So must trade union organisation of labour – black and white – be accepted as inevitable: 'It is a thing to be desired that the giant industries of the Transvaal, as they will be in the future, should be brought into direct and healthy relationship to the highest standards of the open labour market of the world, and all that these standards involve.'

On his return to England Kidd fulfilled his promise to Milner. He proselytised for him in influential press circles. Kidd was to become closely associated with leading 'Milnerites' in the world of journalism. They included G.E. Buckle, the editor of *The Times* and a personal friend of Milner; Leo Amery, a talented tariff reformer on the staff of *The Times*; J.L. Garvin, another Chamberlainite and leader-writer for *The Daily Telegraph*, later editor of the weekly *Outlook* with which Kidd became connected; Edward Grigg, Garvin's assistant editor on the *Outlook*; and Leo Maxse of the *National Review*. It may not be entirely fanciful to suggest that Kidd helped Milner to build up a powerful following in the British press, a political factor of

considerable importance during the next decade.

The Times enthusiastically took up Kidd on South Africa. Indeed it treated him as an opinion-maker, and used his ideas quite frankly to justify its own policies on reconstruction. His articles were timely, especially in view of Joseph Chamberlain's triumphal 'peacemaking' tour of the colonies, which lasted from 26 December 1902 until 25 January 1903. Chamberlain's tact and friendliness did much to heal the wounds of war, and promote the political and economic stability needed for the ultimate unification of South Africa. (In this he stood in contrast to the more rigid and suspicious Milner.) Chamberlain's assessment of the South African situation resembled that of Kidd: he too opposed Chinese labour; he wanted an economic plan that would draw black labour to the mines; and he recognised the vast potential of the Transvaaal. He came home more impressed than ever by the need to foster a world-wide imperial trading system.

The Times featured Kidd's articles at the height of Chamberlain's tour, and editorialised on his 'thoughtful and original' views. Buckle came out four-square for white labour: 'If British South Africa is ever to develop her natural resources to the full, and take her proper rank amongst the great selfgoverning communities of the Empire, she must draw to her shores a large white population before the economic framework of her institutions permanently hardens upon the wrong lines.'56 Kidd reported to Milner: 'The Times thought well of my articles on the labour question and kept them back until C's [Chamberlain's] arrival. I have had long talks with Buckle, Strachey, Cook, Harmsworth and some of the Westminster people.... I hope you will be satisfied with the progress of things since I saw you in Johannesburg.'57 When the Chinese labour issue blew up in the press, Kidd 'sat in' on the editorial response of friendly journals:

Yesterday was Chinese labour day ... it was evident that something big was going on. I saw Strachey (who will have a strong article tomorrow), Harmsworth and [Given ?] of the West[minster] Gazette. Finally I had a long sitting with Buckle. . . I have written congratulating him and he has sent me a nice note saying [his] arguments were largely mine (I wish I *could* do it.) It has done much good and the W.G. [*Westminster Gazette*] I am glad to see says that in my article the Times have spoken for the country.⁵⁸

Strachey's *Spectator* also flattered his ego, referring to his 'vigorous and detached mind'. However the Unionist journal took exception to his 'extraordinary doctrine' that the black man's proper place was in the tropics. Such a claim 'does not read pleasantly in connection with a sub-continent in which there are six million of them. Britain is trustee there for the natives, and must fulfill her part.'⁵⁹ The *Spectator* recommended a liberal policy of black education and industrial training as the best hope of solving the labour impasse in South Africa. *The Financial Times* was more crudely Social Darwinist: 'The gradual, but deliberate, elimination of the black races from the country, and their replacement by white may offend our sense of justice, though it is consonant with the natural law of the survival of the fittest.'⁶⁰

His cup flowed over in February when Sir Francis Knollys, secretary to Edward VII, wrote: 'His Majesty has been reading with much interest your admirable and interesting article in the *Times* on "Economic South Africa".' Kidd had written a congratulatory letter to the King about the reduction of monopoly shipping charges, an issue on which he had agitated strongly, conferring with Gerald Balfour, writing to Milner, Kitchener and others. Knollys replied that the King 'desires me to say he is afraid he cannot honestly lay claim to credit in connection with the recently announced abatement of the charges of the South African Shipping Ring – he is however very glad it has taken place, and he quite understands how unpopular such a monopoly . . . must have been in South Africa'.⁶¹ The incident revealed a certain naivety on Kidd's part concerning the constitutional powers of the monarch.

During the next year he broadened out the labour issue into a debate on the economics of imperialism. He dabbled, ama-

teurishly, in politics. His aim was to help set up a new liberal force that would smash anachronistic configurations bequeathed from the past. Such an ambition required that he make a more energetic presence in the world of journalism and London clubland.

He improved the journalistic contacts he already had. The *Daily Despatch*, Manchester's mass evening paper, used him to dash off rapid opinions on current issues. These were usually unsigned, as Kidd was highly sensitive that his name appear only on well-prepared material. *The Times*, the Harmsworth press, the liberal *Westminster Gazette*, and the conservative *Spectator* offered generally friendly platforms for his ideas. However, what Kidd and his friends really desired was their own newspaper or periodical. Saxon Mills pursued the goal with his usual vigour and buoyant optimism:

I have pondered your schemes of journalistic venture [he wrote in December 1902]. I am inclined to think that we should see E.T. Cook to stand in with us in a Liberal Weekly. . . I could get the money I think. I fear there is little opening for a monthly whereas there is an 'aching void' for a weekly.

A fortnight later he wrote: 'I hope you are thinking of a third person for our journalistic trinity. Wells would suit excellently.' This attempt to hitch the rising star of H.G. Wells to their chariot failed. But Mills persisted. He summoned Kidd urgently in February to a 4 pm meeting at the National Liberal Club: 'I have another idea about another paper which I think I can get very reasonably.'⁶² Kidd himself pestered Moberly Bell and others to launch a new journal. Bell curtly dismissed the idea as economically perilous.

Kidd was elected to the National Liberal Club in the summer of 1902. 'I see you are a candidate for the National Liberal Club [wrote his friend Thomas Wilson]. I doubt if you will like it very much. It is an omnium gatherum some would say. . . If you do not like it, let me propose you as a member of the Savile Club 107 Piccadilly. . . It is non-political but most liberal.'⁶³ The Savile had Robert Louis Stevenson and A.J.

Balfour as leading members, and a good many journalists. Kidd was elected in March 1903. He was also a frequent guest at the Eighty Club (a Liberal party stronghold whose founding members included Haldane and Asquith), the Devonshire and Whitefriars clubs. The NLC and the Savile became focal points for his London activity. Saxon Mills joined the NLC on his return from the Cape. He, Kidd and like-minded spirits met there to dine, debate and manoeuvre. Joining in the cut-andthrust dialogues were William Pember Reeves, the New Zealand Fabian, and William Montgomery Crook, Liberal MP and editor of the Methodist Times. Crook was instrumental in introducing Kidd to a wider social circle, issuing dinner invitations to the Devonshire Club, asking Kidd to address the Eighty Club on 'The Future of South Africa'.64 During 1903 Kidd braved the ordeal of public speaking a number of times in order to further his grand campaign. On 23 January he was chief guest at the Whitefriars Club, speaking on 'Britain and Civilisation' before a distinguished audience that included Sir Harry Johnston and Hugh Clifford, and was chaired by the Prior Edward Clodd. Prudently he ascertained beforehand that morning dress was deemed appropriate for this 'private and informal' occasion.65 Whether his performance had become more polished since his Boston experience was not recorded in the more discreet English press.

On 10 February he participated in a discussion on South Africa at the Royal Colonial Institute. He offered his views on the labour question, attacked the shipping ring, and disagreed with advocates of irrigation in the Transvaal:

'Going through South Africa I was reminded of a story I heard in Texas. Two Americans were discussing the times. One said 'Texas was a very fine country', the other replied 'Yes, there are only two things the matter with it. It wants better company and a little water.' 'Yes', answered the other, 'and that is all they want in the place down below.'

In fact South Africa had perfectly sufficient rainfall to support a prosperous agriculture: 'In the outskirts of Johannesburg you may look out from the window of the High Commissioner's house, and after some fifteen years' growth you may imagine yourself looking at a stretch of Surrey scenery."66 On 7 April Kidd himself read a paper to the Institute on 'The State in Relation to Trade'.⁶⁷ Introducing him at the Hotel Métropole, the chairman Sir George Goldie, head of the Royal Niger Company and an expansionist of note, declared Kidd to be better known than his introducer ('As the author of "Social Evolution", he struck a note in this country, some nine years ago, which we are not likely to forget'). The speech was a keynote to Kidd's new interest in tariff reform. He was later to claim that it had 'a certain historical interest' in that it followed talks with Chamberlain and 'immediately preceded his Birmingham new departure. He wrote me after he read it to the effect that I would see what I would see shortly.²⁶⁸ It is time to look at the background of tariff reform.

The question of tariffs - apparently settled since Peel's demolition of the Corn Laws in 1846 - exploded into life when Chamberlain returned from South Africa. Unionist governments had been edging pragmatically towards tariff revision and imperial preference under pressure from colonial administrations, and as a way of financing social and military expenditure without resort to direct taxation. The process was accelerated by Salisbury's retirement and the coming to office of the intellectually flexible, if inscrutable, Balfour. In 1902 cabinet agreed to remit in Canada's favour the one shilling corn duty imposed for revenue purposes in Hicks Beach's budget. This was a victory for Chamberlain. But the move aroused opposition both from doctrinaire free-traders, entrenched in Treasury and the Board of Trade, and from socialists and reformers who preferred direct income taxation to an across-the-board tax on food. They raised the cry of 'dear bread'. Ministerial opposition mounted during Chamberlain's absence in South Africa. Cabinet finally reversed its decision under a threat of resignation from the orthodox Chancellor of the Exchequer, C.T. Ritchie. The corn duty was abolished, and with it the prospect of introducing empirically a policy of imperial preference. A disillusioned Chamberlain determined to make an open challenge to free trade. He deferred resignation, hoping still to carry cabinet and party on fiscal reform. He preferred to make any move in his own time and on his chosen ground.

For Chamberlain there was political appeal in raising a storm on tariff reform. His leadership of the Liberal Unionists had been eroded by many factors. These included his preoccupation with office, deep disagreements within his nonconformist supporters over the 1902 Education Act, and the decline of Irish Home Rule as an issue unifying Chamberlainites and Tories. Chamberlain's position in the Unionist-Conservative party lacked durable foundations. His talents and charisma were valued as party assets, but he was distrusted by the party's ruling families. His relations with Balfour were ostensibly marked by mutual respect and good faith, but were flawed by a sense of insecurity, ambiguity and temperamental difference. Chamberlain's populism struck a jarring note for traditional conservatives, while his plans for pensions and social reform were frustrated by the Boer War and Tory reaction.

Tariff reform offered Chamberlain a way out of these dilemmas, or seemed to. He might launch a moral crusade in the grand tradition of Cobden and Gladstone, might grasp the political initiative and rebuild grassroots support. His strategy was to win an electoral victory after a massive propaganda campaign orchestrated by himself at the head of his constituency workers. This would place him near the pinnacle of power. Alternatively, a defeat at the polls would underline the bankruptcy of the existing Unionist regime, and pave the way for his eventual overthrow of Balfour. Emotionally Chamberlain desired action and catharsis. By appealing to the people's sense of self-sacrifice he hoped to wean the generation of the 1900s away from materialism and hedonistic selfinterest. He hoped to raise the altruistic vision of a greater Britain wedded to the greater good of the English-speaking peoples abroad.⁶⁹ At first he stressed that a levy on food

imports would not result in 'dear bread', that any rise in prices would be offset anyway by the implementation of old age pensions. However as the opposition's slogan of dear food began to take effect, he quietly jettisoned his social reform programme. Tariff reform became a panacea in itself. It would solve the nation's economic ills, and thus alone become the instrument of higher wages and better living conditions.

Chamberlain signalled his 'new departure' in a speech at Birmingham town hall on 15 May 1903, the one Kidd referred to. He made a point of calling himself still a free-trader, but one not bound 'by any purely technical definition of Free Trade'. He was an English patriot but one not bound by a selfish Little Englandism. His ideal was of a united British Empire - a union, of course, of the white self-governing dominions only - that should be self-sustaining and selfsufficient in an age of global competition. Trading and commercial cooperation would be the indispensable first step on the path to eventual political and strategic unification. If necessary the sacrosanct doctrines of the Manchester school would have to be sacrificed to achieve meaningful reciprocity between mother country and colonies. At present England kept open market for all the world, even when the world's nations chose to shut their own markets to England. Britain made little effort to retain the colonies within her own commercial orbit. They were already protectionist, and were likely to be assimilated into the trading worlds of rival powers. Canada was a case in point. It was fast becoming a United States' market, even though Canada had since 1900 accorded Britain a 33¹3% preference in the Canadian market. What had Britain done for Canada? So far Canada had won no corresponding concessions, even though it had offered further tariff reductions to Britain, and was suffering economic reprisals from Germany. Was this encouraging the community of interest and sacrifice on which the empire must rest?

Under Chamberlain's plan Britain would seek free interchange of commerce between nations, but 'we will nevertheless recover our freedom, resume the power of negotiation, and, if necessary, retaliation, whenever our own interests or our relations between our Colonies and ourselves are threatened by other people'. Selective customs control would be used as a response to foreign 'dumping' on the home market (one of Kidd's constant targets), and as a deterrent to stop the erection of protective walls against British goods abroad. Tariff reform would thus promote world free trade by prising open foreign markets.⁷⁰

The Birmingham speech threw the Unionists into disarray, while the Liberals rallied to the cry of cheap bread and Cobdenite tradition: 'This reckless criminal escapade of Joe's is the great event of our time', Campbell-Bannerman exulted to his party chairman: 'It is playing old Harry with all party relations... We are in for a great time.'71 Within Unionist ranks there existed considerable support for 'the new initiative'. However this was offset by the hostility of Treasuryinfluenced ministers and dedicated 'free-fooders' among backbenchers. Balfour was intent on retaining Chamberlain's services while preserving the party from Chamberlainite control. The prime minister took a subtle, even obscure, position (he was, after all, a philosopher). He favoured economic 'retaliation' against unfair foreign competition, but veered away from the precipice of protection and the electoral peril of food taxes. He advised parliamentary restraint on tariffs pending a cabinet investigation during the summer. Presiding over a disintegrating administration that was likely to be defeated at an early election, Balfour concentrated on holding the Unionists together.

Among younger Unionists, and a minority of Liberals, Chamberlain's bold move struck like a thunderbolt. As Leo Amery, 'Milnerite' and *Times* leader-writer, later recollected:

To many of the younger generation, passionately Imperialist by conviction, beginning to be intellectually sceptical about Free Trade, the speech was a sudden crystallisation of all their ideals in an imperious call to action. My mind goes back to that morning when, the speech just read, I walked up and down my room in uncontrollable excitement. The door flung open and in rushed Leo Maxse.

For a moment or two we danced round hand-in-hand before we could even unloose our tongues.⁷²

Amery and Maxse were to be leading spirits in the 'brains trust' that Chamberlain gathered around himself to justify and orchestrate the new policy. Chamberlain tried hard to add Liberal intellectuals to this group, and generally attempted to create a 'cave' among Liberal politicians on tariff reform. He failed to make any major conversions, even from the Liberal Imperialist group, from whom he expected greater sympathy. But there were some who enlisted in the cause. They included the Dukes of Sutherland and Westminster, the industrialist Sir Charles Tennant, Halford Mackinder, the theorist of geopolitics, John Saxon Mills and Benjamin Kidd.

These were heady times. Kidd was excited, but not entirely surprised by events. He felt that his own writings had paved the way. Social prophecy was, after all, his forte. As he later hinted to Milner, there was a good chance that Chamberlain's 'Birmingham departure' (15 May) owed more than a little to Kidd's own Colonial Institute address, 'The State in relation to Trade'. It was read on 7 April and sent to Chamberlain on 8 April, when he was still angry about his 'betrayal' in cabinet at Ritchie's hands on 31 March. 'You will see what you will see shortly', he wrote back.⁷³ Kidd's speech focussed on global dynamics rather than actual policy. Like Joe after him, he spoke of being a free-trader who recognised the anachronism of pure free trade in a world moving towards protectionism and monopoly:

I say that the world is changing rapidly, and we shall have to change with it. . . We shall have to fight for the principle of free competition, and the consumer and the worker will have to organise themselves through the State to secure it. That is the lesson of the future. The Empire is the economic basis of the new policy, and the organisation of the Empire is the first step in the campaign which is before us.

He pointed to the absurdity of England spending \pounds_{300} million to change 'the innate tendency of things' in South Africa 'by the crude arbitrament of war', while laissez-faire taught that

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not a finger should be lifted to control 'the innate tendencies of trade'.⁷⁴

Kidd detected three basic competing models among the advanced economies: the American, German and British Imperial. In the American system free competition had run riot, and passed rapidly - 'and it may be beyond the control of the political community' - to the stage of monopoly. The United States was the largest free-trade area in the world. Yet its system of free exchange had resulted in the growth of 'monopoly in trade vaster, more permanent, more highly organised, and more intelligently systematic, than has been known in the world before'. America's Big Trusts and international corporations represented the natural tendency of a free capitalist system: 'The tendency of capital in the future will be not only towards combination but towards organisation. And organisation must win in the end. . . The future is with the big organised State, and for the same reasons it will be with the big organised industry.' He was sceptical that the big corporations would either be democratised (as his New York host Abram Hewitt had predicted in their many conversations in 1898), or break up under their own weight. They would form and re-form on an ever more ambitious scale, 'strengthening themselves, learning by the mistakes of the past, stretching their organisations over the world, and gradually enveloping to an increasing degree the consumer and trader in their operation'. Britain, with its open fiscal system, offered little resistance to the infiltration of American combines. Kidd warned: 'The real danger, the danger to which we lie peculiarly open, is that of our industries being drawn deeply into the organisation of trade and production now proceeding outwards from the United States.' By contrast, Germany's unsurpassed economic expansion since 1880 exemplified the success of organisation largely directed by the state. The German system was an exclusive system, 'one which stands for other ideas than ours in the world'. Nevertheless it possessed 'great inherent powers of resistance' to the encroaching American system. Britain could learn some lessons from it.

The British Imperial system had always been global in nature, still constituted the most important factor in world trade, but was in a state of relative decline vis-à-vis America and Germany. With its undeveloped resources and trading potential it was 'the greatest nascent possibility of the time'. Its peoples held the future of the world 'in a grasp such as no military conqueror has ever held it'. The question was: could its people learn the lesson of organisation? Could they devise a defensive strategy against the monopolistic tendencies of the age? Among the suggestions Kidd threw out - he apologised for being 'a little revolutionary in some points' - were state ownership of shipping lines and railways, the creation of a world-wide 'Intelligence Department', giving top priority to trade rather than defence or diplomacy, and the establishment of a Council of Imperial Trade (like the newly formed Council of Imperial Defence) that would 'meet the Pierpont Morgans of the world on something like an equal footing'. Personally aware of the strength of nationalist feeling in Canada and South Africa, he concluded by appealing for a new name for the empire. If the imperial system was to be reconstructed economically, if it was to sustain - as some predicted - a white population of 100 million and 400 million of other races, there must be 'some degree of intelligent anticipation of the future': 'We have the Dominion of Canada; we have the Commonwealth of Australia; we are to have the Commonwealth of South Africa . . . there is only one name for us all as there is only one policy for us all. We must be the British Commonwealth.'

When on 23 April Ritchie's budget swept away the corn duty, Kidd immediately wrote to Chamberlain opposing repeal. 'You will understand that I cannot discuss this question [Chamberlain replied], but I have in more than one public speech referred to the economic relations between the colonies in the same spirit as your letter.'⁷⁵ When Chamberlain made his Birmingham speech, Kidd applauded its 'splendid fighting vigour': 'It is in my opinion quite the best you have yet made on the subject.' It opened a 'big new chapter' in English history: 'It will carry us far. . . One has only to follow the arguments on the other side from day to day to know that you will have to win. I hope you will husband your strength for stern effort.' His own conviction on the subject he described as, if possible, 'deeper and stronger' than Chamberlain's.⁷⁶

A few days later the *Daily Mail* telegrammed: 'Kindly send in letter for publication tonight 300 words on Chamberlain's new departure.'⁷⁷ Kidd obliged. Free trade, he argued, was obsolescent because free competition no longer existed:

One has only to follow your columns from day to day to see that with the rise of 'rings' and trusts on every hand the tendency of all our financial undertakings is now towards monopoly. There will certainly be in the near future but one overshadowing issue in politics in this country, as there is already only one in the United States. It will be that of the consumer on the one hand and of labour on the other, leagued against monopoly in production. The fight of the consumer will be to preserve the principle of free competition. The fight of the worker will be to preserve the standard of living and of wages, which have been won with such effort in the past. They will both have to organise themselves through the State.⁷⁸

The fight to diversify and expand markets could only be waged on the basis of empire. Official Liberalism must abandon its old free-trade dogmas. It must in fact 'go through the strait gate of the new Labour creed'. Here Kidd was not far removed from Fabians such as Pember Reeves and the Webbs. Liberalwelfarism at home must be combined with vigorous imperialism abroad. Only by protecting Britain's global role could social reform be afforded at home. (It was this doctrine that J.A. Hobson so strenuously countered in his Imperialism: A Study in 1902.) Kidd saw no contradiction in 'Radical Joe' embracing imperialism and preference. He was merely expressing on the higher stage of imperial politics the phase of his work begun so long ago in municipal Birmingham. Kidd was to work and re-work these ideas in a number of articles, including one on trusts for the American World and a major paper on tariffs for the Nineteenth Century.⁷⁹ In the latter he declared the essence of his policy to be 'that of a living nation

standing for its own ideas and ideals in the world, aggressive, progressive, as far as possible self-contained and self-sufficient, and therefore necessarily stretching ever outwards towards the widest possible basis of production organised towards its own aims'.⁸⁰

This was to be the political phase of Kidd's life. Despite a temperament that was too reserved – in some ways too naive – for the combative world of politics, he persisted doggedly in his quest to do something practical in national affairs. The Croydon Liberal and Radical Association invited him to join and proposed him for vice-president. He was flattered, and as he admitted later to friends, nursed parliamentary ambitions. So he allowed a guinea fee to be extracted from him and permitted his name to go forward as vice-president.⁸¹

He approached the prime minister and offered his services on the Trade Disputes Commission, which was looking into the vital matter of trade union liability for strikes. He enlisted the aid of F.H. Jeune, Baron St Helier, Lady Mary's husband, who spoke to Balfour on Kidd's behalf. Balfour however preferred 'a small Commission of a judicial character'. Jeune assured Kidd that he would have proved 'a most excellent member . . . but of course as a Commission so limited I am afraid you would have found no proper sphere'. The role of independent gadfly, Jeune consoled him, offered greater freedom of utterance and would probably add more to his reputation.⁸² The South African labour issue and the Cresswell case continued to occupy his attention. On this he collaborated with Keir Hardie, the ILP leader and MP. Hardie agreed with Kidd and Cresswell that machinery would solve the labour problem, making coolie labour unnecessary. Hardie used ammunition from Kidd's Times articles, and from Cresswell's mining experience, to keep the anti-Chinese crusade alive in parliament. He suggested the formation of a small group in the Commons who would specialise on the issue, and suggested that Kidd canvass MPs such as J. Ellis for this purpose.⁸³

Meanwhile Chamberlain had destroyed Balfour's plan to

contain the tariff debate within the decorous limits of cabinet and the Commons. He delivered provocative parliamentary speeches that Balfour regarded as 'a quite gratuitous challenge' to his colleagues and the world, built up support in the press and public opinion, and cultivated the Unionist constituencies. When fifty-four Unionist MPs mobilised into a laissez-faire, 'free-food' camp, Chamberlain's supporters countered by creating the much more powerful Tariff Reform League (21 July 1903). Organised upon the lines of the anti-Corn Law League, it was predominantly Unionist in composition, but its founders aimed to build upon as broad a social and political base as possible. As Judd says, the League 'marshalled beneath its banners captains of industry, aristocratic Tory landlords, the bulk of the Unionist MPs, the Daily Express, and survivors of the protectionist National Free Trade League. It made a determined bid to proselvtise trade union leaders and the workers.'84

Kidd was swept up in these events, and finally became one of a number of Liberals – disappointingly small – who joined the Tariff Reform League. He assisted in Chamberlain's campaign to convert a sizable group of Liberals to tariff reform. Kidd sought determinedly during the summer to detach supporters from Liberal organisations such as the Free Trade League. Rumours spread (or were spread) of wholesale 'wobbling and wavering' among staunch Liberals.⁸⁵ Saxon Mills and Kidd needed little prompting to join what they hoped would be a Chamberlain bandwagon. The Duke of Sutherland, soon to emerge as chairman of the Tariff Reform League, invited Kidd to a meeting of fiscal reform Liberals that was held during June at Stafford House, the centre of organisation for the League.⁸⁶ Leo Amery acted as a sort of liaison officer between the tariffreform Liberals and the Chamberlainites.

Kidd now found himself on the perimeter of a coterie of purposeful intellectuals and journalists who had been originally associated with the 'Co-efficients', but had defected over the issue of preference. The 'Co-efficients' were a group of Liberal Imperialists and progressive Unionists formed by the

Webbs in November 1902. They saw their role as that of a directive political elite, rather akin to the 'samurai' of H.G. Wells's prophetic novels. Wells himself was a member, as were Haldane and Grey, Halford Mackinder, Clinton Dawkins (one of 'Milner's kindergarden'), W.A.S. Hewins, Bertrand Russell, Leo Maxse, Pember Reeves, Leo Amery and J.L. Garvin. Tariff reform splintered the group, with strong preferentialists such as Maxse, Hewins, Amery, Garvin and Mackinder breaking away and becoming the 'brains trust' of Chamberlain's movement.87 Hewins, the director of the London School of Economics, and W.J. Ashley, Professor of Commerce at Birmingham University, became the economic spokesmen for tariff reform, contending against the economists of the classical school. Hewins resigned his post to become a full-time adviser for Chamberlain. Kidd met and corresponded with almost all the members of this brains trust.

Amery recalled in his memoirs how he spent the weeks after Chamberlain's 'new departure' in a spate of discussion, 'persuading or controverting all whom I met. . . I found a few Liberals here and there whose minds were open to argument.' One of these was Saxon Mills who

rang me up one morning and urged me to take the lead in starting a committee of Liberal Imperialists in support of Chamberlain's policy. I demured at first on the ground that I had never been a Liberal, but was persuaded to let my name figure as one of a dozen Liberal signatories to a letter which appeared in *The Times* of 21st July. . . The letter itself, which I suspect I drafted . . . left no doubt as to where we stood.⁸⁸

It was timed to coincide with the establishment of the Tariff Reform League, and Kidd's name appeared among the twelve signatories. Others included the Duke of Sutherland, industrialists such as Sir Charles Tennant and T.A. Brassey, J.C. Dobbie of the Glasgow Liberal League, A.F. Firth, a prominent Yorkshire Liberal, Mackinder, Saxon Mills, Amery and a number of leading merchants and manufacturers. Kidd suffered last-minute nerves about making such an open stand.

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Saxon Mills was forced to badger him into line:

I cannot pretend even to understand your qualms about signing at this late hour of the day. The Tariff Reform [League] has a Liberal chairman and a self-confessed non-political complexion. (It is impossible to stop Liberals who support Jo. Chamberlain from helping in *its* work.) You seem to be worrying about mere names. . . I shall be here [National Liberal Club] tomorrow at 4, when you must really let me know your decision. It is seriously annoying after having sent complete and final texts to people.⁸⁹

Hewins declined to sign because (as he told Kidd) many people thought him 'a particularly violent Chamberlainite . . . if it had been in any way connected with the Lib. Imp. organisation I would sign. But it is important that the manifesto look perfectly bôna fide to Liberals and Unionists. . . Webb has publicly declared on several occasions in recent years that I am a Conservative, as a set off to his socialist views.'⁹⁰

The letter used familiar arguments, plus one or two unmistakeably Kiddian sentiments: 'Many of the British Colonies are beyond doubt great and undeveloped estates, the production of which might be multiplied many times over in the near future under the stimulus of an intelligently directed fiscal policy.' A dynamically expansive empire would enable food supplies to be rationalised, thus ultimately reducing living costs in Britain, while offering new outlets to British manufactures. There were echoes of Control of the Tropics, and warnings against trusts. Much statistical controversy raged over the manifesto's thesis that British exports to tariffprotected foreign states had reached the limits of expansion, even showed a tendency to decline. This made even more urgent the need for special access to colonial markets with their limitless potential. Kidd fought a running battle in the press with L.T. Hobhouse, Lord Avebury, Asquith and others over the evidence for this 'stagnating trade' argument. He was impatient and aggressive, accusing his opponents of being 'obscurantist' and of inviting the English people to live in a fool's paradise.⁹¹ He himself was guilty of evading the telling

statistics of free-traders, which showed that only one third of British trade was with its colonies. The dominions were already protectionist. Would any concessions wrung from them in return for the modest preferences suggested by Chamberlain compensate England for the higher costs and trade losses that would result from duties on cheap foreign imports?⁹² Kidd's polemics revealed a characteristic reluctance to face up to unpleasant facts, and a facility for directing debate into the more visionary and grandiose categories he preferred. Both he and Chamberlain were ultimately less concerned with the statistics of the situation than with the imperial vision that bewitched them.

Kidd thought of little else but tariff reform. He wrote to T.A. Brassey: 'I have made preparations to give up my other time and get into the fight with a will.'⁹³ The first fight he experienced, disillusioningly, was a power struggle within the executive committee of the infant Tariff Reform League. To the dismay of Leo Amery and Halford Mackinder, the control of the executive was quickly taken over by the wealthy owner of the *Daily Express*, C.A. Pearson, and his supporters. Pearson installed as secretary of the executive the lawyer Ratcliffe Cousins, whereas Amery and his friends wanted Mackinder for the post:

Pearson remarked that Mackinder might be a very able man, but would obviously try to run the League, and that, he, Pearson, as chairman, meant to run it himself, and preferred to have a secretary who would do as he was told. We looked at each other in some bewilderment. But nobody ventured directly to question his authority, and Cousins was chosen.⁹⁴

Pearson also tried to dominate the literary committee, responsible for propaganda. This alienated the Mackinder– Amery–Kidd group. Mackinder complained to Kidd: 'Pearson seems to me to have flouted the intentions of the Committee regarding the Lit[erary] Sub Committee. . . I have no faith in Pearson and Co. Perhaps our chance will come later.'⁹⁵ Amery later blamed 'Pearson and Co.' for weakening the League. They eventually 'faded out', but by then the forceful Mackinder had become Principal of the London School of Economics and was no longer available to 'run the League'.⁹⁶

Saxon Mills was deeply involved in the League. He was moreover a key figure in a Chamberlainite attempt to take over the Manchester Courier as a rival to the free-trade Manchester Guardian. The conservative journalist E.B. Iwan-Müller, an intimate of Balfour and Milner, was to finance the take-over. Iwan-Müller had edited the Manchester Courier before coming to London to join the Pall Mall Gazette in 1893. He was now leader-writer for The Daily Telegraph, a foreign policy expert, and author of Lord Milner in South Africa (1902). The plan was for Saxon Mills to edit the new Courier. Mills had recruited Iwan-Müller to the tariff-reform cause. Things went astray however, as Mills confided to Kidd in late July: 'The truth is, I saw Iwan-Müller today, and gathered from him that the Courier reconstruction may not succeed - in which case I shall of course not go. . . So I am free to go on with our Liberal organisation which should be pushed hard.' Mills, like other tariff-reform Liberals, was not entirely happy with the Tariff Reform League. Although it was nominally non-party, even chaired by a Liberal (Sutherland), it was dominated by Unionists. Hence various attempts were made, all abortive, to create an alternative Liberal league wedded to fiscal reform. Saxon Mills helped to set up the Liberal Fair Trade League in October. He may have been piqued by his own failure to obtain office in the big League:

Müller asked me why I wasn't made secretary to the TR League! Of course I told him I hadn't been asked. He thinks Cousins a mistake, and also considers Mackinder too donnish a person for the job. However so be it, and we need a Liberal organisation more than ever – not to compete but to complement.⁹⁷

Two weeks later he was disconsolate: 'Iwan-Müller has thrown the business up in despair and to the disappointment of Balfour and Chamberlain.' Mills was left 'hors de combat':

Personally I see no way how a man who vanishes to South Africa for

two years and quarrels with his party the moment he returns can hope to get back into the English stream of life in a hurry. I hear the Tariff League is not doing very much. Müller thinks the business has been very badly 'foozled'.⁹⁸

Somehow or other the Unionist government clung to office in the midst of turmoil. J.A. Spender later wrote: 'None of us at the beginning of 1903 imagined that Balfour's Government could last the best part of three years, and least of all, I suppose, Balfour himself.'99 A number of factors prolonged Tory rule, including Balfour's adroitness in rallying the Conservative interests, plus the reluctance of Tories to splinter the Unionist party and thus present the radical left with a sweeping electoral victory. Balfour himself laboured to construct a basis for consensus on which the squabbling factions within his party might compromise. Thus he produced his Economic Notes on Insular Free Trade, originally a cabinet memo (1 August), that favoured fiscal retaliation in order to protect Britain from the predatory trading practices of foreign powers. Balfour kept an open mind – something he was good at – on preferences designed to knit the empire closer together. On food taxes however he was uneasy, especially if they increased the working man's budget; and he declared protection to be wrong fiscally 'and very inconvenient politically'. The memo failed to convert his cabinet or party. Kidd, however, declared himself 'deeply impressed' by the Economic Notes in a letter to Balfour. At the same time he lectured Balfour on the merits of Chamberlain's, and his own, tariff policy. Kidd developed an argument made in John Stuart Mill's Political Economy (Book 3), that the country with the largest market must eventually take the lead in production:

This is really what has begun to happen in the case of our competitors with a large base in their home markets. We must therefore and at any cost keep and increase our markets as a condition of remaining effective competitors in the modern industrial rivalry. By giving our markets away for nothing we are in short helping to equip our competitors against ourselves.¹⁰⁰

Access to British markets should be used by Britain as a lever to open wider markets abroad. On this Kidd agreed with economists of the 'historical' school, such as W.J. Ashley, rather than with the dominant classical economists. (Fourteen of the latter had on 5 August opposed preference in an open letter to *The Times*.) What Kidd recognised – as indeed did Balfour – was that economic revolutions on the scale that had taken place in the United States and Europe were only achieved by governments subordinating immediate material interests to long-term political principles, 'to the spirit of the larger aims expressed through . . . nationality'. This was the 'scientific' basis for Chamberlain's programme.¹⁰¹

The cabinet divisions between tariff reformers and freetraders boiled up into a crisis in September. Chamberlain resigned from the government. Balfour had sought to cut his losses and get at least notional cabinet unity by securing the resignations of unrepentant free-trade ministers such as Ritchie on one hand, and that of Chamberlain on the other. In what looked suspiciously like a behind-the-scenes deal Chamberlain traded office for freedom of action - the freedom to launch a public crusade for tariff reform – while his son Austen won promotion to the key Treasury post. Colonial preference was rejected as government policy, at least for the time being. However Balfour accepted in principle a degree of fiscal reform, and tolerated Chamberlain's larger tariff-reform movement as a pioneering advance that the forces of loyal Unionism would ultimately exploit. Time was needed to educate the electorate. Unluckily for Balfour, his gamble of retaining a strong moderate cabinet was lost with the resignation from the ministry of the influential Duke of Devonshire. The Duke's feeling for free-trade purity finally prevailed over his concern for party unity. Meanwhile Chamberlain turned his impressive energies into constituency and propaganda channels. He set out to wrench public attention away from the bogey of the 'stomach tax'. He appealed to loftier and more permanent national interests. He aroused, or set out to arouse, emotions of imperial fervour, of kinship, race and patriotism.

He planned to go to the country in 1904 on a platform of imperial unity and tariff reform. Uneasy reverberations shot through the Unionist party as Chamberlainism threatened to take over the Conservative machinery and branches.

A little awed at Chamberlain's impact on affairs, Kidd wrote to him: 'Permit me a little word of God speed. I would not have believed three months ago that you could have achieved so much in so short a time.' As for Chamberlain's resignation: 'It was what I had hoped for for long but did not dare to expect. Do not be afraid to strike a high note in the cause.'102 At Glasgow on 6 October Chamberlain gave a speech that signalled a widening gulf between himself and Balfour. Chamberlain frankly accepted food taxes, decried Britain's 'stagnating' trade performance, and forecast protection for endangered industries. Kidd plunged into the war of words that followed. In letters to *The Times* and other papers he tried to counter the 'fallacies' emanating from the Liberal press, and especially from the Westminster Gazette, where J.A. Spender and Reginald McKenna set up a 'research laboratory' to check and undermine Chamberlain's case on the basis of the official trade records.¹⁰³ The debate soon bogged down in a statistical morass, both sides claiming victory, and both clinging to economic generalities when figures failed. In this respect Kidd detected three underlying signs of British economic decline:

- (1) The increasing employment of capital abroad with little or no advantage to British labour;
- (2) the comparative stagnation of home manufactures; and
- (3) the shifting of population from industrial pursuits to those which the earlier economists used to describe as unproductive – that is to say, to occupations which are devoted to supplying the wants and pleasures of the richer classes, and in which capital is not reproduced by the services rendered.¹⁰⁴

Kidd found his services as expert and controversialist in demand. He was asked to participate when the London Chamber of Commerce discussed 'the Fiscal Question' at its

monthly dinner.¹⁰⁵ The Economic Club asked him to read a paper on Chamberlain's programme, and he figured in numerous drawing room discussions on the issue.¹⁰⁶ Hammond Hall, the editor of the *Daily Graphic*, suggested that he prepare a series of articles and graphic diagrams illustrating the merits of tariff reform. Hall offered five guineas per thousand words. Kidd successfully held out for \tilde{t}_{10} per thousand words, with a maximum of $\pounds 200$ for the series, an impressive sum. He insisted that the Daily Graphic waive its rights to republish his articles. He had learnt to retain control of his works in his own hands (a subject on which he perennially wrangled with Moberly Bell of The Times, whose policy forbade outside publication of articles as damaging to circulation). He was also nervous that by writing ephemeral polemics he might demean his professional reputation.¹⁰⁷ Although absorbed in day-to-day issues, he planned to produce a substantial work from his experience: 'My next book [he told an editor friend] will not be ready for a year yet at least and it will deal with the economic struggle between modern nations applying to this subject the principles worked out in "Social Evolution" and in particular in my last book "Principles of Western Civilisation".¹⁰⁸ In the interim he proposed another weighty article for the Nineteenth Century, an offer readily accepted by its editor James Knowles, who was keen to make his journal a major forum for the fiscal debate. Kidd's words, Knowles, said, 'will be valuable to "the cause" '. The article was finished by 21 December, and appeared in January 1904.¹⁰⁹ During 1903 journalistic commissions kept rolling in from England and America. He was kept hectically busy. Editors harassed him for topical pronouncements and prophetic forecasts. He kept trying, unsuccessfully, to gain a permanent job on a major newspaper or journal (he tried The Times, the National Review and others). Invitations to speak rained in on him from clubs and societies of all types. His clubland activities were never busier, and from June he became involved in a professional project close to his heart: the establishment of the British Sociological

Society. Like Newton he was 'never at rest'. Politics, however, obsessed his mind.

Towards the end of 1903 Kidd unequivocally pledged himself to 'the cause'. As he wrote to Chamberlain:

It is very cheering to find how things are moving forward like a piece of machinery. . . I am writing you this note to do what I have been for some months waiting for, but which I was not in a position to do before November. If I can be of use to you and I think I ought to be able to be, I would like to offer you my services for two years – absolutely free of other engagements.¹¹⁰

Kidd again proposed his services when Chamberlain set up his Tariff Commission. This was an expert commission established under the auspices of the Tariff Reform League to inquire into British trading conditions and problems, and to frame a model tariff. W.A.S. Hewins took a leading role in shaping the commission's aims and composition, finally resigning as director of the London School of Economics to become secretary to the commission. This was exactly the sort of body on which Kidd wished to work. Given the influential part played by his tariff-reform associates Hewins and C.A. Pearson in the commission's origins, Kidd might reasonably have expected to be made a member. He soon discovered the limits to his own influence. The list of commissioners was virtually finalised by the second week of December (probably before Kidd indicated his interest), and there was strong competition for places. There is no evidence that he was seriously considered for a post.¹¹¹ His writer's reputation, even his useful involvement in the fiscal campaign, proved no match against the political and business considerations that governed the choice of nominations. He was politely coldshouldered by Chamberlain who, less than frankly, minimised his own role in the work of organisation ('I myself have no time to attend to more than general suggestions'):

I am a little doubtful, therefore, whether there is anything I could ask you to do beyond what you have already being doing, viz., to follow up the scientific side of the controversy. Your signature ensures a prominent place in any magazine or newspaper, and if you care to deal with those of my critics who deal either with economic arguments or with complicated figures, and who cannot therefore be properly answered in popular speeches, I have no doubt that it would help the cause with educated people who often have influence altogether disproportionate to their numbers.¹¹²

Kidd found himself saddled with the image of the intellectual, the theoretician, an image which included elements of the impractical and unworldly. When he reproved C.A. Pearson for the light treatment accorded tariff reform in the *Daily Express*, Pearson reminded him that a great number of the *Express*'s 350,000 readers ('you have to add to this another 130,000 for my two provincial papers') didn't care much for fiscal subjects. They had to be wooed to Chamberlain's side: 'after all it is the men of small income and the working men whom we really have to convince'.¹¹³ Kidd's role, in the minds of his associates, was clearly to be schoolmaster to the elite, despite his own universalist hankerings.

He and Saxon Mills still vainly sought their own journalistic outlet. Kidd, an inveterate giver of advice, counselled W.S. Teignmonth Shore to place the Academy on a broader basis. He added: 'Is it a paper one could acquire a share in?' The editor replied that the Academy was being turned into a limited company, and no shares were being offered to the public.¹¹⁴ In October Saxon Mills scented the chance of acquiring a weekly that might support his newly formed Liberal Fair Trade League: 'We are missing a very good chance of becoming millionaires over this proposed weekly', he told Kidd. 'Now is the chance to destroy the Spectator [Unionist Free Trade], I shall write to Maxse [editor National Review]. Twenty people at \pounds_{200} would suffice . . . the paper would go at once.'115 However twenty people at £200 were not forthcoming. As Moberly Bell and others more soberly advised Kidd, weeklies and fortnightlies were a chancy proposition in a saturated market.

Kidd was approached to join the Liberal Tariff League when it was formed in December 1903. Its sympathisers included

W.J. Ashley, Halford Mackinder, Samuel Story, J.J. Candlish, the Hon. Harry Lee-Dillon, J.M. Ludlow, and a sprinkling of tariff-reformers from the Reform and National Liberal Clubs. Saxon Mills was an early member, but was now thought by some Liberals to be 'leaning to the conservatives'. The League's secretary, William Lucas, well knew the difficulties faced by such a body:

Rapid success is scarcely to be anticipated owing to the activity of the Tariff Reform League and the fact that it was for some time the only Tariff organisation in the field. The attitude of the Liberal Leaders is a deterrent to many Liberals, and also the fact that Members of Parliament are not disposed to commit themselves until Parliament meets.¹¹⁶

Lucas offered Kidd a seat on the provisional council of the league: 'your action would have a great influence in assisting others to make up their minds'.

W.I. Ashley, Professor of Commerce at Birmingham University, also urged Kidd to participate. Ashley aimed to form a small group of young enthusiasts - our 'Faculty' he came to call it – who would energise the Liberal movement, helped by a few better known figures such as Kidd and himself. The great mass of the Liberal party, he recognised, were free-traders 'and those who are not, don't care to speak out'. It was important 'that people should know, and especially that the Colonials should know, that the English Liberal Party is not absolutely solid in this matter'. If a Liberal government, pledged to do nothing, should come to power in England, 'which is possible, though I am glad to say not so probable as it seemed . . . it could be an awkward state of affairs - I say nothing of the larger and graver issues'. The functions of the League would be to help pave the way for 'Preferentialism and as much Tariff Defence as may be necessary, but to try to prevent there being more crude selfish Protectionism about it than can be helped'.117 Both Lucas and Ashley urged Kidd to be active at the Liberal conference to be held on 17 December. Lucas proposed that Kidd move a resolution approving the League to

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the conference. Kidd noted on the letter's margin: 'Said I hoped to come but not to move a resolution.'¹¹⁸

In January 1904 Kidd's *Nineteenth Century* article appeared on 'The Larger Basis of Colonial Preference'.¹¹⁹ It was a major statement of his position. He called for a bipartisan recognition of the need for a consolidated empire. Typically economics were discussed in terms transcending economics. He hoped to raise the fiscal debate from the level of statistics to that of bio-history and *weltanschauung*.

The paper gave a rare biographical clue. Kidd revealed that he was set on the path of tariff reform, and much else, by the furore occasioned more than ten years earlier over Charles Pearson's *National Life and Character* (1893). Pearson, a history lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, traveller, and finally minister of education in the colony of Victoria, urged that 'advanced' white civilisation was destined to go down in the not remote future before the increasingly effective industrial competition of the world's 'lower races'. His talk of a world dominated by the Chinese or black peoples evoked alarm and racist prejudice. Pearson's was the first of a string of writings to appear on the theme of the 'yellow peril'. Not written with his philosophic detachment, they stressed the precariousness of the European position in a world where demographic expansion favoured non-white populations.

What riveted Kidd's attention was the pessimistic logic by which Pearson stoically deduced the inevitable fall of the west through the working of ascendant free-trade doctrines. He described his reaction:

There must be many in England who remember the kind of effect produced by the reading of this remarkable book. The present writer will not forget that effect as he saw it in print, in a review of the work which appeared at the time in one of the leading organs of Liberal opinion in this country. For one brief moment, as it were, the author of *National Life and Character* had taken the reviewer up into a high mountain and shown him all the kingdoms of the world. And in that moment in which he had resisted the temptation of Mr. Pearson's desolate creed there had apparently come to him a vision in which a

life-long conviction had withered. What the reviewer saw was that the conception of that international scramble in commerce and industry, which we have hitherto called free trade, was fated to become an impossible creed; that it had never been a scientific creed; and that all the dogmas and doctrines which have accreted round it in England were destined to slow but certain dispersion by the inevitable logic of events in the world.

Kidd rejected Pearson's fatalistic acceptance of the 'inevitable'. It was not really possible to remain ultimately indifferent to the results of the free scramble of business for every race and country, 'as to what types of civilisation or races of men or standards of labour or of living shall in the result prevail'. Just as men had come to accept social regulation in the domestic sphere, so regulation would become necessary in the international sphere. His stance was an interesting variant of the 'new liberalism' then in a stage of vigorous growth under the guidance of thinkers such as L.T. Hobhouse and J.A. Hobson. Both tariff reform and social welfare represented the triumph of the organic and 'futurist' principle over the mechanistic and 'presentist' competitive model. The basic criterion of progress must be changed from that of maximum production of wealth in the present - what we would now call crude growth economics - to that of overall social harmony and future good.

The international free-trade theory assumed free exchange of commodities without concern for consequences. It assumed traders acting solely for profits and ignored issues of race, civilisation or nationality. The model was simplistic: capital in search of cheap labour and vice versa, the end of activity the maximisation of capital, the method the pursuit of selfinterest. But the real world was different. Britain had been advantaged by its early start in industrialisation, and was tardily recognising the stern facts of international life: the movement of nations towards protection, limitation of the free flow of labour and capital, the appearance of 'dumping' and 'combines'.

At this stage of his career he believed nationalism to be a

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healthy organic tendency in conflict with the 'free scramble'. (He would later change his mind.) A nation was 'the best example we have in the present imperfect state of the world of society in its organic aspect'. (Cosmopolitanism, he wrote elsewhere, 'tends to uplift a kind of pallid humanitarianism as against the particularism of patriotism, and it probably represents the period in the life of a State, as in the life of the individual, when decline has begun'.)²⁰ In the real world nations did not act, as Adam Smith thought, like loose 'neighbourhoods', governed by the theory of free exchange:

All that a living nation has will it give for that entity of standards and principles which constitutes its distinctive life. Its life in the past has been bound up with the fact that its history has been nearly always a history of constant economic sacrifice on the largest scale in the present to secure its principles and place in the future. The higher the civilisation of a nation, the more organic, as a rule, are its principles, and the more nearly do its standards represent all the best that the race has achieved. It is in defence of these standards that a nation in Maine's fine phrase cries out, above all things, for life – for life beyond any theory of the balancing of economic exchanges in the present – 'for life from generation to generation, life prolonged far beyond that of children's children, life like that of the everlasting hills'.

Modern nations, seeking life, had abrogated Smithian economics. They sought efficiency by economies of scale, the expanding organisation of industry, and the raising of tariff barriers against competitors. This was natural, and the sooner the English understood it, and did likewise, the better. Britain's rivals had made present sacrifices – for example by denying themselves cheap English goods – in order to build up their manufacturing base and self-sufficiency. The battle for supremacy between nations was now taking the form of a struggle to control natural resources:

In the ultimate rivalry of nations, the exchanges which would weigh the process would be those between the manufacturing power of the temperate regions and the agricultural resources of the tropics. The

partition of Africa by the European Powers, the parcelling of Asia into spheres of influence by the Western nations, the attempt of the United States to form a pan-American union embracing both the temperate and tropical regions of the two American continents, have all been moves in obedience to this driving instinct.

If Britain clung to free trade, it was doomed to stagnation. It would survive for a time on its vast capital, accumulated through past technology, and on its entrepreneurial and banking skills. But 'if Great Britain finally elects to stand on her small economic base in these islands she must be steadily driven in one direction; she will be compelled to fall back more and more on her own exchanges. . . There will be no open market in the world such as every nation is able to keep open by the principle of its own nationality.' Tariff reform was the naturally ordained solution, giving Britain the largest economic base in the world by creating a vast imperial network:

Thus it is that we see how great is the conception of colonial preference; how naturally it has come to us in the fulness of time and from Colonies themselves in the history of our expansion as an imperial people; and how orderly it falls into place as part of the secular movement of the world which is carrying us upwards in civilisation.

Kidd's friends liked his article, but he had little time for selfcongratulation. He immersed himself in the task, well-paid but onerous, of presenting a popular case for fiscal reform for the readers of the *Daily Graphic*. It eventually appeared as a series of ten articles, attractively illustrated with readily understood graphs and tables. Hammond Hall, the *Graphic*'s editor, was keen to publish before the opening of parliament. For once Kidd was unable to meet a deadline. Daunted by his workload, he tried to cry off after he had written only two articles. The job was finally done by 4 April. Hammond Hall withheld the series until late October because tariff reform seemed 'very much "off" at the moment'.¹²¹

A brief foray into socialist polemics also produced prob-

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lems. Early in 1903 Kidd had promised Edward Pease, secretary of the Fabian Society, to give an address on tariffs. He tried to wriggle free, possibly feeling shy again of public display, but Pease skilfully pinned him to his word. After postponements he lectured on 27 May 1904, at Clifford's Inn on 'Social Evolution and the Fiscal Problem'.¹²² It was largely a rehash of his Nineteenth Century article, a little radicalised for his socialist audience. He stated that he had been for many years a close student of Fabian tracts, and he sharpened his attack on laissez-faire and trusts. He made the mistake, however, of declining to furnish Pease with a prior copy of his speech. Pease's report in Fabian News aroused Kidd's wrath by highlighting his radical analysis, and his calls for nationalisation of steamship lines, railways and state organisation of 'trade in other directions. . . Fabians have fought for twenty years for Municipal Socialism: this is the same thing at the other end.' Kidd accused Pease of discourtesy in not sending him pre-publication proofs of the report. Pease retorted that lecturers rarely cared to revise proofs, and defended the accuracy of his account: 'I am really almost more inclined to trust my written record of what you did say, than your memory.'123 The remark hardly soothed the irate Kidd, who rejoined: 'Unless I was dreaming I could not have made some of the statements and used some of the expressions as they are reported.'124 He let the matter drop, but made no further orations before the Fabians.

We have depressingly little information on what was a major area of Kidd's activity, his intellectual and proselytising role in the world of clubs, societies and discussion groups. Small dining clubs devoted to serious debate of issues were very fashionable in the 1900s. A number were set up as 'think-tanks' on political and fiscal issues, one of the best known being the Co-efficients Club.¹²⁵ The X Club was another, and Kidd attended its inaugural meeting at the Hotel Cecil on 11 March 1904, when J.L. Garvin read a paper on 'Principles of Constructive Economics'. Kidd also frequented the Compatriots Club, and briefly joined the Round Table Club, a

small pro-empire dining club that was just starting and included Hugh Chisholm, Abraham Mitchell and Alfred Hillier. In March Leo Amery asked:

Will you join a small League that is being formed of people who are keen on the purely Imperial and constructive side of the Chamberlain movement? Our object is, firstly, to get the foundations of belief clear by debates among ourselves, and then subsequently to give a series of public lectures expounding the policy in its broadest aspects. We have a few members of Parliament among us, mainly younger ones, but we consist principally of people like Mackinder, Hewins, Garvin, Maxse, Mills etc, in fact it is just the sort of society that I remember you said we would have to form when the Tariff Reform League was first started. We meet on Friday the 18th for dinner and a debate, and I hope you will keep that evening free.¹²⁶

Kidd agreed to come.

Such civilised disputation was almost drowned in the cacophony of sound and fury being raised in support of tariff reform by Chamberlain, the TR League, politicians (mainly Unionist), and the press barons such as Harmsworth and Arthur Pearson. While Chamberlain revived the strategies of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Pearson used the hustling tactics of American politics, even bringing 'Joe's' voice to public audiences by means of the new-fangled gramophone (a device used by Grover Cleveland in his successful campaign for American President in 1893). Chamberlain had now won the support of fifteen of the twenty-one London newspapers, despite solid press hostility a year earlier. Pearson countered the 'dear bread' cry with the slogan 'Tariff Reform Means Work for All', flaunted day after day on the front pages of the Daily Express and his other publications in Birmingham, Leicester, Newcastle and the Midlands. The public endured a pamphlet war over the fiscal issue, prelude to an election expected daily but delayed by Balfour until January 1906. In that year the League issued 1,603,000 leaflets, pamphlets and posters.¹²⁷ It even organised its own trade union branch in an effort to penetrate the largely hostile labour movement, which was suspicious of the 'Bismarckian' formula of protection,

nationalism and social reform. To the trade unions the whole thing seemed a dangerous recipe for curbing the growing socialist movement.

Despite Chamberlain's charisma (one Liverpool meeting gave him a rousing six minutes' welcome), despite the titanic energy he devoted to his grass-roots campaign, despite the dominance he came to assert over the Liberal Unionist machine and even the Conservative Associations, his prospects of an election victory lagged in 1905. The Liberals united themselves, while the return of prosperity undermined the argument of 'national emergency' used by the tariff-reformers. The political pendulum swung to the Liberals after a decade of Conservative rule. Within the Unionist Party 'free fooders, tariff reform "whole hoggers", and Balfourites of "unsettled convictions" could not be restrained from inflicting serious wounds upon each other and the party as they snapped and snarled over the tariff controversy'.128 Balfour's ambivalent tactics seemed to be directed less to winning an election which might deliver the party over to Chamberlain – than to protecting the position of the existing party elites. Balfour's group feared the ascension of a hard-boiled industrial bourgeoisie, arriviste Chamberlainites with few connections to the land and the aristocracy. Chamberlain himself became more deeply disillusioned about Balfour. There seemed little guarantee that Balfour would interpret any Unionist victory at the polls as a mandate for Chamberlain's imperial and protectionist programme. In any case the portents signified a heavy Unionist defeat. Chamberlain kept fighting, but with a sense of fatalistic acceptance of defeat. He - and many of his supporters including Kidd – reasoned that the Unionist party could be reconstructed after defeat, during a 'Radical interregnum' that would alienate the voters. Tariff reform clearly needed a longer-term campaign to win the minds of the people. For its prosecution more effective leadership of the Unionists was demanded. A post-election power struggle inevitably loomed between the Balfourites and the Chamberlainites.

Kidd's own political life moved to a crisis in this atmosphere

of crisis. In January 1905 he resigned from the Liberal party and discontinued his membership of the National Liberal Club.¹²⁹ The move must have seemed inexorable for some time, given the swing of the Liberals away from the ideals espoused by Chamberlain and himself. The Liberal party had become, if anything, more dogmatic in the cause of free trade, and less enthusiastic for empire, as the need to oppose Chamberlain and the prospect of office overshadowed all else. The Liberal Imperialist leadership had never wholeheartedly supported the idea of imperial union based on tariff preference. Haldane alone kept an open mind, but even he opposed outright protection as 'unhealthy' and called the extreme imperial federationists 'faddists . . . misunderstanding the political ideals of the time'.¹³⁰ Chamberlain's strategy of weaning key 'Lib-Imps' into the TR League failed. It was indeed counter-productive as far as Asquith and many other Liberals were concerned. They saw the overture as an attack on the politics of consensus, a threat to the broad Liberal centre that held the party together. From the start Asquith went 'bald-headed for J.C. and his swindle of a zollverein', ¹³¹ while Grey and Haldane returned to the bosom of their party as their chance of attaining cabinet office broadened into certainty. The lesser Liberals who had defected to tariff reform now became an embattled minority, men who must decide where their allegiance lay.¹³² Some climbed back on to the Liberal bandwagon. Others, including Kidd and Saxon Mills, left their party and threw their weight behind Chamberlain in his electoral campaign. Kidd, however, remained a Liberal at heart and never formally joined the Unionists.

In resigning he sacrificed some faint hope of making a parliamentary career for himself. In September 1903 he had been approached by Thomas Wilson to stand as a Liberal at the next election. Wilson offered to propose him to the Liberal executive as a candidate for St Albans division at Hatfields, if he was agreeable.¹³³ Kidd was again approached in early 1904, this time in the Unionist cause. The overture was made by Captain Melville Johnstone, a Scot, late of the Royal

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Engineers and an influential member of the East Lothian executive committee. Johnstone had been impressed by Kidd's books, as they reconciled 'the science to which I have been bred and the religion which was my first food'.¹³⁴ He had heard through his brother in London 'that you are considered to be a likely candidate for Parliament . . . we require a man of brains and learning, not a mere squire.'¹³⁵ Kidd politely declined the offer. As he explained he could stand for neither party:

It is true that I had at one time some idea of the kind you mention. The present fiscal controversy has however practically disposed of it. Briefly my position is that I am shifting in favour of the movement towards colonial preference as the most practical step towards the political organisation of the Empire, now a matter of first importance. In other things however I am in general agreement with liberal principles. So you see that from a liberal party point of view I am at present out of things.¹³⁶

Devotion to principle no doubt played a primary role in his decision to leave the Liberal party. But he may also have been moved by personality factors to support Chamberlain. Kidd, a man who suffered feelings of inadequacy, the legacy of a life of self-help that had projected him into the assured world of those born to success, responded gratefully to the flattering regard shown to him by the eminent Chamberlain, also an 'outsider'. In November 1904, after the League of Empire had asked Chamberlain to recollect his favourite books for its Monthly Record, the great man listed Control of the Tropics as an essential work on the empire. Kidd preserved the cutting from *The Times*.¹³⁷ Again, on 17 December 1904, Chamberlain expressed his gratitude to Kidd for his 'powerful assistance' in the campaign, adding, 'I regard your most interesting book on the Control of the Tropics as one that may well stand by the side of Sir John Seeley's Expansion of England.'138

There is no doubt that Kidd threw himself into Chamberlain's electoral cause in 1905. Unfortunately the

surviving records provide an inadequate, and at times confusing, account of his involvement. Certainly he added his mite to the campaign propaganda in what became the most highly orchestrated and spectacular election in living memory. There was a press war, and a pamphlet war, and there were massive public meetings: 'The music halls sounded to sprightly Tariff tunes; the muse of political doggerels was invoked.'¹³⁹ Kipling had shown the way when he lionised Chamberlain in *Things and the Man* (1904): 'He led his soul, his cause, his clan/A little from the ruck of Things/" *Once upon a time there was a Man*".' A misguided Kidd tried to follow the example with his own tariff rhyme:

Cheer boys cheer! thirteen odd millions hungry Cheer boys cheer! Oh the wondrous Cobden trade! Firm, lads, firm; for the rights of British labour Break through the yoke which foolish men have made. etc.

Convinced of the effectiveness of his rhymes, he pressed them upon the Chamberlains. Mary Chamberlain, Joe's attractive American wife, promised diplomatically to convey them to the large party organisations to help them in the election.¹⁴⁰

Kidd wrote his share of pamphlets, political pieces and letters to the press, but he had bigger fish to fry. His preoccupation was a long-term project to meld together a permanent imperial school of thought and pressure group. The Compatriots Club seemed a useful starting base for such a scheme. Its ideal was a united empire, and its members included able and influential men: Viscount Ridley, a chairman of the TR League and an ardent imperialist, and activists in the fiscal movement such as W.J. Ashley, T.A. Brassey, Sir Vincent Gaillard, H.J. Mackinder, Leo Maxse, Saxon Mills, C.A. Pearson, J.L. Garvin and W.A.S. Hewins, together with journalists like Hugh Chisholm, and John Walter of *The Times*.

The surviving documents merely hint at the outlines of Kidd's scheme, which was discussed at a series of meetings with Chamberlain, Ridley, Maxse and others. Kidd told Chamberlain: 'I had a talk with Lord Ridley a few days ago

about the mvt. [movement] and discussed a scheme which had a certain history behind it for getting a much required intellectual centre for the mvt. in England, and I wonder if you would discuss it with him.¹⁴¹ He was, he said, full of determination about the project, and willing to put aside his work if he could help it begin from a suitable fulcrum: 'I feel very earnestly about it', he noted to Ridley at about the same date. 'Walter [John Walter] writes to me to meet the committee of the Compatriots' Club and lay any proposals before them.¹⁴² Whatever the plan, he rather surprisingly dropped it in March, after Walter's invitation to address the next meeting of the club committee. Kidd drafted a reply on the back of Walter's letter: 'I saw Lord Ridley today on the subject . . . and had a long talk with him. Although I hold my view strongly it is I think the case that it cannot be realized at present through the Compatriots' Club.'¹⁴³ He declined to put his proposal to the club, 'at all events just now'. However he continued to meet with Chamberlain and Ridley during the last weeks of March, and continued to press on Chamberlain a project 'of great moment'.¹⁴⁴ On 25 May Chamberlain warned, perhaps of this scheme: 'I fear there may be difficulties pecuniary and otherwise which will make any present pro-gress impossible.'¹⁴⁵ The proposal seems finally to have lapsed during the hectic campaigning that monopolised Chamberlain's energies during the autumn and winter.

Kidd's mood at this time was by no means gloomy. He was living, he felt, in an exciting time of change, of birth and of growth, rarely seen before. His belief in the future mission of the English-speaking peoples had become almost mystical: 'We are no longer the England of the past, and . . . movements that aim at giving a common conscious life to the empire are but the uncontrollable and almost unconscious expressions of a growth that cannot be stayed.'¹⁴⁶ It was impossible to feel old in spirit in the England of today. He dismissed as the 'literature of dissolution and death' the misgivings of 'a certain kind of liberalism' against Kiplingesque imperialism and militarism. (Ironically in less than ten years he was to echo the

humanitarian doubts of such Liberals as L.T. Hobhouse and C.F.G. Masterman.) 'There is no insight of that larger kind that constitutes knowledge. How we can hate militarism and yet perceive the nobility of war; . . . how the higher life of the world can exist even today only within the shadow of the defensive sword.' This is one of the few occasions on which he referred to the 'nobility' of war, toward which he normally showed an almost Quakerish distaste. Like Newman in his *Apologia* (a book that exerted a powerful imaginative impact on Kidd's mind), he turned his back on the 'Liberalism of the Anti . . . foreseeing, as he did, the bottomless anarchy which lay behind mere individualism without any living constructive principle of its own beyond'. He knew with certainty that Liberalism of the mere Anti, the arid individualism of laissez-faire, was passing away:

The principles upon which this Liberalism of the past rests may still win elections. They may still be sounded forth every week from thousands of platforms. But what we see is that their day, nevertheless, has passed. They are all touched with the finger of death. This is the lesson . . . the light of which . . . is now touching the mountain tops of our political life. It is the men who are teaching it, and the movements which are to realise it, which will live in history in the future.

The election, which had failed to materialise because of Balfour's masterly delaying tactics, was finally precipitated when he resigned on 5 December 1905. He did so without dissolving the Commons, hoping that the Liberal leader Campbell-Bannerman would have difficulty in forming a convincing ministry. Behind the scenes Haldane, Grey and Asquith had been attempting to act as a bloc with the aim of forcing Campbell-Bannerman from a position of power in the Commons to one of impotency in the Lords. Balfour sought to minimise any electoral loss by putting his rivals in office, thus precipitating a struggle for spoils. At the least he hoped that Campbell-Bannerman and the hard-line radical elements in the Liberal party would lose out to the safer, more 'loyal' elements such as the Lib-Imps; or even that a centre-of-theroad coalition might be formed from moderates of both parties.

At this time Chamberlain and his shrewd managers foresaw only a moderate Liberal majority at the polls, and hoped to salvage significant political advantages for their own tariffreform faction. Kidd reflected this thinking when he wrote to Chamberlain on 23 November: 'The best that could happen from the point of view of thinking men is for the Liberals to take office for a short time and for the PM to know the official weight of the party on your side before the general election.'147 Chamberlain replied: 'Many thanks for your note and suggestions. You will see that it now seems likely that the state of suspense in which we have been living will be shortly terminated, and I hope that in opposition the leaders of the Unionist Party may find themselves agreed on details as well as on principles.¹⁴⁸ According to this strategy the political current would inexorably draw Balfour alongside Chamberlain. A refurbished Unionist party – brought more closely into contact with dynamic industrial interests, and generally made more representative and popular - would sweep back into power at an early election.

Balfour's tactics misfired however. Campbell-Bannerman's accession to office only consolidated his position as leader. Adroit tactics by the prime minister and the demands of party unity resulted in the collapse of the Lib-Imp 'revolt'. Asquith, Grey and Haldane, with proper reluctance, duly accepted the high cabinet offices that they saw as their due. In the ensuing election, held in January 1906, the Unionists were decimated. Beyond all expectations the Liberals won an electoral swing of 9%. Together with their Labour and Irish Nationalist allies, the Liberal administration numbered over 500 supporters in the new Commons. A major factor in the polling was a strong working class vote for change, indicating the force of the 'dear food' slogan and the ineffectiveness of Chamberlain's attempt to penetrate the trade union movement. The Unionists lost such chieftains as Bonar Law, Alfred Lyttelton and Balfour

himself, and were reduced to fewer than 160 MPs. Chamberlain retained his hold over Birmingham and the west midlands. He had the gloomy consolation of seeing his tariffreformers as the largest of the factions left in the Unionist 'rump' in parliament. But any reconstruction of the party would have to begin from a situation of wreckage and disarray. In the event, Chamberlain's health deteriorated, and the momentum of his reform movement faltered as the Liberals entrenched themselves in office, and as traditional Toryism made a come-back within the Conservative ranks. 5

INDIVIDUALISM ANDAFTER

Kidd's reputation as a sociologist and social prophet still rode reasonably high in the mid-1900s. Professional sociologists tended to be more sceptical of his credentials than others, but they did not necessarily agree with Albion Small's acid judgment that 'Mr. Benjamin Kidd has about the same standing among the sociologists that Darius Green would have among the physicists.'1 Indeed as late as 1914 an authority described Kidd's reputation as 'at least equal to that of Professor Ward'.² Scholars such as Lester Ward, Franklin H. Giddings, E.A. Ross and C.A. Ellwood - pioneers in American sociology – referred respectfully to Kidd, even though not always in agreement with him.3 His view that reason was opposed to sociality, and that social progress was the result of altruistic religious forces created endless argument, but his thesis that social conditioning was a vital factor in racial evolution and national history won more accord. As Sorokin later pointed out, Kidd's psycho-sociological theory of the function of belief and religion was one of the more general in the history of sociology, to be put with the theories of Le Bon, Sorel, Durkheim, Frazer and Weber. F.W. Headley declared that 'human evolution was left in obscurity, avoided by nearly all biologists since Darwin till Mr. Kidd's book [Social Evolution] appeared'.⁴ Headley, Lloyd Morgan and others agreed with Kidd's view that human progress depended on 'social efficiency' even more than on intellect, that technology and education created exponential progress from a relatively unchanging basis of human intelligence. Kidd's fame even spread to Russia, where M. Kovalevsky's Contemporary Sociologists (1905) surveyed his theories with those of Giddings, James Mark Baldwin, Gumplowicz, Ratzenhofer, Durkheim, Vaccaro, Ammon, Lapouge and Marx. The Italian journal of sociology *Rivista di Scienza* featured Kidd's works from its inception in 1904, the editor Eugenio Rignano starting a long correspondence with Kidd from February of that year.

Kidd's was the standard article on sociology in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and he was one of the founders of the British Sociological Society. As we have seen, he was enthused by the activity of the Americans in sociology, and on his return from America held up the example of the Chicago school and the American Sociological Society as models for Britain. In May 1903 he attended a gathering in London of over fifty interested people wanting to form a society for promoting and organising sociological studies. It was a group with ecumenical aspirations. But there was also, as Kidd remarked in his speech, a potential for schism 'when one looks round the room and sees the representatives of so many warring schools of opinion, often holding ideas and ideals mutually antagonistic, and even mutually destructive'. He projected his persuasive vision of sociology as an holistic science of society based upon biological laws:

The more one studies the development of societies and civilisations, the more one comes to perceive that it is the social factor which is in the ascendant in the evolution of the race, and that it is as a member of an effective type of society that man is principally made subject to the law of Natural Selection. The study of human progress is consequently mainly the study of the causes and principles contributing to social efficiency in the largest sense. This is equivalent to saying that it must be mainly sociological.

This provoked a retort from L.T. Hobhouse, the Liberal philosopher, an antagonist of biological determinism, who warned that 'the pseudo-scientific treatment of the questions affecting the bases of social ethics was never more popular than at present, and to it was largely due the deterioration of moral form in the discussion of public affairs'.⁵

Kidd was present in July at the conference held at the Royal

Statistical Society to form a sociological society, speaking in favour. Also present were Bernard Bosanquet, the Oxford Idealist, Patrick Geddes, the Edinburgh sociologist, W.A.S. Hewins, Hobhouse, Beatrice Webb, and J. Martin White (who offered £1000 to London University to start a course in sociology). Kidd kept up a busy role in the British Sociological Society's early activities. He served on the special committee that issued the society's journal (the early papers read being collected as *Sociological Papers*, which became the *Sociological Review* in 1908). This talented group included the up-and-coming H.G. Wells, Geddes, unconventional townplanner, polymath and environmentalist, and Hobhouse, whose followers came ultimately to dominate the society at the expense of the civic reformers and social workers. J.A. Hobson was also on the executive committee.⁶

Kidd was, at least superficially, an ideal man to have in the sociological movement. As John Halliday has pointed out, most sociologists at this time still nourished Comtean and Spencerean desires for a sociology resting on a synthesis of all the sciences. Many were attracted to the positivist idea of a hierarchy of sciences, with sociology thought to be underlain by biology, as biology was underlain by the physical sciences. Their working doctrine 'held sociological investigation to require a prior or parallel examination of man's biological evolution. Emphases were differently placed, but very few sociologists could avoid a concern with the historical evolution of human nature, with man's adaptation to the conditions of existence and with the role of natural laws and biological mechanisms in social activities."7 Kidd's concerns seemed absolutely central. However, beneath the surface there were no biological orthodoxies, only competing theories and competing group interests and specialisms. As the Outlook remarked in 1907: 'An International Socialist Congress is a flock of unanimous singing-birds compared with a Sociological Society.'8 In practice the society was caught up in a power struggle between three main schools, none of which sympathised with Kidd's idiosyncratic theories. The 'social

work' school assumed that social institutions were the product of rational endeavour and common purposes. Kidd's irrationalism fitted in uneasily here, although he had sympathy with the ethical reformism of Bosanquet and Hobhouse, and approved generally of welfarist amelioration. The school of eugenists, or 'racial sociologists' as Halliday calls them, emphasised genetic determinism at the expense of Kidd's 'social efficiency'. He was very soon dismayed by their blueprints for eugenic engineering, which he considered potentially totalitarian. The 'civics sociologists' associated with Geddes and Branford had a more congenial environmentalism, a theory accommodating both genetic and social factors, but Kidd did not become enmeshed in their practical concerns with regional surveys and city planning.

He did, however, strike up an acquaintance with the society's secretary, the energetic Victor Branford. Together they conceived a number of fertile ideas for the promotion of sociology. In March 1904 they approached C.J. Longman, the publisher, with a project for a 'sociological book-series', an American-style enterprise that did not enthuse Longman.⁹ English publishers turned out to be incorrigibly conservative about such projects. Kidd and Branford then advanced the concept of an encyclopaedia or dictionary of sociology, to be issued as an international endeavour involving such organisations as the British Sociological Society, the American Academy of Political and Social Science, the French International Institute of Sociology, the German Verein für Social Politik, and the Rivista Italiana di Sociologica. Kidd sounded Frederick Macmillan on such a dictionary but, after conferring with his partners, Macmillan turned it down.¹⁰ The idea was ahead of its time.

Kidd was of course pleased by tributes to his fame and influence. *Western Civilisation* went into a Spanish and a Chinese edition.¹¹ He was asked to be vice-president of the Dickens Fellowship and was made an honorary member of the Anti-Vivisection Society (he declined both honours). His name began to appear in literary reference works, such as Farguharson Sharp's Dictionary of English Authors. His authority was invoked in social and political debates abroad, especially in the colonies and America. Long extracts from Social Evolution were read to the New South Wales Royal Commission on the decline of the birth rate in 1904. Alarmed by the threat of the 'yellow peril', and the spectres of racial degeneration and family decay, the colonial establishments grasped at any 'scientific' basis for discrediting socialist and feminist doctrines that were supposedly discouraging fertility. R.H. Todd, a barrister-medico and associate to the commission president, presented heavily selected material from Kidd's best-seller, especially from his Weismannesque passages against any suspension of the stern conditions of natural competition that guaranteed biological progress. The advanced races would retain their ascendancy only by rejecting rationalistic control of population and by evolving their religious character. Socialism - by contradicting inexorable natural laws of selection and proposing population control was utterly destructive to the prospects of further human progress. Kidd was quoted on the 'racial self-effacement' of the French due to birth control, and on the 'perversion' of the parental instinct under the influence of rationalism. His reformist sympathies were ignored. Todd declared: 'The importance of this book to the Commission arises from the fact that the views expressed by Kidd are diametrically opposite to the tendencies observable in New South Wales at the present time, which are socialistic, and seek to kill competition and rivalry.'12

This was discouraging, as Kidd had no desire to be categorised as a conservative or used in the cause of social reaction. He had, nevertheless, provided much ammunition for that cause in *Social Evolution*, and it is significant that he reduced his emphasis on crude competition in *Western Civilisation*. This, together with his violent attack on monopoly capitalism, made the book less usable as anti-reform propaganda, and perhaps partly explains its lesser popularity. Kidd had been hurt by the adverse scholarly criticism levelled at

Social Evolution, and particularly at Western Civilisation. Despite his fame, there were signs that his intellectual stature was hardly secure. He was deeply disappointed when British universities largely ignored his works in their curricula, which in any case largely ignored sociology itself. In 1904 there existed no chair of sociology in Britain, and virtually no courses except at London University which was about to start a department of sociology headed by a professor. Things were better of course in America, where Kidd's reception had always been warmer than in Britain and where sociology had been earlier established as a profession and a discipline. His books were set for some time as textbooks in American university and college courses in sociology and political science. However it remained true that his main impact was not upon academe but upon an educated lay readership ('pseudo-educated' said his enemies). This was a bitter blow, for he hoped to take the younger generation of students by storm. He developed a protective shell made up of professed indifference to the views of over-specialised, stick-in-the-mud academics.

He proposed a cheaper edition of *Western Civilisation* in order to reach the wider audience he craved. Macmillan and Co. were reluctant, however, because of the book's dwindling sales:

The facts are these. Since July 1 1903 we have sold only 30 copies, as against 379 in the year 1902-3. This certainly looks as if at the present price the sale is nearly at an end. On the other hand, we have a large stock – 1410 copies – of which 940 are unbound. It would be a serious matter to sacrifice so many copies and then at once to incur the expense of printing the book again in a smaller form. We are therefore disposed to recommend an intermediate course, viz. to reduce the price of the book as it stands from 15/- net to 10/- net and await results before taking further action.¹³

Macmillan's reluctance to produce a people's edition, and their rejection of the Dictionary of Sociology, led to a certain coolness in their relations with Kidd.

The question of future books bulked large in his mind even

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during his immersion in tariff-reform politics. He discussed at least two major options with George P. Brett, president of Macmillan and Co., New York, when Brett was in Britain in the spring of 1904. One prospect was to publish a collection of his nature articles in one volume. He gave Brett a manuscript entitled 'The Soul of Nature' that Brett read on the steamship taking him back to New York. With transatlantic courtesy Brett declared the pieces 'charming', but too English for American taste, and not likely to enhance Kidd's reputation just now:

You will recollect, of course, your very large public which refused practically to read the 'Principles', so that if this public is to be kept together for your future work it seems to me necessary that your next offering to them should be one in which they will be interested and which will achieve, comparatively speaking, as wide a circulation as the 'Social Evolution' itself . . . Either one of the books of which we spoke when I last had the pleasure of seeing you seems to me to have greater possibilities.¹⁴

Unfortunately no further mention survives of these plans.

In July 1904 Hugh Chisholm circularised the existing contributors to the Encyclopaedia Britannica respecting a massive enterprise sponsored by The Times: the reorganisation and up-dating of the famous encyclopaedia for the eleventh edition planned for 1910. He asked for suggestions about the new edition. Kidd proposed that committees be placed in charge of subjects. Chisholm opposed the idea. Kidd then offered his services, for a 'small annual retainer' of £100, to take charge of the sociological and philosophical sections and generally 'help actively' with the editorial work: 'The subjects mentioned are very much to the fore in the United States just now, and I am well in touch with developments there and know many of the men who are taking part in them.' The Britannica, he noted, required improved correlation between topics, better rationalisation and cross-referencing. Chisholm was less than enthused by the prospect of working with such an opinionated and forceful assistant, and nothing came of the negotiations.15

The summer of 1904 saw Kidd drawn into the world of scholarly debate and conferences. T. Herbert Warren, philosopher and friend of the late Henry Sidgwick, had started a sympathetic correspondence with Kidd after having favourably reviewed Western Civilisation for the Spectator. Warren was president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and an old friend of Milner from his Oxford days. His was a reassuring influence upon Kidd. Sidgwick, he said, would have liked Western Civilisation. Its cold reception was the common fate of really original works. He invited Kidd to stay overnight in June at Magdalen College, where he no doubt met a number of Oxford dons.¹⁶ During the visit Kidd seems to have become enamoured of the idea of delivering a set of prestigious public lectures as a national platform for his ideas. He was to labour for years, entirely unsuccessfully, to be invited to give the famous Gifford lectures, endowed by their Scottish founder Lord Gifford to encourage the study of religious philosophy. In August 1904 Kidd made a nostalgic visit to Trinity College, Cambridge, when he attended the annual British Association meeting. He stayed as William Cunningham's guest at Trinity.¹⁷ More than ten years had passed since he had sat next to McTaggart and MacKenzie at the Feast Commemoration of the Founders of Trinity on 7 December 1893. He was now almost forty-six.

The British Medical Association invited him to participate in the psychiatry section of their summer conference, debating heredity, its biological aspects and bearing on insanity.¹⁸ From about this time he developed an increasingly intense interest in psychology and para-psychology. He was also coopted on to the council of the newly established British Institute of Social Service, dedicated to the collection and dissemination of information 'related to all forms of Social Service and Industrial Betterment'. The British body was modelled after the similar American institute. Kidd had encouraged the project in 1903 in correspondence with Rev. J.B. Paton, now one of the Institute's vice-presidents.

Perhaps the most disturbing public event in Kidd's intel-

lectual career occurred in 1904 at the memorable meeting of the Sociological Society at which the venerable Francis Galton inaugurated the 'science' of eugenics. The omens were not good. The meeting was chaired by Karl Pearson, even though he was not a member of the society and publicly decried its aims. Kidd regarded Pearson as Galton's intellectual hatchetman. Soon to be the first Professor of Eugenics at London University, a chair endowed by Galton's money, Pearson seemed certain to assume Galton's mantle, and highly likely to develop the less pleasant, authoritarian side of eugenics. The meeting dramatically underlined Kidd's misgivings on this score. In fact he later described the day (16 May) as one of the landmarks of his life, a day on which the scales fell from his eyes, when he first genuinely understood the dangers posed to western civilisation by Darwinism.¹⁹ In the hands of the Galtons and Pearsons of this world, it worshipped success, endorsed class distinctions, and ignored morality. In almost his first words Galton proposed scientific improvement of humankind's genetic stock without any reference to ethical criteria: 'We must leave morals as far as possible out of the discussion, not entangling ourselves with the almost hopeless difficulties they raise as to whether a character as a whole is good or bad.'20 The omission left Kidd, the apostle of altruism, permanently amazed. Galton then spoke of preserving desirable individual qualities such as health, energy, ability, manliness, 'courteous disposition' and 'civic worth'. He thought such qualities to be virtually self-evident. The community could safely be relied on to recognise anti-social qualities and types, including criminals and 'others whom it rates as undesirables'. He projected a future in which data banks of eugenic information would be systematically collected, marriage restricted and eugenics become 'a religious dogma'.

Kidd got to his feet during the ensuing debate, and made some restrained criticisms of eugenics. Too much should not be expected from an as yet immature methodology based on statistics and actuarial techniques. 'We must have a real

science of society before the science of eugenics can hope to gain authority.' He pointed out that Galton's rash early views on racial differences, on the genetic inferiority of the 'lower races' intellectually, were now generally admitted to be defective. 'Yet it would have been awkward had we proceeded to draw any large practical conclusion from it at the time.' He protested that Galton confused the concepts of individual and social efficiency:

For instance, it is well known that all the qualities of [social insects such as] the bees are devoted to attaining the highest possible efficiency of their societies. Yet these qualities are by no means the qualities which we would consider as contributing to a perfect individual. If the bees at some earlier stage of evolution understood eugenics, as we now understand the subject, what peculiar condemnation, for instance, would they have visited on the queen bee, who devotes her life solely to breeding? I am afraid, too, that the interesting habits of the drones would have received special condemnation from the unctious rectitude of the time . . . And yet all these things have contributed in a high degree to social efficiency, and have undoubtedly made the type a winning one in evolution.

Kidd was in fact becoming steadily more opposed to individualism as a phase that was passing in human evolution, a tendency that was often antagonistic to the highest social efficiency. By tying itself to individualist criteria of human 'fitness', eugenics threatened to frustrate human progress. Kidd could not resist a swipe at Pearson: 'I remember our chairman . . . once depicted an ideally perfect state of society. I have a distinct recollection of my own sense of relief that my birth had occurred in the earlier ages of comparative barbarism. [He] proposed to give the kind of people who now scribble on our railway carriages no more than short shrift and the nearest lamp-post.' Such a spirit was ominously intolerant:

It might renew, in the name of science, tyrannies that it took long ages of social evolution to emerge from. Judging from what one sometimes reads, many of our ardent reformers would often be willing to put us into lethal chambers, if our minds and bodies did not conform to certain standards. We are apt to forget in these

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matters that that sense of responsibility to life which distinguishes the higher societies is itself an asset painfully acquired by the race.²¹

This was percipient enough, Orwellian before Orwell, although perhaps signifying more for us than for Kidd's contemporaries. The potentialities of totalitarian science were more difficult to grasp in 1904.

Galton was nettled by his critics at the meeting. He curtly dismissed the debate as largely uninformed and out of date. 'As to Mr. Kidd, I do not attach importance to his points.' (Eugenists continued to be contemptuous of him. As late as 1920 the *Eugenics Review* printed an attack on Kidd's 'sentimental slop': 'Benjamin Kidd at any rate never called himself a eugenist, and a more thorough and uncompromising "dysgenist" could not be found. "Science in Kidd gloves", as everyone knows, is simply egalitarian special pleading all the way through.')²² Kidd himself felt in a state of shock. He wandered the Strand, looking for a sign of childish innocence to restore his faith.²³ He began now more closely to study the works of Pearson, Nietzsche and other 'illiberals'. They were the enemy within, the new pagans, purveyors of doctrines of will and might and jungle savagery. They were to be resisted.

More heartening was the optimistic evolutionism of H.G. Wells, with whom Kidd came into closer contact in 1904. W.F. Alexander compared Wells and Kidd in a *Contemporary Review* essay that pleased Kidd.²⁴ The parallel was natural enough. Their shared values were obvious, their differences not yet conspicuous. Wells had shrugged off the *fin de siècle* gloom of the 1890s, and heralded the optimistic mood of the new century with some thought-provoking essays on the future. In *Anticipations* (1901) and *Discovery of the Future* (1902) he put the case for scientific prediction of human destiny, extrapolating from present trends in population growth, urban development, warfare, social and racial evolution. This was a phase in Wells's psychic history when the elements of despair in his analysis of the human condition were almost completely subordinate to a manic confidence in

man's future: 'All the mind has accomplished is but the dream before the awakening [he wrote in Discovery of the Future]. A day will come when beings now latent in our thoughts . . . will stand upon this earth as one stands upon a footstool, and laugh, and reach out their hands amid the stars.' Both Wells and Kidd shared a highly teleological view of human evolution, even though they differed significantly on particular issues: Wells's anti-proletarian utopias reflecting a fear of the masses that Kidd repudiated, while Wells's appeal for sexual freedom was alien to Kidd's idealisation of woman and family. Wells favoured a manipulative order, based on elitist socialism and rational planning - a typically Fabian blueprint - with authority vested in strong government and, ultimately, a world state. Kidd foresaw a liberal-welfarist society, living according to concepts of renunciation and altruism, with voluntary subordination of the individual to the corporate whole, a political democracy largely transcending the state.

At the same time, both believed that man's bio-history could only be understood as progress towards cosmic goals and purposes. They rejected mechanistic theories based on chance and present efficiency. In 'The Man Who Is To Come', Kidd defined 'fitness' not simply in terms of present adaptation - as did Darwin, Wallace and most adherents of natural selection but also in terms of potential adaptation to future environmental change.²⁵ Both men believed that the successful society of the future would be founded on a cooperative organic principle rather than a competitive mechanistic one. Kidd argued that the incompleteness of present-oriented theories was illustrated in the evasions resorted to by their authors. Had not Wallace exempted the religious, metaphysical and artistic faculties of the human mind from the operation of natural selection? Did not Huxley declare, in his famous Romanes lecture of 1893, that the natural process of struggle and selection was irreconcilable with the ethical process in society?

Kidd wrote off to Wells, whom he had encountered in the Compatriots Club, X Club and the Sociological Society. He

noted that Alexander 'hails us both as the expounders of an interpretation of the evolutionary doctrine which is new in itself and not unlikely to hold the field in the future'. Referring to Discovery of the Future, delivered to the Royal Institution in January 1902, Kidd conceded: 'I believe you had priority over my "principles" in the conception that the centre of gravity was in the future in the evolutionary process. I feel confident that we have got considerably beyond the old conception.²⁶ Wells replied: 'I don't know that my lectures preceded your "Principles". I've got that book, but I want very much to refer to something you wrote in the Control of the Tropics. Is that a separate book? I'm doing a Utopia and the reference concerns the race question in the future.²⁷ The utopia Wells mentioned was A Modern Utopia (1905), which Kidd later reviewed for the Outlook.²⁸ He allowed that Wells verged upon genius and that his book invited comparison with Plato's Republic, More's Utopia, Comte's Western Republic and Morris's News from Nowhere. Wells's world-state eliminated nationalism and warfare. It combined private enterprise with socialist ownership of land and resources, 'a working-model', Kidd thought, 'which might readily be imagined as not impossibly arising out of present tendencies of the world'. But there was plenty he disliked about A Modern Utopia. Wells floundered 'in a quagmire of superficialities and impossibilities' whenever he dealt with real social problems, including family and sexual relations. Kidd was profoundly suspicious of Wells's 'positive' eugenics, that encouraged the breeding of suitable types by a system of bonuses and endowment of motherhood: 'He talks lightly of selection and competition, but we find ourselves wondering if he has ever grasped the significance of competition and selection as it is revealed in Nature.' Wells airily dismissed the human problem: what do we do with the numberless failures in selection that necessarily accompany even a small improvement in a single direction? Then there was his concept of the 'samurai' class, who ordered and were ascetically devoted to the worldstate. Kidd scorned this invention as a form of super-tribalism

that would never appeal to the fully emancipated intellect. Perhaps these criticisms soured his relationship with Wells. Acquaintanceship never ripened into friendship. In any case the boisterousness of H.G.'s later career, and his unconventional sexual behaviour, would hardly have appealed to Kidd.

Kidd's own private life was impeccable by the standards of the day, that is as far as the biographer is ever able to judge from the available evidence. No sexual scandal, no personal corruption ever surfaced to flaw, or even to enliven, his reputation. He was honest, a responsible husband and father. His marriage seems to have been a happy one beneath conventional appearances. In the rare letters that have survived between husband and wife there was an affectionate tone. Maud addressed herself to her 'dearest Bennie' and signed herself 'Maudie'. She involved herself in his arduous writing career. She helped with his correspondence, often writing replies. She typed the manuscripts for his later works, for which he made her a gift of a large silver salver inscribed with affectionate thanks. The example of his mother and wife had a lot to do with his developing sympathy for feminism and his benevolent concept of woman's role in human evolution.

His sins, if we are permitted to judge them, were venial sins by what we know: a parsimoniousness verging on the obsessional, an anti-social streak that led him into retreat from the world, a petty-mindedness about everyday matters that offset his cosmic concerns. He was, in Freudian terms, a classic 'anal-retentive' type, with the characteristic syndrome of traits: stubbornness, orderliness, parsimony and punctuality. Such character traits were viewed by Freud as sublimations of anal libido, a response to fixation at the 'anal erotic' stage of development. One might conjecture that Kidd's grandiloquent, imaginative and ill-regulated speculations represented a reaction against, or a release from, the constrictions of the anal-retentive character.

During the autumn of 1904 the family moved house from Croham Road, Croydon, to Tonbridge, where Kidd leased for \pounds 90 per year a large house and grounds. It was called 'The

Warders'. Kidd now lived in the rural surroundings that he loved. Tonbridge was a pleasant market town built on the River Medway, set in the fertile Weald of western Kent. Country lanes turned and twisted round the hills, giving views of orchards where apples, pears, plums and blackcurrants grew. The fields were filled with corn, cabbages and hops. It was a place of lush meadows and wild honeysuckle, with the scent of fruit blossom in the spring and log fires in winter, the hedgerows full of blackberries, hazel nuts, sweet chestnuts, elderberries and wild-life. In such a retreat the delights of tariff reform waned and those of seclusion waxed. 'The Warders' was surrounded by a high brick fence, giving the writer the private space he desired. Here he and Maud also continued their natural history work. In 1903 they had been preoccupied with a study of beavers. This, with other observations, provided material towards a theory of animal behaviour.

One motivation behind the move to Tonbridge was to permit the boys to attend the Tonbridge School, founded in 1553 by a former mayor of London and ranked among the top half dozen private schools in England. The twins Rolf and Jack were now twelve, Franklin almost fourteen. The school was an odd choice, considering Kidd's public respect for science, for Tonbridge education was classics-based. Kidd was in fact an early exponent of the 'two cultures' problem (popularised in our time by C.P. Snow). Forced to choose between classics and the sciences, he chose the former as opening access to broader worlds.²⁹ This was to create problems. Although the boys seem to have enjoyed school life, Tonbridge provided a distinctly limited preparation for Franklin's later studies in science at Cambridge. However he never regretted his more literary training. Franklin already displayed a precocious intelligence, raising hopes, that he abundantly fulfilled, of making a bright career. The twins were less impressively normal boys. They relished sports and nature rambles, and were closer to their mother than to their sometimes remote and 'Victorian' father, who worked long hours in the privacy of his study. The twins would be brought into his presence for a brief

time during the evenings.³⁰ Weekends were more relaxed. It was Kidd's custom to take his boys for long walks in the countryside, where he encouraged them to observe nature and expounded his own deep knowledge of wild-life. Franklin was closest to his father, early developing an interest in natural history and helping with Kidd's experiments.

Kidd heralded a persistent twentieth-century search for an alternative way of life to that of secular materialism. That search was to lead in diverse and strange directions, from communalism to psychic research, meditation to psychedelic drugs. (Some of these movements of course were not so new, but were replays of the movements of self-transcendence that arose with eighteenth-century romanticism and fin de siècle despair.) Kidd wanted a massive shift of consciousness away from the dominating values of mammon, self-indulgence and secular pragmatism. However he rejected the escapist solution of the communalists and utopians, even though we may detect in the man himself a recurring disposition to 'opt out' from an unedifying world. Salvation would come, he hoped, within existing society, not outside it. The hedonism of the age he saw as a passing phase. It would be supplanted by a more vital altruistic phase. The seeds of this new system were already germinating within the old. Religion's indispensable role in evolution would ensure the outcome.

He put this optimistic viewpoint in a press interview, published by the *Daily Graphic* as part of a series on 'The Simple Life', projected as 'a protest against the luxury, frivolity and feverishness of the present age'.³¹ Kidd was already becoming, in his shy way, an Edwardian version of today's media figure. His views on 'modern tendencies' were sought assiduously by the lively organs of the popular press. The spread of a more hedonistic and permissive life-style he put down to material and psycho-moral causes. The industrial and scientific explosion of the last thirty years had created wealth unparalleled in history, and had provoked a social revolution. New wealthy classes had come into being. They were untrained in the use of wealth, lacking self-restraint: 'Such training and self-restraint are usually a slow growth. They are the product, indeed, of a kind of natural selection in society, for those not capable of acquiring them generally go down in the struggle in the course of generations.' Moneymarket fortunes had been built up by the inflation of stockexchange values: 'it is inevitable that much of this wealth should be felt to be held somewhat like a gambler's stake – easily made, to be rapidly enjoyed, and possibly to be lost as readily as it has been won'.

Anthony Trollope had satirised this process brilliantly in *The Way We Live Now*. Both writers felt that the viciousness of the money game had percolated through to all classes. It threatened to break down the moral fibre of the older ruling classes, and to set up power and wealth as the dominant criteria of life. Trollope had created the memorable figure of Auguste Melmotte, the new millionaire, symbol of all that was crass and spiritually empty in the age, and arguably a prophet of social disintegration. Kidd also accepted the peril to social order inherent in a period of change. But he had an abiding faith – and here perhaps he was not so unlike Trollope in his usual vein – in the durability and adaptability of existing institutions and conventions. Kidd saw healthy as well as dangerous tendencies in social change. This was apparent in his reflections on changing religious mores:

The old fixed doctrines in nearly all the Churches have been undergoing profound modification. The foundations of many doctrines and opinions of the past have been moved almost beyond men's knowledge. This change has, by force of circumstance, been accompanied by an attitude of tolerance to ideas, opinions, and even conduct of different shades, which would have been utterly impossible scarcely more than a generation ago. In the result the discipline of the middle-class Puritan household . . . the members habitually abstemious in food, reserved in speech, methodical in act, possessed of an awful sense of obligation, submitting to an iron drill which none who passed through it can ever forget, is undoubtedly tending to be modified and relaxed. In Kidd's eyes late Victorian doubt and despair arose because people were too close to change, 'too disturbed in their judgments by the removal of old landmarks' to have clear vision of the real tendencies of new knowledge. From a higher vantage point, the religious system would emerge strengthened, not weakened, by modern criticism: 'In the old days belief was a matter of texts and dogma and tradition. I think it will rest in time on a wider, more vital, and more reasoned conception of the whole process of human evolution and the peculiar problems underlying it.'

Kidd reassured his countrymen:

There is an immense impetus in history behind the peoples who have come out of the great struggles of the past. That impetus will carry us further than we have any conception of . . . There are just as many serious-minded people in the world as ever. They have been in opposition to the new tendencies; they are still often holding aloof. In time they will come down into the arena, and put their strength and earnestness into the things of the new era, and will help us to discriminate the good from the bad.

His ideal was 'the simple, strenuous life', akin to labour's programme of 'eight hours' work, eight hours' sleep, and eight hours' play', wherein average, successful, healthy parents would each enjoy the right to rear six healthy children in 'cleanly habits and simple comfort'. Future religions must be compatible with that ideal. 'A religion may have its saints and philosophers; it may move the world, and speak with the tongues of angels; but if it cannot, in the end, inspire the average man and woman with the faith and cheerful courage necessary to bring a family of healthy children into the world it is a failure.'

Not surprisingly h ϵ repudiated any thesis of national or race degeneracy. These were favourite topics of current debate. They had been sparked off by Britain's poor performance in the Boer War, and Japan's victory in the recent Russo-Japanese war – the first defeat of a European nation by an Asian power in modern times. Kidd advocated caution in

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drawing sweeping conclusions from such events. 'It will be time to admit some of the claims made for Japan after Japan has lived through two thousand years of the stress and organic development which have produced our Western conditions.'³² The whole debate on race degeneracy and the 'decline of the west', he argued, was clouded by misconceptions about social evolution. People focussed upon individual qualities rather than upon the growth of national or social efficiency. Judgments made about individual characteristics were too often made on the basis of popular stereotypes, which bore little relation to the complex principles governing social efficiency. Nor was a narrow or present-oriented biological or medical approach sufficient:

In discussions as to degeneracy it by no means follows that a scientist of the Huxley type, who has acquired distinction over an investigation as to the conditions of animal life, may be the best person to enlighten us as to the qualities which make for social efficiency. Our guides may be very capable and learned in other respects, but may have no corresponding knowledge of the meaning of history, or of the causes governing the development of society, or of the reasons which enable a people to maintain its place in the world.³³

Kidd professed optimism both about the Anglo-Saxon people and human ability at large: 'at what stage in the world's history has the human mind in almost every department of research and leadership shown such a masterful and resourceful grasp of the problems of the world and physical nature as it does now?'.³⁴

Kidd's journalistic life was to be much affected by the contact he forged with J.L. Garvin and the *Outlook* as part of the election politics of 1905. Garvin, the foremost champion of Chamberlain's ideas in the press, and the man regarded by Alfred Harmsworth – no mean judge – as 'the greatest journalist in England', was a very model to Kidd of the selfmade man of action and ideas.³⁵ Of Irish parentage, raised in the dockland of Birkenhead, Garvin was educated as a clerk

and fought his way up the ladder of journalism. He trained on Joseph Cowen's respected Newcastle Chronicle, becoming a regular writer for Leonard Courtney's Fortnightly Review in 1895 and leader-writer for The Daily Telegraph in 1899. Abandoning Liberalism and the Irish nationalist cause at the time of the Boer War, he became a Conservative, an apostle of empire and British preparedness against a militarised Germany. Chamberlain captured him for his tariff-reform campaign in 1903. The thirty-five-year-old Garvin became Chamberlain's first lieutenant, a key member of his 'brains trust', and the main liaison man between the Unionists and the tariff-reform 'cave' within the Liberal movement. He and Kidd inevitably encountered each other in the world of the Compatriots' Club and popular journalism. In 1905 Garvin was in the thick of the fray, campaigning for fiscal reform and imperial preference in The Daily Telegraph, the National Review, and the Outlook. He was offered the editorship of the Outlook in January 1905 by its owner, C. Sydney Goldman, a member of the Compatriots' Club.

As a journalist he changed the *Outlook* into a sixpenny review without a rival in a city teeming with reviews of its kind... As an editor he inspired his colleagues and subordinates with some of his own tremendous zeal and enthusiasm. Under his editorship the *Outlook* attained heights of influence it had not enjoyed before he came to it, and from which it quickly fell when he left.³⁶

Garvin's effective, but stormy, editorship ended in November 1906, after bitter disputes with the journal's proprietors. But during that time he attracted a corps of vigorous writers to the *Outlook*. Kidd was amongst them. Garvin's forceful policies also attracted the attention of Alfred Harmsworth, now Lord Northcliffe, owner of the mass circulation *Daily Mail*. The two collaborated in support of Joe Chamberlain. Ultimately Garvin joined Northcliffe's team, becoming editor of the respected morning paper *The Observer*. He became closely involved in Northcliffe's ascent to national influence.

Kidd's first piece for the Outlook, his review of Wells's Modern Utopia, appeared in April 1905. Edward Grigg, Garvin's loyal assistant editor, assured him that 'Garvin hopes to have something from you in the Outlook regularly every week.'37 Kidd continued his regular association with the journal until 1908, writing over ninety short pieces on a wide variety of topics. Many were political – this was what Garvin wanted - but he wrote prolifically on the natural and social sciences. The Outlook became his platform. His broad reading and interests made him particularly useful as a reviewer. A good deal of his life became engrossed by the literary demands of the weekly. At long last, in a modest way, he found the niche he sought in journalism. The work also kept him in touch socially. Grigg, a member of the Savile Club, organised a dining club for the contributors called 'The Outlookers'. There at dinner parties of seven or eight Kidd met such colleagues as G.S. Street, Charles Whibley, Sydney Brooks, Sir Rowland Blennerhasset and probably others of a corps that included Arthur Symons, art critic, E.B. Iwan-Müller, foreign policy, John Davidson, poetry, Rowland Strong and Sir Herbert Maxwell on politics, and Caleb W. Saleeby on science.

Kidd formed a lasting friendship with Garvin, who kept his increasingly recluse friend in touch with affairs. Garvin was impressed by Kidd's writing and enlivened by his company. After returning from a long summer holiday abroad in 1905, Garvin wrote: 'I am longing to talk to you. My mind is a blank, but ready for seed, I think.'³⁸ The Kidd and Garvin families took to visiting on a regular basis, continuing to do so until 1913 or 1914. Garvin regarded Tonbridge as a place of repose and quiet thinking, where he could escape momentarily from the turmoil of journalism and politics.

The friendship was threatened, however, in October 1905, in an episode that sheds light on Kidd's extreme sensitivity. Somehow or other, due to an oversight between Garvin and Grigg, Kidd's name was omitted from the *Outlook*'s forthcoming programme. He dramatically withdrew from the

journal and made a reproachful outburst to Garvin. The latter replied:

I went into the country on Friday after a killing week and return to find your letter. It is a blow of considerable severity. If you were Shakespeare limited to weekly articles I should not kneel to you, not being flexibly jointed in these cases. But if you ask me whether I think you are fair I say 'no'. You know me to be incapable of small feelings. Public matters arouse me, private not. And applying a level mind to the matter I am certain that no impartial third person would say that you had done quite the right thing in quite the right way. Consider. You knew for I explained it to you fully, that I could not take the Outlook thoroughly in hand until the end of this month, the Trafalgar pressure being over. You knew that Grigg was a very young man to whom a good deal had to be temporarily left. That might have prompted enquiry before you cut the thread. If you had enquired I could have told you that I was going away this weekend . . . for the express purpose of finding out all that was wrong, investigating certain material, and issuing ukases [edicts] for the very existence of the paper. Among the ukases issued was that you had been left out to a gross extent and that you must appear every week henceforth in one shape or another ... You have done complete justice neither to yourself nor me and you make me feel that I can build upon no one, when you of all men do a thing of this kind without any warning to a man friendly enough to you to be entitled to at least that.³⁹

Kidd duly made amends: 'Your letter is of the rare kind which makes one man love another reproof withstanding.' Garvin responded: 'There speaks the man I thought I knew . . . There could be no pen . . . more valuable than yours, and your work cannot appear too frequently or too prominently for my pleasure.'⁴⁰

The years 1905 and 1906 were very fruitful for Kidd on the *Outlook*. He wrote a lot and he learnt a lot. Garvin, a compulsive letter writer, kept him informed about the business and administrative side of the journal's affairs. Kidd took an 'outsider's' pleasure in penetrating the secret world of journalism, of the establishment to which he was beginning to be admitted. Garvin gossiped about politics from the inside. He

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was also pleasurably flattering. Here is a typical note:

The Sidgwick review was admirable, and gave much the best suggestion of the real man that I have yet read . . . I hope very much that you and Mrs. Kidd will come to spend a Friday to Monday soon in our irregular household, which is a domestic citadel garrisoned by some very noisy children. But there is at least one room full of books, which we can make as quiet as a dungeon when we choose. I am leaving for Birmingham in a few minutes, for a talk with our leader at Highbury [Chamberlain]. I think you will find him taking the sound and sane line upon education.⁴¹

After one of Kidd's recurring illnesses Garvin noted: 'It is a great mental comfort to me that you are able to write regularly again. You give us "atmosphere".'⁴² Such psychological support was particularly appreciated in the depressing aftermath to Chamberlain's electoral defeat in 1906. That was a bitter blow to Kidd, even though he had expected something of the kind, and it effectively ended his political activity for four years. He lived in retreat at Tonbridge, withdrawing from most of his clubs, and only making occasional public appearances.⁴³ Like Darwin before him he lived in rural solitude and buried himself in his work. However, his work was now aimed against Darwinism, or at least its anti-social tendencies. He concentrated on his biology, his *Outlook* journalism and the perennial big book that was always at the back of his mind.

He sketched his line of thought when on 1 and 8 February 1906 he lectured to the Royal Institution on 'The Significance of the Future in the Theory of Evolution'.⁴⁴ In these lectures he used cellular biology to justify his theory that the group was more important than the individual in human evolution. Natural selection subordinated all the history of the individual cell to the needs of the organic group of cells that made up living organs and bodies. The principle was clear: 'The efficiency of an organised group was greater than the sum of the efficiencies of the individuals that composed it.' Recent work on the germ plasm showed that within a species the hereditary qualities of component individuals were mixed continually. The group was at once plastic and rigid. It was plastic in constantly adjusting to meet varying conditions through natural selection. It was rigid in maintaining itself amidst the changing world around it because of the stability of the germ plasm. Thus species might be conceived of as a natural method of organising efficiency, the interests of the individual being subordinated to that of the group.

As evolution advanced, greater care was shown for future survival and success. There was a trend towards social cooperation and group cohesion. Parental care for egg and offspring, negligible in the lower organisms, grew more intensive. Eggs were encased in larger and larger supplies of food-matter, enormous in the case of birds, and were finally nourished inside the body of the parent, whose subsequent protection of offspring became more minute and prolonged. The social insects attempted to secure an organised social group, with differentiation of individuals taking place according to social roles and needs. 'But only with human society could we see the whole possibility of efficiency of organised groups, the differentiation resting on mind.' Foreshadowing the themes of his later papers, Two Principal Laws of Sociology (1907-8), and Individualism and After (1908), Kidd argued that human society must be more efficient than individuals. Theories that ignored this fact – such as utilitarian individualism or laissez-faire economics - would need revision. In a vigorous attack on sociology that reflected his uneasy experiences in the Sociological Society, he pictured the discipline as vitiated by individualist assumptions. Typified at one stage by extreme Spencerism, the individualist fallacy was now perpetuated by Galton and his eugenist followers. Galton advocated systematic study of distinguished families and the inheritance of genius. Kidd protested: 'A science of sociology could not be formed from the individualistic, stud-book point of view; it must deal with the rise from the individual to the group, and from the less organic group to the more organic group.' Such a process, he said a year later, 'is making for the truest and most organic form of socialism'.⁴⁵ It was noticeable that Kidd now placed less stress on the idea of an inherent

antagonism between individuals and the society that they made up, the theory for which he had been much buffeted by reviewers of *Social Evolution*. His use of the cellular analogy encouraged the alternative view of functional compatibility between parts and whole.

A few weeks later he listened to H.G. Wells attacking sociology before a meeting of the Sociological Society. Wells disputed that sociology was a science, and denied that Comte and Spencer were to be exalted as founders of a fruitful system of human inquiry: 'I find myself forced to depreciate these modern idols, and to reinstate the Greek social philosophers in their vacant niches.' The search for a 'synthetic science' of society based on observation, experiment and verification was a misguided one: 'We cannot put Humanity into a museum, or dry it for examination; our one single, still living specimen is all history, all anthropology, and the fluctuating world of men . . . We have only the remotest ideas of its "life-cycle" and a few relics of its origin and dreams of its destiny.' He reflected on the 'curious discursiveness' of contemporary sociologists, including Kidd, whose work impressed 'as a large-scale sketch of a proposed science' rather than as a concrete beginning or achievement. In the discussion that followed, Kidd defended the idea of a biologically based science of sociology as sounder than Wells's call for scientific Utopias. Sociology was indeed in a nebulous condition: 'Biology itself was in an entirely nebulous condition not so very long ago. All sciences wait until they can begin to construct on a solid basis.' What was required was for sociology to abandon its exclusive concern with the individual, to establish regularities governing societies and systems at large.

He ignored Wells's awkward point that 'the scientific method is the method of ignoring individualities . . . [There was now] a growing body of people who are beginning to hold the . . . view that counting, classification, measurement, the whole fabric of mathematics, is subjective and deceitful, and that the uniqueness of individuals is the objective truth.' Kidd reiterated his appeal for study of the unconscious forces that

had shaped the great systems of civilisation: 'to understand the very first principles of sociology it is almost necessary to know the contents of all history as well as philosophy and religion'. Was this to be achieved by the inductive scientific method? Kidd did not say. In practice, like Wells, he used untested intuition, but was less frank in admitting it. A science, Wells summed up, was 'a thing lacking in style, making no use of insight and disregarding values. I do not think you will ever have anything of the kind in Sociology.'⁴⁶ Not many years were to elapse before Kidd was saying much the same thing.

In February he chaired a meeting in Tonbridge to further the work of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (established 1889). He had, he claimed, helped to form the society, and due largely to his efforts a Tonbridge branch was set up. The national society had in a few years dealt with over a million cases of child neglect, cruelty and poverty. It was scandalous, Kidd declared, that the English – who were to the fore in suppressing the slave trade and preventing cruelty to animals – had been so slow to protect children. There again was an instance where individual ideas about family privacy and private charity should be supplanted by more interventionist public policies. Children must be protected not merely on humanitarian grounds but as a national heritage and a future resource.⁴⁷

At some time in March or April he came down with an illness that proved debilitating and persistent. He did not specify its nature in his letters. On the eve of his annual summer holidays he wrote to his doctor, Herbert Snow: 'We are looking forward to getting away. . . . I have not been good for much work since my attack in the Spring and I am looking forward to a change.'⁴⁸ The long hours of study and writing endured in his self-imposed quest for the key to knowledge, together with the tensions induced by his political failure and retreat to Tonbridge appear to have taken their toll of a man in his forty-eighth year and not of robust constitution. There is a possibility that his 'attack' was an anticipation of the heart disease that finally killed him. From this time one senses

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intimations of mortality in his writings. In one essay he wrote:

The fierce lust of living, as Faust witnessed, does often but wax with the increasing tale of years. Never in all possibility does it burn fiercer than in the veins of the devoted toiler in the cause of science, who, with his work shaping out on the horizon, seeing as he grows older the unconquered field of knowledge still before him, sighs for time and ever for still more time.⁴⁹

Money worries may also have contributed to his poor health. Although he was economical to the point of meanness, 'The Warders' and its grounds entailed greater expense than his Croydon home. He was obliged to dispose of at least one of his Heathfield Road properties in Croydon in order to afford it. (He held leasehold on at least five such properties in 1901.) Travel to London and school fees at Tonbridge School meant further outlays. The Outlook paid £2 to £3 for reviews or 'middle' articles, depending on wordage. In good weeks, with two contributions, he would make f_5 or f_6 ; in bad weeks nothing. Probably, in the bumper years of 1905-6, he earned enough from his Outlook writings to cover the lease for 'The Warders' (\pounds_{90} per annum). Given the royalties from his books, his civil service pension, his shares and the rents from his remaining Heathfield Road properties, his position was actually comfortable. (His tax declaration for 1904-5 gave his income as $\pounds_{5,76}$, which included literary profits $\pounds_{1,1,2}$, pension £115, £4200 worth of Grand Trunk railroad shares yielding £84, a life annuity £90, and rents £224.) However writing was a precarious occupation, and the need for financial care must have seemed ever-present. It partly explains his meticulous, indeed obsessive, concern to maximise his literary earnings. It may also explain, if not justify, what can only be described as his grasping and unsympathetic attitudes as a landlord. His correspondence with his solicitors, house agents and tenants is distressingly full of his tenants' complaints about his rigour in extracting rents and his stubborn refusal to spend money on necessary repairs and maintenance to his houses.

One may detect by 1906 a discernible tension in Kidd's

mind between utopian faith in man's future and incipient fear of the power of doctrines of force based on the state. He became increasingly suspicious of political nationalism, particularly where it endorsed class exploitation or was based upon naked force. In this respect he was influenced by Tolstoy and Acton. They were men, he felt, who truly understood the inner principles of western history, as compared with the school of academic historians, mere 'reporters of the records'. Tolstoy's *End of the Age* had an electric effect upon him.⁵⁰ Tolstoy vividly depicted the plight of the down-trodden Russian peasantry, the light of revolution in their eyes. Kidd of course followed the 1905 uprising in Russia, hard on the heels of the Russian débâcle in its war with Japan. He wrote:

The materials which have been ripening are these one hundred million of people hopelessly involved in the iron coercion of the State. They are the people subjected to the cold cruelty of the wealthy, suffering the exasperation and despair of the poor, lifting up their eyes to heaven against the senseless and ever-increasing armaments of militarism, and for ever dragged between the unrealisable teaching of socialism, 'dreadful in its despotism and wonderful in its superficiality' on one hand, and 'the stupid and ignorant teaching called science' on the other. The educated classes whom Tolstoy indicts are they who have made this world as it is, the classes who teach a futile science, who talk a depraved art, who live a religion which is the negation of all religion in that it represents as crystallised and abiding in all the forms of the State the legal oppression of the weak by the strong.

Russia was still attempting what the west had partly achieved since the Reformation: to break the shackles binding the church to the state. 'The essence of Christianity is the complete freedom and equality of the individual. A state founded upon coercion must become an impossibility of civilised humanity in the future.' Part of Kidd's nature sympathised deeply with Tolstoy's anarchist tendencies. 'Whilst belonging to a State a man cannot be free', Tolstoy had said. The greater the state, the greater the evil, for in a great state the more was violence necessary and the less was true freedom possible. Lord Acton

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had also demonstrated the fragility of freedom in history, and warned against the dangers of the Prussian concept of the state.⁵¹ Tolstoy prophesied a world revolution that would liberate men from all sense of responsibility, and all claim of obedience, to the power of the state. Kidd did not fail to note the parallel with his own position in *Western Civilisation*, although he still felt that an interventionist state would be needed during a transitional phase to redress social injustice and achieve economic efficiency. Elsewhere Kidd predicted eventual revolution even in America, the opposite of Russia:

There is no national sovereign power in America. Property in the last resort is free to do as it pleases. In the vast tumult of the legalised individual free fight for wealth in the United States, the steady and increasing feature is the growth of great and greater fortunes. The concentration of power and control in the hands of the few proceeds apace. There is no equality in such a struggle, for the advantage everywhere is the advantage property gives in the acquisition of more property.⁵²

America's rapid growth had postponed a social revolt: 'But the time must come . . . when enormous sections of the American public must perforce lose their faith in the personal chance of becoming rich or truly free. They will develop the consciousness of an expropriated class in conditions which will not have been mellowed but rendered virulent by all the previous tendencies of the free fight for wealth.'

In November 1906 Garvin departed from the Outlook, disrupting Kidd's congenial situation there. Garvin's career was marked by violent disputes with the proprietors of the various newspapers he worked on, and the Outlook proved no exception. He quarrelled with Sydney Goldman, the owner. The Outlook was then purchased by Walter Guinness for the express purpose of retaining Garvin, largely in order to further the political career of Walter Long, an ambitious Unionist who desired Garvin's support against the Irish Nationalists. However Garvin broke with Guinness over questions of capital and editorial conditions. Garvin and Grigg resigned. Garvin then finalised negotiations he had been maturing with Lord Northcliffe. He gained the editorship of the respected Observer and a powerful political role in the service of the press baron.53 With Garvin's departure the corps of writers that he had brought to the Outlook disintegrated. Kidd stayed on, after making a gesture of withdrawal. The new managing editor, Albert Masey, replied: 'There is no reason why you should cease to contribute to the Outlook. Anything really good will always be welcome."54 His relations with the new regime were to remain at this lukewarm temperature. Garvin's appointment to The Observer offered at least some compensatory prospects. Garvin accepted his friend's warm congratulations with the comment: 'As to the Observer it will be months before I get it fully into proper shape . . . In one way or another it will be good, and it is a great satisfaction to me to know you will help when there is a chance. Of course the makeup will not offer the same constant opportunities that there were on the Stoutlook.'55

Kidd was seen at his best when forced to be pithy and specific. The shorter pieces he wrote during the mid-1900s often read better than his long-winded volumes, conveying a more immediate sense of impact and originality. He was a writer who benefited from deadlines and editors who curbed his verbosity and pomposity. Whenever he attempted something more ambitious he elevated himself on to a more abstract and rarefied plane. Promising a world-shattering new synthesis, he risked disappointing his readers with wordy, general and imprecise formulations that meant little to the world at large. These faults were illustrated in his Two Principal Laws of Sociology, originally papers in Eugenio Rignano's Rivista di Scienza (part 1 in 1907, part 2 in 1908) and subsequently published as short pamphlets in London, Paris, Leipzig and Bologna.⁵⁶ They conveyed the impression that he had not progressed far beyond the ideas expressed in his earlier books.

He was scathing about academic sociology. He breathed contempt for the ever more specialised research being pursued by men who lacked the wide training and comprehensive mental equipment needed for such a master subject. Sociology as a discipline rested on biology, he insisted, but it drew upon the whole human record, physical, historical and psychical. At present it was a confused discipline. But it stood on the brink of a revolutionary synthesis that would reduce chaos to order and simplicity, a revolution comparable with that of Newton's in astronomy and Darwin's in biology. It would be found that the almost infinite variety of detail encountered in the social sciences was 'consistent with a remarkable underlying simplicity of governing principle'. Kidd's faith was not unlike Comte's, that with the advance of positivist science phenomena could be explained by a steadily diminishing set of laws, the unattainable ideal being to explain all facts by one single law. Kidd was not yet quite ready to announce the new synthesis, but he was prepared to make a venturesome enunciation of the first principle of this science of society.

Kidd's first law of sociology proposed:

(a) that the evolution of life outside society was governed by natural selection operating through a struggle between individuals, a process which developed in the individual qualities contributing to individual efficiency in that conflict

(b) that the evolution of human society was governed by natural selection operating through a struggle between a less organic and a more organic type of society, a process which developed in the individual qualities contributing to society's efficiency in that conflict.

The concept of individual struggle, process (a), had hitherto dominated sociology. This (said Kidd) was mainly because Darwin and the early Darwinians had been preoccupied with animal evolution. Having made no systematic study of human society, they emphasised the struggle for existence as it was waged between individuals. Ignoring the work of Kropotkin on mutual aid within species, and that of other 'altruists', Kidd claimed to be crystallising a theoretical novelty of prime significance:

there is nothing whatever elsewhere in life to compare with what we

see taking place in human society, namely, the gradual integration – still under all the stress of natural selection expressing its effects in the person of the individual – of an organic social process resting ultimately on mind. The laws of this process are necessarily quite different from the laws of the simpler process in operation lower down in life; a position which has seemed to me so important that it has been the cardinal object of all my own work and researches to state this fact and to explain the far more complex laws of the integration of the social process.

(pt 1, p. 15)

By seeing 'lower-order' evolution as subject to red-toothed natural laws of competition and conflict, while 'higher-order' human evolution was subject to equally natural laws of cooperation and altruism, Kidd believed he had solved the philosophical dilemmas that had plagued men like Huxley (with his distinction between a savage 'cosmic' process arising from nature and an alternative 'ethical' process that was required for social progress). Kidd seems to have been proposing a relatively simple kind of naturalistic ethics which viewed right action as that which was consistent with advanced evolutionary principles. These principles were discoverable as empirical features of the natural world, or else they unfolded in a teleological process towards a discernible evolutionary goal. Rather than man's nature being divided between a primal natural self and a non-natural ethical self, rather than man calling in 'will, reason, or religion to lift him into a higher region of conduct than that into which his natural self is apparently born', we see merely the gradual decline in man of self-regarding qualities inherited from his individualistic past, and the steady growth in him of other-regarding qualities. Such qualities develop quite naturally under the impact of new evolutionary principles which favour a caring and 'ethical' type as contributing more to a society's efficiency as it moves towards a more organic stage. Ethics might be viewed (pursuing an insight of T.H. Green in his Prolegomena to Ethics) as an extension of the concept of neighbourship under the pressure of adaptation – from the family to group,

tribe, city-state, nation, and finally to humanity and even the whole sentient universe.

In his first sociological law Kidd believed he had found the secret not only to philosophy, but to psychology, history, economics and many other branches of knowledge. It gave an organising principle which reduced to order the principal facts in most of these fields. For the moment he was content merely to offer insights in certain disciplines. Some were interesting. His method enabled him to attack the prevailing introspective school of psychology, which proceeded by analysing individual minds and considering society simply as an aggregate of such minds. Kidd's law led him to proclaim that 'the social process must have its own experiences, its own laws and its own psychology, and that it is the ultimate meaning of these which is everywhere gradually imposing itself upon the individual and ultimately controlling even the development of the human mind' (pt 1, p. 10). He hinted that the mind may inherit genetically social concepts derived from past evolution. He predicted that pragmatism, as espoused by William James, and understood by competent sociologists, might transform psychology, as it rightly related individual beliefs to assignable social experience.

The history of all hitherto existing society was the history not of class struggle, as Marx maintained, but of the evolution of the individual as a more dynamic member of a more organic type of social order. This principle governed the movements of history, 'the conflict of states, organisations, institutions and peoples; the clash of social standards, customs, laws, codes, civilisations, and beliefs' (pt 1, p. 11). It only remained for the historian, by applying this principle as a tool of research, to unify the whole human record. The same law controlled the complex conflict taking place between contemporary economic forces. English political economy had been dominated by the individualist model of competition. It held that 'the most desirable economic condition was that in which the simple law of supply and demand was allowed to work out its results to the bitter end with the least possible regulation or restriction' (pt 1, p. 13). This model had been severely challenged in recent decades: 'What has gradually come to be seen is that the good of the competitors in a state of unrestricted competition between individuals is not the same thing as the good of society.' Hence there had been a growing tendency in England and other countries towards state intervention: regulation of factories, child labour, hours of work, minimum wages and the recognition of trade union rights: 'With increasing socialisation the meaning of the struggle between the individual and his fellows is being increasingly governed at every point by the forces which are carrying society as a whole forward to a more organic stage.'

There were interesting echoes of Marx in Kidd's analysis. Both saw progress as realisable by man as a social rather than an isolated creature. Both spoke in terms of social determinism. Kidd's language should not lead us astray here. He sometimes sounded like the idealist philosophers, especially when talking of the critical importance of mind in evolution. When he focussed on the role of moral values in higher evolution, values that fostered social cohesion, he was capable of saying: 'all the laws of the integration which is taking place in human society are ultimately laws of mind' (pt 2, p. 7). However this was just a loose way of saying that a critical function was played in advanced evolution by developing consciousness, by psycho-cultural factors. He denied that mind was determining process. He said unequivocally: 'It is the meaning of the social process which is constructing the human mind. This is the most pregnant idea in Western thought at the present time, and it places sociology in its true place as the sovereign of all the sciences' (pt 2, p. 15). Like Weber and the Marxists, Kidd believed in the primacy and autonomy of social reality. He began at least to explore the proposition of modern sociology that social reality possessed a structure and rationale of its own, independent of the individual wills acting within that structure.

Kidd put himself in opposition to Spencer regarding the concept of social organism. Spencer had recognised 'the social

organism' as a fundamental concept, and done much to popularise it, in his Principles of Sociology (1876) and other works. Spencer, however, as a dedicated laissez-fairist, denied that the living units of society, individual people, could merge their separate interests in the social whole (as individual parts of an animal were merged in the life of the whole). It was not possible for them to lose their individual consciousness in any corporate consciousness. Thus Spencer opposed the sacrifice of personal interests to the supposed benefit of the state or society. To the end of his long life he commended a harsh struggle for existence, unameliorated by state interference. Otherwise the fittest would not survive. Kidd regarded Spencer's atomised view of the corporate life as having 'hampered and retarded progress in sociology for fifty years'. He assumed – there is no other word for it – an alternative concept:

if the efficiency of the social organism, like the efficiency of every organism, is something superior to, and greater than, the sum total of the efficiencies of all its individual units acting as units, then of one thing we may be quite sure. Whether the individual be conscious of it or not, the tendency of the evolutionary process, making always for efficiency, will inevitably render the interests of the units subordinate to the interests of the corporate life.

The corporate life represented a higher synthesis, with its own laws and consciousness, in time controlling everything affecting the individual, integrating institutions and ultimately directing the progress of the human mind itself. In this approach Kidd anticipated the phenomenological school of twentieth-century sociology, and in particular the ideas of Alfred Vierkandt (1867-1952). Vierkandt held that social organisations had 'lives of their own', their own style, laws and orders that shape personal behaviour. Like Vierkandt, Kidd stressed the persistence of social order, structure and purpose.⁵⁷

Kidd's second law of sociology ran as follows:

The evolution of society towards a more organic stage depended

upon the progressive deepening of the corporate consciousness, in which circumstances an institutional struggle took place between the less organic interests which represent the ascendancy of the present and the more organic interests in which the welfare of the future is included.

In this law he accommodated the principle of 'projected efficiency'. Under its aegis he discerned a *telos* for mankind that he was to describe in utopian and hopeful terms.

The history of ethics indicated a transition from a primitive to an advanced social consciousness. Early societies, recognising only family or tribal obligations, gradually attained more organic types of consciousness under the influence of beliefs such as ancestor worship. The restricted social consciousness characteristic of military states - present-oriented, worshipping force, with institutions embodying absolutism - gradually gave way to the freer, more tolerant value systems of modern western civilisations. As explained in Social Evolution, the distinctive ethos of western civilisation was largely the product of a belief system founded on Christianity, and conferring strategic evolutionary advantages in the struggle of peoples for survival and dominance. As a result the world was now witnessing an extension of the idea of brotherhood 'outside the limits of race and beyond all political boundaries', a deepening of the sense of human responsibility 'first of all to fellow creatures and then to life itself'. A more extended, spiritual and organic concept of humanity was coming to prevail.58

Kidd's reverence for 'Westernism', for Anglo-Saxonism, needs to be put in the context of the times and his own curious thought patterns. As we have seen, he was not a narrow racist like many of the eugenists of the 1900s. He did not believe that there were lasting genetic differences between races. Nor did he explain western 'superiority' by military or industrialmilitary dominance, although that was a factor. Rather the west represented the triumph of ethical and idealistic processes, represented 'the enfranchisement of the future in the evolutionary process'. The spread of social awareness and reform had in fact improved the competitiveness of western societies by increasing equality of opportunity. In politics and economics it was the good of the many, of the social organism rather than of particular individuals or classes, the interest of the future rather than the present that was coming to pass. In international relations men were moving towards universal peace. This naive belief, expressed in a time of heated power rivalry in Europe, is worth quoting at some length as a museum-piece from an age predating total warfare. (It ought perhaps to be noticed that two great pioneers in sociology, Comte and Spencer, and contemporaries such as Havelock Ellis, also predicted the withering away of war.) Unlike H.G. Wells, Kidd had no glimmering that civilised man could encompass the wholesale destruction that came to pass in World War I and after:

We live in the presence of colossal national armaments and in a world therefore in which we are continually met with the taunt that force is still everywhere omnipotent. It may be perceived, however, that beneath all outward appearances a vast change has been taking place. In the ancient civilizations the tendency to conquest was an inherent principle in the life of the military State. It is no longer an inherent principle in the modern State. The right of conquest is indeed still acknowledged in the international law of civilized States; but it may be observed to be a right becoming more and more an impracticable and impossible right among the more advanced peoples. Reflection moreover reveals the fact that the right of conquest is tending to become impracticable and impossible, not, as is often supposed, because of the huge armaments of resistance with which it might be opposed, but because the social consciousness has been so deepened in our civilization that it is almost impossible that one nation should attempt to conquer and subdue another after the manner of the ancient world. It would be regarded as so great an outrage that it would undoubtedly prove to be one of the maddest and one of the most unprofitable adventures in which a civilized State could engage. Militarism, it may be distinguished, is becoming mainly defensive amongst the most advanced nations. Like the civil power within the State, it is tending to represent rather the organised means of resistance to the methods of force should these methods be invoked by others temporarily or permanently under the influence of less evolved standards of conduct.

(pt 2, pp. 13–14)

Kidd hoped that mankind was moving beyond the dangerous stage of nationalism to supra-nationalism. The social organism 'is not now essentially either the nation, or the State, or a group of peoples held together in any political fabric . . . it tends to become a unity possessing a far deeper and wider meaning . . . in the widest sense embracing the meaning and destiny of the [human] race as a whole' (pt 2, pp. 14–15).

His Two Laws made little impact in England. This was not entirely surprising. He had written no major work since Western Civilisation, itself a disappointment. His name, although still respected, was dropping out from notice. His retreat to Tonbridge, and exit from politics, removed him from the public eye when a younger generation of writers was emerging and speculating on the human condition and future. Judged by results, his theories appeared no more impressive than the speculations of new liberals, Fabians and utopians of various sorts. Kidd's combination of social prophecy and scientific - or pseudo-scientific - apparatus no longer seemed so original or striking. Indeed he irritated those who insisted upon a genuinely rigorous scientific methodology. How Kidd derived his 'laws' was not clear. He claimed that they arose from prolonged study of a wide range of phenomena, but he never presented the mechanics of this investigation for critical scrutiny. He then professed to apply his laws in order to deduce, or discover, 'tendencies of development'. At no stage, however, did he systematically test the viability of these deductions, for instance, seeking for evidence that would refute expected consequences and thus undermine an unsatisfactory theory. He in fact identified himself emotionally with his theories, resented and insulated himself from criticism. His method opened him to charges of circularity, obscurantism and intuitionism.

In order to cast his seed-corn more widely, Kidd urged

Macmillan and Co. to bring out cheaper editions of his books. Frederick Macmillan, however, resisted a cheaper edition of *Social Evolution*. If it were reduced from 7/6d to 4/6d, he calculated, any profits accrued by extra sales would be absorbed by the difference in price the publishers would have to allow on unsold copies in the booksellers. On the other hand, *Western Civilisation* was moving too slowly at 15/-d, and Macmillan agreed to issue a second edition at 7/6d, making the two books uniform.⁵⁹ All efforts to bring out a new edition of *Western Civilisation* in the United States failed, the book trade being depressed because of the business recession of 1908.

Kidd wrote an introduction to the second edition of Western Civilisation, thus giving friends like Garvin of The Observer and Strachey of *The Spectator* an excuse to review the book again. He was not noticeably modest, claiming to be the first scholar to subject to evolutionary scrutiny the major organic systems of ideas underpinning western civilisation.⁶⁰ Unlike the sociologists and anthropologists who engrossed themselves in detailed study of every facet of savage beliefs and institutions, he saw himself as a pioneer applying evolutionary theory to the real growth-centres of human progress. He had discerned that the governing idea of individualism was being supplanted by a new ruling concept of organic evolution. Religio-ethical ideals were playing a critical role in this progression, and it was he who had rescued 'the great systems of human religion' from the remarkable neglect of rationalists, and attributed to them their proper evolutionary meaning. A drama of social development was being enacted in western history. Not only was the world growing 'ever more and more religious' - not such a surprising statement after a decade or more of transcendentalist revival, mysticism, theosophy and occultism in England - but 'the dead-weight of the tyrannical present' was being steadily lifted from human energies. The enfranchisement of the future was gradually taking place in the social process:

Progressive integration is the law of human religions, as it is the law of human progress. The one dominating belief of the West under all changing forms is, however, that the Wheel of Being does not merely revolve, but moves forward, and that it carries us forward as responsible units to a meaning in consciousness which includes the meaning of universe.⁶¹

Many readers of Kidd's books had taken him to be an advocate of the genetic superiority of western peoples. After Japan's victory over Russia he had received many letters suggesting that the emergence of an Asian power might require him to reappraise his views. Even H.G. Wells commented that 'Mr. Kidd did not anticipate Japan.' Such people, Kidd retorted, had read him carelessly:

When Social Evolution was published, the intellectual classes in most Western countries were strongly under the influence of a preconception as to the intellectual superiority of their own races when compared with other races of the world. Even scientific treatises contained many opinions as to the intellectual inferiority of the latter which seemed to me without any validity. Examining the evidence at length, I reached the conclusion that there were no grounds whatever for assuming any such intellectual superiority on the part of Western races, or for believing that the position which they had attained in the world rested on such a quality. If there is one idea more than another which is to be clearly carried away from this book . . . it is that *civilisation is not a matter of race, nor descent, nor of superior intellectual capacity, but of ethos* – that kind of ethos which is described in these chapters as making of our Western civilisation a living, organic, developing unity.⁶²

Japan, he made clear, had a national religion and social structure that enabled her to utilise western arts and technology with effect against the west. It was just as he had predicted in *Social Evolution*. The west could not rely upon intellectual development alone to maintain supremacy over supposedly 'lower races'. All the conquests of mind would become open to the rest of the world, and might be used against the western races. The west would survive only as long as it retained a socially more efficient and ethical ethos.

The second edition of Western Civilisation generated little critical interest, and what there was suggested that Kidd was being pigeonholed as anachronistic and dogmatic. Even T.N. Gill's polite review in the Outlook found 'projected efficiency' an obscure concept: 'The ordinary person fails to understand how natural selection can have acted otherwise than on the individual in relation to an immediate and present advantage. One cannot help suspecting that Mr. Kidd endows natural selection with a providential or transcendental, as distinct from a purely mechanical, character.'63 Kidd condemned the review as 'awful'; but Masey, the editor, replied that he thought it 'independent and moderately critical'.⁶⁴ Unluckily for Kidd, Seth Pringle-Pattison's The Philosophical Radicals and other Essays had appeared in 1907. It gave wide circulation to his 1902 review of Western Civilisation, in which, as Mind remarked, the philosophic and historical weaknesses of Kidd's political thought were 'unsparingly shown'. Pringle-Pattison did, however, find the book to be

a well-timed warning... in calling attention to the process of degradation which the principles of modern Liberalism have undergone in being separated from their ethico-religious presuppositions; and their inherent inability, when thus separated, to cope with a materialistic gospel of force, or with the many dangers which threaten our modern society from the unscrupulous pursuit of wealth, the immense accumulations of capital, and the hardening effects of selfish luxury.⁶⁵

J.H. Muirhead, another critic of *Western Civilisation*, successfully turned Kidd's attention to another field of study, when he responded to a gift of the *Two Laws*:

I think however that I should differ from you in insisting that the whole subject if it is to be discussed with the maximum of profit must be approached from the side of psychology and Ethics. Society is essentially a system of wills and its phenomena can only be understood in relation to the will and its purposes. If this is what the current Pragmatism means, I think it is an important truth.⁶⁶

During his years at Tonbridge Kidd became engrossed in the naturalist observations and experiments that he loved, and for which the lush countryside of Kent provided splendid scope. Here he was able to continue his life-long study of animal habits and intelligence, closely connected with his interest in the evolution of mind. To this end he kept wild animals as pets. In the autumn of 1906 he kept a pair of young squirrels 'in conditions closely resembling those in nature' to observe their hibernating habits. He found them to be delightful creatures, 'their gambols and intelligent antics being a constant source of pleasure'.⁶⁷ In these years he tamed wild ducks, kept a variety of hens, domesticated young hares, observed frogs, fish and birds. He displayed a natural empathy with animals. One of his tamed hares slept in a basket by the fire during the day, and frolicked in his study at night: 'It would then come on the table while writing was going on and stretch itself out at full length, or sit and watch with four legs tucked underneath like a cat.' He brought up a young cuckoo (named 'Oliver Twist') from the nest,

and the whole household became more or less slaves to its wants... the bird became very attached to those who waited on it, and it seemed to be possessed of more than ordinary intelligence. When the migratory season approached, and far into the winter, it showed great restlessness. It would sit by the writer as he sometimes worked into the small hours of the morning, apparently quite satisfied with his company and yet continually moving its wings with a slight tremulous motion as if it felt the uncontrollable instinct of flight upon it.⁶⁸

On his excursions Kidd approached young hares concealed amongst tufts of short cover in open grass. Following an instinctive pattern, they would lie head to tail in pairs, ignoring the photographing intruder who even 'bent down the grass at the side of a well-grown pair, so as to catch the reflection of the light on the eyes, almost brushing the fur of each in the act, while they still remained motionless'.⁶⁹ Kidd's descriptions of wild-life appeared regularly in the *Outlook*'s column 'The

Open Life'. Here he combined infectious enthusiasm for his subject with an expert grasp of Darwinian theory. The following piece on hares is not untypical:

There is no more remarkable type in nature than that of the hare when it is considered in relation to its specialization for speed. The wonderful symmetry of the greyhound, one of the oldest of the dog types bred by man, is but the corollary, through artificial selection, of what had been attained in the case of the hare by longer ages of natural selection. Our common wild hare, seen in an attitude of attention, is a beautiful creature, displaying in every movement the nature of the history which has produced it. The large, bright, intelligent eye, so different from that of the rabbit; the deep, cupshaped ears, capable of being bent in any direction to form a receptacle to catch the slightest sound; the well-correlated movements, showing intention and intelligence at every turn; the body itself, with its marvellous blend of protective colours and its suggestion of speed in every line; the long and remarkably built hind legs, moved by the powerful muscles above and tapering to the slender feet; the characteristic leaps and gambols of the creature, which is capable of tucking or folding itself when at ease into a space only one-fifth of its fully extended length; and, lastly, the pervading consciousness, manifest in all its actions, if it be in the least suspicious of being watched or pursued, of the betraying scent given off by its body, all form a blend of qualities irresistibly suggestive of the untold ages of stress and selection out of which the hare has come.⁷⁰

He amassed a large number of careful notes on wild-life that he intended to publish as a treatise, presumably on instinct and intelligence in animals. They were never printed, and seem now to be lost. However the drift of his thesis is apparent from his articles. He was impressed by neither the conventional view that there was an unbridgeable qualitative gap between man and lower creatures, nor by the tendency of some Darwinians to minimise the intellectual difference between them in order to strengthen the evolutionary hypothesis. Kidd maintained faith in natural selection as the basic explanation of human mind. He did not, like Wallace, call upon a non-

naturalistic, or transcendental cause of the quantum gap that appeared to separate man from his fellow animals. While insisting upon the complexity of the issue, and the present ignorance of biologists on crucial issues, Kidd did recognise the incomparable complexity of the human brain, achieved at unfathomable evolutionary cost over eons of time. It was only by comparative analysis of animal instinct and intelligence that one could begin feebly to understand 'the rising curve which marks the ascent of mind', or begin to have a glimmering of the unbounded potentialities of human consciousness for the planet's future life.⁷¹

He recognised from his studies the existence of genuinely intelligent behaviour in animals, especially the higher primates. It was connected in particular with the manual grasping ability, as Spencer and others had suggested. In this respect Kidd had been impressed by an incident that occurred during his trip to South Africa in 1902. While visiting a small zoo in Pretoria, he was struck by the behaviour of one amongst half a dozen monkeys that were chained to trees inside a wire fence:

The visitors had been throwing various kinds of food to the monkeys, and some of it had fallen beyond the limit of the chains and lay on the ground out of reach. The other monkeys kept each near the foot of his respective tree, but this one remained on the ground near the railings with an air of preoccupation which was noticeable. Now and then visitors approached who carried sticks, and presently one of these was dangled loosely outside the rails. In an instant the monkey had snatched it, and had fled chattering with it to the foot of his tree . . . Advancing on all fours to the limit of his chain, and with the stick stretched out in his hand, he proceeded, amid the greatest excitement among the other monkeys, to rake in, one by one, the titbits which had accumulated, hitherto beyond reach. Although there was nothing new to me in the act, for I had previously lived with and studied monkeys at close quarters, I shall not forget the effect for the moment on my mind . . . Had not the zoologists been right in placing the monkey among the primates? Here was something more than mere animal instinct. Was this not an example

of mind conquering the dull tyranny of things as they are, and the first tool-using animal emerging beneath our eyes?⁷²

Kidd cited many instances of intelligent, or apparently intelligent, behaviour in animals: the migratory feats of birds and fish, the intricate life patterns of the social insects, canine loyalty and adeptness in training, the skill of the hare or fox in eluding pursuers ('The animal will return over its scent, cross and recross it with springs, and make off at right angles. It will go down one side of a hedge and then up the other, passing its pursuers with only the screen between. It will take to water or endeavour to lose the scent amongst domestic animals').73 However, when subjected to close scrutiny a great deal of such behaviour would prove, he thought, to be the product of instinctive patterns, derived from natural selection, rather than the result of applied intelligence. Bird migrations were almost certainly in this category, despite the extraordinary distances covered and the uncanny navigational powers displayed: 'Why the powers appear to us so wonderful is that we do not always know the exact nature of the stimulus, and possibly do not ourselves possess, or possess only in a very rudimentary form, the senses which are concerned in responding to it.'74 The physical system of birds was probably attuned hereditarily to react finely to changes in wind direction, to wind-borne odours, light, temperature, radiations or emanations not available to human senses. (Here Kidd foreshadowed later discoveries of the role of magnetic forces in bird navigation.) Significantly, highly developed directional sense was possessed by creatures not otherwise noted for intelligence, such as birds and fish, even snakes. One of Kidd's essays recounted the extraordinary life history of eels, in many points the reverse of the spawning salmon, remaining for years in fresh water, and eventually making their way unerringly to a region of the Atlantic where spawning took place in depths never less than two hundred fathoms, great sea pressure being required for the eel's vital functions in reproduction.⁷⁵ Here the parent eels died, while the tiny offspring performed

prodigious feats of navigation in returning over immense distances to the fresh water ponds and rivers where the migration began.

Instinctive behaviour was deeply imprinted in many species and highly useful for survival, but it was not necessarily associated with intelligence. A queen wasp, despite her capacity single-handed to create a complex wasp-colony, if removed from her nest - which was then placed a few yards away from its original site – would fly off and be quite unable to find it again. Queenless bees left without either egg or larva to begin a new queen never attempted to avoid extinction by raiding another hive for egg or larva, which they might easily do. A young squirrel, although using its hands freely to hold things, never used them to seize food offered to it; if it could not reach the food with its mouth, it would think it out of reach and go hungry. Squirrels buried stores of nuts in the autumn, but often entirely forgot where they had placed their hoards. Kidd had a pair under observation that would perform the make-believe of burying a nut in the floor of a room: 'They would press the nut down on the carpet and go through all the motions of patting the earth over it, after which they went away, apparently satisfied that the nut was safely buried.⁷⁶ Hares would allow themselves to be captured and killed by weasels, although easily able to outrun their enemy. Experiments with dogs had shown that they were unable to use a stick to retrieve food out of reach. The dog's obedience to a master, the sheepdog's skill in marshalling a flock, he attributed to instinctive habits deriving originally from ancestral pack-hunting:

The dog has probably still some sort of conception of his place as member of a cooperative group and of his master as the wise and resourceful leader of it . . . in a dim way the ordinary collie probably regards the sheep as no more than the property or game belonging to the pack. He thinks of himself in all probability as assisting the wise dog at the head of the pack in the exciting occupation of shepherding the captured game.⁷⁷

However wonderful such animal instincts might be, they represented the mechanism of mind in an early stage of evolution: 'The instincts in question are always born with the animals; but what is inherited is not, as is sometimes imagined. knowledge or ideas; it is simply the physical organization, common to a whole species, adjusted, often with exquisite perfection, to respond more or less mechanically to stimuli related to the average welfare of the animal.' As the scale of animal intelligence rose this organised mechanical response became replaced by something higher: 'We begin to have conscious intelligence in the individual initiating and directing action in such circumstances as may arise, and doing this with a growing perception of the relations between cause and effect.' Greatly quickened intelligence was often triggered in circumstances of supreme crisis, where individual danger or safety of the young was concerned. Mind developed because it provided more efficient, less wasteful, ways of adapting to environment than did automated instincts. Kidd cited as an example of the inefficiency of a system based on instinct a wasp nest he kept in his house:

Three-fourths of the work of the insects during the season has been directed toward raising the large crop of queens and males which marks the end of the year. Every instinct of the nest has been for months adjusted to this social need. Yet what is the final result? The number of young queens in my nest is about 3000, there being almost as many males. As the number of wasps in the world does not presumably increase, and as such a nest is always begun in the spring by a single queen, it follows that for one male and fertile female to attain their perfect end, some 5998 must on the average perish and fail. Such is the stupendous cost of life before the epoch of mind.

Even the higher animals, when all consideration was given to their intellectual powers, were separated by an 'enormous interval of progress' from the human mind:

When it is considered how naturally it comes to man to use tools, it seems matter for surprise not that we should occasionally see this faculty in animals, but rather that we should so rarely, even in the

higher animals, see intelligence rise to this level . . . We marvel at the complexity and history of the single cell in which the individual life in the higher forms always begins, a speck of matter capable of transmitting all the features and potentialities of inheritance which separate the various forms of life and distinguish one individual from another. But who can estimate the almost inconceivable complexity of the inherited forces which organize, in a single lifetime, the few ounces of grey matter of the human brain? But yesterday the components were a handful of inert material, today they have become the physical basis of the supreme reasoning consciousness of man and all that it implies.⁷⁸

Kidd seized the opportunity of obtaining a broader platform for his ideas when he was asked to give the Herbert Spencer lecture at Oxford in 1908. The Gifford lectures had again eluded his grasp, despite overtures he made to Andrew Mitchell of Stirling and Professor Patterson of the Established Church of Scotland.⁷⁹ However recognition came his way when his old friend T. Herbert Warren, now vice-chancellor of Oxford University, invited him to deliver the annual Spencer address. It was duly given before a large Oxford audience at the Sheldonian Theatre at 4 pm on Friday 29 May, after the usual luncheon with college dons.⁸⁰ He was paid £20 for the lecture, afterwards printed by Clarendon Press. The honour gave him peculiar satisfaction, because it underlined the parallels between Spencer and himself: both robust, self-made intellectuals working outside the grove of academe, and applying to society at large the seminal ideas of that other 'outsider', Charles Darwin. Kidd was cocking his snook at the cloistered world of ivied courts and dreamy spires that lay outside the hall. (This was not, perhaps, the moment to recall that out of colleges such as Jowett's Balliol had come a rich reform tradition associated with T.H. Green's new Idealism, a liberal impulse that Kidd himself acknowledged to have been critical in undermining the philosophical influence of utilitarianism in Britain.) Kidd made a point of conceding the 'essential greatness' of Spencer's work before launching into an independent rebuttal of Spencer's individualism, a rebuttal that marked Kidd as a significant revisionist of Social Darwinism, a new prophet in the evolutionary pantheon. That at least was how he saw things, although unkind critics might have viewed the lecture as little more than a popular rehash of his *Two Laws*.

He had, in fact, planned a full-scale book on sociology.⁸¹ Under pressure from Rignano he had condensed his themes into two papers, the Two Laws, and now seemed psychologically unwilling to go further. Perhaps his research indicated the difficulties of the project, or his own limitations in the field. His outlook was curiously dated in some respects. He still looked to Comte and Spencer as the reigning masters of sociology, and showed little inclination to study the contribution to analytical sociology of Americans such as W.G. Sumner, Lester Ward or even his friend Franklin H. Giddings. Sumner was a commanding figure at Yale whose principal work Folkways had been published in 1906. Ward's masterpiece Dynamic Sociology had appeared in 1886, to be followed by Outlines of Sociology (1898), Pure Sociology (1903) and Applied Sociology (1906). Giddings, now at Columbia University, had expressed his psychological evolutionism in Principles of Sociology (1896) and Elements of Sociology (1898). Kidd ignored Sumner and Ward almost entirely and made only brief reference to Giddings in his reviews and writings.⁸² As to the quantitative English school associated with Galton, Pearson and the eugenics movement, he lacked knowledge of their methodology and disapproved of their values. By 1908 he must have sensed that academic sociology was moving on without him. His reaction was to scorn its narrow horizons. He continued to talk for a time of his sociology book, but allowed it to lapse. Individualism and After, a thirty-six page pamphlet, was the slight legacy of these vears of effort.

This Spencer lecture reiterated his now-familiar themes.⁸³ Individualism, of which Spencer's atomistic creed represented an extreme variety, had performed a vital function in western history. It had broken down archaic religious and civil structures, permitted the admission of the people to political power, and provided the prerequisite for personal liberty. A passionate hostility to the state had suffused the social philosophy of the Industrial Revolution, of the age of Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill. Darwinism – whose impact had been most potent in England, the world's most industrialised nation – both drew upon the paradigm of capitalist struggle in conceiving the doctrine of natural selection, and in turn reinforced that competitive model when it was applied as a social theory. Individualism and Darwinism became inextricably joined in mid-century thought. As Kidd said:

Darwin seemed to lift the veil from life, and to present to the gaze of his time, as prevailing through nature, a picture of the self-centred struggle of the individual ruthlessly pursuing his own interests and yet unconsciously pursuing them, as it was the teaching of the economic science of the day that he pursued them in human society – to his own perfection and at the same time to the highest possible good of his kind. (p. 11)

However it now appeared that individualism had been 'the doctrine of a transition period preliminary to and preparatory to a more important stage' upon which the west was now entering. The grim, stressful world of life had a way of developing quite independently of theories. It obeyed only the forces of growth working within it. And the forces of growth in advanced societies led inevitably to a more organic and collectivist condition. The state was rapidly extending its power in every direction, from municipal affairs to national and imperial interests. Just as free competition had precipitated state regulation in the political sphere, it had rung its own death knell in the economic sphere. Out of free enterprise had emerged monopolies and cartels, 'the tendency of capital to aggregation and then to forms of oligarchy'. In the international sphere, nationalism and imperialism were supplanting the earlier cosmopolitanism of free trade.

As in his Two Laws, Kidd argued that these developments

accorded with the findings of advanced evolutionary theory about socialised man. Natural selection had gradually evolved a more organic social type as more efficient in the struggle for survival. With men in groups, the interests of the group, of the corporate life, inevitably came to predominate over the interests of men as units. Spencer had maintained the opposite, but in doing so he epitomised an outmoded phase of thought: 'In the case of the social organism, as in the case of the individual, the difference between the more evolved and the primitive mind consists largely in the power of subordinating the passing needs of the present to those more organic needs which include the welfare of the future' (p. 21). Integrating ideals, especially religious, were the mainspring of evolution. They provided the sanctions and the inspiration that fostered an altruistic and futurist ethic. Under that influence the occupying classes in western society had yielded to the forces of social and political reform. The democratisation of politics had been followed by regulation of working conditions and welfarist legislation, thus opening up a society offering genuine equality of opportunity.

As Kidd told his Oxford audience, they were living in a critically important time, a time of transition and reconstruction. Like other successful social prophets, he was able to convey to the individual of his era a sense of meaning in his or her personal existence. Individual existence achieved significance through its participation in an historical and social process. Moreover Kidd's teleology was optimistic, and highly flattering for Anglo-Saxons. They excelled in social efficiency, in organisation, in getting results by taking the long view, because they understood the meaning of what Spencer called 'the long sequences in the social process'. With the British, a concern for organisation and national efficiency was modified by a hard-won concern for the liberty of the individual. Although Kidd was very impressed by the industrial and military performance of Germany and Japan - Germany driving directly towards the goal of organisation because of an historic respect for the state, Japan because of the survival of a

medieval sense of social cohesion – he suggested that Britain's body politic might prove more vital. In a dialectic mood he said:

We recognize instinctively that no institution can be trusted to develop its full meaning and to maintain its efficiency except in one condition – the condition of continuous stress represented by the permanent competitive opposition of another institution in which is embodied a counter-principle. The constitutional struggle between the people and the sovereign in England gave us the parliamentary system with all its counterpoises. The conflict between centralization and decentralization has produced the colonial system of Great Britain and the federal constitution of the United States. And the stress of affairs has developed in English and American law and opinion a theory of the supreme importance of maintaining in all circumstances a free conflict of forces. (p. 32)

The British system of party government provided a forum where a peaceful resolution took place between the forces of movement and reaction, between the occupying and the incoming classes.⁸⁴ Political problems had been solved without violence and so also, he hoped, would be solved the economic problems that seemed likely to dominate the future. There the clash would be between two major concepts: that of private enterprise under voluntary cooperation versus that of extended corporate action via the state. Out of the clash would emerge a synthesis embodying a more organic social consciousness, furthering public rather than private interests.

Kidd's views reflected the white racial optimism of the 1900s, before the 'Yellow Peril' doctrine had become widespread. The world demographic picture was in a state of considerable confusion in this period. It was not for a decade or more that Europeans generally came to be aware that the differentials in population growth were working against Europe and in favour of Asia. Kidd expected the white races to expand faster than the coloured as their imperial and political power spread. This was suggested in a passage which also conveyed a sense of the remarkable changes that the last century had seen:

Any of us may still today talk to men whose early years take them back to the days before the period of railways, telegraphs, and ocean steamships – to the days, that is to say, when all the activities of the world were still as distant from each other in time and space as they were in the days of Augustus Caesar. Those who are still our contemporaries have known the time when the white races of the world were scarcely more than a third of their present number, and when applied science had not yet begun those surprising transformations through which the face of this planet would appear changed, if it were possible for us to see it from the depths of space.⁸⁵ (p. 5)

Britain had expanded into a world-wide empire. It was, he believed, a great voluntary cooperative based essentially on kinship:

the history of this small nation has become the meaning of a larger system of life represented, as it will be within living experience, by two hundred millions, and within a century by four hundred millions, of people speaking one language and inheriting one law and one ethos. To understand these things is to feel the sense of the organic upon us, and to realize deeply what that sense of the organic may accomplish in the future. (pp. 35–6)

Much later, during World War I, he recalled the occasion:

I carry to the end of my life the memory of a certain summer afternoon in the year 1908. It was my place to deliver to the University of Oxford the Herbert Spencer Lecture for the year. In the restrained and sobered language suitable to the occasion I endeavoured to convey the message I had to deliver. To the audience present I endeavoured gently to break it, that the world into which they had been born was *dead*. Those who were still young, I said, would probably live to see great happenings. The rule of the old individualistic theories of power upon which the world, and in particular the mind of England, had been nurtured in history had passed for ever . . . 'The next age will probably be the age of the Germanization of the world. For it is those lessons of which the first stages have been displayed in the history of modern Prussia which are likely to be worked out in their fuller applications by successful States in the future.'

This message to the mind of England of a few years ago was as

words fallen on sand. Even William James, who listened to the lecture and who spoke to me in the name of the United States, took me to task afterwards for this prophecy.

The world which existed then has been wiped out of our Western age as if a sponge had closed its record in history.⁸⁶

That world was wiped out, however, in ways, traumatic ways, that Kidd only dimly foresaw in 1908. He began to predict them only after the European power rivalry and arms race intensified in the next six years. His letters at the time show that he was pleased with the lecture and the general response. He sent copies to Asquith, the new Liberal prime minister, who had taken over from Campbell-Bannerman in April 1908; and also to Lord Milner. 'It was I think a success [he wrote of the speech to Milner] and seems to be making an impression. There was quite a good audience and I hear extremely well of it from the Vice-Chancellor.' Milner liked the lecture 'with some reservations'. Kidd urged Milner into more active polemics:

It is a most interesting and important phase of development in England just now and the new ideas in their economic applications and in relation to the Empire will have big consequences. I hope you will take a leading part in events for your work belongs to it. A book from you would be a landmark, if it worked out the subject in its general aspects . . . I could help you in such a matter a great deal in many ways if you would let me.⁸⁷

Kidd had renewed acquaintance with his old boss, Milner, and with old tariff-reform friends such as Leo Amery, at meetings and dinners of the Compatriots Club in the spring of 1908. He lunched with Milner at the Savile on 22 April, and they had a long discussion about politics, tariff reform and old times in South Africa:

I greatly enjoyed our talk the other day [he wrote to Milner]. I am afraid that you must have thought me rather a bore in the days in South Africa when I talked with you a good deal about these things. But I hope you will understand how I felt about it and that you will not misunderstand even my standpoint on Chinese labour. My

dream was . . . and is still that your work in South Africa would be but the introduction to this larger policy at home which I knew was coming. You will notice that in the Colonial Institute address [of 1903 that Kidd had just sent to Milner] the farthest idea to go in practical suggestions was for (1) a Colonial Ministry (2) State control of the sea routes of the Empire and (3) the nationalisation of the railways. Of these the first is already practically agreed upon. Agreement upon the second in principle was the one principal result of the last Colonial conference. As to the third you will see from Lloyd George's speech at Manchester recently how near we are getting to that. And all this from the Liberal party. But the great matter beyond remains of course the reconstitution of our fiscal system, and the social policy of which it forms the only possible basis.⁸⁸

Kidd now took an apolitical stance: 'The great matter which impresses me at the present time is which of the two political parties is after all going to have discernment enough to see things and to take the tide at the flood now; once committed they will not have the opportunity again in all probability!' The key was to have able men in power, and he urged his old chief to get Leo Amery into parliament: '*most important* . . . It may mean a great deal in the future . . . he is bound to go far.'⁸⁹

With the subject of patronage in the air, he did not scruple to ask Milner's help in gaining his twin sons nomination for the Bank of England, a good safe career for boys who were not distinguishing themselves at school. This was finally accomplished with the impressive support of Milner, Lord Revelstoke and Alfred Clayton Cole (a director of the Bank), Lady St. Helier orchestrating Kidd's nepotic efforts in the background. As a sign of gratitude Kidd had copies of his works, including articles, specially bound and given to Rolf's and Jack's sponsors. Franklin meantime had been promised a nomination to Oxford and hoped shortly to go there.

Kidd's relations with the new hierarchy at the Outlook nosedived further in the summer of 1908. He was unhappy when Masey chose to regard his reviews as unpaid contribu-

tions, written in consideration of obtaining the works gratuitously: 'As you do not appear to have understood it in such terms, please do not trouble to do so in future. As your letter implies dissatisfaction, perhaps I ought to remind you that you are the only contributor to the Outlook who is permitted to retain the books entrusted to them for review – a favour vou do not appear to take into consideration."90 Kidd, a stickler for authors' rights, felt bruised by Masey's parsimonious attitude. His output to the weekly thereafter dwindled to a trickle. It was the beginning of an arid time for Kidd. His occasional writings, hitherto plentiful, dried up, as did the earnings they had produced. He was offered, but refused, a lucrative lecture tour of the United States.⁹¹ The pressure mounted on him to bring out another best-selling big book, a fitting tribute to a lifetime of reflection and study, a book that should clinch his reputation and reveal to the world the secret key to life on planet earth. Kidd became obsessed in his later years with this staggering project. But it proved a tricky and frustrating challenge. He began, and abandoned, a number of drafts, and the whole business was to take many years longer than he anticipated.

He immersed himself in cloistered study and naturalist research. The debate over Mendelian genetics gained his close attention. Perhaps because of his dislike of the statistical methods employed by Karl Pearson, W.F.B. Weldon and the biometricians - associated in his mind with the authoritarian school of eugenics - Kidd at first enthused over the alternative approach of William Bateson and the Mendelians. Biology had been long agitated by disagreement between the adherents of continuous as opposed to discontinuous evolution, the first emphasising Darwin's idea of selection by minute differences as the mechanism of evolution, the second emphasising selection by large mutations. The biometricians favoured continuous evolution, a process for which their statistical methods of analysis were well suited. The rediscovery of Mendel's work in 1900, however, gave new impetus to the theory of discontinuous evolution, and generally placed under a cloud the traditional Darwinist hypothesis. The Cambridge biologist Bateson enthusiastically embraced Mendelism, using it to support his own mutation theory and to discredit the biometricians. Personal antagonisms embittered the whole controversy, and probably contributed to a delay of over ten years before Mendelism and Darwinism were reconciled in the approach of population genetics.⁹²

Although Kidd retained his faith in orthodox Darwinism, he favoured Bateson's theoretical model of heredity. This may well have been because of its resemblance to Weismann's germ plasm theory, so catalytic in the development of Kidd's own ideas. At the basis of Bateson's model of the process of heredity were discrete, elementary genetic factors that passed unchanged from parent to offspring. Pairs of factors underwent segregation and random distribution, but the factors retained their integrity and no blending took place with other factors (as assumed by the old blending inheritance theory). Characteristics associated with these elementary genetic factors appeared in the offspring provided the factor was dominant rather than recessive. Bateson coined the term 'genetics', and played a pioneering role in developing the new discipline, despite the often polemical nature of his contributions. Kidd met Bateson, perhaps at Cambridge. In April 1909 he wrote to Bateson: 'I am deep in an advance copy of your "Mendel's Principles of Heredity". It is beautifully clear and a most thorough and convincing statement."⁹³ As he had done with Weismann, he was soon popularising Bateson's biology for a lay audience.

He also kept up with new knowledge in botany, with the aid of the eminent palaeobotanist Dukinfield H. Scott, president of the Linnean Society and an expert on fossil botany. Scott spent a lifetime trying to shed light on evolution from the study of extinct plants, a daunting project for which he held high hopes, ultimately disappointed. Scott tried to get Kidd involved in the activities of the Linnean Society, including their celebration of the Darwin–Wallace paper on natural selection that was first read in 1858. However Scott found that Kidd

was readier to talk and write of natural history than he was to brave the hurly-burly of Society proceedings.

Early in 1909 Franklin disappointed his father by failing the entrance to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was expected to follow a classical career. However, despite his classical education at Tonbridge, Franklin wanted to study science. While still at school he began experimenting with seeds. His father supplied him with cylinders of oxygen and carbon dioxide gases, and Franklin used them to study the effects of these gases on the germination of seeds. He now set his sights on the science tripos at Cambridge. His father enlisted Bateson's help in this regard. Meanwhile he explored the alternative of entrance into McGill University at Montreal, an institution which had established an international reputation in biology under Sir William Dawson as principal, a man whose work in fossil botany had impressed Darwin in the 1870s. In 1910 Franklin finally entered St. John's College, Cambridge, with a scholarship to study classics, but later switched to science, reading botany, zoology and chemistry for Part 1 of the tripos. It was the beginning of a brilliant career. Franklin retained a classical interest, always maintaining that it helped him as a scientist. He became a pioneer in food preservation and a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was to become an extroverted and popular man of many parts, a keen naturalist, walker and fisherman, something of a minor polymath. His lyrical poetry veered towards the mystical, perhaps an inherited legacy from Benjamin.⁹⁴

In 1910 Kidd returned to the political fray with a number of polemical pieces on tariff reform. W.L. Courtney's *Fortnightly Review* featured him in a slashing attack on old guard Liberalism that ended with an economic interpretation of the arms race worthy of J.A. Hobson.⁹⁵ Faced with changing conditions of world trade that required the urgent revision of British commercial policy, the country's Liberal leadership continued to live 'in a kind of drugged sleep', brain-poisoned with the waste products of Liberalism's militant days of protest and individualism. The old creed of free-trade indi-

vidualism had become 'no more than the crudest principle of anarchy in the present conditions of the world'. It had to be replaced by more responsible communitarian thought, the type of thought that was becoming the creed of every living and enduring movement in the modern world. The idea of nationality had superseded the 'pseudo-unity' of cosmopolitanism, and become the most powerful of the constructive forces in the social movement of the world towards organisation. But this fact had not yet entered the mental processes of the older Liberalism: 'Its leaders are, indeed, still dreaming of the demand for the economic consolidation of the British Empire, which is only a phase of this world-wide movement towards organisation, as if it were no more than an election device invented by Mr. Chamberlain.' Fierce party warfare in England was delaying the forging of a viable national policy at a critical time in world history. Liberalism, sadly, was bankrupt. Constructive political creeds could be expected for the time being rather from the socialist and conservative camps.

Kidd handled the hackneyed tariff-reform issue with some freshness by setting 'Birmingham against Manchester'. He maintained that Birmingham - with its range of general industries and political support for Chamberlain's cause more truly represented England's industrial interests than did Manchester, centre of the cotton trade and an all-pervasive Cobdenism. Manchester's theory of the cotton trade 'we have applied to all the other industries of Great Britain and called a theory of national trade, and even in moments of deeper hypnosis imagined to be a theory of universal trade . . . Never was a shallower economic fraud perpetrated on a great nation.' The cotton trade was indeed massive - cotton products made up one third of manufactured goods exported - but it differed essentially from most other industries in being tied to secure and unprotected markets, mainly in the tropics. Lancashire's cotton trade with the advanced manufacturing nations of the world – for all practical purposes Europe and the United States, with 550 million of people – was a meagre

one sixth of its total export. Even that figure had declined from one third during twenty-five years of enormous expansion in world trade. Lancashire failed the litmus test of real efficiency: the ability to penetrate the world's most competitive markets. Lancashire's overall achievement depended upon its being part of a system of exchanges between complemental and noncompeting regions of the world.

Kidd followed the German protectionist Friedrich List (1789-1846) in believing that the basis of all great industries in international trade would rest on exchange systems between complemental blocs. As the large nations industrialised, they would seek self-sufficiency at home through protection.⁹⁶ At the same time they would become increasingly dependent on resources from the unindustrialised countries. International trading would assume the form of exchanges between the manufacturing temperate regions, and the non-competitive tropics, the source of raw materials. This was Kidd's Control of the Tropics writ anew. He remembered the 'great truth' spoken to him by American ambassador John Hay before his visit to the United States in 1898: the manufacturing democracies of the temperate zone would have to learn that a large part of the trade between their own countries was mere waste, and should be curtailed: 'The great trade of the future [Hay had said] will be between supplemental regions of the world, and it will be for this trade that the great international wars of the future will be waged.'97

Kidd prophesied an intensely competitive world. As happened with nature subject to Darwinian evolution, new forms and adaptations would emerge. Improvements in technology and transport would ultimately equalise economic conditions for the advanced nations. Each would be capable of developing its own Great Industry within its borders:

Every country is now scientifically alive to the vital importance of its raw materials. All the countries in question will get their raw materials with little difference of price. Just as wheat can already be as cheaply marketed in England from Illinois as from Yorkshire, so

cotton can be as cheaply brought to the mills of Germany, or England, or Japan, as to those of Massachusetts.

The world was moving towards economy in production and the elimination of waste. Comprehensive protection for all commodities capable of home production, and the cultivation of secure trading enterprise with complemental regions – these would be the ruling notes of future world trade.

Britain could stand aloof from these trends only at the risk of serious danger to her national and imperial interests. The imposition of the 'Manchester' doctrine had already damaged Birmingham and all it stood for, a range of important industries vital to Britain's future self-sufficiency. In the severest test of efficiency, access to the European–American market, Britain was already losing out to Germany. Kidd cited the trade figures for 1907. Out of a total export of its domestic produce worth £340 million, Germany sent to the European– American market no less than £290 million, or some 85% of the whole. Britain sent only £190 million to Europe and the US out of a total of £420 million, or 45% of the whole. Since adopting protection Germany had become 'absolutely the first and most effective industrial producer amongst all the nations of the world'.

Even the lead that Britain enjoyed over her rivals in terms of total trade was rapidly diminishing, and was 'entirely due to her position as a sea-Power and the enormous inherited advantages of an overseas trade in supplemental regions, mainly in the tropics and in her own colonies'. Kidd's views here are reminiscent of modern socialist analyses that Britain – once singularly well adapted to a liberal world economy – evaded direct confrontation with her problems and rivals during and after the difficult years of the Great Depression. Her economy became parasitic, living off the remains of world monopoly, past accumulations of wealth and a satellite world of colonies.⁹⁸ Kidd warned his countrymen of the impermanent nature of their country's naval and commercial superiority. He foretold a colossal struggle with Germany for

control of the seas and of global resources:

Sea-power . . ., with its inherited advantages, is the last fact which stands between Germany and the supreme position in international commerce. At present, full of her new-born and deep-seated efficiency, Germany sends only some £50,000,000, or about a seventh, of her total domestic produce to the markets of the world outside Europe and the United States. Great Britain, already worsted in these more competitive markets, sends £240,000,000, or more than half, of her total domestic produce to the markets which lie in complemental regions of the world. We have here all the elements of an international situation of absolutely first class significance – a position of the kind towards which the historian sees afterwards that centuries of history have slowly ripened. Does any man who understands the subject think there is any power in Germany, or indeed any power in the world, which can prevent Germany, she having thus accomplished the first stage of her work, from closing now with Great Britain for her legitimate share of the £240,000,000 of overseas trade? Here it is that we unmask the shadow which looms like a real presence behind all the moves of present-day diplomacy and behind all the colossal armaments that indicate the present preparations for a new struggle for sea-power.

The Fortnightly article created something of a stir, not all of it favourable (Kidd carefully filed the reviews). Thus the *Review of Reviews*: 'Mr. Benjamin Kidd emerges from the silence of his retreat every now and then in order to utter with pontifical voice solemn warnings; but the conditions of their acceptance demand a sound saving faith in the infallibility of Mr. Benjamin Kidd and the practical idiocy of the Liberal Party.'⁹⁹ The *Bolton Journal* was also unkind: 'His writings in recent years have so frequently failed to make a mark that it is doubtful whether his new line will exercise much influence.'¹⁰⁰ Another critic wrote:

Mr Kidd's conception of trade apparently amounts to this, that we are each going to shut ourselves up in a ring fence and live by taking in each other's washing. We are to have no dealings with other nations except in so far as they live in 'complemental' regions, and

we are to tax ourselves white for the purpose of shutting out foreign goods of every kind.¹⁰¹

Kidd had not shown how England would avert a war with Germany by going protectionist, and reviewers pointed this out. However he had made some hard-hitting points, and the article was plugged strongly in tariff-reform organs such as Percy L. Parker's *Public Opinion*, and described by friendly critics as original, illuminating, mercilessly logical. What attracted attention no doubt was the apocalyptic tone taken by Kidd, in marked contrast to his utopian optimism of a few years before. The European arms race and cut-throat trading rivalries had dealt that optimism a rude shock. A growing tension now became apparent in his thought between his hopeful altruistic theory of sociology and a pessimistic economism that prophesied a global conflict for resources.

From one or two hints in Kidd's correspondence, it might be conjectured that his renewed involvement in fiscal politics was part of an abortive project to launch another 'big book'. During negotiations with the Fortnightly about his article - he wanted £2 per page but got 1^{1}_{2} guineas – he wrote to W.L. Courtney that the contribution was part of a book on tariff reform on which he had been engaged for some time.¹⁰² During 1909 Kidd had been involved politically and journalistically with the Balfour brothers and the Chamberlain family. Unfortunately a clear pattern of their activities cannot be reconstructed from the surviving documents, but the possibilities include a take-over of the Outlook in the tariffreform cause.¹⁰³ There is a considerable probability that Kidd proposed himself as the new editor of the Outlook.¹⁰⁴ The project, if it existed, fell through. So too did the plan for a book on the tariff issue. Kidd, ever thrifty, sold off the bits and pieces to the periodicals and newspapers. He rehashed his Fortnightly piece for the Daily Mail Year Book, adding a postscript on the empire.¹⁰⁵ Imperial federation, he argued, could only be achieved on a realistic basis of protection and mutual preferences. The idea of a free-trade empire – in which even Kidd had once believed – was 'a vain and impossible dream'. He made the blunt assertion, almost heresy at the time, that Britain had been responsible for destroying the Indian cotton industry under the name of free trade and in order to prevent competition with Lancashire. It was, he said, a 'monstrous' situation: 'We are responsible in India for some 300 millions of people, whom we have undertaken to govern without representative institutions. The first principle of our rule there is government in the interest of the governed.'

In March 1910 Kidd took a house at Ditchling in Sussex. Jack and Rolf had finished their education at Tonbridge school over a year before, and would soon be confirmed in their jobs at the Bank of England. Franklin was about to enter Cambridge. It was reasonable to move to a smaller residence. Also Kidd may have been motivated by the prospect of a new start after the disintegration of his various plans for a great book. Rather than move closer to London or Cambridge, to be near his sons and the centres of politics and literature, Kidd buried himself, and Maud, even further out in the countryside. Ditchling lay on the grassy slopes of the South Downs, backing on to the chalky cliffs of the Sussex coast, rolling country on which grazed the famous Southdown sheep. It was a small village, some 10 miles from Brighton and 212 miles from Ditchling Beacon, at 815 feet one of the highest points on the downs, with noted views of fine riding and walking country. Here Kidd could cultivate his interest in early English history, for the region was laced with ancient paths used by stone age men and still bore signs of successive invasions by Romans, Anglo-Saxons and Normans. Not far away the River Ouse cut a valley through the chalk, its reeds and water lilies providing a habitat for fish, wild duck and snipe. Kidd was soon borrowing fiercely from the Brighton public library, keeping out its reference books on British birds to help him identify local varieties. Another peaceful retreat had been created. From it the grand design might finally emerge.

Kidd's writings contain abundant signs revealing the way in which he conceived his special life mission. In politics he saw

himself as the pathfinder to more peaceful pastures:

National policies are not made in a day, nor are they best created in the midst of parliamentary strife. They have been, as a rule, built up in the past outside Parliament by thoughtful minds with a prescience of the future upon them far stronger and more reliable than any which comes from interest in the mere issues of parliamentary warfare.¹⁰⁶

In social theory he thought himself specially equipped to apply correctly the laws of natural selection to human society. There were, he insisted, remarkably few minds with sufficient scope of view and training capable of dealing with the new and larger problems that had arisen since the crude efforts of the early Darwinists to apply the laws of existence:

The exponents of philosophy, untrained in the methods of science and largely unacquainted with its details, have necessarily continued to be without a fully reasoned perception of the enormous importance of the Darwinian principles in their own subject. The biologists, on the other hand, continuing to be immersed in the facts of the struggle for existence between animals, have in consequence, on their part, remained largely unacquainted with the principles of social efficiency in the evolution of human society. The dualism which has been opened in the human mind in the evolution of this efficiency has, in the religious and ethical systems of the race, a phenomenology of its own, stupendous in extent, and absolutely characteristic of the social process. But it remains a closed book to the biologist, and the study of it he is often apt to consider as entirely meaningless.¹⁰⁷

This division of biologists and philosophers into isolated camps could not be expected to continue. Indeed it was one of the most urgent needs of the time to develop a synthesising class of mind capable of bridging the gap. Efforts at synthesis had been made by men like Wallace, Huxley and Galton, but a fatal flaw had marked each attempt. Wallace wrongly attributed the evolution of consciousness – including 'the qualities with which priests and philosophers were concerned' – to factors 'altogether removed from utility in the struggle for

existence; and he even mistakenly used the suggestion as an argument in favour of religion'. Huxley reached an equally characteristic contradiction when he distinguished the cosmic (or natural) from the ethical (or social) process, 'the lesson of evolution, like the lesson of religion, being, of course, that they are one and the same'. Galton proposed to found a science of eugenics aiming to improve the inborn qualities of the race by means of scientific breeding. Morals he proposed to leave out altogether as involving hopeless difficulties:

Here once more we see the difficulty with which the naturalist is confronted in attempting to apply to human society the merely studbook principles of the individual struggle for existence as it is waged among plants and animals. The entire range of the problems of morality and mind are necessarily ignored. The higher qualities of our social evolution, with all the absolutely characteristic phenomena contributing to the highest organic social efficiency, remain outside his vision.¹⁰⁸

Kidd determined to be a 'philosopher *with* nature' – the title Franklin perceptively gave to his father's posthumous volume of nature articles – a biologist and philosopher-king.

What is not generally known is the extent to which Kidd managed to insert his own highly coloured views into reference works of the time. As we have seen he wrote the first article on sociology to appear in the Encyclopaedia Britannica: it appeared entirely at his behest in the tenth edition of 1902, and might not unkindly be described as a thinly veiled tract justifying the themes of Social Evolution and Western Civilisation. No one seems to have objected. In 1910 Hugh Chisholm cheerfully agreed that Kidd should use his 1902 contribution as the basis for the article on sociology proposed for the forthcoming eleventh edition of the Britannica. Kidd finally worked together his two contributions of 1902 - the 'Sociology' and his prefatory essay 'The Application of the Doctrine of Evolution to Sociological Theory' into an updated article on sociology.¹⁰⁹ He met his July 1910 deadline, and was paid £21 for nine closely printed pages in

March 1911. He was, however, highly irked when the encyclopaedia wrongly attributed a DCL degree to him in the list of contributors.¹¹⁰

He also contributed to the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, edited by James Hastings, compiler of Bible dictionaries and Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute. In 1910 Kidd furnished the article on 'Civilisation', and in 1911 that on 'Darwinism'. Again he used the forum offered as much to vent his views as to convey information. 'Civilization' used authorities such as Sir James Frazer on kingship, Bluntschli on the state, W.G. Aston on Shintoism, Gilbert Murray on the Greeks and T.H. Green on ethics; and urged its readers to consult le Bon, E.B. Tylor, Sir John Lubbock, J.B. Bury, Max Müller, L.T. Hobhouse, Henry Sidgwick, J.A. Symonds, Franklin Giddings, Lester Ward and William McDougall names indicating the intellectual richness of the period. However anyone familiar with Kidd's Two Principal Laws of Sociology and Individualism and After might well have felt a sense of déja vu on encountering this essay. He had a very limited capacity to enter into the intellectual structure of other writers. He ransacked their works to confirm his own theories. Occasionally the effect was striking, when another's insight was transmuted into a new pattern by being brought into contact with Kidd's gestalt. Too often however his promising themes petered out into an obsessive statement and restatement of his 'laws'. 'Civilization' celebrated, in his old style, the triumph of organicism and the futurist principle in the complex culture of the west. His old optimism reasserted itself:

Despite the wars that have taken place within it, and that have been due to it, Western civilization has been a surprisingly stable system of order, making on the whole for the peace of its peoples, and increasingly tending to discountenance military conquest . . . It is materially influencing the standards of culture and conduct throughout the world, and in the result it is operating towards the gradual improvement and intensification of all the conditions of progress among nations.¹¹¹

His 'Darwinism' was more interesting. Kidd had written little on the immediate impact of the Origin of Species, and his account was most effective, indeed remarkably modern in tone. The Origin (he said) was a product of its time. Kant's nebular hypothesis, developed by Laplace and Herschel, had familiarised the world with the idea of development in the physical universe. Evolution had been 'in the air' for a long time. The pioneers included Murchison and Lyell in geology, and Lamarck in biology. But the idea of permanent species, reinforced by literal interpretation of the book of Genesis, still dominated science before Darwin's brilliant exposition of natural selection. Darwin accounted for the evolution of life by the agency of causes of exactly the same kind as were still in progress, converting scientific opinion by supplying an enormous body of supportive facts and evidence. The impact on the general mind was even more significant. To many at first it appeared that the whole scheme of order and progress in the world was due to purely mechanical processes. The interposition of mind or divine agency seemed to be excluded. Man himself was deposed from the superior place he had occupied in previous schemes of creation, and was simply part of a general evolution. A cosmological revolution took place. Old foundations crashed with a suddenness and force largely unexpected. A kind of 'intellectual Saturnalia' ensued, the effects felt far and wide, 'at almost every centre of learning, and in almost every department of thought, philosophy, and religion'. This revolution represented the cumulative expression of intellectual tendencies held in check since the Renaissance. It was closely connected with capitalist business and politics. The doctrine of natural selection was analogous to the prevailing acquisitive ethic of the industrialising world. Both pictured life as a self-centred struggle of individuals ruthlessly pursuing their own interests, yet at the same time unconsciously achieving general progress. The crudities of early social Darwinist thought - justifying business, struggle, individualism, atomism - were soon exposed. New and more significant evolutionary philosophies emerged, emphasising the historical significance of religious systems and beliefs, the importance of social cooperation, the development of more organic social types. Future evolution would entail the dominance of mind and consciousness, and the subordination of present to future efficiency.¹¹²

Benjamin and Maud spent the summer of 1910 settling into their home and garden at Ditchling. 'A nice new maid' was employed to help with the housework. Franklin was now at Cambridge, preparing for his science subjects. He received a stream of letters from his father giving careful advice on the need to study and the virtues of correct spelling. ('PS: I hope you are careful with your money.')¹¹³ At Ditchling Kidd continued his spartan regimen of study and writing. A sparse eater and teetotal, his only recreations were his naturalist observations, walking and an occasional trip to London.

He began to take a growing interest in psychical and psychological subjects. He had encountered books on the topic as a reviewer for the Outlook, writing on 'Sensations under Anaesthetics' (May 1906), 'Suspended Animation' (June 1906) and 'The Perception of Time in Sleep' (September 1907). He reviewed Frank Podmore's Mesmerism and Christian Science in August 1909. His interest in the area was encouraged by J.H. Muirhead and by his medico friend T.W. Mitchell, a council member and later president of the Society for Psychical Research, a man who was to become an authority on hypnotism, hysteria and multiple personality. Kidd and Mitchell became acquainted after Mitchell had in 1907 published the results of experiments he had conducted upon somnambules, investigating the appreciation of time in subconscious states. His paper appeared in the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Kidd reviewed it for the Outlook. From his own experience, he suggested a possible explanation for the remarkably accurate estimation of time achieved by Mitchell's subjects. An inspiration had occurred while he was keeping a wasp colony under observation:

A little time ago one of the acts of a wasp's nest which I had waited

weeks to see, began to take place as I held the nest in my hands. I was extremely anxious to time it and had made preparations for so doing, but unfortunately could not now place the nest down to take out my watch for fear of interrupting what was taking place. In the stress of circumstances and with the unusual concentration of mind on obtaining what was desired, I found myself resorting to a method for measuring time which I had never thought of before and which I do not think would have occurred to me in ordinary circumstances. I put out the finger of one hand on to the wrist of the other, and knowing the rate of my pulse I got the time quite correctly.

It would seem probable that the conclusion of Dr. Mitchell is correct and that as suggested by his experiments, the mind in the lower strata of consciousness extends the methods of ordinary waking consciousness and can measure time by taking cognisance of the rhythm of various organic processes unperceived or generally unattended to by the waking self.¹¹⁴

Kidd and Mitchell began to exchange ideas and publications. Mitchell sent Kidd his papers on psychotherapy and hypnotism, and lent him books on psychology, including Boris Sidis's Psychology of Suggestion (1898) and William McDougall's Social Psychology (1908). A regular attender at conferences, including those of the British Psychological Society, Mitchell brought Kidd into contact with recent developments in the field of medical psychology, including the impact of Freudian theory.¹¹⁵ Mitchell later became a wellknown text-book writer on medical psychology. He and Kidd both favoured a careful experimental approach to psychical issues. Both were sceptical of the 'vagaries and strange philosophies of the Mind Healers and Christian Scientists', and were more than aware of the fraudulent activities associated with spiritualism and clairvoyance. Nevertheless both were interested in the evolutionary significance of paranormal phenomena and the psychology of mind. It was the achievement of men like Mesmer that they had compelled positivist scientists to investigate a class of natural phenomena whose existence they would have preferred to deny. Kidd no doubt shared Mitchell's feeling 'that behind all the extrava-

gances of Animal Magnetism, behind all the futilities of Christian Science, there lies some profound truth which we have not yet even dimly comprehended'.¹¹⁶

Kidd began to gather up and focus his energies upon his grand project, the big book. He declined social and literary commitments that might distract him from his larger work. Thus the British Medical Association met with no success when it invited him to read a paper on 'The Social Aspects of the Falling Birth Rate' to its Medical Sociology section, which planned a discussion at the Association's annual meeting in July 1910.117 His anti-birth-control ideas might well have provided some opposition in that arena. Kidd also resisted the efforts of the National Council of Public Morals to snare him as a contributor to their first issue of New Tracts for the Times, planned to appear in the Coronation year (1911). The Rev. James Marchant, director of the National Council, especially wanted to use Kidd's name in a bid to capture a market for the tracts in the colonies. (The tracts in fact circulated quite widely in places like Australia.) The editor's subsequent attempts to enlist Kidd as a tract writer, or even reviewer for their magazine Prevention, failed despite Marchant's flattery.¹¹⁸ Kidd may not, in any case, have wished to be too closely associated with the public morals movement, particularly in view of its commitment to eugenics. An offer with more appeal came in October 1910 when H.A. Gwynne, editor of the Standard (a conservative newspaper that had been bought in 1904 by C.A. Pearson to support tariff reform) sounded Kidd on the possibility of writing a regular weekly column. Kidd, he thought, was one of the few people able to take a detached view of politics: 'there is an opening in these days for the comments of a man who is better able to tell us the trend of events and to seize the salient lines of policy of political, social and economic progress, than any of those who are actively engaged in the fight themselves'.¹¹⁹ The project fell through, however, when in 1911 Gwynne left the Standard to become editor of The Morning Post. An old friend of Rhodes, Milner and Joseph Chamberlain, Gwynne

continued his press support of tariff reform.

One issue that did attract Kidd's interest, and his limited involvement, was the suffragette movement. The suffrage issue was a dominating and divisive one in politics and public opinion between 1910 and 1914. The phase of mild militancy of the early 1900s, the phase of deputations, meetings and marches, was already turning into the phase of mass arrests, hunger strikes, force-feeding, arson and violent confrontation. Kidd was swept up in the growing tide of public support for the women's cause that manifested itself in 1911-12, as the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union) under the control of the Pankhursts and Pethick-Lawrences mobilised a mass campaign against Asquith's Liberal government. Up until this time Kidd had shown little overt interest in the question. He had written almost nothing on women or the women's movement, although there were ample opportunities to comment on the subject in the Outlook.¹²⁰ However female influence had been strong upon him, and he nourished great admiration for his mother and his wife. He had read Mill's Subjection of Women, and the works of feminist supporters such as George Gissing. The most likely source of emancipationist influence upon him was that of his friend Grant Allen. The two men had been close in the 1880s and 1890s, impressionable years for Kidd. Allen was a staunch feminist, author of The Woman Who Did (1895), a novel whose heroine Herminia Barton celebrated the New Woman in her most liberated and shocking form. Herminia lived openly in sin, and advocated free love, not behaviour likely to appeal to Kidd. But he may well have approved of the novelist's prophecy: 'The future is to the free. We have transcended serfdom. Women should henceforth be the equals of men, not by levelling down, but by levelling up; not by fettering the man, but by elevating, emancipating, unshackling the woman.'121

As Kidd's mind turned increasingly to the idea of woman's special evolutionary role, he determined to give his support to the women's movement as it reached a strategically crucial

stage. At first 1912 promised to be a year of success for the suffragettes. Public support was high. Crowds exceeding 250,000 had massed for the Hyde Park demonstrations of 1911. Widespread resentment arose over Asquith's sabotaging of yet another women's suffrage bill, the second Conciliation Bill. This conferred limited suffrage, and it had been understood that the government would not obstruct it. As a result of Asquith's action, the Labour party conference of January, to be addressed by Mrs Fawcett. Characteristically women, and it was generally expected that the government would soon be forced to concede at least a measure of female franchise. The truce on militancy called by the WSPU favourably impressed public opinion, as did the moderate tactics of the NUWSS (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies). Kidd endorsed the cautious stance of the NUWSS, led by the veteran Millicent Fawcett. Mrs Fawcett, one time Liberal Unionist (she had left the group in 1903 because of her belief in tariff reform), had a long-term association with Brighton, which had been represented in the Commons by her husband Henry Fawcett - the blind Professor of Economics at Cambridge who died in 1884. The Brighton branch of the NUWSS invited Kidd to sit on their platform at a meeting of 26 January, to be addressed by Mrs Fawcett. Characteristically he avoided the public appearance, but sent telegrams of support: 'your telegrams were greatly appreciated by Mrs Fawcett as well as myself [wrote the secretary], and both your name and your message to her were greeted with loud applause by the audience'.¹²² By the summer of 1912 he was taking a more active part in the society's activities, speaking, and chairing meetings.¹²³ By then the moderates were in dire need of support. As a protest against Liberal recalcitrance on the suffrage, Christabel Pankhurst had launched the WSPU on a more militant course. The Union attacked the sympathetic Labour party, condemned all reform movements not primarily directed towards women's suffrage, and started a campaign of violence against property. The prospect of peaceful reform receded as confrontational politics took over. WSPU leaders were jailed, Christabel Pankhurst fled to Paris where she directed her followers, schisms and rivalries split the women's movement, public opinion was polarised. During these events Kidd's sympathies were undoubtedly on the side of Mrs. Fawcett's 'constitutional' society, still sticking to lawful and peaceful methods.

The other issue to draw Kidd momentarily back into the public fray was that of syndicalism. Britain had from 1909 been plunged into political turmoil occasioned by the House of Lords' rejection of Lloyd George's budget. A constitutional crisis was precipitated and was not resolved until the passing of the Parliament Act of 1911. The fact that conservatives supported an upper house intransigently opposing reform and constitutional usage, while at the same time they aided rebellious Ulster nationalism, bred widespread working class disillusionment concerning the feasibility of change within the parliamentary system. The Labour party lost seats in the 1910 election and looked like wielding little power within a two party system, while inflationary trends within the economy eroded wage-earners' living standards. A series of strikes in major industries created industrial turmoil as trade unions turned to direct action to further their aims. Syndicalism provided this movement with a revolutionary ideology. It had a working class dynamic, originating within the trade union movement in France, specifically rejecting parliamentarianism and orthodox collective socialism. Syndicalism aimed at the take-over by the trade unions themselves of the means of production and distribution, a goal to be achieved by a variety of violent methods culminating in a general strike. Similar concepts of revolutionary industrial unionism spread from the US under the auspices of the 'Industrial Workers of the World' (the IWW or 'wobblies'), started in Chicago in 1905, their best known leader being Eugene Debs. In Britain a leading role in disseminating both American and French syndicalist ideas was taken by Tom Mann, described by The Times as 'a cosmopolitan agitator of inexhaustible energy and unquenchable zeal'.¹²⁴ By 1912 syndicalist cells had become pervasively influential in major unions, especially the miners, railwaymen, engineers and building trades. Syndicalism appealed particularly to the younger and more pugnacious generation of workers, attracted by the promise of speedy and vigorous campaigns fought on the lines of a class war. In 1911 dockers, seamen and foremen struck, and there was a general railway strike. In the new year of 1912 the miners called a general strike for minimum wage rates, forcing the Asquith government to set up a minimum wage machinery for the industry.

Kidd was not surprised by the onset of syndicalism, so un-English to his contemporaries. He viewed syndicalism as 'coming amongst us in its due and orderly place in economic evolution'.¹²⁵ He was astonished at the conventional horror, the superficial understanding, with which respectable opinion encountered phenomena such as syndicalism and the coal strike. He was provoked to write to *The Times* about it: 'I do not know any period in history in which the thinking classes of this country had swung so far adrift from the actualities of their time'. Every party in the state, 'nobles, middle classes, and middlemen', had endeavoured in its time to identify the state with its own interests:

The quarrel of society with each of them in turn in the struggles of history has been that they have all endeavoured, when they held the State in their power, to exact from the community more than they were entitled to for services rendered in terms of social utility. Organized labour is now simply endeavouring to do as all the parties which preceded it have done – to hold the community up for the most it can extract from it. And the power of effectively organized labour is probably far greater than that of any of the classes which have preceded it.

Few people perceived the fundamental truth that syndicalism must be dealt with in the same manner as previous class crises had been dealt with: 'Its opponents must meet the demands of Labour with a truer conception of the interests of the community than Syndicalism has got.' Rather than brandishing the bogey of socialism, the conservative interest would do

better to heed history and fight syndicalism with more modern weapons. The first priority was to recognise the inevitability of the growth of an increasingly socialistic state, 'in the sense that the State means that each is for all and all for each'. Welfarism must be accepted:

The first lesson which the conservative interests of this country have to learn is that they must go to school. They must be prepared to throw overboard much of that creed of crude economic individualism under which the middle classes of the middle 19th century themselves exploited the community, exactly as the Syndicalists are now endeavouring to do. They must be prepared to learn that the system of economics which has allowed private individuals to accumulate fortunes ranging to scores of millions provides a very inefficient armoury of weapons to hurl at millions of workers in quest of a *minimum* wage of 5s. a day.¹²⁶

Social accommodation was vital. The alternative was warfare between labour and capital capable of producing as profound an economic disaster as that caused by a first-class war.

In May 1912 Kidd put in a rare appearance at a London meeting of the Sociological Society. He was no longer a member of the Society, possibly because of its increasingly positivist orientation, or perhaps because he was reluctant to pay the fee now that he lived so far from London and could not attend meetings regularly.¹²⁷ On this occasion he wanted to hear Graham Wallas speak on syndicalism, which Wallas described as a working class reaction against the 'logical' socialist political scheme. Arthur Balfour, J.A. Hobson and Ramsay MacDonald also spoke. Balfour, chairing the meeting as president of the Society, offered typically iconoclastic comments on the possibility of worker control in industries. Balfour was an apostle of growth economics. Material welfare must stem from expanding production based on improving technology and greater command over natural resources, rather than from a preoccupation with the lesser question of the distribution of wealth. Ultimately he believed that efficient industries must be headed by 'men of the highest creative business efficiency'.¹²⁸ It is doubtful whether the night's

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speeches reassured Kidd about the percipience of the intellectuals. Balfour called on him to speak after Hobson's address, but Kidd had already left the hall.¹²⁹ It was becoming obsessionally clear to him that he alone was capable of putting subjects such as feminism and syndicalism in a truly cosmic perspective. 6

THE SCIENCE OF POWER

In May 1911 Kidd began to make notes for his last book, The Science of Power. This project was to monopolise the remaining five years of his life. His correspondence shrank, his social contacts dwindled, his seclusion became almost total. A sense of crisis and messianic destiny increasingly dominated his mind. It was intensified by Herculean reading and the agonies of writing, by isolation and, perhaps, a subterranean sense of grievance over his fading reputation. He turned fifty-four in 1912, leaving little enough time to finish a magnum opus that should ensure him his deserved niche in history. But for Kidd, at least consciously, the primary task was to save a world and a civilisation on the precipice of disaster. Once the apostle of benevolent evolution, a process leading man inexorably through competition and struggle to a higher altruistic stage of existence, he now saw an horrific alternative future. The troubled international scene of 1912-14 - with its power rivalries, arms race, colonial squabbles and economic warfare, combined with social unrest in the major western nations provided portents of a future dominated by militarism, war and class conflict. Such a trend was aided and abetted, Kidd believed, by positivistic social sciences, and especially by Social Darwinism based on hereditarian assumptions that denied the feasibility of reformist social change. His own mission was to alert humankind to these perils, and to offer an 'environmentalist' solution consistent with man's higher evolutionary destiny. It was a plan worthy of the eighteenthcentury Enlightenment, and a strange product ultimately to emanate from the Weismannian Social Darwinist of the 1890s.

Even Kidd's naturalist experiments centred upon his grand

project. It was his purpose to demonstrate that deep-seated habits were not the result of inborn heredity but were acquired in a process of social inheritance. Over the years he observed wild species of British birds and mammals, claiming that in no instance did he find in the young an inborn, instinctive fear of their natural enemies, even though such fear was highly developed in the adult of the species. Young wild hares and rabbits showed no innate fear of either dogs or cats when introduced into their company from the beginning. The young of common wild birds similarly showed no innate fear of cats, or even birds of prey like the hawk, that had been trained to be friendly. Nor under controlled conditions did fear of natural enemies develop as the young animals or birds grew to maturity. Kidd concluded that ineradicable habit patterns were in fact 'imposed' on the young of each generation by training and parental example and usually under conditions of strong emotion.

In this respect a lasting impression had been made on his mind by his own experience with nesting ducks in the great marshes of central Somerset and the shallows of the Severn Estuary. Wading knee-deep in water and sedge-grass, he had on one occasion disturbed and put to flight a mother duck, a mallard, covering a nest of newly emerged ducklings. Without qualm the ducklings nestled on the bare feet of the intruder, whom they obviously regarded as a parent. Yet the wild duck had been universally hunted since the days of the cavemen:

And the spent cartridges of the modern man strew the bog around. Yet here are her offspring on your feet. You take one of them in your hand, and the heir of all the ages of this blood feud shows no fear of you... to all appearances hoping all things, believing all things...

... Looking back, the mother bird has alighted on a tussock near by, and the more active little ones are streaming out of the sedge to her. She is chattering with emotion, every feather quivering with excitement. The hold of the Great Terror of Man is upon her. In a few days – nay, in a few hours – she will have taught it to them, and they will have passed irrevocably into another world. And yet you saw the little ducks. They knew nothing of it.

Oh! you wise men who would reconstruct the world! Give us the young. Give us the young. Do what you will with the world, only give us the young. It is the dreams which we teach them: it is the Utopias which we conceive for them; it is the thoughts which we think for them which will rebuild the world. Give us the young before the evil past has held them, and we will create a new Heaven and a new Earth.¹

Kidd's experiments were in fact exploring what biologists now term open instincts, including 'imprinting', in which parts of the behaviour pattern are innately determined but the rest of the pattern is supplied by social experience. Closed instincts, on the other hand, are behaviour patterns fixed genetically in every detail, like the bees' honey dance or the young cuckoo's compulsive nest-clearing - subjects in which Kidd had been highly interested as a young man. By rearing creatures in isolation from their own species and from normal environmental conditioning, Kidd foreshadowed modern techniques for distinguishing closed from open behaviour patterns.² He realised that, under such conditions, behaviour patterns quite different from the norm could be set up in many species by means of external conditioning. He cited the case of a wild species of New Zealand parrot which, although previously vegetarian, acquired after the introduction of European sheep the habit of feeding on the kidney fat of these animals, causing the death of the sheep. In one of his experiments Kidd raised up a common wood pigeon - an established vegetarian bird with a carrion crow and a hawk fed on raw meat. The pigeon came to thrive on a meat diet: 'So fixed did the habit thus acquired by social heredity become that when the adult pigeon at a later stage was offered the grains which formed the natural diet of its species it did not recognize them as food.'3 Wild hares brought up with rabbits acquired from their companions the habit of burrowing, even though hares never make burrows in their natural state. He found that, where no physiological difficulty intervened, 'the most unexpected habits could easily be imposed on young animals by example and training. And further, the habits so imposed were found to

be transmitted again to the next generation through ordinary social heredity.'⁴ Kidd was now inclined to de-emphasise the element of genetic programming generally found in higher organisms, and in the case of humankind almost to dismiss it entirely in favour of concepts of cultural evolution, in which he was to place virtually utopian faith.

Kidd's papers contain a box of notes taken from his reading for the Science of Power, including a book of typed extracts from sources prepared by Franklin for his father, presumably during his summer vacations away from Cambridge. Kidd's sources ranged from genetics and animal behaviour, sociology and anthropology, ethics and religion to women, education, culture and current affairs. He re-read Spencer's Principles of Sociology, Bagehot's Physics and Politics, and Wells's Modern *Utopia*. He paid particular attention to a number of works: William Bateson's Problems of Genetics (1913), P. Chalmers Mitchell's The Childhood of Animals (1912), Arthur Keith's Antiquity of Man (1915), Karl Pearson's The Ethic of Free Thought (1888), Ernst Haeckel's Riddle of the Universe (1899), William James's Varieties of Religious Experience (1902), Joseph Mazzini's The Duties of Man (1907), Emile Boutroux's Science and Religion in Contemporary Philosophy (1909), John Ruskin's Time and Tide (1895), Adolphe Haussrath's biography of Treitschke, Nietzsche on woman and Tolstoy on art, George Peel on The Future of England (1911) and Friedrich von Bernhardi on Germany and the Next War (1913). Kidd also collected, and frequently annotated and underlined, numerous articles from contemporary journals, including the Nineteenth Century, Fortnightly Review, Contemporary Review, American Journal of Sociology, Quarterly Review, Economic Journal and National Review. The social and philosophical essays in Hibbert's *Journal* especially attracted him in these years.

Occasionally Kidd's marginalia and underlinings offer a welcome revelation. The following extract from Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* was heavily marked, and suggests a good deal about Kidd's self-image:

If it had not been for quiet people, who sat still and studied the sections of the cone, if other quiet people had not sat still and studied the theory of infinitesimals, or other quiet people had not sat still and worked out the doctrine of chances, the most 'dreamy moonshine', as the purely practical mind would consider, of all human pursuits; if 'idle star-gazers' had not watched long and carefully the motions of the heavenly bodies - our modern astronomy would have been impossible... Ages of sedentary, quiet, thinking people were required before that noisy existence [of modern life] began, and without those pale preliminary students it never could have been brought into being. And nine-tenths of modern science is in this respect the same: it is the produce of men whom their contemporaries thought dreamers - who were laughed at for caring for what did not concern them – who, as the proverb went, 'walked into a well from looking at the stars' – who were believed to be useless, if anyone could be such.⁵

The first draft of Science of Power, largely written in the south of France, was begun in the autumn of 1912 and completed by the spring of 1914. He finished the opening chapter at Ditchling, then travelled with Maud to France in November. They stayed at Pardigon, a small resort near Cavalaire-sur-mer on the Côte d'Azur. There he began Chapter Two on 15 November and finished it on 18 December, a writing rate of roughly a chapter a month that he was to maintain. The next chapter was begun in Pardigon on 19 December, and completed at Hyères on the Riviera on 30 January 1913. The rest of his trip was spent at Hyères. By the time of their return to England on 31 March, five chapters had been written. Why he chose Hyères is not clear. This was a working expedition, not like the usual summer holidays taken at Weston-super-Mare or Scotland, well sited for birdwatching and nature rambles. Hyères was a fashionable Riviera resort frequented by the titled and rich, especially during the winter season, when the hotels and casino were full, the golf links much used, and the February carnival marked by fireworks and a costume-ball. The Balkan war kept people away in 1913, rents were lower, and some complained that standards were slipping: 'In the winter the coast is hideous with the dust and the toillettes and the motor-cars of the monde and demi-monde."6 One doubts whether this scene would have appealed to the ascetic Kidd except as sociology, although part of his nature 'loved a lord', as his relations with Milner and Ridley attested. However there were attractions for a naturalist. Hyères was set in pleasant open ground, with the older olive groves everywhere being replaced by more profitable vinevards and flower cultivation. Violets occupied a large acreage in the neighbourhood. Off-shore lay the beautiful archipelago Iles d'Hyères, sometimes called the 'Islands of Gold'. Kidd may have chosen Hyères as a haven in which to repair nerves and health, as well as to write, for it was a popular centre de curé héliomarine, for the sun-and-water treatment. Writers, like E. Phillips Oppenheim, the mystery writer, were known to winter in Hyères, as well as nobility such as the Earl of Buchan or Lady Maxwell of Calderwood. Kidd liked to write in the open air, and his needs were probably supplied by an inexpensive villa. It is curious to reflect that while Mr Balfour was playing tennis with beautiful young ladies at Cannes, Kidd was writing furiously a few miles away on the crisis of the west. Meantime Europe was edging steadily towards war.

According to his son Franklin, Kidd's seclusion was deliberate, and his health was deteriorating:

As soon as he began to write in earnest Kidd cut himself off to the limits of reasonable convenience from all ties and contact with affairs. Shutting up his house and taking with him only a few necessary books and his notes, he travelled from place to place spending the winters in the south of France and the summers in England in various remote spots. Although no doctor could find any organic defect he seemed to be aware that the years of his life were nearly run. His only symptom was however an unusually high blood pressure for a man of his age. This idea did not seem to affect him excepting so far as to make him the more urgent to complete the writing of the book which he had in his mind.⁷

Unfortunately progress was delayed after his return to

England when he suffered a serious accident in May. Whilst making a short visit to London in connection with the publication of *Science of Power*, he stayed at the Esmond Hotel in Bloomsbury. On Saturday 17 May, whilst getting into bed, his foot slipped, and in an effort to regain his balance he ruptured a blood vessel. His condition was so serious that two medical men were in constant attendance and a specialist brought in. Two days later he had recovered sufficiently to be removed home to Ditchling.⁸ There he made satisfactory improvement, but he was unable to resume work on the book until October.

Franklin was a tower of strength during these invalid months. While Kidd recuperated during August and September at Rookwood, Franklin typed summaries and quotations from a series of works: Matthew Arnold's Literature and Dogma (1873); H.G. Wells's New Worlds for Old (1908) and A Modern Utopia (1905); G.E. Vincent's The Social Mind and Education (1897); W.L. George's Woman and Tomorrow (1913); together with William James and Boutroux on religion. That Franklin had absorbed his father's world view was made public in October, when the young scientist wrote to The Times rebutting Karl Pearson, now head of the Galton laboratory at the University of London. Pearson had protested in The Times's correspondence columns about the 'overhasty popularization' of eugenics by ill-informed advocates before the laws of eugenics had been properly established by means of careful scientific research. 'What we need in this country', wrote Pearson, 'is in the first place knowledge, and this is only to be obtained by establishing in close connexion with all our universities laboratories for the study of medico-social statistics and for inquiries as to infant and child welfare, and institutes or farms for experimental breeding and for the study of experimental evolution.'9 Franklin pointed out that he had himself deplored crackpot tendencies in a paper delivered to the Eugenics Society of Cambridge, of which he was a member, soon after the Eugenics Congress of 1912. The theme of his address was: 'Is

Eugenics in danger of becoming the Science of the Halfeducated?'. Franklin, however, denied even the faintest possibility of building a science of race-improvement on the narrow genetic basis advocated by Pearson:

A true science of race improvement assumes a knowledge of all the factors making for the improvement of society, economic, moral, intellectual, and emotional, all the problems of ethics, of religion, of character, and of race ethics; in short, of all those causes which are subordinating the individual to society in the evolution of the race.

The eugenics movement, if it was serious, should include historians, social philosophers, jurists, and politicians. Race improvement – equivalent to social improvement – rested on fundamental principles like those of self-sacrifice, duty, and subordination. Such principles rested in turn upon 'a social environment of ideas, ideals, beliefs, faiths, sentiments, emotions, and unreasoned sanctions of the kind which alone have driving force in the evolution of the race'. The eugenists like Galton left out morals and dealt only with biological inheritance among individuals. They were not competent to deal with the study of society upon which a science of race efficiency could be founded.¹⁰

Benjamin was no doubt delighted by this. He must have been even more gratified when in November Franklin was elected a Fellow of St John's College. Coming to Cambridge with no science, elected to a classical exhibition at John's, he was elected in his second year to a foundation scholarship for natural science, and in his third year attained first class standard in three subjects in the natural science tripos, a very unusual distinction. Even *The Times* remarked upon it.¹¹

Kidd got back into harness in October. Writing in the ancient city of St Albans in Hertfordshire, he finished two chapters by December, then spent Christmas and the new year at Ditchling. There he relaxed his regimen sufficiently to entertain his old friend J.L. Garvin, who was preoccupied with the European crisis and the Irish and labour troubles in Britain. It seemed touch and go which should happen first, conflagration in Europe or civil war in Ireland over the Ulster question. The death of Kidd's father in October 1914 added to his sorrows. Aged eighty-three (or so), he contracted pneumonia while visiting his relatives in Canada. His widow Mary Rebecca was to follow him in March 1916, dving at Dulwich, also aged eighty-three.¹² In his own race against time Kidd returned to Hyères in February 1914, and in three months' solid writing (4 February-30 April) completed another three chapters, mainly on woman's future role as saviour of the species. In May he repaired to Matlock, a spa resort on the Derwent set among woodlands and crags, there beginning a chapter that he finished in June at Tideswell, a hamlet not far from Bakewell in the richly wooded valley of the River Wye. The last chapter was completed at Tideswell on 31 July 1914. As Franklin later said of his father's book: 'It had been written almost entirely sitting long days alone in the open air for the most part upon hill tops commanding a wide prospect - in Derbyshire, on the South Downs, at Hyères and Pardigon in the South of France.'13 The last two chapters were written as the Serbian emergency, following the Sarajevo assassination, worsened into military crisis. Russia mobilised the day before Kidd completed his final chapter: it was called 'Let Us Make a New World'. Four days after he lay down his pen Britain declared war on Germany.

The outbreak of war meant that the book had to be recast. Later newspaper accounts and reviews sometimes conveyed the impression that the war forced Kidd into a dramatic revision of his views. This was not so. Franklin was closer to the truth when he commented that the war 'did not so greatly affect him as might have been expected, he saw in the war the dramatic climax of tendencies which he had divined'.¹⁴ Nevertheless more reading and thought were now required, particularly on militarism and the German question. Regathering his energies, he retreated to the village of Welwyn in Hertfordshire, archetypal in its rural beauty and close enough to Cambridge to suit Franklin. (Family descendants still live there.) Over the next year, at Welwyn and other retreats and also probably at Ditchling, he read such works as *The German War Book* (1915), issued by the General Staff of the German army and translated by J.H. Morgan, Professor of Constitutional Law at University College, London, as a warning to his countrymen; Ford Madox Hueffer, *When Blood is Their Argument: An Analysis of Prussian Culture* (1915); Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* (1913); and Thomas F.A. Smith, *The Soul of Germany* (1915). By the summer of 1916 he had melded the original thirteen chapters into a reconstructed ten chapters, broken into three parts. This typed manuscript with emendations was virtually the final form of the book. A sub-title 'Woman and World Integration' was later deleted.

Meantime he had pitched himself into the war effort. He was not, like many of his compatriots, carried away by war hysteria. He still saw the German people as one of the most kindly, upright and energetic in the world. But he also felt with great intensity that the rulers and intelligentsia of Germany had betrayed the principles of higher civilisation, and that Britain stood as 'the champion of the human spirit in its belief in the ultimate triumph of principles of Universal Right'. By November 1914 he had whipped up a brief, but emotional, piece on the issues of the war for the Daily Mail Year Book, entitled 'The Great War of Mankind Towards the United States of Civilisation'. The man who had once declared war impossible between the world's advanced nations now admitted that 'the terror of civilisation in war was more striking than the majesty of its resources in peace'. More than half the human race was involved in the conflict. The world economy was distorted, disproving the theory that economics would curb great wars (Norman Angell was the bestknown exponent of this creed). The powers of the state everywhere expanded ('in as few days the nations began to have practical experiments in Socialism the like of which Socialists had not imagined'). He blamed the titanic struggle out of which a new world and civilisation would ultimately emerge - upon Germany's long-thought-out and fully

matured policy of hegemony. Germany exemplified the doctrine of the omnipotence of force as the supreme test of fitness: 'The popular interpretation of Darwin's conception of the presocial and non-moral war for existence among animals has been applied to the politics of civilisation by the ruling caste of a nation aiming at world domination.' Haeckel, Treitschke, Nietzsche and Bernhardi were the prophets of this world view, creating an ethos that alone had made the work of German militarism possible. Backed by science, resources, organisation, this revivified doctrine of the predatory state denied the characteristic principles upon which the progress and liberties of the west had long been identified. Ethics were reduced to the interest of the state. The end sanctified the means.

In Kidd's eves the Great War was the latest, the most terrible, example of a continuing struggle in the history of the west bet veen contrary doctrines: the doctrine that no rights transcend the claims of the state, founded on omnipotent power; and the conception of right raised to the plane of the universal 'by projecting the sense of human responsibility outside all theories of the State whatsoever'. With vagueness calculated to infuriate the political philosopher, he claimed that the universal concept of right - despite the standing challenge of power doctrines - was more consistent with the underlying current of western progress, the true meaning of western history. 'The principles of a higher civilisation' had always broken the absolutist challenge. Now, however, barbaric idealism had drawn into itself the mind and energies of one of the greatest races on earth, justifying war itself and supreme ruthlessness as a religious philosophy and a moral law. The German rulers had divested themselves of the handicap of what Nietzsche called 'the intolerable burden of the slave mentality of civilised ethics'.

Britain, however, as leader of the western peoples was obliged to bear the supreme burden of the higher life, the handicap of 'civilised ethics'. The nations that assumed this burden 'are exactly like those higher types of life in evolution which placed the centre of gravity in the future in taking care

of their young. They became the winning types in evolution by bearing the burthen of the future.' He compared Germany to the less successful of these higher types. Hard-pressed in the struggle, they relapsed into atavism. In the supreme crisis provoked by Germany's relapse, there was only one way in which Britain could win victory: only if she was ultimately sustained by an idealism that was higher, and a determination that was stronger, than that sustaining the enemy. He declared his faith in British durability, 'utterly beyond the comprehension of minds locked in the closed absolutisms of the military caste of modern Germany':

It is Britain who, in her contact with the world for centuries, and who alike in the humiliations and failures as in the triumphs of an Empire of 450,000,000 of the human race, has been learning the great lesson of the Universal - namely, that there is but one Race, and but one Colour, and but one Soul in Humanity, although the knowledge at times has scared her flesh . . . It is Britain who has taught the world that she holds a principle of progress to be that there can be no form of absolute truth or authority safely allied with the military power of any State. This, and not, as we have been told by German writers, that 'democracy is a failure and a sham', is the meaning of party government in the English-speaking world. It is the British races who have always been . . . the greatest fighters of the world . . . It is a conflict in which Britain may look the nations of the earth in the face and with steady eyes say to them, as no nation has ever before been able to say to the world: 'I have drawn the sword in the cause of the world. Whosoever is not with me in this struggle is against me.¹⁵

During 1916 Kidd participated in a propaganda film being produced in England with unofficial American assistance. A key role in this project was played by Harold Bolce, a Californian author and movie-maker. Bolce had come to England in 1911, wrote for the Allied cause after 1914, and went to France in 1916 'to engage in propaganda work to enlist the sympathies of the United States in the war'.¹⁶ He was a considerable admirer of Kidd. As Bolce later wrote to Maud:

For many years I had regarded him as the intellectual leader, not only of England but of the western nations as a whole, and on several

occasions, in preparing notable symposiums for American publication, I had wired and written to Mr. Kidd and had had contributions from him. When I was preparing the patriotic film in England, I wrote at once to him explaining the project, and he came to see me at the studio, was filmed there and gave me a message for the allied and neutral nations. The film has not been destroyed and I shall see what can be done in regard to getting it. On account of my own illness, purely cinema interests got control of the project, and to them a philosopher who will live for all time was less important than a passing politician.

Bolce was much impressed by an interview he had with Kidd:

It was an unusual interview, one that was not deliberately planned. It came about this way: The day following our filming of Mr. Kidd, he called again to see me to discuss the whole idea. I told him of Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey's visit, of Viscount Bryce's and of the visits of many other leaders, and quoted what some had said; and this led to a discussion of the war. Mr. Kidd talked as one inspired, and I immediately told my Secretary to take everything down. It was to be, primarily, a message to America. Although a competent stenographer, the young lady was unable fully to keep up with his eloquent summary. He talked for about an hour and a half. I shall send you a transcription of all he said, some of it, of course, taken from my own notes. I should be very glad, however, to have some advanced pages of his new book. He spoke of sending these to me, and it was my expectation of these which delayed the publication of the interview. Of course, I did not dream that he was ill unto death . . . I had a great personal love and admiration for Mr. Kidd, had studied his books in college, and regarded the meeting with him and the interview an historic event.¹⁷

Unfortunately neither film nor transcriptions of the interview appear to have survived. Franklin wrote in the letter's margin: 'This contact was cut and never reestablished owing to the war in France.'

Kidd had hopes that his concept of woman as the 'psychic centre' of the world would be well received, and used, by feminists. In order to intensify feminist interest in his forthcoming volume, he devised the idea that it should be published simultaneously with a novel to be specially written by Mrs. Violet Tweedale fictionalising the themes of Science of Power. Violet Tweedale (1862-1936) was the daughter of Robert Chambers, the Edinburgh publisher and editor of Chambers's Journal, himself the son of Robert Chambers, author of Vestiges of Creation (1844), a key work in the polemical history of evolution. A prolific author, she had a profound interest in spiritualism and psychical research (her Ghosts I Have Seen appeared in 1919) and had contacts in the women's movement. She met Kidd, and was much impressed, later writing: 'There are duplicates of many great men, but none of Benjamin Kidd.' She spoke of the 'compact' between them for the production of her novel, which appeared as The Veiled Woman in 1918. The plot was supplied by Kidd.¹⁸ The heroine, who had been badly treated by her husband, a radical leader and Member of Parliament, escaped him by feigning death, and became the organiser of a great women's movement in wartime. Woven into the plot was Kidd's gospel of the salvation of the world through woman and the possibility of doing so in a single generation.

The reconstructed version of Science of Power, written at white heat in the still and peaceful English countryside, was finally completed in the summer of 1916. Franklin was closely associated with his father in the completion of the book, just as he had collaborated with him for years in naturalist projects. Franklin was now almost twenty-six and had created a highly favourable impression at Cambridge with his research on the effects of oxygen and carbon dioxide on the dormancy of seeds, to prove of great importance in food preservation. A fellow and inceptor of arts at St. John's and Walsingham medallist, in 1916 he became Allen Scholar and Gedge prizeman.¹⁹ Controversy arose, however, when he developed pacifist and internationalist ideals. Although his brothers joined the army, Jack being wounded in the foot, Franklin ultimately became a conscientious objector to the war. Although his views led to difficulties and impeded his research at Cambridge, which was much affected by war hysteria, no

serious friction seems to have developed with his father. Kidd, although supporting the war, opposed the introduction of conscription in 1916. He wrote several letters to the press on the subject, and privately argued to friends that anticonscriptionists in Ireland would be driven into the folds of Sinn Fein, whose repression would tie up more British troops than would be gained from the draft.²⁰ Meanwhile Franklin and his ailing father discussed the outlines of a possible new chapter to be added to the book. Kidd intended to offer his work to Macmillan, his old publishers. The war, however, had disrupted the publishing world, and he was undecided whether to try for publication in the next spring or to delay until the end of the war should be in sight.²¹

Kidd did not live to see his book in print. As his son wrote: 'In 1916 the end came almost suddenly. He developed a serious dilation of the heart. A London specialist gave him five years or with care perhaps ten to fifteen, but within five weeks he was dead. By a margin of about a month he had completed the rewriting of "The Science of Power".'22 He and Maud returned to Croydon a few months before the end, taking a house at 39 Blenheim Park Road, not far from 70 Croham Road, where he had written Social Evolution. The last pages of his book must have been written under the shadow of the death penalty. Benjamin Kidd died suddenly at home on the morning of Monday 2 October 1916, aged fifty-eight. He had outlived his mother by a mere six months. The funeral took place on the following Thursday at nearby Bandon Hill. It was very quiet. Only members of the family and a few intimate friends were present. The Anglican service was read by the vicar of Lady Margaret Church, Walworth, who was also attached to St. John's, Franklin's college at Cambridge. There were no flowers or mourning, by request. Benjamin was buried with his mother in Bandon cemetery near Croydon. Curiously he was born and he was buried in a place called Bandon.

The obituaries were numerous and generally respectful. Kidd was described as a 'great sociologist' in a number of newspapers, and even a 'great philosopher' in one or two. Nature called him the creator of 'a system of social philosophy developed from an original point of view'. The Christian press approved his view of religion as one of the key agencies of social development: 'More than any other thinker, he gave a social foundation and scientific sanction to the modern sense of social identity and social obligation.²³ The general reaction, however, was muted, even allowing for the preoccupations of a great war, and reflected Kidd's dwindling reputation. The left was decidedly unkind, playing down his social reformism. The New Statesman declared that he occupied 'a curious place in the intellectual history of the last quarter of a century'. Social Evolution had won an extraordinary vogue with the help of rapturous reviews by the press. It had been hailed as a powerful ally by the enemies of democracy because it contained 'an argument against Socialism as the enemy of organic progress, and for orthodoxy in religion as the only means of keeping the people in a state of subjection and submission'.²⁴ Harold Laski debunked Kidd in a witty, if not entirely accurate, piece for the New Republic: 'There was a moment in the history of Anglo-American thought when it seemed as though his "Social Evolution" had marked him out as the heaven-sent opponent of rationalist progress.' Kidd's entry was timely. The world was reacting against the inroads made by evolution and naturalism against religious belief:

what was needed was a method of faith which, while it took account of the new discoveries, nevertheless pressed them into the service of the old ideas. It was exactly that service which, superficially at least, Mr. Kidd set himself to perform. He wrote in large, vague terms. He had all the terminology of the new science very trippingly on his tongue. He wrote with an easy certainty of his own rightness which carried with it, at least for the interested amateur, all the obvious marks of scientific adequacy.

Time, however, had overtaken Kidd's

amazing mosaic of ill-considered half-truths . . . Today we speak a different language, and if the student of sociology may look forward

with confidence to an era of fruitful work, it is because the method of inquiry has taken an antithetic direction to that which Mr. Kidd desired to give it... What must strike the observer of modern sociological work is the fact that it has passed the stage where its uncritical dogmatism proclaims its youth to that in which it is erecting boundaries and discussing the methods of its survey ... It is with analysis and not with synthesis that we are as yet concerned.²⁵

Laski's was, ironically, the only extended judgment made on Kidd at the time of his death. Maud wrote to Franklin: 'I trust some friend would write an appreciation of Father in one of the monthlies. But the war takes up all attention.'²⁶

The press did, however, highlight the story of Kidd's race against time to finish his last work, and considerable interest was evoked in the manuscript awaiting publication. To Franklin now fell the task of seeing his father's work through the press, a task which after consideration he determined to finish without delay. The widowed Maud also turned her energies into what was to her a memorial project. (She lived on until 1929.) Franklin submitted to Macmillan in manuscript 'my father's last work exactly as he left it.'27 Macmillan. however, for reasons not known, declined the work, and it was eventually published by Methuen, appearing in January 1918, with the war still raging. Indeed Franklin raised with Lord Northcliffe - Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries the possibility of introducing the book into Germany 'as a propaganda measure'.²⁸ The American rights, which Franklin carefully protected on his father's long-standing advice, went to Putnam and Company, who secured an introduction by Kidd's old acquaintance, Franklin H. Giddings. It was not the most diplomatic of choices, for Giddings expressed not only his personal admiration for Kidd, but also plain disagreement with some of his key ideas. Kidd's mind, he said, was not constituted for inductive scientific research but nevertheless promoted it by ingenious speculation, daring hypothesis and the challenge of accepted doctrines. Giddings rejected Kidd's doctrine that the 'emotion of the ideal' was the supreme principle of efficiency in the collective struggle of the world.

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Civilisation could only be conserved and enriched by proclaiming the universal faith in intellect:

I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Mr. Kidd on one of his visits to this country, and afterwards we occasionally exchanged letters. He impressed me as a man tremendously in earnest. His conversation, like his books, abounded in paradox, but I could not avoid the conviction that he understood big political movements much better than he understood scientific method and that, in a measure, he possessed the gift of prophecy . . . The Science of Power . . . is about as unlike a scientific analysis of human power working through social organization as any book by a serious writer could well be. Yet I think it an important production, and I believe that it will call forth many attempts to understand the sources and the paths of human power more adequately than we understand them now.²⁹

Maud was distressed by Giddings's introduction, and Franklin passed on his doubts about it to Putnam, but no change was made. As the publisher's London agent wrote to Franklin: 'Mr. Putnam writes a long and sympathetic but rather unrepentant explanation. He thinks that the introduction will decidedly help the book not only for its respectful attitude towards your father, but also for its controversial tone, which is likely to start discussions.'³⁰

Kidd's last work was relevant to a long-standing sociobiological controversy. Darwin's *Origin of Species* had stimulated a continuing debate between 'reductionist' and 'elevationist' schools of thought about the nature of man. Darwin argued with greater power than older evolutionists that man had derived from animal ancestors according to the laws of species-change, via natural selection, isolation, sexual selection and hereditary transmission. Man was an animal, part of the animal world, subject to the same laws of nature. The *Descent of Man* acknowledged man's exalted powers, but insisted that he still bore the indelible stamp of his lowly origins. 'Reductionist' doctrines drew strength from this emphasis. Human beings, or classes or races of human beings,

were seen to be little better than the lower animals, which were assumed to be unreasoning and motivated by simple primal instincts, aggressive and territorial. Manipulative politics easily followed from such assumptions. Humans lived in a 'human zoo' and zoos require zookeepers. Culling and forceful training would be needed. One thinks ahead to what Arthur Koestler has called the 'ratomorphic' philosophies of this century: systematic depreciation of the human spirit, people turned into automatons of consumption or marionettes of political power. Zoological reductionism also included a view of the animal world (Kropotkin notwithstanding) as chaotic, vicious, competitive, cruel. This conflict model had more immediate influence than Darwin's holistic ecology which postulated a web of coexistence linking organisms. The 'law of the jungle' was offered as the harsh ruling principle governing not only animals in their habitat but humans in their cities and societies. Both defenders and critics of capitalism resorted to this 'law', the former commending it as a healthy if unpleasant means to biological improvement, the latter condemning it as an immoral system of 'reasoned savagery' (to use T.H. Huxley's phrase).

'Elevationist' views were often associated with orthogenic and teleological perspectives. The recognition that man's origins were not all could lead to a more liberal politics, more respectful of humanity, more concerned with opportunities for individual growth, freedom, creativity and choice. True, man was subject to evolutionary laws, a specimen to be scrutinised by science. But evolution dealt not only with origins, but also with historical change and development. It was prospective as well as retrospective. If man was a barely domesticated brute to some, he was to others the splendidly endowed end-product of evolution, creator of civilisation and culture. Through his tool-making, language and learning skills he had made a quantum leap in evolutionary history. Human intelligence and consciousness had developed to the stage where man was not only adapted to, but had altered and mastered, his natural environment. His superior reason,

capacity for social sympathy and mutualist endeavour, the development of his ethical sense, his aesthetic and creative abilities raised hopes, often utopian, of a future in which the politics of violence would be supplanted by those of civilised cooperation and liberal tolerance. Such hopes flourished particularly in liberal and socialist camps in the generation preceding World War I, a war which did much to restore the idea of primal recidivism.

Kidd lived through the ebb and flow of these ideas, and his work reflected both the hopes and disappointments of the time. He was decidedly on the side of the 'elevationists' and against the 'reductionists'. The Science of Power represented his final disillusionment with Social Darwinism, or more accurately, with the brands of reductionism he believed that it had widely generated. His indictment of Spencerean rugged individualism had grown progressively harsher since his first book. Nevertheless he discerned an optimistic telos for mankind as civilised societies inevitably passed into a more organic phase, a phase where a more advanced ethical consciousness flourished, where social altruism prevailed over individualism, and more tolerant value systems became normal. However the events of the early twentieth century showed that Darwinist reductionism based on the conflict model was far from dead, was indeed flourishing in conjunction with authoritarian ideologies, and threatened the ultimate extinction of western civilisation. Such doctrines used the analogy of primal competition and depreciated the human spirit and capacity for cooperative endeavour and social responsibility. Kidd's deeply ethical nature revolted against the doctrine of pagan force, as he called it. He was profoundly alarmed, and driven into an apocalyptic posture, by the prospect of the triumph of force over mind and enlightenment.

He explained in his book how his eyes had been opened that day in 1904 when he was present at the meeting of the Sociological Society in London at which Francis Galton first launched his eugenics programme. (See Chapter 5.) Kidd was appalled that a man whose concept of civilisation was so

elementary that he could find no place for moral standards in his scheme proposed the stupendous task of reconstructing civilisation by scientific breeding of the race: 'I remember the day as one of the landmarks of my life', he wrote. It flashed home to him that Darwinism 'was the sum and flower of the peculiar science of the West, a compound of astonishing learning and incomparable ignorance'. Such science seemed 'but the organised form of the doctrine of the supremacy of material force'. It could never be the basis of civilisation, but, embodied in western military and economic forms, 'was moving through world-shaking catastrophe to irretrievable bankruptcy in history':

As I walked out into the Strand from the room in the London School of Economics in which the meeting had been held I well remember the state of my mind. I found myself looking round in the street for the face of a child to restore me again to the feeling and to the atmosphere of civilization. For my dominant mental impression was that never before had I been so nearly in touch with the mind and with the standards of primitive man.

When he arrived home, he took down from its shelf Karl Pearson's *Ethic of Free Thought*. Pearson had chaired the meeting:

I followed the mind of the author through the essays as it rose against the leaders of the great wars of religion of the West, against the spirit of 'the seething mass of fanaticism' that the epochs of the past presented to him, against the prejudices, the beliefs, the creeds, the tortures, the butcheries, the blood baths which represented the long struggle of the mind of the terrible pagan West, as it encountered in the integration of the universal world something greater than itself which it understood not. How the author in the name of the intellect stooped over the record, now in sorrow, anon in shame, ever in remote superiority. Yet what an inexplicable spirit appeared to me now to surge through the essays. Despite the immaculate maxims it seemed the voice of Nietzsche's superman . . . It laid down unimpeachable rules which represented the ethic of civilization, and then it destroyed them by a spirit and exceptions which represented the ethics of the jungle. For whilst Pearson preached the claims of a socialist ideal with near-religious fervour, he preached also the pagan concept of right as it prevailed in ancient Greece: that it was subordinate to the claims of the state. He ignored the intervening struggles for liberty, which made right independent of political claims by the state. Like the apostles of militarism in Germany, Pearson rested rights on force. No one stood above the state: 'Our ideal as socialists, he tells us, is this: "Society embodied in the State". No one stood above this State also. For "Socialists", said Karl Pearson, "have to inculcate that spirit which would give offenders against the State short shrift and the nearest lamp-post".'³¹

Kidd had been appalled again in 1912 when William Bateson, hitherto admired by Kidd, used the Herbert Spencer lecture to attack western democracy. He used biological justifications to undermine altruism as a basis for civilisation. His Biological Fact and the Structure of Society asserted that the only instinct that was sufficiently universal to supply the motive for exertion in society was the desire to accumulate property in the competitive struggle. Bateson rejected liberal welfarist ideals proclaiming 'equality of opportunity' (a phrase Kidd claimed to have introduced into British politics). Bateson's future civilisation was frankly hierarchic, the aim of social reform being not to abolish class 'but to provide that each individual shall so far as possible get into the right class and stay there'. Kidd believed that Bateson was denying the basic values underlying western progress. Just at Treitschke and the Prussian militarists had taken 'the Darwinian standard of efficiency as it prevailed in the childhood of the world, and boldly applied it to politics and war', Bateson was supplying biological justification for permanent war as the condition of world economic activity.³²

The Science of Power dramatised a dialectic clash: that between the integrative and the disintegrative principles in western history. The integrative principle, as his previous works had argued, was embodied in the evolutionary movement of humankind throughout history towards the higher

destiny of ethical and mutualist modes of existence. Idealistic emotion, rather than reason, provided the motive force behind this transition. The west was moving towards 'some meaning, infinite but unexplained' that would fulfill the past: 'Through it all there runs a sense of new eras, of new values, of emerging types, of widening horizons, of more spacious ideals of human brotherhood seen through the social emotion' (p. 8).*

The disintegrative principle was associated with tendencies arising from man's atavistic past, rooted in individualistic selflove and sustained by rationalist doctrines glorifying force. Kidd had once maintained that such primal influences were withering away, but he now proclaimed them to be in a state of powerful resurgence. Indeed he gave a disconcerting tone to the entire work by attaching what seemed at times a deterministic irresistibility to both the integrative and disintegrative principles. If he could speak of 'the meaning of the west' residing in an altruistic and peaceful future based on cultural evolution, he could also speak as if the annihilation of western civilisation were decreed by universal causes that had worked throughout the entire history of the world. The war of 1914 was but a climax to, and an incident in, a universal movement: 'it is a world of revolution, of sinking temples, of falling idols, of rending veils, of darkening skies under which the gods of force huddle towards vast Armageddons' (pp. 8-9).

With new emphasis he portrayed western civilisation as 'in a special and peculiar sense founded upon force'. Its reasoned knowledge was but 'the science of force in one or other of its phases':

For countless ages before history has view of him, the fighting male of the West has streamed across Europe in successive waves of advance and conquest, vanquishing, exterminating, overwhelming, overmastering, taking possession. The fittest, who have survived in these successive layers of conquest, have been the fittest in virtue of the right of force, and in virtue of a process of military selection

^{*}Page references in brackets in the text are to B. Kidd, *The Science of Power* (8th edn, Methuen, London, 1919).

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probably the longest, the sternest, the most culminating which the race has ever undergone. (pp. 4–5)

The civilisation produced by this fighting pagan was 'the strangest flower in the fields of time'. Inheriting a religion that was the negation of force, the fighting pagan struggled for centuries against it:

Deep in the inmost recesses of his nature he has continually persuaded himself against belief in it. He has set his science and his philosophies to reason it away. He has gone forth on his business to the conquest of the world fortifying himself against it and with his spirit resolutely tuned to the doctrine of force. In his national wars he has made the right of conquest the ultimate right of the fittest. In the social struggle he has trained himself to see, in the steel claws of devouring tyrannies closing on the worsted, the natural law of efficiency. (pp. 5-6)

Nevertheless, as described in *Social Evolution*, the ultrarational-cum-religious influences gradually achieved at least partial emancipation for the oppressed masses by means of democratic political change and social reform: 'The blinding vision of which the West has caught sight has been that there is but 'one class, and but one colour, and but one soul in humanity. It is a vision under which the soul of the pagan world-builder flames in rebellion' (p. 7). The resultant conflict of forces was never before known.

Kidd now had a much darker vision of the outcome of this conflict during the half-century preceding 1914: 'There is visible a gradual falling back upon first principles, a retreat all along the line to those conditions of elemental force under which the civilization of the West first came into being' (p. 9). Nationalism — which once he welcomed — had turned the world into an armed camp. Standing armies on a scale previously unknown had become a normal feature of modern life. The arms race had transformed economic life. Men frankly predicted, even welcomed, world war: 'The state of war became spoken of again among men not as a shame and a rebuke to civilization but as a state of nature' (p. 12). Science tended not to abolish war but 'only to render it more terrible and destructive by raising to the nth power the possibilities of savagery' (p. 13). International relations were dominated by crude purposes, dangerous aims and barbaric methods: 'All questions of right, of feeling, of justice, of the sanctity of agreements or treaties, or even of humanity, became, in the last issue, nothing more than questions of expediency' (p. 23).

It seemed that the western mind had completely failed to understand the significance of the ethical-idealistic process, which had been constantly subordinated to the cause of primitive violence by those who held power. This was especially so when power was concentrated in a few hands. Traditional freedoms, including freedom of expression and the press, were under siege, but, as Tolstoy complained, who noticed the erosion of humane values? During the Great War even truth itself was abolished by the censors in the warring nations, including Britain. What was the meaning of western life? 'It is a state of permanent war – relentless, remorseless, truth-extinguishing, primitive war throughout all our institutions, national and political, social and economic' (p. 177).

The social condition was clearly one of conflict. Darwinism had served to reinforce the emiseration theory of classical economics, according to which the natural state of society was one of extreme polarity:

At one end there was the accumulation of property and influence in the hands of the few representing the leaders and the capables, and at the other end there was the vast majority of the population ruled down by the iron necessities of the competitive struggle to the lowest wage at which they would work efficiently and reproduce themselves. (p. 18)

The spreading concept of human equality and brotherhood had helped to achieve the political and social emancipation of labour. This being so, the masses were better placed to redress their inequalities. Kidd had hoped that social amelioration would take place in a peaceful reformist way, within the context of the liberal-welfarist state. Now he foresaw a violent class war between labour and capital. An awakened Demos had already borrowed the fundamental concept of economic science that society was a state of war. Violence, threats of violence, and the political power of labour would be used to win concessions, to win the social war, ultimately to launch a frontal attack on the whole cause of capitalism. Trade union solidarity was already being consolidated through compulsory unionism and the 'closed shop'. The local strike and collective bargaining were being superseded by the general strike and syndicalist force. Marxism substituted the social war for national war. In the process concern weakened for democratic rights, individual dissent, and the sanctity of agreements. In short, labour was being militarised.

So was capital. In instinctive alarm at the advancing strength of the proletariat, the power-holding interests in the economy blindly fell back 'upon positions calculated to give them command in an environment of force if the struggle should resolve itself into one for mastery under more primitive conditions' (p. 33). The colossal concentration of wealth that marked modern economies, the gigantic aggregation of industry and business that marked modern finance capitalism, was arraigned by labour as inherently anti-social and antidemocratic. Large corporations had become financial republics:

They manage public utilities on a scale so great that their affairs are comparable only to the affairs of a first-class state or a federation of states. But they outrage the fundamental principles of democracy, labour asserts, in that they have no relation to any social or moral principle outside the earning of dividends; while they violate the cardinal necessity of democracy in that voting power is according to the amount of shares held, and that control is in the hands of the few who work in the dark, the vastest returns being obtained by the artificial raising and depressing of the Stock Exchange value of their securities . . . The gigantic growth of speculation in Stock Exchange values and the vast system of finance which accompanies it have come to be described as parasitic on modern industry, representing no function that can be expressed in terms of social utility. (pp. 36-7) A radical change had taken place after 1850 in the spirit of the west, 'passing gradually to monstrous forms of extravagance and failure, and at length to irretrievable bankruptcy in Western civilization' (p. 43). Kidd attributed this breakdown to 'profoundly psychic' forces. By far the most important of them was Darwinism. The Darwinian revolution in thought had dislodged the keystone in the arch of connected western beliefs, bringing down the whole structure. The idea of natural selection through never-ceasing struggle – 'a struggle in which the individual efficient in the fight for his own interests was always the winning type' (p. 44) – touched the depths of the psychology of the west:

The idea seemed to present the whole order of progress in the world as the result of a purely mechanical and materialistic process resting on force. In so doing it was a conception which reached the springs of that heredity born of the unmeasured ages of conquest out of which the Western mind has come. Within half a century the Origin of Species had become the bible of the doctrine of the omnipotence of force. (pp. 44–5)

In its first phase Darwinism helped to brutalise capitalism. The doctrine of the survival of the fittest reinforced the harsh dogmas of Malthus, Bentham and Ricardo:

The central thesis of Darwin appeared as nothing less than a culminating scientific condemnation of all the labour programmes of the West conceived in a spirit of socialism. The prevailing social system, born as it had been in struggle, and resting as it did in the last resort on war and on the toil of an excluded wage-earning proletariat, appeared to have become clothed with a new and final kind of authority. (p. 47)

When labour itself adopted the self-centred, competitive ethic of crude Darwinism the stage was set for destructive class warfare.

In its next phase, Darwinism brutalised statecraft by encouraging aggressive militarism and imperialism. Kidd now openly condemned the 'scramble for colonies' he had once approved. He branded a range of power ideologies as stemming from Darwinism. They included Haeckel's monism, Nietzsche's doctrine of the superman, Treitschke's and Bernhardi's militarism: 'it was almost as if the desert and the jungle had begun to voice themselves in human thought... The doctrine of the supremacy and the omnipotence of force became the doctrine of absolute Right expounded as the law of "biological necessity" in books of state-craft and war-craft, of expanding military empires' (p. 47). History and homicide became indistinguishable terms.

Haeckel's conflict model (said Kidd) had been readily taken up in Germany where it was used to further the growth of a centralised military state. Haeckel's monism rejected the dualism in Christian thought (and Kidd's) between individual and universal morality. Man's social duties and his selfinterest were, according to Haeckel, one and the same. Altruism was only enlightened egoism. There was no room in his system for the principle of self-sacrifice or renunciation that Christianity placed above self-love, and that Kidd believed underlay all forms of progress in advanced civilisation. Haeckel's monism was based on the standard of primitive man, whereas the first principle in the evolution of the social world lay in the subordination of individuals.

Kidd recognised that it was Nietzsche who first openly attacked the traditional values of western culture; who flung to the winds any attempt to reconcile Christian standards with the view of the world as 'will to power'. It was Nietzsche 'who first proclaimed aloud to the world the inner meaning of popular Darwinism, the true ethic of the pagan revival of the modern West' (p. 57). His attack on 'the immorality of morality', the slave mentality of religion, the herd instinct of democracy, his contempt for socialism and women, his glorification of ruthlessness, oligarchy, exploitation, warfare, the state and the master-race, his advocacy of cynical immorality as a proper political method: all this represented an ideology of desperation, the 'overmastering animal soul of the West' raging against 'that spiritual integration of mind which is making Right superior to force' (p. 57). Nietzsche's

maxims had been applied to the national policy of modern Germany, and threatened to become the politics of the modern state, carrying the world to the holocaust of 1914. In this headlong rush to disaster, Kidd noted grimly, a key role had been played by the German intelligentsia, reason once again being employed in history as the enemy of progress and a higher ethics. The German universities had been the arsenals that forged the intellectual weapons of the Prussian hegemony. The men to blame were not only the truculent orators like Treitschke or Bernhardi, but also the 'civilised' scholars like Ranke and Delbrück.

If the ideology of barbarism had reached a peak in Germany, it was widespread in western culture generally. In Britain it appeared first in Spencer's anti-social individualism, then in Galton's eugenics:

Galton's scheme for improving the world formed the counterpart from the point of view of English individualism of that which Treitschke and Bernhardi desired to achieve through the methods of the Prussian military State. For what Galton by his method aimed at, although it was not a type of the State, was nothing less than the scientific breeding on a universal scale of the Nietzschean superman. (pp. 73-4)

Kidd repeated the criticisms he had made of Galton's racism in *Social Evolution*, viz., that Galton's eugenics rested on a discredited doctrine of the intellectual superiority of the 'advanced' races of men over the less developed races, whereas the superior efficiency of the former was a result of superior social efficiency. It was almost exclusively a matter of social inheritance, not of genetics. Racism based on the concept of the hereditary superiority of the white races had led directly to the scramble for empire, thus giving rise to 'one of the most pernicious and reactionary developments which has characterized the Western world for five centuries' (p. 272). Galton's eugenics ignored the sense of responsibility to life. It led directly, as Kidd had realised in 1904, to the authoritarian morality of Karl Pearson's national-socialist state.

Kidd's book claimed generally that the heritage of Darwinism was elitist and anti-democratic, that it encouraged the protection and expansion of propertied interests at the expense of the general welfare, and that it did so by promoting the methods of economic and social warfare. Little wonder, then, that international war had come to be regarded not as exceptional or immoral but inevitable. People had come to regard the external shock of nations at war 'as only the last and external phase of the internal form of the economic and social war' (p. 90).

Kidd endorsed the eastern view that western science was but 'ignorant knowledge'. The revolutionary changes of the later nineteenth century had worsened that situation, leaving 'the essentially pagan and unimaginative mind of the West' in a state of indescribable collapse. The fighting male had turned away from all problems of the intellect:

From the blasphemies of his superman; from those sterile quests after the nature of the Absolute which represent the exhausted residuum of mediaevalism; from the hopeless efforts of the intellect to hold the mind of youth at our centres of learning . . . like those displayed in the appalling records of the Moral Science Tripos for the last two generations at Cambridge . . .; from the cynicisms, the nihilisms, the paradoxes of our schools of intellectual criticism; from the vast libraries created in the name of culture, mausoleums, houses of the dead, accumulations of books for which there are no readers, to use Lord Rosebery's description; from the futilities of Eugenics, ignorantly endeavouring to construct a science of civilization out of the Darwinism of the animal; from the sociology of the schools moved to profound depths of scholarship over the significance of totemism or the rites associated with the age of puberty in the savage maiden while remaining utterly unconscious of the significance of the pyschic forces expressing themselves in the great systems of emotion and idealism, the social meaning of which envelops the planet . . . – from all these the essential pagan of the West turned in our time to the gross unimaginative materialism of military and economic war. (pp. 95-7)

The most powerful part of Science of Power was Kidd's

indictment of the tendencies of the age, reminiscent at times of Carlyle. His readers were less impressed by his idealistic remedies for the crisis of the west. Had he lived, this indifference would have been his ultimate disappointment. His position, briefly, was that nineteenth-century biology had depreciated 'environmentalist' ideas of human improvement, and enhanced the opposing view that genetic factors posed intractable obstacles to any rapid or lasting social reform of mankind. Oddly enough Kidd himself had been originally a disciple of Weismann's 'hard heredity' theories, although he had used them in liberal rather than conservative causes. Now he believed that germ plasm theory and Mendelism had on the whole encouraged pessimistic authoritarian and elitist attitudes.³³ Hereditarian ideas had come to colour nearly all political and social theories, with highly unfortunate results. Class and race were seen to be ineradicable, the remodelling of human society seen as impossible except through natural selection over thousands of years or through directive scientific breeding.

Kidd saw the future as belonging to socio-cultural rather than physical evolution. In this he was to be in good company with many twentieth-century liberals and socialists. His arguments were akin to those of modern biologists such as Julian Huxley and Dobzhansky. Rather than meddling with genes, man would be more profitably engaged, and more in tune with his own evolutionary history, by freeing himself from the limits of biological heredity and evolving what Dobzhansky was to call a 'non-biological heredity' through the transmission of culture.³⁴ Even this process, however, raised visions of cultural conditioning by coercive methods, and Kidd did not escape criticism in this respect.

Where Kidd pushed too hard for many critics was in the timing of change:

So far from civilization being practically unchangeable or only changeable through influences operating slowly over long periods of time, the world can be changed in a brief space of time. Within the life of a single generation it can be made to undergo changes so profound, so revolutionary, so permanent, that it would almost appear as if human nature itself had been completely altered in the interval. (p. 106)

He contended that the mechanism for change already existed. If but half the intelligence and effort directed to war were directed towards the study and collective organisation of society for peace and mutuality, civilisation could be altered radically in twenty years. Germany had transformed the character of a whole nation in a single generation, 'though unfortunately only in relation to the atavisms of war' (p. 107). A whole people had been brainwashed by exposure to the ideals of war and nationality, under intense conditions of emotion approaching that of religious fervour. In Japan, under comparable hothouse conditions, an Asian nation had been transformed within two generations from a feudal to modern state. It had been shown in such cases that, if a people were willing to submit themselves to new and concentrated conditions of social inheritance, they would compress into a short period developments that would normally require centuries of stress and evolution to achieve.

This was Kidd's great message and prophecy. It was of course not original. Ideas of cultural conditioning had existed for centuries, and in some ways his programme smacked of reversion to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century doctrines of 'tabula rasa'. He had himself foreshadowed in Social Evolution the possibility of undeveloped peoples rapidly acquiring and using against the west its 'social inheritance' in terms of the arts, sciences and thought. H.G. Wells and other futurologists had depicted societies - both utopian and dystopic – which differed radically from the present because of environmental change and psychic conditioning. At the same time, Kidd was abreast of biological thought and his words had a modern ring. His insistence on the primacy of psychocultural evolution was consistent with the position of such respected zoologists as E. Ray Lankester, who described it as the dominant factor in human progress, freeing mankind from

the 'limitations of protoplasmic continuity' (p. 113). What Kidd proposed, like a latter-day Robert Owen, was directive cultural conditioning. If the incoming generation were submitted to a new collective inheritance, 'including in particular its psychic elements', they would take it up as readily as they did the old, thereby revolutionising human nature (p. 114).

When he spoke of the 'psychic element' as being the key element that was transmitted from generation to generation in the process of collective heredity, he referred not to the reasoning process and the accumulation of recorded knowledge, which were of secondary importance, but to 'ideas and idealism that rest on emotion', and which were conveyed to the young under the influence of psychic passion (p. 115). His naturalist experiments had led him to conclude that, even at the sub-human level, deep-seated habits were the result of social inheritance not inborn heredity. With respect to humankind, he argued that power in civilisation ultimately rested on knowledge conveyed through emotion and not through the reasoning processes of mind (p. 250). He believed it possible to 'imprint' upon humans desirable characters, feelings and standards of conduct. These characters would be almost indistinguishable from instincts, although they were caused culturally, not genetically. Their distinctive mark would be 'the power of renunciation and sacrifice which they create in the individual' (p. 116). Only in this way could social integration, the mark of higher evolutionary efficiency, be achieved.

Reason was still in Kidd's mind the handmaiden of selfserving individualism. 'The laws of the social integration are psychic in character, and they must in the nature of things control the evolution of the human mind and all its contents' (p. 117). He wanted the 'idealism of mind' to be 'imposed through intensive culture on the youth of civilization in conditions of emotion and with all the equipment and resources of modern civilization in the background' (p. 119). It was in this anti-rationalist and manipulative outlook that Kidd deviated from the tradition of liberalism. Despite his dislike of authoritarianism, his social compassion and liberal goals, his methods had disturbing affinities with those later adopted by the totalitarians. In less alarming form his aspiration, like that of Henri Bergson or William James, was to harness the creative energies within man, to liberate the forces of the inner life to make a better, more rewarding existence for humankind.

He never explained how the west could halt its headlong rush into catastrophe. He expressed a general confidence in a teleological process that would ultimately ensure man's elevation to a higher plane. He expressed faith in the triumph of psycho-cultural evolution based on the scientific use of emotion. The mechanics of future change he largely ignored. He did, however, make it clear that woman, because of her emotional capacity and other-regarding instincts, must play a central role in future evolution. Woman, in his opaque phraseology, was 'the psychic centre of power in the social integration'. The mind of woman, he contended, had outstripped that of man by an entire epoch of evolution. The male mind was dominated by emotions inherited from the hunt, the chase, the fight. The fighting male was the doer, the creature of the instant, instinctively despising idealism and self-sacrifice:

At the back of the male mind of every fighting and business people the spirit of the pagan rules and the philosophy of Omar Khayyam is enthroned. . . Throughout the whole span of the human era, the development of the mind of woman has represented . . . the struggle of the interests of the future against the ascendancy in the present of those Power systems, which arise from the activities of the male mind, which rest on force, which by the categorical necessity of the fight must always be directed to sectional and short-range objectives. . . These systems of Power, characteristic of the individual integration, have ever sought to exploit woman in all her capacities as no other being has been exploited in life. Out of this struggle the mind of woman has emerged. It is like the emerging mind of civilization itself in the upward stress of progress. Woman is indeed the actual prototype of all the great systems of religion, of morality, of law, upon which integrating civilization rests. (pp. 196, 198–9) Woman's nature, by pure physiological necessity, because of maternity, had been driven to subjugate present needs to 'a meaning beyond herself and beyond all visible interest in the present' (p. 201). Schopenhauer, the great enemy of woman, had rightly discerned the essential psychology of woman, and the real source of male fear of woman, when he pronounced that 'the race is always to her more than the individual'. She would dominate the future through her capacity to subordinate the individual to the future survival-efficiency of the group, accomplished by sustained emotion and the power of sacrifice in the service of the ideal. She could direct social heredity, and encompass thoroughgoing world change in a generation, by her civilising influence on the male, and, most importantly, by her dominance over the mind of the young. The male mind was incapable of rendering this service to civilisation.35

The Science of Power won acclaim from sections of the women's movement because of its frank adherence to the doctrine of female superiority. Kidd's idealisation of woman was sustained and unqualified. Her altruistic virtues he described as virtually inborn. Members of the sex were 'capable of attaining over long stretches of time a lofty, permanent, and controlled excitement which exercises a profound influence over all the activities of ordinary life' (p. 214). In any conflict between present interest and principle 'she instinctively and instantly tends to take the side of principle rather than that of interest' (p. 215). With the concept of woman as Fury he would have no truck. Its appearance in literature he denounced as inauthentic. Since the rise of the novel in the sixteenth century, he claimed, the idealisation of woman was the key to literature, the feature which had 'grown and deepened' to the present day (p. 246). He viewed the imaginative literature of the west as the vehicle of its highest idealisms, and woman was always in evidence therein as the touchstone of man's ideals:

So deep-seated is this instinct that it has become one of the most

fundamental canons of modern Western Art, that it cannot be violated without a sense of failure being created. Wherever man is represented in Art as the higher idealist and woman as the lower cause which has dragged him down the result is artistic disaster. We feel that the ideal has been lowered and that we have returned to the depressing atmosphere of a more primitive stage of human evolution. However great the ability or the genius of the creator it cannot save us from this effect. As in Robert Herrick's *The Healer*, or as in George Gissing's *New Grub Street*, the result is invariably the same. A sense of failure and outrage is present in the mind of the reader.

(pp. 216-17)

Such sweeping judgments were not likely to please the sensibilities of the literary critics, but frankly Kidd did not care. Their amoral aestheticism seemed another symptom of the cultural collapse of the age.

Kidd's whole theory of art was dogmatically evolutionary. The formative arts, such as sculpture and painting, were deemed the arts mainly of the era of primal male ascendancy, celebrating the self-regarding emotions, essentially pagan in character (here he was influenced by Tolstoy's *What is Art?*). Truly creative art, forward-looking art, was inspired by the other-regarding emotions. Its exponents were the masterminds of literature,

the seers of the visions of the writers, the poets, the reformers, the teachers who create the mind of the rising generation under the influence of emotion. They are the inspirers of causes, the founders of faiths, the sustainers of the ideal, the authors of those great policies of mind in which the human spirit, rising through contagious emotion from the individual to the universal, is transmitting, through the cultural inheritance, an accumulating power to subordinate itself in civilization to the spiritual meaning which is immanent in the world. (pp. 244–5)

He prophesied that the future leaders and organisers of the world would inevitably be those peoples who applied to practical affairs the lessons of enlightened cultural evolution. The future would not belong to the 'hereditarians', still preaching sterile individualism, blinkered by illusions of

biological predestination (Ibsen and Anatole France represented the latter concept in recent literature, Lombroso the same concept in criminology):

The social heredity transmitted through social culture is infinitely more important to a people than any heredity inborn in the individuals thereof. It is through collective heredity that the long sequences of cause and effect upon which Power rests are imposed on the human mind in civilization. Through the organization of an ideal transmitted through this social heredity any result whatever that may be aimed at may be produced in the world. (pp. 273–4)

This was the only method capable of lifting the individual to the level of his 'inner ideal social self', a term of William James that Kidd liked. Such idealism would become the expression of the living soul of a people: 'It's influence cannot be estimated. It subordinates everything. It becomes Power incarnate. There is no object which a people or a race can set before itself which is not possible of attainment' (p. 296). He concluded with an impassioned plea: 'Oh, you blind leaders who seek to convert the world by laboured disputations! Step out of the way or the world must fling you aside. Give us the Young. Give us the Young and we will create a new mind and a new earth in a single generation'. (p. 298)

The Science of Power was a flawed work. Repetition of key phrases, key themes, key examples occurred tediously, to the point of neurotic obsession. Kidd had abandoned even the pretence of a scientific methodology in favour of strident declamation and an almost litanical reiteration of ideas. He was 'witnessing' to his truth, his vision of the New Jerusalem. Like the prophets of old, he was Delphic in utterance, thunderous in condemnation of the world and its works: he was to be taken at his word; he asserted; he spoke to the laity and not to the intellectuals; he used emotion freely, as his theory warranted, to touch the hearts of his audience; he refused to bow before the clay god of empiricism, declaiming his 'laws' without feeling bound systematically to review the evidence supporting them or to analyse the logic underlying them. Circularities, tautologies, and contradictions abounded. Nor were there lacking signs of egotism, proper to the prophet, but also expressing repressed hurt over his failure to win academic recognition. In a revealing, if very curious, chapter dealing with 'First Laws of the Science of Power', he claimed that *Social Evolution* had 'sent something like a thrill of recreation through the dry bones of the philosophies of the West'. The new movement of pragmatism, associated with William James and John Dewey, had arisen to take up the issues that he had raised, venturing 'hot-foot upon definitions of Truth that swept the builders and definers of dialectic systems of Truth into a state of amazed defence'. But the new philosophy had proved to be incomplete:

The time has come when I must respectfully ask pragmatists to give me that right-of-way which is my due. . I must in my own way carry this philosophy of Power to the further issues that are involved in it. I, therefore, ask the reader not to be startled if I proceed to give him the answer to the question – What is Truth? and to follow it up by asserting that it is a complete answer and that the development of knowledge two thousand years hence, or twenty thousand years hence, will only have served to establish the conviction that it is the final answer. (pp. 182–4)

This was heady, if erratic, stuff. There then followed what even the most charitable of readers must have felt to be an obscure and hardly useful definition of terms such as truth, force, power, reason and emotion, mere reiterations of his general position.

Despite its flaws, the *Science of Power* was generally deemed to be a stimulating and challenging book, and it sold well. Methuen brought out nine printings totalling 23,500 copies, the ninth and last in 1920 being of 7500.³⁶ American sales were disappointing, Putnam producing only one printing. Payot of Paris brought out a French edition in 1919. The war and its aftermath no doubt discouraged the book's appearance in translation. The British and American press reviews were extensive, and overwhelmingly favourable, as was Kidd's usual lot with journalist and lay readers. *The Morning Post* described the book as 'a valiant attempt to define the causes and consequences of the world-revolution in which we are likely to be involved for many a year to come'. The *Pall Mall Gazette* thought it 'one of the most striking books of social philosophy that have appeared during the war'. *The Times Literary Supplement* called it the 'testament' of a 'gifted writer'. *The Scotsman* found it 'as fascinating as any novel'. A world at war would find in the book 'an evangel of hope' (*The Yorkshire Post*), or 'a vision to seize upon the weariest mind' (*Daily Chronicle*).³⁷

The American press was even more enthusiastic. 'Darwin Cause of the War', headlined the *Detroit Sunday News*, and Americans generally relished Kidd's apocalyptic tone, and democratic style. Kidd was 'a profoundly serious thinker earnestly seeking for the underlying truths of human progress' (*San Francisco Chronicle*). 'Mr. Kidd has a genius for discovering the fundamental tendencies of civilization and tracing them to their sources. He startles and shocks the conventional sociologists with the boldness of his reasoning. . [He] exalts the noblest moral life and holds up idealism and democracy as the all powerful factors which give birth to a new and better order' (*Boston Transcript*). Alex Mackendrick declared the book 'the most deeply significant of all the sociological treatises that the present world-crisis has evoked' (*Chicago Public*).

William Jennings Bryan, three-time presidential candidate and a long-time anti-evolutionist, seized upon Kidd's 'masterly work' to indict the 'menace of Darwinism', which had generated godlessness, and furnished Nietzsche with a scientific basis for his atheistic power philosophy. Kidd had shown that Darwinism robbed the reformer of hope: 'Its plan of operation is to improve the race by "scientific breeding" on a purely physical basis. A few hundred years may be required – possibly a few thousand – but what is time to one who carries eons in his quiver?'³⁸ Science of Power thus gave an impetus to a movement with which Kidd had little sympathy and from which he had always distanced himself, i.e. the fundamentalist movement, which upheld the Biblical account of creation as literally true and wanted to ban the teaching of Darwinism in American schools. Kidd, no doubt, would have been aghast at both Bryan's dogmatic fundamentalism and Clarence Darrow's flamboyant agnosticism had he lived to see the celebrated Scopes trial of 1925. Kidd's unconventional views, as ever, generated very diverse responses. There is perhaps a clue here to his appeal for Americans, traditionally receptive to crusading heterodoxy. A Syracuse newspaper spoke of him as 'an exotic "sport" in the formal garden of English sociological opinion'. The Boston Post described him as 'an unusual iconoclast. He had an uncomfortable habit of looking around the world and discovering faults in it. But he was a somewhat lone champion; for most of the other radical thinkers of our time seldom agreed with his criticisms and panaceas."39 Similarly Kidd was much praised in egalitarian, and less intellectually sophisticated, Australia. The influential radical weekly, the Sydney Bulletin, complimented him in its knockabout style, while the Sydney Daily Telegraph welcomed a 'very profound book' from 'a philosopher of repute'.⁴⁰

Friends and sympathisers took the opportunity to eulogise Kidd. John Saxon Mills wrote in *The Observer* of 'a very momentous, perhaps epoch-making, contribution to the thought of the world'. C.W. Saleeby spoke of a 'remarkable work'. Percy L. Parker's *Public Opinion* was fulsome in praise, and ran a short series of excerpts from the book. (Parker wrote to Franklin: 'I had a very great regard for your father. . . It seems to me a very great book, with an ultimate quality in it which no argument can disturb. . . The final passing of the Votes for Women Bill makes this a most suggestive moment for the publication of this book which shows the spiritual possibilities which may come from the giving of the franchise to women.')⁴¹ *Common Sense* praised 'an extraordinarily suggestive and original analysis of the psychological heredity of the war'. The *Cooperative News*, relishing Kidd's 'new Owenism', spoke of 'a book of profound social importance. . . It enunciates an idea which goes to the root of all social progress or reaction'. *Everyman* forecast success for what was 'essentially a book for the times. It is a call to repentance, to a change of heart and of ideal, an indictment of what we understand by modern civilization.'⁴²

The war militated against extensive reviewing of Science of Power in the serious periodicals of the Anglo-American world. British scholars maintained their scepticism about Kidd's methodology, although praise was forthcoming for his thought-provoking analysis of western culture in crisis. The Times Literary Supplement commented: 'There is an infectious ardour in Mr. Kidd's denunciation of the "dark, efficient and terrible West". He carries us away as a prophet, if he does not convince us as a philosopher.'43 A harsher judgment was made by William Inge, Dean of St. Paul's, progressive theologian and eugenist: 'The philosophy of the book is hopeless. But it contains some striking passages, and some valuable truths.'44 Kidd's anti-rationalism continued to draw fire. Dean Inge was quite alarmist: 'to exalt sentiment and disparage reason is the most mischievous teaching that can be addressed to the British public. Matthew Arnold and George Meredith are now seen to have been true prophets when they warned their countrymen that England is in danger of falling from want of respect for intellect and clear thinking."45 James G. Stephens, an American political scientist, expressed a widespread objection when he wrote:

Instinct and instinctive impulses are, to be sure, driving sources of power but the intellectual element of mentality plays a primary part in their expression and outgo. Emotional power, without the intellectual factor in mental activity, is like unharnessed and uncontrolled power in machinery processes. To ignore or undervalue this intellectual factor disregards one of the basic civilising forces.⁴⁶

The *Westminster Gazette* recommended the harmonisation of reason and emotion:

we cannot think that Mr. Kidd is successful in his attempt to renew the ancient quarrel between reason and emotion, and to place emotion on a pedestal where it cannot be challenged by reason. It is quite true that the psychology of these times tends to give increasing value to the unconscious or half conscious processes of the subliminal self, but those processes have a history and a logic of their own which are by no means repugnant to reason. The advancement of ideals by appeals to the emotions is a great and legitimate art, which will be practised as long as human nature remains human nature. But it is quite a different thing to discredit reason in an appeal to the emotions. That way lies reaction and obscurantism, rather than purification and exaltation. It is the way of priests, demagogues, and newspaper bosses, as well as of statesmen and prophets.⁴⁷

(Freud, who was at the back of people's minds with his theory of the unconscious, himself later asserted the ultimate primacy of intellect in human destiny over instincts, while his therapy assumed that even deep-seated emotional problems could be exorcised by exposure to the clear light of reason. In this respect Kidd was more like Jung than Freud.) E. Ray Lankester also defended rational science against anti-empirical attack. Kidd had confused the Social Darwinism of individual scientists such as Galton, Pearson and Bateson with the legitimate methods of modern science, which had produced 'unassailable achievements', and which were capable of exciting emotion in the search for truth and the elimination of suffering, entailing sacrifice of self and devotion to the common good.⁴⁸ A number of critics felt that Kidd's style clouded rather than clarified such issues:

Mr. Kidd has the power of making one listen for a chapter or two, but it is difficult to pursue his arguments to the finish. In his hands the science of politics, the whole range of sociology, becomes a matter of names, labels, assumptions, and eclectic historical proofs. Moreover, he writes in jargon, and very limited jargon at that. After a few pages one is heartily tired of 'social integrations', 'the emotion of the ideal', 'projected efficiency', and the like, and a longing for plain English comes over the fast wearying reader.⁴⁹

Few 'heavyweight' intellectuals bothered to notice his last

work. Frederick Harrison dismissed it contemptuously as 'disguised Positivism':

Mr. Kidd's former work in 1902 [*Principles of Western Civilisation*] was described by a hostile critic as 'sonorous fatuity', as 'big phrases blown around empty bubbles'. Of this volume the language is less incoherent, at times is lucid enough, and there are some passages of real eloquence. But the fuliginous mask of common-place remains; the parading of truisms as super-scientific sublimities is as droll as ever; and almost every sentence, many of which state obvious facts, is clothed with grotesque exaggeration. This is the hour of megaphonics and megalomania.⁵⁰

The Oxford philosopher F.C.S. Schiller, exponent of 'pragmatic humanism',⁵¹ was sarcastic about Kidd's 'Hymn to an Unknown God, a god, it would seem, with an enormous appetite for sacrifices, particularly of kids.' Schiller opposed Anglo-Hegelian Idealism, with which Kidd had considerable sympathy. Schiller found wanting Kidd's terminology: 'though he is lavish of definitions (in italics too!), it is quite hard to discover what Mr. Kidd means by "power", and what he wants us to do with it when we have got it'. A eugenist, Schiller defended eugenics against Kidd's 'errors':

As every schoolmaster knows, the finest fruits of 'cultural inheritance' are impotent to tempt the porcine appetites of the born fool; and even if the average society now contains intelligence enough to teach its young and to transmit its cultural inheritance, it does not follow that it can continue to do this, if it allows its native wits to deteriorate indefinitely.

Schiller accused Kidd of being 'impenitently wrong' on Darwinism: 'He must often have had it pointed out to him that his restriction of its application to the individual is utterly unwarranted. Darwinism is primarily a method and its scope is universal.' Kidd was being biologically simplistic in asserting that the most efficient killers came to dominate a race genetically. In any ecological competition there were dozens of possible outcomes: no one can tell at a glance who is the real and the ultimate victor of a fight biologically; especially if we recognize that ideas and institutions, cultural inheritance and civilizations are also subject to natural selection and instruments thereof. When barbarians overrun a higher culture, it regularly overcomes them, tames, and not infrequently, destroys them. When a higher or more attractive culture comes into contact with a lower and harder, it transforms and softens it. . . The popular politician's 'Darwinism' is an absurd caricature which is equally mischievous to a scientific attitude towards social phenomena, whether it is adopted or denounced.⁵²

Science of Power appealed more to a socialist eugenist like Caleb Saleeby, an old colleague of Kidd in the Sociological Society, and one who had fought the hard-line conservatives within the Eugenics Society.⁵³ Saleeby complained that Galton and his 'extreme followers' had excluded 'nurture' from eugenics. Kidd tended to the opposite extreme in underestimating the importance of inborn heredity: 'But it is none the less a lasting service that he should have insisted upon the importance – not exclusive, as he urges, yet immense and indispensable - of what we usually call mental and moral education.' Kidd's blueprint for directive cultural conditioning aroused fewer fears in a dedicated social reformer like Saleeby than it did among liberals. The influence of social heredity was transcendent in the human species, 'provided always – and this is cardinal – that it be applied to the young, the plastic, educable, receptive, adaptable young'. Woman would indeed play a key role in this process. Saleeby had himself in 1911 in Woman and Womanhood anticipated Kidd: 'I defined woman's part in the world of advancing life in terms which he has practically duplicated. I called her "Nature's supreme organ and trustee of the future". He calls her the "Custodian of the future", and draws from this same conclusion a lesson, for the moral sphere, which I drew for the physical sphere.'54

Others were sceptical of Kidd's 'woman as saviour' theme. The Victorian cult of woman, intensified by feminism, had idealised woman as the source of moral inspiration, so that

Kidd in one sense merely scientised current platitudes. But his claim for the superiority of woman over 'the fighting male of the west' raised both biological and philosophical doubts. True, Darwin had accorded woman greater intuitive powers than the male, 'greater tenderness and less selfishness', mainly because of her maternal instincts. But in general he held her faculties to represent an earlier stage of evolution: 'Man is more courageous, pugnacious and energetic than woman, and has a more inventive genius.'⁵⁵ The conventional Darwinist view still persisted in 1918, even though biologists were becoming increasingly sceptical about it. Kidd, however, seemed to be pushing biology to the opposite sexist pole.

Nature declared Kidd's sexual theory flawed:

We cannot believe that all the good qualities of women are sexlinked, continued only in the daughters of the house. Much more probable is the view that the fundamentals of a fine character are heritable, to either sex or from either sex, like a sound physical constitution or beautiful features, yet find different expressions according as they develop in man or woman.⁵⁶

Elizabeth Simpins pointed out that, even with respect to the aspirations of the women's movement itself, Kidd's 'bold line of interpretation' ran into difficulties:

One great claim of the feminist movement is for more individuality and less subordination to the long-range interests of the species. Again, in woman's part there has been very little consciousness of any 'emotion of the ideal', or of renunciation for any other than closely personal ends . . . it cannot be assumed with any certainty that the creative and conservative drive of maternity is thus transmutable to the purpose of a social ideal.⁵⁷

E.S. Waterhouse, who described Kidd as a 'brilliant and independent thinker', agreed that woman, now on the threshold of the powers of citizenship, could render tremendous service in the new order of civilisation:

But when all this has been conceded, one is left with the sense that the mere Emotion of the Ideal is poorly equipped to struggle alone against the entrenched defensive works of instinctive self-assertion, and that the feminine nature, though cast in another mould, is made of the same clay as that of man.⁵⁸

The Westminster Gazette argued that women's emotions, like men's, had the defects of their qualities: 'If they are generous and disinterested, passion and prejudice and combativeness are by no means excluded from them.' Nor did women alone project themselves into an altruistic future. Men and women alike had ideals for which they would lay down their lives, whether for the nation, the heavenly city, or some vision of humanity made perfect: 'Condorcet and Giordano Bruno were as constant in their faith as any virgin martyr. It was Aristotle who said that, being mortals, we should seek as far as possible to live the life of immortals. . . The analysis which assigns emotion to women, and reason to men, is radically imperfect.'⁵⁹

Liberal alarm was also expressed over Kidd's blueprint for the future of humankind. Thus *The Times's* reviewer:

There is material ready to Mr. Kidd's hand in the general longing for a change of heart in the world. It may be that his demands are the price we should have to pay for this. But what repels us in his plan is that it is so like the method of his enemies. His altruism is really a higher Prussianism. It begins with an 'iron ethic of renunciation', and ends in a mentality imposed from without. 'Power, always power' is his watchword. While he deplores in modern militarism the conscription of the body, he himself is proposing the conscription of the soul.⁶⁰

The Westminster Gazette warned its readers that

All the good and all the bad men of history have known that the way to govern men or women was to touch their hearts, to kindle their imaginations, to appeal to a collective emotion which took them outside themselves into the life of the nation, or the life of the world to come. Napoleon knew it, the Kaiser knows it, every demagogue and hustling newspaper-proprietor works in these days on the emotions of the crowd, and tells reason to go hang... Modern Germany is an instance of how a Government can, by capturing

education and controlling the Press, turn the collective emotion of a whole people in a comparatively short time to a selfish and violent national ideal. The example makes us shiver, and suggests the thought that any body of men who captured the machine of Government might similarly control masses of people to sinister ends. And when Mr. Kidd talks of such an effort being consciously made, and assumes that, except in Germany, Governments could be trusted to direct it rightly, we begin to have doubts, and something in us rebels against treating human material as clay in the hands of these potters.⁶¹

As with Social Evolution, the critics detected serious theoretical shortcomings in Science of Power. Kidd had embarked on new seas, but in the same wickerwork basket. Nature, in a generally fair account of the book, summed it up as 'a vigorous, sometimes impassioned, statement of convictions, rather than a reasoned argument... We must say that we find in it what seems to us examples of exaggeration, false antithesis, and simplicist formulation; nevertheless, it is a rousing book of unmistakable sincerity and earnestness of conviction.'62 The message behind the kinder words of the academic critics was clear. The magnum opus had not come off. Kidd - referred to quite often as a forgotten or nearforgotten figure – had not won his niche in the hall of fame. At the same time his idealism and integrity made an impact. He had something to say, it seemed, to a war-torn world and civilisation. As one of the more generous commentators, E.S. Waterhouse, saw it:

His last message, the *Science of Power*, is one of those books which will cause the thoughts out of many hearts to be revealed. To a world at the crossways it is an urgent challenge. It can be denied, but not dismissed. It is original, suggestive, and stimulating, but it has an even greater significance. It presents us with what William James called 'a forced option'. If Mr. Kidd is right, Western civilization is fundamentally wrong. The inherent conservatism which attaches all of us in some degree to the social order in which we have grown up, hesitates to accept such a mental revolution. Yet it is not easy to read the *Science of Power* and write it down as the phantasy of an

astigmatic mind. Whether we accept Mr. Kidd's argument or not, it is one of those thrusts which cut deeply into our established sentiments and prejudices.⁶³

He was guilty, as the scholars suggested, of the heresy of the perfectibility of man. He was utopian. But, as H.G. Wells had once told Kidd, what was life without utopias? 'The human mind has always accomplished progress by its construction of Utopias.'⁶⁴

There seems no need to document in melancholic detail Kidd's posthumous decline into obscurity. (The reader is referred to the appendix for a brief account of Kidd historiography since 1915.) He may have presented the world with William James's 'forced option', but the world perversely went its way, as it has done with other doomsdayers from H.G. Wells to Alvin Toffler. Why his reputation sagged after the Great War is not entirely clear. George Orwell noted the generation gap after the holocaust: 'so far as the younger generation was concerned, the official beliefs were dissolving like sand-castles. The slump in religious belief, for instance, was spectacular.⁶⁵ Kidd's religious faith and reputation as an imperialist must have seemed very old-fashioned to this younger generation. The war discredited Social Darwinism, Anglo-Saxonism, and utopianism, and he was associated in the popular mind with all three. What was less widely recognised was his own sense of alienation by 1916. The cataclysm had shattered his confidence that the western races were evolving towards a state of higher ethical and humanitarian character. At the end he repudiated the west's imperial expansion, the scramble for colonies: 'one of the most pernicious and reactionary developments which has characterised the Western world for five centuries'. For its occurrence he blamed genetic theories of white superiority, and he blasted western capitalism for generating an inherent economic drive towards imperialism. Capitalism created monolithic trusts and a climate of economic warfare that led to world war. He also blamed the legacy of Darwinism. Having once proclaimed Darwinism as a mindexploding revolution, the basis of an holistic science of society, he now damned it for decomposing the frame of reference of western culture and reviving primal anarchies. He fiercely denounced the conflict model of Social Darwinism – a model with which he had himself been rather unfairly identified – because under the auspices of scientists like Haeckel, or eugenists like Pearson, it had abrogated morality in favour of success, justice in favour of expediency, and liberty in favour of militarism and authoritarianism.

Science of Power should have been popular, indeed was briefly popular, in the disillusioned post-war ethos. It indicted western civilisation and all of those false doctrines of force, will-to-power and greed that had led to world catastrophe. These false doctrines included 'the futilities of Eugenics, ignorantly endeavouring to construct a science of civilisation out of Darwinism of the animal', and the evasions of sociology, which ignored the problems both of monopoly capitalism and the exploited colonial races. However Science of Power made no long-term impact. Indeed later commentators frequently wrote about Kidd as if he had never written the book. Why did it fail? Possibly because it was long on rhetoric and short on pragmatics; possibly also because, while his bleakness suited the mood of the 1920s, his ethical utopianism, didacticism, and lingering attachment to an evolutionary doctrine of progress did not. A similar fate overcame H.G. Wells. The 1920s saw writers like Kidd and Wells cast aside by the literati in favour of the more sophisticated concerns of Aldous Huxley, D.H. Lawrence, James Joyce, and the modernist movement at large. In the next decade the Depression encouraged the rise of ideological literature, both left and right, far removed from Kidd's liberalwelfarism. His fantasy of the 'emotion of the ideal' was overtaken by the reality of Hitler's and Stalin's thought-police. His irrationalism, with its benevolent social goal, paled into insignificance beside the organised irrationalisms of the totalitarian state, or those of corporate capitalism. He had himself

prophesied that Darwinist reductionism would lead not only to authoritarianism but to capitalist materialism. The twentieth-century partnership of consumer economics with behaviourist psychology that underlay much commercial, and other, manipulation and depreciation of people would not have surprised him. By 1940 he was practically forgotten, although his ideas were occasionally displayed, like intellectual fossils, by writers on political science or sociology.

It is hardly enough to say in memory of Kidd that, on the evidence, he was a good and decent man, with an ideal vision. Good and decent men, with ideal visions, have been prolific breeders of highly dangerous social doctrines. Those who prefer liberal, humane politics to humourless social engineering or doctrinaire statecraft may well question whether his ideas did not have distinctly authoritarian potential: with his crabbed concept of reason, his exaltation of society over the individual and the future over the present,66 plus his call for wholesale social conditioning using the 'emotion of the ideal'. Furthermore, he may be seen to have contributed to the modern fashion for sweeping socio-biological theories that portray humankind as determined and imprisoned by iron laws of evolution, theories that play down man's capacity for versatile behaviour, individual choice, peaceful and creative social achievement. He loved to write about irresistible movements powered by strong biological undercurrents. His inclinations were universalistic. Individuals tended to become atoms caught in the flux of momentous forces. On the other hand, it should be remembered on his behalf that he was an 'elevationist' rather than a 'reductionist' about human behaviour. True, man was governed by biological laws (he said). But this did not imply that human behaviour could be simplistically explained by reference to animal behaviour, or to governing inborn instincts or unchangeable genetic codes. Indeed he tended to swing to the other extreme, to say that social evolution had enabled man largely to emancipate himself from animal origins and primal instincts. Although he minimised the role of reason in this progress – although he

believed that man's inherent genetic intelligence had not changed much in recent history - he stressed the rapid development of man's capacity for social sympathy, mutualist endeavour and moral action. He in fact put forward an early version of Teilhard de Chardin's concept of the 'noosphere' of the future: by which man's self-consciousness, powers of communication, cooperation, and cognition enabled him to transcend the limits of physical evolution, thus opening up vast possibilities of a cosmic movement towards wider community and, ultimately, oneness with the divine. In Kidd's more hopeful moments he shared H.G. Wells's poetic vision of an almost God-like future race, 'when beings now latent in our thoughts and hidden in our loins will stand upon this earth as one stands upon a footstool, and laugh, and reach out their hands amid the stars'. In this Kidd was very much a man of his time. When that time changed and global war arrived, he modified his theory and postulated a fatal bi-polarity within the process of social evolution, a dialectic clash between the titanic forces of primal recidivism and civilised morality. That formulation has since been worked and re-worked by commentators until it has become a cliché.

Turn-of-the-century thought was ambiguous, complex, confused. At least much of it was, often the more important side. Kidd is most profitably interpreted as reflecting the ambiguities of that age, its intellectual defects and evasions as well as its lasting perceptions, new insights, and exploratory temper, its apocalyptic sense of change and crisis, its historicist tendency, its millennarian hopes. He was of course no quintessential *fin de siècle* figure (how many were in that multi-layered age?). His 'mix' of ideas and attitudes was recognised at the time as exaggeratedly idiosyncratic, a curious blend of traditional and new, other men's ideas and his own, couched in unique style (not to our taste, but demonstrably effective then) and with his own spiky independence.

His urge to shock, to create a new gestalt by working through untested intuition was very 'modern', although his conclusions did not necessarily appeal as *avant garde*. All sorts of contemporary tensions surfaced in his career. Especially early, but residually throughout his life, he showed a practical confidence in the power of positivistic science to reveal universal laws. This was very nineteenth century, reminiscent of Comte and Spencer (despite his dislike for Comte's 'rational religion' and Spencer's anti-social individualism). Although he did not in fact use rigorous scientific methods in his speculations, he wrote as if he did, as if he were on the verge of discovering the ultimate synthesis of all knowledge. Men's faith in a 'secret key' to knowledge, revealed by a rational and objective science, took a battering in the new century, socially as confidence wavered about the inevitability of progress based on mechanistic and materialistic values, theoretically as relativistic physics questioned the whole foundation of traditional Newtonian science. The search for the 'final synthesis' through positivist science began to seem almost as occult as the theosophist's quest for the 'secret key' (even though scepticism did not extinguish either movement). Kidd himself steadily lost respect for positivist science. He abandoned even the pretence of using a rigorous scientific methodology, and towards the end seemed much closer to the theosophists and mystics – and the artists – of the age. Such a transition was easier to make in view of the centrality of irrationalism in his theory of social evolution. Ultimately he broke all of his early idols, even rejecting Darwin and all of his works.

In this respect Kidd heralded a persistent twentieth-century search for alternative modes of life to that of secular materialism. In many ways he was an early 'counter-culturist'.⁶⁷ He wanted a massive shift of human consciousness away from the dominating values of mammon, ego, agnostic science. His aspiration – like that of men such as Henri Bergson, William James, Carl Jung, and Teilhard de Chardin – was to harness the creative energies within man, to liberate the forces of the inner life to make a better, more rewarding existence for mankind. Intellect had failed man. Only by appeal to the deeper-rooted 'emotion of the ideal', to man's capacity for self-transcendence, linked to the idea of spirit and higher

consciousness, could man become capable of the renunciation needed to live the truly social life in a truly social polity. If Kidd foreshadowed the totalitarians, he also foreshadowed the twentieth-century revolt against empiricism and technology and the search for a new consciousness.

Appendix: Kidd historiography since 1915

L.M. Bristol (1915) classified Kidd as a 'neo-Darwinian sociologist'. Like Nietzsche he was 'hyper-imaginative and dogmatic, presenting mere hypotheses with the certitude of well-established scientific. facts, and reading into these hypotheses their own interpretations'. His 'air of authority and use of superlatives tend to make the unsophisticated believe that the ultimate truth in social philosophy has at last been discovered'. Bristol contended that Kidd rigidly applied Weismann's teachings to social progress 'with sole emphasis on natural selection as the method of progress', degeneration following from cessation of competition and general breeding. Kidd applied this to individuals as well as to classes, nations and races (cf. Semmel below). 'He pictures the misery of the exploited classes in industrial centres and seems to feel that all this is natural and necessary, - necessary for the good of the social organism with special emphasis of unborn generations' - a picture which is surprisingly followed later by the theory that racial progress depends upon social efficiency rather than natural selection, and that a growing egalitarianism marks social evolution and is traceable to altruistic sentiments generated by the west's religious system. 'He does not furnish a shred of evidence that this [altruistic] feeling is due to selection rather than the increase of cooperation, intercourse and education.' Bristol denied that 'projected efficiency' was warranted by Weismann's Duration of Life. Kidd's chief error was in supposing that 'a quality can be of advantage to the species which is not at the same time of advantage to the great majority of individuals that compose it at any one time'.

Bristol helped perpetuate the myth of Kidd as a fatalistic accepter of social misery as biologically necessary, finding no role for rational reform of conditions and invoking religion to keep the masses to their hard lot. However his criticisms of Kidd's methodology were more accurate:

Mr. Kidd's chief contributions to the development of the doctrine of adaptation are (1) emphasis on the development by inter-group conflict of the social and moral qualities which make for group strength thus affording a wholesome antidote to Nietzsche; (2) the value he places on religion as a factor in group survival; (3) his criticism of the over-emphasis on the intellectual element in social progress as in the writings of Buckle, though here he is weak in failing to appreciate the value of the intellect in active social adaptation: and (4) his doctrine of projected efficiency which, though untenable as formulated by him, is most suggestive especially as a principle of social control... The most serious objections to Kidd's social philosophy are (1) his use of the deductive and analogical method almost exclusively, rather than the inductive; (2) his loose, inconsistent use of biological formulae as applied to social progress; (3) his hyper-acute imagination which reads into biological theories what was never intended by the author; (4) his dogmatic setting forth of mere hypotheses as assured laws; (5) his use of the term organism to include the future, for there can be no organism apart from organisation; and (6) his conception of reason as diametrically opposed to faith on the one hand and to everything that does not favor narrow self-interest on the other. This is due to his failure to recognize the function of the self-regarding sentiment as it expands to include ever wider circles of individuals with whom self-interest is identified. Just as reason leads us to deny ourselves a present for a future enjoyment, and one that is sensual for one that is intellectual, so it may lead us to deny an egoistic satisfaction for one that comes as a result of success to our club, church or state.1

Harry Elmer Barnes (1922), sociologist and revisionist historian of World War I, positioned Kidd within a definable intellectual tradition, not one that he approved of as a rationalist, but which he recognised as important. Kidd had developed Walter Bagehot's socio-biological theory (Physics and Politics, 1869) that the group had in the early stages of evolution dominated the individual through the operation of custom, and that the customary restraint on the individual had gradually disappeared with the rise of more liberal systems. Kidd, 'the first important English sociological writer after Herbert Spencer', disagreed with Bagehot's view 'that the domination of the group over the individual was merely a necessary primordial discipline for the race'. Instead he maintained 'that group restraint is the basic mainspring of social progress, while the freedom of individual initiative is a highly disintegrative force which has always endangered the very existence of society'.² Like Vico and Hegel before him, Kidd found in religion the supra-rational govern-

APPENDIX: KIDD HISTORIOGRAPHY SINCE 1915

ing force in human development required to constrain the individual, who otherwise followed the dictates of egoistic and anti-social reason. His doctrine was one of the earliest examples of that reaction against recognition of reason's social role so annoying to philosophers such as Hobhouse:

Kidd's specific variety of anti-intellectualism is generally held to be grotesque, but that should not be allowed to obscure the fact that his general position is in accord with one of the two chief schools of social philosophy. It remained for writers like Durkheim, McDougall, and Trotter to discover the real super-rational force in the gregarious or 'herd' instinct, for Wallas to provide a tentative synthesis of rational and instinctive forces operating in society, and for Ward and Hobhouse to prove reason the higher and superior principle and the one upon which the future progress of society depends.

Barnes, a radical, was cynical that religiously inspired humanitarianism had in fact softened the atavistic instincts of the powerholding classes in history: 'This idealistic picture really is amusing when one compares it with the actual conditions under which the reform legislation was accomplished with its ultimate basis in the struggles of opposed vested interests; and the alleged tender conscience of political majorities is not less conspicuous as an observed fact.' Barnes judged Kidd's economic imperialism to be realistic. However 'the terrible suffering and the exploitation of native peoples by white conquerors and proprietors took on a benevolent cast with Kidd, in the light of his law of projected efficiency. It all helps to produce a better human race in the future by intensifying the struggle for existence.'3 Barnes criticised Kidd's arbitrary concept of reason, his a priori methodology in which assumptions were verified 'through an appeal to the concrete facts of history, which he treats with the same easy legerdemain that he had already employed with metaphysics, psychology and biology', and his 'utter failure to look for historic facts which run counter to his theories'. He was said to have omitted artificial selection from his consideration, and neglected the importance of cooperation in evolution. Barnes superficially noted a change of orientation in Kidd's last book, in which he 'reverses his point of view and holds that the struggle for existence produces degeneration. For this and religion he would substitute the neo-Comtian view of the "emotion of the ideal" through an increase of the power of woman in society'. Barnes's judgments on Kidd (and other British thinkers of the time) were to be read by generations of

students in his popular works, including *Introduction to the History* of Sociology (1945), and in the works of textbook writers who paraphrased him.⁴

Social scientists focussed upon the role Kidd assigned to suprarational factors and social conditioning. William McDougall (1920) repeated his earlier belief that there was a large, if overstated, element of truth in Kidd's view that the prime social function of any system of supernatural sanctions was the regulation and support of the parental instinct against the effects of developing intelligence.⁵ Graham Wallas (1921) saw the affinity between his own concept of 'social heritage' - knowledge and habits handed down from generation to generation by the social process of teaching and learning - and Kidd's 'social inheritance', used in a similar sense by James Mark Baldwin as 'social heredity', J.B. Watson as 'phylogenetic habit', and H.G. Wells as 'tradition'.⁶ R.M. Mclver (1921) attacked 'projected efficiency' and sacrifice of the present to the future as a false ideal that had dangerous consequences because it suggested 'that the welfare of society can be attained apart from the welfare of its members, in fact through the sacrifice of its members'.⁷

Pitirim Sorokin (1928), Russian-born, American-domiciled sociologist, described Kidd's as one of the most general of prevailing psycho-sociologistic theories dealing with the function of belief and religion. Others included those of Le Bon, Sorel, Durkheim, Frazer, and Weber.⁸ He thought to be dubious the Kidd–Durkheim hypothesis that religion created and expanded social solidarity:

Judging, as these theories do, on the basis of the surface of phenomena, one may obviously see that religion in some cases serves as an instrument of solidarity; but in other cases as an instrument of mutual animosity, warfare and struggle (persecution and torturing of the peoples of a different religion, their spoliation, religious wars, religious antagonisms, conflicts and so forth).

No more valid was Kidd's assumption that science and the intellect were purely egotistical agencies. Sorokin managed to categorise Kidd as a leading spokesman of the opposite opinions (a) that superrational beliefs had been increasing in the course of history and (b) that the west was becoming more brutal, warlike and rapacious than ever, returning to the 'religion' of force, cruelty, and slaughter. No discrimination was made between the Kidd of 1894 and 1916.

Crane Brinton (1933) found contradiction between Kidd's Weismannism, which should have committed him to 'Nature red in tooth and claw' and ruthless suppression of the weak, and his altruistic sympathies for humanitarianism, democracy, and welfarism. 'Projected efficiency' was to Brinton 'a higher mysticism'. 'We must consciously sacrifice ourselves, consciously accept limitations (including, presumably, our immediate annihilation if something or somebody decides we are unfit) in order that the future may be better than the past.' Brinton's influential textbook portraved Kidd as a complacent supporter of Anglo-Saxon imperialism, a man who contrived to use biology to save religion from the positivists, and whose political impact was largely 'Tory': 'Kidd's readers were no doubt even more impressed by his defence of competition than by his attempts to gloss over competition with satisfying ethical generalities.' Brinton's view, common in the aftermath of Nazism, was that gene theory necessarily bred authoritarian politics,⁹ and that Kidd's confusions arose by trying to meld gene theory with the more liberal concept of cultural evolution. Brinton was surprised that Kidd was not a genetic racist, as his germ plasm doctrine would suggest. Instead he explained racial differences in terms of social inheritance. Man's accumulated stock of knowledge 'enables us, as social animals, to live a life quite different from that of warring atomic individuals, a fact which Kidd himself was quite willing to admit. It permits us to abrogate, as he himself wanted us to abrogate, the crude struggle to survive.' Brinton (like Hofstadter) neglected Kidd's later divorce of physical and cultural evolution and repudiation of eugenist genetics in favour of wholesale social reform. He ignored the 'unfinished'(!) Science of Power, declaring Kidd to be a 'man of one book', writing little else, and that not important (a verdict often to resurface in textbooks). That one book he said 'has in it nothing of the twentieth century', a curious evaluation for a work that dealt with socialism, welfarism, and western expansionism.¹⁰

Richard Hofstadter (1944) perceived Kidd to be attempting a marriage of collectivist sentiment with anti-Lamarckian genetics, two new currents in the intellectual atmosphere of the 1890s that provoked a change in the tone of evolutionary apologetics. He used a Weismannist structure to 'reconcile the competitive process, natural selection, and the trend towards legislative reform initiated by the new protest'. The altruistic impulse, which was sanctioned super-

rationally, operated to strengthen the lower and weaker against the higher and wealthier classes. Social legislation stimulated competitive tension, increasing the social efficiency of western society – the 'best possible answer' to the threat of socialism. Paradoxically, as state interference widened, mankind moved further away from socialism. From all this progressive movement would come a 'new democracy' higher than anything yet attained in the history of the race. It was, said Hofstadter, 'a peculiar mixture of obscurantism, reformism, Christianity, and social Darwinism that Kidd offered his thousands of readers'.¹¹

Bernard Semmel (1960) saw Kidd and Karl Pearson as the two leading exponents of what he called 'external Social-Darwinism', a social doctrine that arose out of the collectivist spirit of the 1880s to challenge Spencer's laissez-faire theory of 'internal Social-Darwinism'. He noted, plausibly, the parallels between Kidd and Pearson: Kidd's call for the sacrifice of individual interests on behalf of a greater national and imperial ideal, his call for a lessening of Spencerean competition between individuals and the provision of a society of equal opportunity; and Pearson's advocacy of 'intragroup' social homogeneity as a pre-condition for competing successfully in the 'extra-group' struggle between nations, the most important biological mechanism to ensure progress. Although not fully appreciative of the differences between Kidd and Pearson, Semmel emphasised Kidd's 'milder' brew of imperialism, nationalism, and racism, and his suspicion of Pearson's authoritarian socialism ('Kidd had selected as his chief enemies both individualism and socialism'). Social Evolution was a book of the time, making Kidd a leading figure in British sociology and placing him, for a while, in the forefront of political life (a rare reference in the literature to his tariff-reform crusade): 'in his charting of the future course of social reform and the conflict between the "races" of Europe, in his raising of the banner of social efficiency, he anticipated much which the next twenty years would bring to England'. Nor did Semmel miss the significance of Kidd's last work:

The first of the English sociologists to alter the direction of Social-Darwinism from its Spencerian path, [he] lived to regret his association with the 'science of power'. . . In a view of brilliant anticipation of things to come, Kidd set his curse upon 'those who have imagined that the greatest revolution in the history of humanity' lay implicit in Pearson's eugenic religion 'could it only be applied to the world by the methods of the German General Staff?'.¹²

Michael Freeden (1978) provided perhaps the most sophisticated short analysis of Kidd in recent times, placing him, with certain reservations, within the 'new liberal' tradition of the later nineteenth century that was repudiating competition and struggle as an exclusive social ethic. Huxley's Romanes Lecture of 1893 and Social Evolution were two almost simultaneous events that 'helped to speed the new liberal ideology on its course'. Social-biological arguments opposed to the conflict model of Spencer and other Social Darwinists had already maintained 'that natural processes of development were leading to increased co-operation which replaced the evolutionary mechanism of competition'. Kidd's was an 'original variation' of the struggle for survival theme: progress depended upon constant selection, but human development required the subordination of individual to group interests. The super-rational sanction for altruism was supplied by religion, thus overcoming the danger posed by rationalistic theories such as socialism, committed to present welfare over the future interests of the race. 'By justifying social legislation Christianity created the conditions for an equality of opportunity which would admit all to the rivalry of life and refine the efficiency of such rivalry. Here was the ultimate ideology of social efficiency . . . for the fittest were those most successful when competition started from the same point.' Kidd seemed to some liberals to be staking out a legitimate middle ground between old-style liberalism and socialism, preserving a basic ethos of self-reliance in combination 'with what seemed to be a very humane attitude to social evils'. However 'his ideal of welfare, in contrast to the new liberal one, subsisted on two time levels: an inclusive, universal approach towards the welfare of the masses up to the point where they could compete efficiently with all, and insensibility to problems of individual welfare once this point was passed'.

Freeden endorsed the suspicion of contemporaries such as Hobson that Kidd was being 'essentially illiberal' in denying a rational basis to progress. Kidd's 'reason' was really Hobbes's unenlightened selfinterest, lacking faith in the individual's capacity consciously to accept the claims of the wider social organism. He was led to a false dichotomy between the individual and society. Other aspects of Kidd's thought were potentially authoritarian:

Was it democratic in spirit to admit the grievances of the masses but to overrule them on the ground of long-term considerations of the good of future generations? Was it not part of the doctrine of self-determination that each generation had the privilege of defining and discovering its own good irrespective of previous or future goods? Kidd's alternative was illiberal inasmuch as he removed the element of choice from human action or, rather, circumvented choice by tracing the inevitable development of irrational religion – the only alternative to which was self-destruction. . . Democracy in Kidd's hands, was an instrument of social efficiency, detached from its ethical function as the optimal expression of the dignity of man.¹³

Freeden's point may be taken. Kidd's universalistic theories did generate a kind of insensitivity to the fate of individuals, atoms caught in the flux of momentous forces. But the view that Kidd's future-oriented theory 'blended into the spartan "Protestant Ethic" in its stress on deferment of satisfaction' underestimates his emphasis on the need for present amelioration of social evils, a process that was being constantly hastened by the natural development of altruism and cooperation within the evolutionary process itself. He was much more in favour of a presently acting welfare state, with broad-ranging powers, than Freeden implies. Nor was social efficiency his only, or prime, value. A more charitable view of Kidd's individualism, taking into account his later works (beyond Freeden's scope), would argue perhaps that Kidd retained competition for reasons of individual vitality and diversity, and even the broadening of social choices. He hoped that as societies entered a more altruistic-ethical phase people would voluntarily make renunciations that benefitted later generations and humankind as a whole. Humankind would choose (perhaps emotionally rather than cerebrally) to be socially responsible, not only to present generations, but, even more importantly in his view, to those who have to bear the consequences of present actions. (Conservationist philosophy now commonly expounds this value.) Men did not stunt themselves by taking such perspectives, but would in fact expand their sensibilities and personalities. Selfhood would become neighbourhood, community-hood, ultimately human brotherhood and beyond. The individual's capacity for self-expression and creative endeavour, as for self-transcendence and spiritual self-realisation, would be enhanced.

Robert C. Bannister (1979) offered a perceptive interpretation of Kidd's role in American Social Darwinism. Although ungenerous in

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some of his comments (he described *Social Evolution* as a 'ninetyday wonder', a book that 'almost everyone disliked on secondthought', an early example of 'pop sociology' that won its author 'the sort of instant recognition that confounds and embarrasses later generations'), Bannister treated Kidd's ideas in the round, recognising that their ambiguities explained both the adulation and animus of readers. Despite Kidd's 'appallingly uncomplicated' Weismannian thesis that progress depended upon selection, and thus competition – a thesis that led Henry Demarest Lloyd to say that 'he promised the business system a new lease of life and authority by his philosophy of struggle' – Bannister concluded by placing Kidd generally in the tradition of reform Darwinism:

In reality, Kidd was neither an individualist nor a socialist, as these terms were used through the eighties, but rather a link between the earlier liberalism of a William Graham Sumner and the mood in which America produced progressivism. Rather than speaking for business . . . Kidd spoke for the British equivalent of Sumner's 'forgotten man' – the middle-class citizen who by the midnineties was willing to accept some change as inevitable, but as Kidd described him had 'no indication as to the direction in which the right path lies'.

Bannister saw Kidd's principal enemy to be, not socialism, but utilitarianism. 'Although critical of Marx's "thoroughly materialistic" philosophy, Kidd defended the notion of the exploitation of labour against counterattacks from Alfred Marshall and the "younger school of economists", who instead stressed the role of the entrepreneur.' Kidd's target was the utilitarian tradition from Hobbes and Locke to Spencer: 'Despite their differences, these thinkers shared the common assumption that society was created through a multiplicity of decisions that were both individual and rational. Kidd challenged this assumption . . . the heart of Kidd's thesis was that *reason* (which he defined as selfish and individualistic) led either to a destructive individualism or debilitating socialism, both of which he condemned.' However he did not break completely with utilitarianism, mainly because he could not conceive a radical alternative, 'perhaps because he lacked contact with a tradition of philosophic idealism, certainly because he lacked Weber's genius'. He re-stated traditional liberalism, based on equality of opportunity, in the light of the radical critiques of Marxism and American reformers such as Henry George and

Edward Bellamy. His 'social efficiency' anticipated the regulatory state that was to develop by 1914: 'Regulation was the means: social efficiency the end; and humanitarianism the guiding spirit. Such were the contours of a New Liberalism that was neither individualistic nor socialistic.'

In an interesting appraisal, Bannister discerned ambivalences in Kidd's attitudes to science. He was both deeply suspicious of science, which was corrosive of traditional community and society, reductionist and socially irresponsible, but also assigned it a crucial role in shaping a new order:

However paradoxically, the discovery of the ultrarational sanction was the product of the reason of the social critic. The sociologist must be 'unbiased' (a favourite word of Kidd), and must rid himself of 'pre-conceived ideas'. Science, in the person of Huxley, abdicated this role. It left 'human history as a bewildering exception to the reign of universal law – a kind of solitary and mysterious island in the midst of the cosmos given over to strife of forces without clue or meaning'. The alternative was not irrationalism however. Kidd demanded a 'more radical method' for the social sciences, not the abandonment of science but a more thoroughgoing application of scientific method – thus anticipating a growing recognition of the roles of emotion and imagination in science. Furthermore, the ultrarational sanction was really a deeper form of reason... Kidd made a sociological breakthrough of sorts . . . the goal of sociology, whether practiced by Spencer or Ward, was the discovery of laws that somehow linked society to human physiology or psychology. Although critical of classical economics and utilitarianism, sociology remained doggedly reductionist, since society ultimately reduced to man's animal or psychic needs. In stressing the ultrarational sanction, Kidd insisted that society was more than a congerie of individual wills, something different even from Spencer's social organism. In a sense the ultrarational sanction was a crude formulation of the Protestant ethic, which Max Weber would soon delineate more skillfully.¹⁴

Greta Jones (1980), in a generally fair account of Kidd's theories, saw his as an effort to 'humanise' Weismann's biology, an ingenious argument 'to justify an altruistic basis for human social behaviour and the ultimate value of social reform'. *Social Evolution* marked a watershed separating one tradition of Social Darwinism from another:

It was the first of a series of reappraisals of the theory of the evolution of rationality made familiar by Stephen, Ritchie and Bagehot. This reappraisal was a rediscovery of the persistence in social life of irrationality, or of the less tendentious concept Kidd used, ultra-rational or non-rational conduct. It was also an attempt to explain its survival by the use of Darwinian analogies.

She found reasons for this change in the political climate of the 1890s and 1900s. Comparison was made between Kidd's account of the role of instinct in society and that of Lorenz ('there is nothing left in civilised society which could prevent retrograde evolution except our *non-rational sense of values*'). For Lorenz (as for Kidd) society existed to satisfy deep instinctive needs for sociability (Jones does not make clear, however, Kidd's reservation that even 'deep instinctive needs' were often socially acquired). She recognised that cultural evolution underpinned Kidd's racial concepts, while properly pointing out that ideas of 'moral evolution' were nonetheless highly ethnocentric.¹⁵

The simplistic textbook image of Kidd is perhaps best conveyed in a few provocative samples. Martindale (1961) declared confidently that Kidd used the conflict theory 'to justify just about everything in the *status quo* as good because it has survived'.¹⁶ Textbooks on empire commonly categorised him as a strident advocate of aggressive imperialism justified on the biological superiority of the white races. Curtin (1971), a leading American scholar of imperialism, devoted a section in his widely used reader to Kidd, under the significant chapter heading: 'The "Scientific" Roots: Nineteenth-Century Racism'. Curtin described his theory of empire as racist, based on the kind of 'science' to be found in Robert Knox's Races of Man (1850), which hypothesised a physical, and hence psychological, inferiority in the dark races generally.¹⁷ Banton (1967 and 1977) compared Kidd's Social Darwinism, particularly the early variety, with that of Galton and Pearson, figures he emphasised as founders of eugenics and twentieth-century race theory. Pearson's National Life from the Standpoint of Science (1901) stated the genetic inferiority of Negroes, and contended that the progress of mankind depended upon continual racial struggle. Banton added that Kidd, together with Gumplowicz and Novicow, later abandoned this approach and went over to its critics. (In fact, of course, he conducted a running battle from the start against the Galton-Pearson view of race, as against their class elitism.)¹⁸ In an earlier article, Horace B. Davis (1954) unkindly dismissed Kidd's kind of 'pseudo-Darwinism' as involving circular reasoning and unscientific assumptions, and as having no claim, 'just as the Fascist "theories"

of imperialism have no claim' to serious consideration.¹⁹ These caricatures of Kidd's position have in fact diverted attention from the need to analyse his ideas within the context of 'social imperialism', a widespread phenomenon at the time and now imperfectly understood. Within that context, and within the framework of his theory of 'trusteeship', we might more profitably study the deficiencies and perils of a paternalistic creed of imperialism based on the socio-cultural 'superiority' of one people over another.

NOTES

Introduction

- Review of Reviews, vol. 11 (15 May 1895), p. 473; H. Laski, 'A Sociological Romance', New Republic, Vol. 9 (30 December 1916), pp. 235-7.
- 2. Henry Demarest Lloyd, 'Kidd's Social Evolution', MS. 1896 (Lloyd Papers), quoted Robert C. Bannister, Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 155.
- 3. W.H. Mallock, *Memoirs of Life and Literature* (London, 1920), p. 197.
- 4. See Appendix: 'Kidd historiography since 1915'.
- 5. Even an able scholar like Reba Soffer lumps Kidd in with Galton, Pearson, and the London University eugenists as 'Biological determinists who challenged not only democracy but its liberal past' on the grounds that 'mass biological incompetence' justified elitist management of democracy. R.N. Soffer, *Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences*, 1870–1914 (University of California, 1978), pp. 199, 222.
- 6. For a thoughtful discussion see R.J. Halliday, 'Social Darwinism: A Definition', *Victorian Studies*, Vol. 14, no. 4 (June 1971), pp. 389–405.

1 Social evolution

1. Bandon had a reputation for anti-Catholicism, the legacy in part of the English Lord Cork's violent policies in the province in the early seventeenth century, Bandon being one of the towns under his influence. Over the principal gate of Bandon an inscription once stated:

> Jew, Turk or Atheist May Enter Here But NOT a Papist.

The following reply by an Irish wit secured its removal: Who ever wrote this, wrote it well

For the same is written on the gates of Hell.

(T. Crofton Croker, Researches in the South of Ireland, etc.

(London, 1824; repr. Shannon, 1969), pp. 159–60.)

- 2. Franklin Kidd, Benjamin Kidd's son (1890–1974), spent a number of years doing extensive genealogical research on the Kidds of Ireland after his retirement in 1957, but the results with regard to his own family he admitted to be disappointing, due to lack of parish and state records prior to 1845 (when compulsory registration of Protestant births and marriages began). A distinguished scientist with an eye to detail and imagination, he was obliged to speculate on origins from tombstones, records of land sales, wills, directories, etc. The results of his labours are in typescript and MS. form in the Kidd papers held by John Franklin Kidd, Franklin's nephew, in Llanfair, Wales (hereafter Kidd Papers, Llanfair). I have used this material in the preceding and following discussion, with gratitude to Franklin and John Franklin Kidd.
- 3. Lucille B. May (California) to Franklin Kidd, 4 April 1956 (Lucille was the daughter of one of Benjamin Kidd's sisters) (Kidd Papers, Llanfair).
- 4. Wesley Kidd to Jack Kidd (Franklin's brother), 7 January 1927 (Kidd Papers, Llanfair).
- 5. Franklin Kidd, 'The Kidds of Ireland: Ch. V The 'Askamore Branch' (typescript) (Kidd Papers, Llanfair).
- 6. 'Grandmother Mary Dawson was of a very fine family. The family disapproved of her marrying Grandfather Kidd and there was somewhat of a rift thereafter between herself and her folks.' Lucille B. May to Franklin Kidd, 4 April 1956 (Kidd Papers, Llanfair).
- 7. Baptismal Registry of Bandon Circuit (Wesleyan Methodists), No. 275, 16 July 1859, signed Rev. B. Bayly. The entry registers baptism 21 October 1858. A copy of this entry was required by Benjamin Kidd (1858–1916) when he entered the Civil Service in 1877. Dated 7 May 1877, this copy is preserved in the Kidd Papers, Llanfair. The exact entry in the Bandon Baptismal Register reads: 'Benjamin son of Benjamin Kidd and Mary Kidd was born 9th Sept. 1858 and baptized 21 Oct. 1858. Registered in this book July 16th by me.B. Bayly.

Residence Bandon. Mr. Kidd is of the Constabulary.' The Bandon Methodist Church has no record of the marriage of Benjamin Kidd Snr and Mary Rebecca Dawson, as their marriage records do not go back earlier than 1878. Many such records perished in a fire in Dublin *c*. 1922 (entry and information kindly supplied to me by Superintendent, Bandon Circuit, Co. Cork, 30 March 1981).

- 8. He originally put it less strongly: 'I doubt that he knew of the marriage records' (deleted) (Kidd Papers, Llanfair). See next note.
- 9. Franklin's speculations are contained in his MS., 'Summary of Conflicting Evidence re date of marriage of Grandfather Kidd and Mary Rebecca Dawson and date of my Father Benjamin Kidd's birth' (Kidd Papers, Llanfair). The possibility cannot be entirely dismissed that the registry of birth was misdated, as the entry in the baptismal book was not made until July 1859. Difficulties would then arise as to why Benjamin Kidd always gave 9 September 1858 as his birthday. Two marriage ceremonies, civil and religious, were also possible. Franklin also conjectured that Constable Kidd was not the father but was pressured into assuming the role. The grounds for this rest mainly on the obvious intellectual qualities of Benjamin and Franklin Kidd, genes hypothetically supplied by one of the gentry who was a Christmas guest at the Baldwins at 'Mt Pleasant' in 1857. Such an hypothesis is perhaps hard to reconcile with the subsequent tension between the couple and the Dawsons. Nor does it seem necessary in view of the obvious talent in both Kidd and Dawson family trees, or indeed the energy and ability displayed by Benjamin's siblings and their descendants.
- 10. Lucille B. May to Franklin Kidd, 4 April 1956 (Kidd Papers, Llanfair).
- 11. *Ibid*.
- 12. B. Kidd, 'The Haunts of Coot and Heron', *Pall Mall Gazette*, Vol. 7 (September 1895), pp. 5–15, reproduced in B. Kidd, *A Philosopher with Nature* (Methuen, London, 1921), pp. 99–101.
- 13. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Author of Social Evolution, Principles of Western Civilisation and The Science of Power (Biographical)', typescript (10 fos), 1918, BK32, p. 1.

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Hereafter Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical'.

- 14. Labour Annual, vol. 2 (1896), pp. 204–7.
- 15. B. Kidd, 'The Civil Service as a Profession', Nineteenth Century, vol. 20, no. 116 (October 1886), pp. 491-502.
- 16. Board of Inland Revenue to Kidd, 31 May 1877 (Kidd Papers, Cambridge University Library). Correspondence referred to hereafter is from this collection unless otherwise stated (Add. MS. 8069).
- 17. Certificate, Inland Revenue to Kidd, 17 June 1878.
- 18. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 2. Entry to the Far Eastern Consular Service was by open examination from 1872 (but not for the general consular service until 1904), and there was thereafter an ample flow of applicants, although the standard of entry was regarded until 1900 as lower than that of the Indian Civil Service. Language ability was highly valued, and the language test tended to exclude lower class candidates. This may have been the real problem in Kidd's case. See D.C.M. Platt, *The Cinderella Service* (Hamden, Conn., 1971).
- 19. Franklin Kidd, 'Family of Benjamin Kidd (senior) and Mary Rebecca Dawson', MS. (Kidd Papers, Llanfair). It is possible that 'Sis' and 'Lilley' preceded their parents to London: 'When the girls began to reach their teens, it was thought better that they be sent away from the barracks where there were always soldiers about. They were accordingly sent to London.' Lucille B. May to Franklin Kidd, 4 April 1956 (Kidd Papers, Llanfair).
- 20. Lucille B. May, ibid.
- 21. Inland Revenue to Kidd, 17 September 1881, D4.
- 22. Cassell and Co. to Kidd, 25 November 1891.
- 23. E. Stanford to Kidd, 18 January 1887.
- 24. Kidd to G.E. Skerry, July 1888, PA4. Originally entitled *Practical Papers in Higher Arithmetic*, the new edition was called *Skerry's Practical Papers in Higher Arithmetic*.
- 25. Kidd to G.E. Skerry, 13 December 1887, PA5.
- 26. Conservative Central Office to Kidd, 24 November 1884; L. McDonnell to Kidd, 27 December 1884, SB1. He got £28-8-7 for this work in 1884. Information on this interesting development is hard to come by. See Robert Rhodes James, ed. and introd. to, *Constitutional Year Book* (1885), repr. *British*

Political Sources: Political Party Year Books I (London, 1970).

- See E.W. Cohen, The Growth of the Civil Service, 1780–1939 (London, 1965), pp. 140ff.; 2nd Report of Royal Commission on Civil Establishments, Minutes of Evidence, Parliamentary Papers (1888), vol. 27, pp. xxi, 7, 17, 427–556.
- 28. E.g. petition from lower division clerks to Treasury, *Parliamentary Papers* (1884), vol. 47, pp. 435ff.
- 29. Randolph Churchill to Kidd, 6 April 1883; and 1 May 1883, SB1.
- 30. Cutting in SB1 (Kidd Papers, Cambridge). Conference was on 11 November 1884.
- 31. Kidd, 'The Civil Service as a Profession' (1886).
- 32. Cohen, Growth of the Civil Service, ch. 11. There were 124 lower clerks promoted 1886–93, not a satisfactory figure for the association, which continued to press for more mobility. Kidd later wrote 'The Choice of a Profession: The Civil Service 1. Home Appointments' and '2. Indian and Colonial Appointments', Pall Mall Gazette, 11 and 19 December 1889.
- B. Kidd, 'Darwinism', Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh, New York, 1911), vol. 4, pp. 402-5.
- 34. J.W. Burrow, introd. to C. Darwin, Origin of Species (1859; repr. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 14.
- 35. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 3.
- 36. His naturalist works are analysed more fully below, chs 5 and6.
- 37. Chambers's Journal to Kidd, 25 February 1884, SB1, but not published until 1885: 'Peat and Peat-Bogs', Chambers's Journal, vol. 62 (18 April 1885), pp. 247–50; also 'How the Weather is Made and Forecast', Chambers's Journal, vol. 61 (1 November 1884), pp. 689–92.
- 38. B. Kidd, 'The Habits and Intelligence of Bees', Longman's Magazine vol. 6, (June 1885), pp. 173–85, repr. Philosopher With Nature, pp. 123–42. He was paid £13 for this article. He obtained Sir John Lubbock's advice on the manuscript.
- 39. B. Kidd, 'Humble Bees', Longman's Magazine, vol. 7 no. 38 (December 1885), pp. 196–210, repr. Philosopher With Nature, pp. 39–61. He was paid £15 for this article.

- 40. B. Kidd, 'The Frog and his Relations', *Longman's Magazine*, vol. 18 (November 1888), p. 76 (article pp. 61–76). He was paid £16 for it.
- 41. Kidd, 'Haunts of Coot and Heron' (1895), in *Philosopher* with Nature, p. 101.
- 42. Kidd's handwritten note on MS. of *Social Evolution*, signed February 1894 (Kidd Papers, Cambridge): 'Began collecting material 1887; Book began (MS. of) Feb. 1891; Finished first draft Jan. 1893; First proof sheet for printer 8–11–93; Book published 16–2–94; first notes begun April 1885.'
- 43. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', pp. 2-3.
- 44. B. Kidd, 'Glimpses in the Reading Room at the British Museum', *Chambers's Journal*, vol. 62 (6 June 1885), pp. 363-5.
- 45. B. Kidd, 'The Battle of the Eggs', Longman's Magazine, vol. 16, no. 95 (September 1890), pp. 504–18; Kidd to C.J. Longman, 24 September 1889. Similarly when Murray's Magazine declined his 'Birds of London' in January 1890, he managed to place it with the English Illustrated Magazine, vol. 9 (October 1891), pp. 38–45, repr. Philosopher With Nature, pp. 171–88.
- 46. 'Battle of Eggs' (1890), p. 517. The article got good reviews, e.g. *Evening Standard*, 1 September 1890; *Church Times*, 5 September 1890; *Morning Post*, 5 September 1890.
- 47. E.g. Percy William Bunting to Kidd, 26 March 1890. Bunting was editor of the *Contemporary Review*.
- 48. See D.P. Crook, 'Darwinism: The Political Implications', History of European Ideas, vol. 2, no. 1 (1981), pp. 19-34.
- 49. Grant Allen, 'The New Theory of Heredity: Our Scientific Causerie', *Review of Reviews*, vol. 1 (June 1890), pp. 537-8.
- 50. B. Kidd, 'Darwin's Successor at Home: Our Scientific Causerie', *Review of Reviews*, vol. 2, no. 12 (December 1890), pp. 647–50.
- *Ibid.*; and F.B. Churchill, 'August Weismann and a Break from Tradition', *Journal of History of Biology*, vol. 1, no. 1 (Spring 1968), pp. 91–2.
- 52. See Halliday, 'Social Darwinism: A Definition'.
- 53. See Crook, 'Darwinism: The Political Implications'.
- 54. Kidd, 'Darwin's Successor at Home' (1890), p. 650.
- 55. August Weismann, Studies in the Theory of Descent, trans.

and ed. R. Meldola (2 vols., London, 1882), vol. 2, p. 695, also pp. 708–12.

- 56. John Beattie Crozier, Civilization and Progress (4th edn, London, 1898; 1st edn 1885), pp. 261-2, 416, 422.
- 57. Bannister, Social Darwinism, p. 161.
- 58. Henry Drummond, *The Ascent of Man* (London, 1894), pp. 3, 10–11, 53, 69–70.
- 59. Matthew Arnold to M. Fontano, 18 July 1885, in Drummond Papers, National Library Scotland, Acc. 5890, Box 2. There is no evidence that Kidd was influenced by Crozier, while Drummond's Ascent appeared a short time after Social Evolution. Drummond treated Kidd's book with a mixture of praise and criticism (pp. 61–71); and Kidd reacted coolly to Drummond's work (Expositor, July 1894; and see below). The reader wanting more detail on social and religious evolutionists is referred to: Bannister, Social Darwinism; Greta Jones, Social Darwinism and English Thought (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1980); J.R. Moore, Post-Darwinian Controersies (Cambridge, 1979); and Stefan Collini, Liberalism and Sociology (Cambridge, 1979), especially chs 1, 6.
- 60. Janet B. McLeod to Maud Kidd, 14 October 1890. There were numerous congratulatory cards from relatives and friends, indicating that the Kidds had extensive social contacts at this stage.
- 61. Kidd to editor, English Illustrated Magazine, 24 February 1891.
- 62. Kidd to editor, Murray's Magazine, 19 June 1981, K11.
- 63. C.F. Moberly Bell to Kidd, 19 September 1892, Times Business Archives, vol. 6, fol. 291.
- 64. B. Kidd, 'Concerning the Cuckoo', *Longman's Magazine*, vol. 18, no. 104 (June 1891), pp. 166–78, repr. *Philosopher with Nature*, pp. 102–21. He was paid £13 for it.
- 65. Le Figaro, 11 July 1891.
- 66. Kidd, 'The Birds of London', (1891).
- 67. B. Kidd, 'From a London Window', *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 18 (May 1892), pp. 528–40. Longman refused the article. *Cornhill* paid 13 guineas for it.
- 68. B. Kidd, 'A Famous Family (aphides)', *Longman's Magazine*, vol. 20, no. 119 (September 1892), pp. 499–509.
- 69. C.J. Longman to Kidd, 5 January 1891, SB1. Murray's

Magazine then accepted the article, but the magazine was suspended after 1891 (despite Kidd's advice on achieving publishing success). The article went to *Cornhill*, before Longman finally accepted it in a re-cast form, reduced by a third. He was paid \pounds II for it. These difficulties were not unusual.

- 70. B. Kidd, 'The Origin of Flowers', *Longman's Magazine*, vol. 21, no. 124 (February 1893), pp. 392–404. He was paid £13 for it.
- 71. Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (New York, 1979). Cf. T.H. O'Brien, *Milner* (London, 1979).
- 72. Quoted A.M. Gollin, *Proconsul in Politics: A Study of Lord Milner in Opposition and in Power* (London, 1964), p. 15.
- 73. According to his son's biographical memoir (p. 3), and various obituaries, it was submitted to a number of publishers without success. The obituaries may have relied upon Franklin's memoir, which was widely distributed after Kidd's death. The surviving documents in the Kidd Papers relate only to Longman and Macmillan.
- 74. Longman to Kidd, 15 November 1893. The *Review of Reviews* (vol. 11 (May 1895), pp. 472-3) claimed that an unnamed publisher rejected the manuscript on 22 August 1893, with the remark that two 'very competent advisers ... doubt whether it would make sufficient mark to secure a paying scale'. The article contains excerpts from letters to Kidd, and he almost certainly provided material to the author. He was on good terms with W.T. Stead, the editor of *Review of Reviews*. The article asserts that Kidd re-wrote his manuscript five times, 1891-4.
- 75. Macmillan to Kidd, 30 August 1893, M57; 14 October 1893, M60; J.S. MacKenzie to Macmillan, 20 October 1893, M8.
- 76. Trinity College to Kidd, 7 December 1893. Also Kidd's account in 'Henry Sidgwick', *Outlook*, vol. 17, no. 428 (14 April 1906), pp. 520–1.
- 77. English agreement, 1st edn, 21 December 1893; American agreement, 1st edn, 20 December 1893 with Macmillan and Co., New York, PA9; Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 3.
- 78. 2nd English edn, 19 March 1894; 2nd American edn, 3 May 1894 (royalty was 15% of gross retail price. If published later

at *net* retail price, author to receive proportionately larger royalty); Kidd Papers, PA10; German edn, 11 August 1894, PA11. (The German edition had a preface by Weismann.) He was to get two-thirds profit on the German edition after sale of 1500 copies.

- 79. Kidd Papers, Cambridge, Misc. 2-3, Box 7. The figures for July to June are: 1896-7: £159; 1897-8: £79; 1898-9: £105; 1899-1900: £75; 1900-1: £62; 1901-2: £44; 1902-3: £73; 1903-4: £37; 1904-5: £35. The *Review of Reviews* claimed that sales in 'the Old World and the New' in the first fifteen months of the book's existence must have amounted to between 40,000 and 50,000: 'a degree of popularity which not more than half a dozen of the best novels attain in the course of a year' (vol. II, (May 1895), p. 472). This information probably came from Kidd himself.
- 80. Interview Daily Chronicle, 6 June 1894.
- 81. B. Kidd, *Social Evolution* (3rd edn, London, 1898; 1st edn 1894), p. 32. (Hereafter page references are made to this volume in brackets in the text.) Kidd's belief in the possibility of a science of society clearly owed a good deal to Herbert Spencer.
- 82. L.M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915), p. 90. On Kidd, see pp. 85–92.
- 83. B. Kidd, Principles of Western Civilisation: Being the First Volume of a System of Evolutionary Philosophy (London, 1902), p. 4.
- 84. Despite his antipathy to Comte's *Religion of Humanity*, (1851-4), Kidd argued a position not unlike that adopted by Comte in *Positive Policy* (1852), which asserted that man's social feelings must triumph over his self-love.
- 85. On Hobhouse, see Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*; Peter Weiler, 'The New Liberalism of L.T. Hobhouse', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 16, no. 2 (December 1972), pp. 141-61.
- 86. Crane Brinton gave this impression in his essay on Kidd in English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century (New York, 1962; 1st edn, London, 1933), pp. 282–92. See also Bristol, Social Adaptation, p. 87; and Appendix: 'Kidd Historiography since 1915'.
- 87. See D.P. Crook, 'Was Benjamin Kidd a Racist?', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1979), pp. 213–21.

- 88. Sydney Haldane, White Capital and Coloured Labour (London, 1929), pp. 19–21. Also B. Kidd, The Control of the Tropics (London, 1898), pp. 52–4, and Social Evolution, ch. 10.
- 89. See W.B. Provine, *The Origins of Theoretical Population Genetics* (Chicago, 1971). One of the major controversies was fought between biologists favouring the Darwinist theory of gradual evolution and adherents of discontinuous evolution, a debate widening after the rediscovery of Mendelism in 1900 into a more complex battle between biometricians and Mendelians.
- 90. See Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church* (2nd edn, London, 1971).
- 91. Brinton, English Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century (1933; repr. 1962), p. 288.
- 92. J.A. Hobson, review of Social Evolution in American Journal of Sociology, vol. 6 (July 1895), pp. 311-12.
- 93. Edinburgh Review, vol. 179 (April 1894), pp. 479-80.
- 94. New York Times, 15 April 1894, p. 23.
- 95. Mallock, Memoirs of Life and Literature, p. 197.
- 96. 8th Earl of Argyll, Edinburgh Review, vol. 179 (April 1894), pp. 480, 496–507. Kropotkin wrote a series of articles on mutual aid, the basis of his later volume, in Nineteenth Century, September and November 1890, April 1891, January 1892, August and September 1894, January and June 1896. Kropotkin regarded Kidd as 'non-original' on evolutionary ethics. See Prince Kropotkin, Ethics: Origin and Development (New York, 1924; repr. Prism Press, nd), p. 280 (published posthumously from Kropotkin's two articles on ethics for the Nineteenth Century, 1905–6).
- 97. D.G. Ritchie, *International Journal of Ethics*, vol. 5 (1895), pp. 108, 110–11, 114. See also Franklin H. Giddings, *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 9 (1894), pp. 730–4.
- 98. Ritchie, *ibid.*, p. 111. For a perceptive analysis of Ritchie's liberal ideas, see M. Freeden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 90–1.
- 99. J. Dewey, Psychological Review, vol. 1 (1894), pp. 409–10.
- 100. North American Review, July 1895, p. 99 (review of Kidd, Social Evolution). E.E.C. Jones's review of Kidd in Mind was friendlier than some, but dissected Kidd's ambiguous use of

'reason' and detected a flawed method arising from 'want of a sound psychological basis'. *Mind*, New Series, vol. 3 (1894), pp. 511–56.

- 101. W.D. Le Sueur, 'Kidd on "Social Evolution"', Popular Science, vol. 47 (1895), pp. 38–48; Bannister, Social Darwinism, pp. 150–8.
- 102. Freeden, *New Liberalism*, pp. 82–5. The Liberal *Spectator*, however, welcomed Kidd's book as 'an extraordinarily bracing and inspiring work a work which justifies the "new Liberalism" and links it with the old, while at the same time it effectually exposes the retrograde character of Socialism', *Spectator*, 10 March 1894.
- 103. See M. Freeden, 'J.A. Hobson as a New Liberal Theorist', *Journal of History of Ideas*, vol. 34 (1973), pp. 421–43; and his *New Liberalism*, p. 84.
- 104. J.A. Hobson, review of Social Evolution, in American Journal of Sociology, vol. 6 (July 1895), pp. 299-312.
- 105. Ibid., p. 307; previous quote, p. 304.
- 106. Bannister, Social Darwinism, p. 155.
- 107. Boston Transcript, 5 May 1918.
- 108. Henry Demarest Lloyd, 'Kidd's Social Evolution', MS. 1896 (Lloyd Papers), quoted Bannister, *Social Darwinism*, p. 155.
- 109. Bannister, Social Darwinism, pp. 157–8; New York Nation, 'Kidd's Social Evolution', vol. 58, no. 1503 (19 April 1894), pp. 294–5. The Nation said: 'His style [is] a model of dignity and philosophical calmness . . . He rarely offends the reader by descending to the consideration of specific facts . . . [He] avows no creed, follows in the footsteps of no party . . . But the general trend of his thought, at least in all but the earlier chapters, is unmistakably that of the so-called Christian socialist.'
- 110. A.R. Wallace, Nature, vol. 49 (12 April 1894), p. 550.
- 111. Ibid., p. 551.
- 112. K. Pearson, 'Socialism and Natural Selection', review of Kidd, Social Evolution, Fortnightly Review, July 1894, repr. Pearson, The Chances of Death and Other Studies in Evolution (London, 1897), vol. 1, pp. 103–39. Pearson was Professor of Applied Mathematics, University College, London.
- 113. Pearson, Chances of Death, vol. 1, pp. 133-4.

- 114. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
- 115. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
- 116. Henry Sidgwick, 'Political Prophecy and Sociology', *National Review*, vol. 24 (December 1894), pp. 565, 569, 575. See also Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*, pp. 194–5.
- 117. Nineteenth Century, vol. 37, no. 216 (February 1895), pp. 226–40.
- 118. *Ibid.*, p. 239.

2 The control of the tropics

- 1. The London Borough of Croydon kindly supplied information and maps. The house number 86 was renumbered 70 in 1897. The Kidds took up residence in September 1894. The house still exists.
- B. Kidd, 'A Midsummer Night', Century Magazine, vol. 51, no. 29 (December 1895), pp. 222–6, repr. Philosopher with Nature, pp. 73–86 (quote in text from p. 79).
- 3. Milner to Kidd, 17 August 1894, M341; also 8 October 1894.
- 4. Inland Revenue to Kidd, 19 October 1894 (copy of document), D6.
- 5. Kidd to Milner, 8 March 1894 (Milner Corresp., New College, Oxford). It was about this time that Milner's brother-in-law Leo Maxse, editor of the *National Review*, used Milner to obtain Kidd's services as contributor to the review.
- 6. Quoted *Review of Reviews*, vol. 9 (15 May 1894). The *Sketch* described him 'as of a retiring nature, and has resisted the flattery of publicity with unusual success' (5 December 1894).
- 7. Daily Chronicle, 4 October 1916.
- 8. Manchester Guardian, 5 October 1916.
- 9. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 3.
- 10. Alex Grant to Kidd, 3 September 1894, G46. His efforts to induce Kidd to give a paper to the Baptist Social Union at Holborn met with no success.
- 11. G.R. Parker to Macmillan, 24 March 1894, P23.
- 12. Programme for 15 July 1894(?) (Kidd Papers, Cambridge). Ward was in Europe to attend the International Geological Congress in Zurich.
- 13. Hobson spoke at Finsbury in July, and to the London Ethical Society, Essex Hall, on 4 November 1894, SB4.

- 14. Thomas Common, 'English Philosophers from Nietzsche's Standpoint: I. Mr. Kidd', *Tomorrow*, vol. 2, no. 1 (July 1894), pp. 40–8.
- 15. H.J. Laski, 'A Social Romance', *New Republic*, vol. 9 (1916), p. 235.
- 16. Thomas James Cobden-Sanderson to Kidd, 8 June 1894. He met Kropotkin at dinner on 16 June.
- 17. J.F. Oakeshott to Kidd, 4 July 1894, O1.
- 18. J.R. MacDonald to Kidd, 9 August 1894, M3. See also H. Burrows and J.A. Hobson, eds. *William Clarke: A Collection of his Writings* (London, 1908).
- 19. Professor E.A. Sonnenshein (Mason College) to Kidd, 29 July 1894, S186.
- 20. Edith Sichel to Kidd, 21 May 1894, S106; 31 May 1894, S107; nd (1894), S108, S109.
- 21. Otto F. Humphreys to Kidd, 8 May 1895.
- 22. Milner to Kidd, 3 April 1894, M337.
- 23. W.E. Gladstone to Kidd, 25 February 1895.
- 24. Quoted, Review of Reviews, vol. 11 (15 May 1895), p. 473.
- 25. James Clarke Welling to Kidd, 24 April 1894, W62.
- 26. Thomas Hughes to George Macmillan, 3 March 1894. Hughes was right. There is no evidence that Kidd read F.D. Maurice. Nor did he show interest in Anglican theology generally.
- 27. Charles Booth to Kidd, 17 June 1894: 'One may agree or disagree, but, at least, one must think. As to your argument of the everlasting character of the struggle for life and the part which religion springs up to fill, I think I entirely agree. It carries one along irresistibly.'
- 28. Alfred Marshall to Kidd, 6 June 1894, M251. Later letters, M252–7.
- 29. Wallace wrote in 'Justice not Charity' (1898): 'A few years since a talented writer used, and at once popularized, a new term – "equality of opportunity". It expresses, briefly and forcibly, what may be termed the minimum of social justice.' A.R. Wallace, *Studies, Scientific and Social* (London, 1900), vol. 2, p. 524. The Rev. H. Price Hughes told Wallace: 'The moment Mr. Benjamin Kidd invented the striking term of "equality of opportunity" I adopted it, and have often preached it in the pulpit and on the platform, just as you preach it in the Tract before me.' Hughes to Wallace, 14 September

1898, in A.R. Wallace, *Letters and Reminiscences* (London, 1916), p. 394.

- 30. Quotes from *Review of Reviews*, vol. 11 (May 1895), p. 473. Also St G. Mivart to Kidd, 14 March 1894, M369 (Mivart introduced Kidd to the Oriental Club); Galton to Kidd, 11 April 1894.
- 31. Francis Galton, 'The Part of Religion in Human Evolution', *National Review*, vol. 23 (August 1894), pp. 755-63.
- 32. B. Kidd, 'A Note on Mr. Galton's View', ibid., pp. 763-5.
- 33. Ch. I above; and K. Pearson, *Reaction!* (London, 1895), dedicated to 'the editors of the four leading reviews who consider that with the triumph of political reaction the public has lost its interest in the theological obscurantism of the reactionary leaders'. His main target was A.J. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief.*
- 34. B. Kidd, 'Mr. Balfour's "Scepticism"', letter to Daily Chronicle, 9 July 1894, SB4.
- 35. K. Pearson, 'Science and Religion', letter to *Daily Chronicle*, 12 July 1894, SB4.
- 36. Kidd, 'A Note on Mr. Galton's View' (1894), p. 765.
- 37. B. Kidd, 'Mr Balfour's Foundations of Belief', National Review, vol. 25 (March 1895), pp. 35-47. Following quotations from this source unless otherwise specified.
- 38. N. and J. Mackenzie, *The Time Traveller: The Life of H.G.* Wells (London, 1973), p. 168.
- 39. George E. Vincent to Kidd, 13 September 1894, V5.
- 40. A.W. Small, 'The Era of Sociology', American Journal of Sociology, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1895), pp. 8-12.
- 41. A.W. Small to President William R. Harper, 25 April 1895, quoted V.K. Dibble, *The Legacy of Albion Small* (Chicago, 1975), p. 163.
- 42. Part 4 'The Development of Biology and the Idea of Evolution', and Part 5 'Application of the Evolutionary Theory to Social Phenomena', in G.E. Vincent, 'The Province of Sociology: Syllabus of Course at University of Chicago, Autumn Quarter, 1895', American Journal of Sociology, vol. 1, no. 4 (January 1896), pp. 473-91.
- 43. Rev. W.D.P. Bliss to Kidd, 10 August 1894, B155 and ff.
- 44. 'The Future of the United States', by B. Kidd as interviewed by

H.J.W. Dam, *Outlook* (New York), vol. 50 (1 September 1894), pp. 340–3.

- 45. Walter H. Page to Kidd, 14 September 1894, P2. On Page see John Milton Cooper, Walter Hines Page: The Southerner as American, 1855–1918 (Chapel Hill, 1977).
- 46. Price Collier had a private audience in Rome with the Pope's Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla. W. Price Collier to Kidd, 26 May 1895, C157.
- 47. W. Price Collier to Kidd, 26 May 1895, C157. Generally see correspondence Collier to Kidd, C146–68.
- 48. Sir Douglas Straight (ed. *Pall Mall Gazette*) to Kidd, 27 August 1894, P15; 22 October 1894, P18.
- 49. Longman to Kidd, 27 August 1894; 15 September 1894; 22 October 1894. He may have received a reader's opinion from Macmillan also advising against publication at about this time. 'It would be probably deemed a "come down", and the critics would probably infer that the new book was meant to sail into a "succès d'estime" under the cover of the first', Macmillan to Kidd, nd, M83.
- 50. Kidd to G.H. Thring, 3 February 1902, K68.
- 51. Herbert Spencer to Grant Allen, 20 February 1897, q. Edward Clodd, *Grant Allen: A Memoir* (London, 1900), p. 176. Also Grant Allen to Kidd, 20 December 1894, and Kidd to Grant Allen, 26 December 1895.
- 52. Kidd to Grant Allen, 31 March 1896. For reflections on Grant Allen at this time, see Kidd's 'An Anthropologist's Study of Religion', *Outlook*, vol. 17, no. 414 (6 January 1906), pp. 26–7.
- 53. Grant Allen to Kidd, 11 December 1897.
- 54. Quoted, Clodd, Grant Allen, p. 102.
- 55. Herbert Burrows, 'Biographical Sketch', in Burrows and Hobson, William Clarke, p. xvi.
- 56. William Clarke, 'The Genesis of Jingoism', *Progressive Review*, February 1897, in *ibid.*, p. 116. He later explained to Kidd that he had given up Fabianism because it was 'imperialist as being in accord with State Socialism. The bigger and more expanded the empire the more you will and must have militarism, of regulation, of machinery, of government by experts with all its heartless mechanism, and the less you will

have of liberty, of economy, of serious thoughts about internal reform, the less of morality, and of substantial selfgovernment.' Clarke to Kidd, 15 February 1898, C117.

- 57. Clarke to Kidd, 18 December 1895.
- 58. Clarke to Kidd, 10 December 1895, C112.
- 59. Clarke to Kidd, 9 January 1896.
- 60. Kidd to Milner, 15 January 1896; also 16 January 1896 (Milner Papers).
- 61. Milner to Kidd, 18 January 1896; also Kidd to Milner, 20 January 1896; Milner to Kidd, 21 January 1896 (Milner Papers).
- 62. H.G. Wells, 'Human Evolution: An Artificial Process', *Fortnightly Review*, New Series, vol. 60 (October 1896) is collected in Kidd's papers.
- 63. See Kidd, 'Mr Balfour's Foundations of Belief' (1895); also in Living Age, vol. 204 (30 March 1895), pp. 808–17; and B. Kidd, review of H. Drummond, Ascent of Man, in Expositor, July 1894, pp. 57–70. For Drummond's views on Social Evolution, see Ascent (1894) pp. 61–73.
- 64. B. Kidd, review of J. Shield Nicholson, Principles of Political Economy, vol. 1, in International Journal of Ethics, vol. 4 (April 1894), pp. 400-3.
- 65. John Ruskin, Unto This Last (1861), Essay 4.
- 66. Kidd, review of J. Shield Nicholson (1894), p. 401.
- 67. B. Kidd, 'Professor Huxley and Mr. Kidd' letter to the editor, *Daily Chronicle*, 5 July 1895 (SB4). He claimed to be supported in England and Germany by 'exponents of evolutionary science of no meaner reputation than Professor Huxley', and added that neither Huxley during his lifetime, 'nor any follower of his of standing, has ventured, so far as I am aware, on a single line of detailed criticism' of his main thesis. This was self-deluding, to say the least.
- 68. Kidd to John F. Waters, 3 May 1896, K32.
- 69. W.H. Page to Kidd, 21 February 1895, P3.
- 70. L. Abbott to Kidd, 3 August 1895, A1.
- 71. Chairman of the Board of Philosophical Studies (King's College, Cambridge) to Kidd, 17 March, ny (1895?).
- 72. John Tweedy to Herbert Snow (Kidd's doctor), 26 September 1895, T60; also Kidd to Lady Jeune, 3 September 1895, K27.
- 73. 'Social Evolution: A Chat with Mr. Benjamin Kidd', interview

by Rev. Isidore Harris in *Great Thoughts* (New York), 28 November 1896, p. 136.

- 74. B. Kidd, 'The Decadence of Liberal Thought', *Outlook*, vol. 15, no. 381 (20 May 1905), p. 722–3. The context suggests that he read Newman some years earlier than 1905.
- 75. Kidd to John F. Waters, 3 May 1896, K32; interview in *Great Thoughts*, 28 November 1896, p. 137.
- 76. Percy William Bunting to Kidd, 17 December 1896, B205: 'My friend Dr. Paton tells me that he understands you are at work on the subject.'
- 77. Kidd to Lady Jeune, 21 May 1896, K33. Lady Jeune's daughter Dorothy married Henry Allhusen in 1898. Kidd was invited to the wedding.
- 78. Sir Francis Jeune to Kidd, 25, 26 February 1898, S2–3. Sir Francis was President of the Probate Division.
- 79. Kidd to Board of Inland Revenue, 30 September 1897, K38. He asked for a further two months' leave.
- 80. Medical Certificate, J. Tweedy (copy), 18 November 1897 (Kidd MS, Cambridge).
- 81. Inland Revenue to Kidd, 23 November, 13 December 1897.
- 82. Gustave Fischer to Macmillan, 12 November 1896. Fischer admitted that the German price was too high for the popular market.
- 83. I.M. Rubinoff to Kidd, 3 June 1897, R85. Mikhailovsky's preface damned Kidd with faint praise. See also J.H. Billington, *Mikhailovsky and Russian Populism* (Oxford, 1958).
- 84. Eden Paul, 'Social Evolution in Japan', *The Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 77 (May 1898), pp. 657–74.
- 85. Kidd to Moberly Bell, 4 May 1898.
- 86. Macmillan, New York, later offered 20% royalty if 5000 were sold in the first year. Sales in 1898 only reached a little over 3000. The booklet may have been published in America because *The Times* had a rule prohibiting republication of matter in its columns until after twelve months had elapsed from the date of publication. C.F. Moberly Bell to Kidd, 22 September 1898 (*Times* Archives).
- 87. Social Evolution, p. 248.
- 88. Kidd, Control of the Tropics (New York, Macmillan, 1898), p. 19.
- 89. Ibid., p. 36.

- 90. Ibid., p. 37.
- 91. Ibid., p. 43.
- 92. Ibid., p. 54.
- 93. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
- 94. Ibid., p. 54.
- 95. Ibid., pp. 55-6.
- 96. Ibid., p. 55.
- 97. Spectator, vol. 82 (April 1899), p. 460.
- 98. Nation (New York), vol. 69 (5 January 1899), p. 17.
- 99. E.g. 'Can White Men be Permanently Acclimatized in the Tropics?', letter to *The Times*, 20 August 1898; W.E. Griffis, 'The Anglo-Saxon in the Tropics', *Outlook* (New York), 10 December 1898, pp. 902–7.
- 100. British Medical Journal, 24 September 1898.
- 101. A.R. Wallace to Daily Chronicle, 2 November 1898.
- 102. Haldane, White Capital and Coloured Labour, pp. 19-21.
- 103. F.D. Lugard, 'Tropical Africa', *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 229 (April 1919), p. 364.
- 104. New York Daily Tribune, 16 September 1898.
- 105. Abram S. Hewitt to President McKinley, 12 September 1898, in William McKinley Papers, Library of Congress, Series 1, fols. 3446–8 (Reel 4); also, J.A. Porter (Secretary to President) to A.S. Hewitt, 17 September 1898, in McKinley Papers, Series 2, vol. 12, fol. 120 (Reel 33). Kidd's influence upon the imperial debate in the United States is emphasised by Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (New York, 1951) pp. 18–19, 334; D. Healy, US Expansionism (Madison, 1970); pp. 132–4; and Charles S. Campbell, *The Transformation of American Foreign Relations, 1865–1900* (New York, 1976), p. 150.
- 106. Daily Eagle (New York), 1 October 1898.
- 107. Independent (New York), 29 October 1898.
- 108. Yale Review, vol. 8 (May 1899), pp. 87-9.
- 109. F.H. Giddings, *Democracy and Empire* (New York, 1900), pp. 284–5.
- 110. Saturday Evening Gazette (Boston), 24 September 1898.
- 111. Post Express (Rochester), 1 October 1898.
- 112. Charles Askinson, his old colleague at Somerset House, who had 'feasted' on Kidd's *Times*'s articles, commented in July that 'it must appeal to Salisbury and Co., and, looking in

another direction, it comes precisely in the nick of time to herald your visit to America.' C. Askinson to Kidd, 29 July 1898.

- 113. Lady Jeune (Mary St Helier) to Sir Julian Pauncefote, 17 August, 1898; also S10–S13.
- 114. Kidd to editor, The Times, nd (1898), K215.
- 115. B. Kidd, 'A National Policy', *Fortnightly Review*, New Series, vol. 87 (April 1910), p. 611.
- 116. New York Times, 28 October 1898, p. 6.
- 117. 'Things that struck me first', MS., 27 August 1898, USA18.
- 118. Contract, 1 September 1898, Kidd with Macmillan Co., New York, PA13; also Macmillan, New York, to Kidd, 29 October 1898, M86.
- 119. B. Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd on America's New Duty', Outlook (New York), vol. 60 (10 September 1898), pp. 118-20.
- 120. Chicago Tribune, 1 October 1898.
- 121. Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd on America's New Duty' (1898).
- 122. Walter H. Page to Kidd, 15 September 1898, P7. Amos Cummings was Democrat congressman from New York district.
- 123. Walter H. Page to Professor J.L. Laughlin, University of Chicago, 15 September 1898, P8.
- 124. B. Kidd, 'The Honey Harvest', Outlook (London), vol. 16, no. 398 (16 September 1905), p. 355.
- 125. B. Kidd, 'The Problem of the Philippine Islands', typescript of lecture to Twentieth Century Club, Boston, 26 October 1898 (Kidd Papers, Cambridge).
- 126. A.W. Small, review of R. Mackintosh, From Comte to Benjamin Kidd, in American Journal of Sociology, vol. 5 (July 1899), pp. 123-4.
- 127. C.M. Destler, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform (Philadelphia, 1963), pp. 368-9.
- 128. Interview, *Chicago Chronicle*, 11 October 1898. He was said to have made a study of the silver question in the west: 'Unlike many Englishmen he does not believe that free silver portends disaster.'
- 129. Walter H. Page to Kidd, 15 September 1898, P7.
- 130. R.T. Ely to Kidd, 1 September 1898.
- 131. Richard T. Ely, 'Religion as a Social Force', Christian Quarterly, July 1897, p. 321, quoted Bannister, Social Darwinism,

p. 152. See also B.G. Rader, 'Richard T. Ely: Lay Spokesman for the Social Gospel', *Journal of American History*, vol. 53 (1966–7), pp. 61–74.

- 132. When Ely pronounced on Kidd in a university commencement address in Indiana in 1903, he struck a discordant note: Kidd, he said, implied that religion's function was 'to keep men quiet while they are being slaughtered in the interests of social progress for which he claims there can be no rational sanction'. R. Ely, 'Social Progress', typescript, Ely Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, which kindly supplied a copy. Robert C. Bannister discovered this material.
- 133. Josiah Strong, Expansion Under New World—Conditions (New York, 1900), pp. 10, 213. On Strong see Ralph E. Weber's introduction to the above (reprinted Garland Press, New York and London, 1971); and Dorothea R. Muller, 'Josiah Strong and American Nationalism: A Reevaluation', Journal of American History, vol. 53 (1966–7), pp. 487–503.
- 134. Volney W. Foster (Union League Club, Chicago) to Kidd, 14 October 1898.
- 135. Chicago *Times-Herald*, 11 October 1898: 'Benjamin Kidd's View: Would Retain the Philippines'.
- 136. Typescript for debate, nd (October 1898?), USA29.
- 137. Chicago Times-Herald, 11 October 1898.
- 138. Strong, *Expansion Under New World-Conditions*. See Bannister, *Social Darwinism*, pp. 230–1; Muller, 'Josiah Strong and American Nationalism'.
- 139. Strong, Expansion Under New World-Conditions, pp. 185–6.
- 140. William B. Howland to Kidd, 14 September 1898.
- 141. Edwin D. Mead to Kidd, 24 September 1898, M268.
- 142. Congregationalist, 8 November 1898.
- 143. B. Kidd, 'The United States and the Control of the Tropics', *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 82, no. 494 (December 1898), pp. 721–7.
- 144. W.H. Page to Kidd, 28 December 1898, P11.
- 145. B. Kidd, 'Impressions of America a Chat with Mr. Benjamin Kidd', interview in the *Echo*, 9 November 1898. He praised himself in an unsigned article in *The Spectator* claiming that *Control of the Tropics* 'with the utmost lucidity and power lays down the true principles upon which a Western people should deal with tropical dependencies': 'America's New

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Empire', *Spectator*, vol. 81 (3 December 1898), pp. 821–2. Saxon Mills asked him: 'Have I not noticed evidences of your influence in America in certain recent speeches of American politicians?' J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 25 November 1898.

3 Principles of western civilisation

- 1. Kidd to E.T. Cook, 22 November 1900.
- 2. Macmillan, New York, to Kidd, 13 July 1900, M95.
- 3. Felix Somló to Kidd, 7 November 1899, S184.
- 4. T.H. Sheppard to Kidd, 13 July 1900, S100.
- 5. William B. Howland to Kidd, 28 June 1899, O37.
- 6. Walter H. Page to Kidd, 19 May 1900, P12; also Page to Kidd, 5 September 1900, P13.
- 7. E.T. Cook to Kidd, 5 February 1900. Saxon Mills also worked for the *Daily News*.
- 8. Burrows and Hobson, William Clarke: A Collection of His Writings.
- 9. J. St Loe Strachey to Kidd, 9 May 1901.
- 10. W. Clarke, 'The Social Future of England', *Contemporary Review*, vol. 77 (December 1900), p. 858. (Kidd kept this article in his papers.)
- 11. *Ibid.*, p. 861.
- 12. W. Clarke, 'The Curse of Militarism', *The Young Man* (May 1901), repr. Burrows and Hobson, *William Clarke*, p. 119. In this respect both Clarke and Kidd may have been influenced by Israel Zangwill, whose novel *The Mantle of Elijah* satirised Jingo politicians like Joseph Chamberlain. Kidd met Zangwill in America, and had long talks with him by the ocean.
- 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 119–20.
- 14. J. St Loe Strachey to Kidd, 15 May 1901, S238.
- 15. Contract with Macmillan and Co., London, 22 October 1901, PA15. Kidd assigned them the English language rights, excluding the USA.
- 16. The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes commented: 'This volume reminds us, as no other does, of the writings of Francis Bacon. Mr Kidd, like the author of "Novum Organum", regards himself as the herald of a new dawn, the pioneer of a fresh era, the first of a series of writers who will regard all thinkers who have preceded them as Bacon regarded the venerated authori-

ties of the great dead past. At last we have the key to the philosophy of history, at last the secret of the universe is disclosed to us.' *Methodist Times*, 27 March 1902.

- 17. Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, vol. 1 (1918), trans. C.F. Atkinson (London, 1926; repr. 1971), p. 370.
- 18. See B. Kidd, 'Sociology', *Encylopaedia Britannica*, 10th edn, vol. 32 (1902), p. 697.
- 19. See, e.g. Soffer, *Ethics and Society*, pp. 199–222. Cf. *Principles of Western Civilisation*, pp. 353–4.
- 20. He was unduly impressed by statistical forecasts that the existing European population of 500 million would have become 2000 million in another century, with the remainder of the world's population 'so far as can be seen, destined to remain comparatively stationary' (p. 337)!
- 21. He was aware from his Progressivist friends in America of various attempts that had been made in the 1890s to remove radical professors from American campuses. In 1894 the University of Wisconsin refused to dismiss Richard T. Ely because of his 'socialist' leanings. In 1895 the University of Chicago created a national furore by removing Edward Bemis, a student of Ely and adviser to Henry Demarest Lloyd, from his professorship in Political Economy. See Destler, *Henry Demarest Lloyd*, ch. 17.
- 22. W.T. Stead to Kidd, 19 February 1902, S221.
- 23. W.T. Stead to Kidd, 19 February 1902, S221.
- 24. Kidd to W.T. Stead, nd (c. 26 February 1902), K217 (written at Grand Hotel, Swanage).
- 25. W.T. Stead to Kidd, 28 February, 1902.
- 26. Kidd to W.T. Stead, nd (1902), K218.
- 27. Kidd to J.S. Mackenzie, 20 February 1902. He added: 'I hope you will give me a good review in the journal of Ethics'. Mackenzie was now editor of the *International Journal of Ethics*.
- 28. Frederick Harrison, 'Mr. Benjamin Kidd's Philosophy', *Positivist Review*, vol. 10 (1 April 1902), pp. 90–3. Kidd had in fact alluded to Comte in *Social Evolution*. The *New York Times*'s London correspondent accused Harrison of 'overstepping the bounds of literary criticism'. *New York Times*, 12 April 1902.
- 29. W.M. Daniels, *Atlantic Monthly*, vol. 89, no. 526 (June 1902), p. 858.

- 30. Jack London, *War of the Classes* (New York, London, 1905).
- 31. Cuttings SB5, p. 85. (The second quote is from Louisville Evening Post, 15 March 1902.)
- 32. E.T.A. Kennedy to Kidd, 19 February 1902. (Kennedy had been a colleague in Inland Revenue.)
- 33. Anon., 'Mr. Kidd the Cheap Philosopher', Saturday Review, 15 February 1902.
- 34. J.H. Muirhead, *Hibbert Journal*, vol. 1 (October 1902), pp. 147–54.
- 35. See Leslie Stephen, 'The Ascendancy of the Future', *Nineteenth Century and After*, vol. 51, no. 303 (May 1902), pp. 795–810.
- 36. A.S. Pringle-Pattison, *The Philosophical Radicals and Other Essays* (London, 1907), p. 74.
- 37. For a companion piece to Stephen's review, but notably more sympathetic, by another historian of utilitarianism, see the thoughtful essay by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison in *Contemporary Review*, vol. 81 (June 1902), pp. 805–22; reprinted in *The Philosophical Radicals and Other Essays*, pp. 47–77.
- 38. Athenaeum, 29 March 1902, pp. 391-2.
- 39. Paul S. Reinsch, American Journal of Sociology, vol. 8, no. 1 (July 1902), pp. 129-33.
- 40. E.g. Political Science Quarterly, vol. 17 (1902), pp. 515–18, by Edmond Kelly. George P. Brett, president of American Macmillan, wrote to Maud: 'The book is moving although much more slowly than I hoped. Indeed the reviews on this side are, to say the least, unsatisfactory.' George P. Brett to Maud Kidd, 16 May 1902, M105.
- 41. Kelly, *ibid.*, p. 516.
- 42. Church Quarterly Review, vol. 55 (1902), pp. 223–8. For a Catholic criticism, see George Tyrrell, *Month* (April 1902), pp. 412–18.
- 43. *The Times*, 21 February 1902. See also Kidd to editor, *The Times*, 26 February 1902, rejecting the charge of being pessimistic about the present age.
- 44. Indianapolis Sentinel, 11 May 1902.
- 45. Milwaukee Sentinel, (?) March 1902; Philadelphia Ledger, 6 March 1902.
- 46. New York Tribune, 14 April 1902.
- 47. Cape Times, 18 March 1902; Sydney Morning Herald, 12 April 1902; Dunedin Outlook, 26 April 1902.

- 48. Toronto Globe, 17 March 1902.
- 49. Spectator, 22 February 1902. The reviewer was T.H. Warren, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. St L. Strachey to Kidd, 27 February 1902, S239. Warren, an old friend of Milner from his Oxford days, wrote to Kidd and the two became friendly.
- 50. T.H. Warren to Kidd, 14 March 1902, W14. See preceding footnote.
- 51. F.W.H. (Headley), 'Evolution and Anti-Materialism', *Nature* (Supplement), vol. 65 (24 April 1902), pp. vi–viii. Kidd, of course, had emphasised Weismann's theory of 'panmixia' in *Social Evolution*, but said nothing of it in *Western Civilisation*.
- 52. Kidd to editor, *Nature* (draft), nd (c. April–May 1902), K195.
- 53. Kidd to editor, *Nature* (draft), 6 May 1902, K78. Also F.W. Headley to *Nature*, nd (c. April–May 1902), H43.
- 54. Kidd to A.R. Wallace, 2 April 1902, K72.
- 55. Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-tung: Ruler of Red China* (New York, 1950), p. 37.
- 56. E.R. Hughes, *The Invasion of China by the Western World* (London, 1937), p. 209.
- 57. For the latter point I am indebted to my colleague Clayton Bredt.
- 58. Donald W. Treadgold, *The West in Russia and China* (Cambridge, 1973), vol. 2, p. 147.
- 59. Hao Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890–1907 (Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 168–77.
- 60. Quoted *ibid.*, p. 175.
- 61. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, 'The theory of Benjamin Kidd who made a revolutionary change of the evolutionary theories', quoted *ibid.*, p. 172.
- 62. Quoted Hughes, *The Invasion of China*, pp. 210–11. (The concluding words are italicised in the original from 'there must be the sacrifice'.)

4 Tariff reform

1. Kidd to T.H. Thring, 3 February 1902. He was applying to rejoin the Authors' Society, typically desiring that the 5 guineas joining fee should be waived.

- 2. J. Saxon Mills, 'The Liberal Eclipse', *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 79 (April 1903), pp. 679–80.
- 3. H.C.G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists* (Oxford, 1973). I am indebted to Matthew's book for essential background.
- 4. Ibid., p. 78.
- 5. Lord Rosebery, National Policy (London, 1901), q. ibid., p. 79.
- 6. Lord Rosebery to Kidd, 28 February 1902, R58.
- 7. Kidd to Lord Rosebery, nd (c. 7 March, 1902?), K221; also Rosebery to Kidd, 15 December 1902, R59.
- 8. Kidd to C.F. Moberly Bell, nd (c. early 1902), K206.
- 9. A. Dawson to Kidd, 5 March 1902.
- 10. F.H. Giddings to Kidd, 7 March 1902.
- 11. Ayrshire ILP to Kidd, 13 March 1902.
- 12. B. Kidd, 'The Man Who is to Come', Harper's Magazine, vol. 106, no. 632 (January 1903), pp. 215–20 (also in Current Opinion (New York), vol. 34 (February 1903), pp. 141–4). See also Harper's Magazine to Kidd, 11 April, 2 May 1902. Kidd's original title was 'Developments in the Theory of Organic Evolution'.
- 13. Henry Newbolt to Kidd, 1 April 1902, N67.
- 14. B. Kidd, 'Prefatory Essay: The Application of the Doctrine of Evolution to Sociological Theory and Problems', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 10th edn, (1902), vol. 29, pp. vii–xx.
- 15. Kidd to Hugh Chisholm, 2 June 1902, K81; also Chisholm to Kidd, 3 April 1902, 11 April 1902, 16 June 1902; Kidd to Chisholm, 17 June 1902.
- 16. Chisholm to Kidd, 19 June 1902, E47.
- 17. B. Kidd, 'Sociology', *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1902), pp. 692–8. With the application of evolution to society, he added, sociology must concern itself with all the subjects included under the old 'philosophy of history'; while 'when the contents of the individual mind are viewed as the correlative of the evolutionary process in society, the ultimate problems of ethics and psychology are also seen to be involved' (p. 696).
- 18. C. Moberly Bell to Kidd, 8 September 1902, Times Managerial Letter Books (*The Times* Archives), vol. 31, fol. 982.
- 19. Joseph Chamberlain, 'Recent Developments of Policy in the United States', *Scribner's Magazine*, vol. 24 (December 1898), pp. 674–82.

- 20. D.A. Hamer, Liberal Politics in the Age of Gladstone and Rosebery (Oxford, 1972), p. 96. See also Denis Judd, Radical Joe: A Life of Joseph Chamberlain (London, 1977).
- 21. E.g. Austen Chamberlain to Kidd, 3 June 1901.
- 22. Kidd to Joseph Chamberlain, 8 April 1902, K74.
- 23. Notes by Franklin Kidd on his father's share dealings give the following information: October 1900 – Kidd ran an overdraft (\pounds_{775}) with the National Provincial Bank against part of his holding of eighty-five Canadian Pacific Railroad shares; he also held £1000 (face-value) shares in Grand Trunk Pacific, second preference at Birkbeck Bank, market value at 73¹2 in April 1901, circa £730. April–September 1901 – he sold his eighty-five Canadian Pacific shares (net £1668) and bought Grand Trunk Pacific, second preference, at 73¹² (£1800 net f_{1329}). He carried through a rather complicated deal with Birkbeck and National Provincial which ended on 11 September with National Provincial holding in Kidd's name £2800 Grand Trunk certificates at 87^{18} (market value £2435) against advance of £1600 (i.e. net to Kidd approximately £835), and Birkbeck's holding in his name certificates for £1200 Grand Trunk railroad at 87¹8 (market value £1044) without lien on it: That is, a total value held by Kidd of £1880 approximately. Thus Kidd made £200 approximately in under six months in effect on £1000 borrowed from National Provincial Bank on the rise in the value of Grand Trunk stock. As Franklin commented: 'When Benjamin Kidd put his full mind to finance he was very good at it, and so was Grandpa [Constable Kidd, then in retirement at Dulwich] who studied stocks and shares very closely although he had no money to operate with' (Investment 2 and 3, Kidd MSS., Llanfair).
- 24. J. Chamberlain to Kidd, 15 April 1902.
- 25. Kidd to J. Chamberlain, 12 April 1902.
- 26. Kidd to W.S. Teignmonth Shore (editor *Academy*), 29 October 1903, K103.
- 27. Kidd to J. Chamberlain, 25 May 1902.
- 28. E.T. Cook to Kidd, 1 June 1902.
- 29. Edgar Wallace, A Short Autobiography (London, 1929), p. 150.
- 30. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 21 December 1898, M300. Pember Reeves later became a respected Fabian (and is better remem-

bered as the father of Amber Reeves, mistress of H.G. Wells). A number of Fabians, including Sidney and Beatrice Webb, floated for a time on the perimeter of the Liberal Imperialist group. The phrase about Zeitgeist was to become common in the next few years.

- 31. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 5 February 1899; 24 April 1899; 11 December 1899; 25 December 1900 (M302; M307ff.). As early as February 1899 Mills wrote: 'I may possibly run to the Cape for 6 months or so to help Garrett with the Cape Times.' L.S. Amery wrote of Mills in his memoirs that he had been a former editor of the *Daily Chronicle* but 'had been pushed out by his pro-Boer proprietors for supporting the South African War, and had since edited the *Cape Times*': *My Political Life* (London, 1953), vol. 1, p. 238.
- 32. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 12 March 1901, M308.
- 33. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 9 July 1901, M309. On Mills's editorship, see Gerald Shaw, *Some Beginnings: The Cape Times* (London, New York, 1975), pp. 114–22.
- 34. W.T. Stead to Kidd, 23 July 1902, S209.
- 35. B. Kidd, 'Lady St. Helier's Memoirs', Outlook, vol. 24, no. 612 (23 October 1909), p. 551. He reviewed her *Memories of Fifty Years* (London, 1909).
- 36. Lady Mary Jeune to Kidd, 16 July 1902; to Milner, 3 August 1902.
- 37. Moberly Bell to Kidd, 2 July 1902; 11 July 1902; Kidd to Moberly Bell, 2 July 1902; T36, T37, K83.
- 38. St Loe Strachey to Kidd, 14 July 1902, S240: 'If you write at the £6 per letter I don't feel I ought to pledge myself to take more than six letters at the most.'
- 39. Alfred Harmsworth to Kidd, 8 August 1902.
- 40. Moberly Bell to Kidd (memo), 22 August 1902; also Kidd to Moberly Bell, nd (c. August 1902), K197.
- 41. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 23 July 1902, M313.
- 42. Sir Alfred Milner to Mrs Montefiore, 22 March 1901, q. Cecil Headlam, ed., *The Milner Papers* (London, 1933), vol. 2, pp. 235–6. There were probably visits to 'Sunnyside' on 3 and 22 October 1902.
- 43. Milner had written to Kidd, 18 August 1902, M350: 'I am glad to hear that you are making a visit to South Africa. It will interest you to know that the idea of white labour for the

Mines, which you will remember advocating when you last saw me, has struck root here.'

- 44. Wallace, Autobiography, p. 146.
- 45. O. Walrond to Kidd, 22 October 1902, W5.
- 46. Milner to Kidd, 25 November 1902, M352.
- 47. Wallace, *Autobiography*, pp. 150, 152. Kidd was interviewed by Wallace at the *Rand Daily Mail* office on 23 September.
- 48. 'The Rand Labour Problem', interview with Kidd, Westminster Gazette, 7 February 1903.
- 49. T. Wilson to Kidd, 26 March 1895, W98.
- 50. See e.g. Saxon Mills to editor, *The Times*, 8 January 1903, p. 8: 'Personally I found a strong feeling among the mine-owners in favour of imported Chinese labour – a policy . . . of absolute despair.'
- 51. *Transvaal Leader*, 23 September 1903; *The Times*, 24 August 1902. Kidd seems to have been considerably influenced by articles on the Rand labour problem by *The Times*'s correspondent at Johannesburg.
- 52. B. Kidd, 'Economic South Africa, II', *The Times*, 30 December 1902, p. 6.
- 53. B. Kidd, 'Economic South Africa, IV', *The Times*, 6 January 1903, p. 6.
- 54. B. Kidd, 'The Elevation of Tropical Races', *Independent*, 8 September 1904, pp. 545–9 (above quotes from same source).
- 55. The articles appeared as follows: 'Economic South Africa', Article I, 27 December 1902, p. 8; Article II, 30 December 1902, p. 6; Article III, 31 December 1902, p. 4; Article IV, 6 January 1903, p. 6. The following quotes are from Article IV.
- 56. Editorial, The Times, 6 January 1903.
- 57. Kidd to Milner, 16 January 1903, K86.
- 58. *Ibid.* See 'Two South African Problems', *Spectator*, 17 January 1903, pp. 77–8, which advocated Kidd's solution: a combined use of white labour and labour-saving machinery.
- 59. Spectator, 10 January 1903, pp. 43-4.
- 60. *The Financial Times*, 7 January 1903. It declared Kidd's essays 'of much value'.
- 61. Sir Francis Knollys to Kidd, 14 February 1903, K298.
- 62. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 27 December 1902, M316; 14 January 1903; 22 February 1903, M320.
- 63. Thomas Wilson to Kidd, 28 June 1902, W104; also W107.

Wilson also brought Kidd into contact with his Cambridge friends at colleges such as Trinity and Emmanuel.

- 64. W.M. Crook to Kidd, 12 February 1903; 2 March 1903; 23 March (1903?); 11 January 1904; 22 January 1904.
- 65. Whitefriars Journal, no. 12 (January 1903), p. 20. Whitefriars to Kidd, c. 22 January 1903, W75.
- 66. Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute, vol. 34 (1903), pp. 153–6.
- 67. *Ibid.*, pp. 248–74.
- 68. Kidd to Milner, 25 April 1908, K140. Milner described the address as *'in view of its date*, a very remarkable statement of what I may call "fundamentals". Milner to Kidd, 8 June 1908, M355.
- 69. Peter Fraser, Joseph Chamberlain (London, 1966), p. xv. 1 have relied on Fraser; Judd, Radical Joe: A Life of Joseph Chamberlain (London, 1977); and Julian Amery, Life of Chamberlain, vols. 4–6 (London: vol. 4, 1951; vols. 5 and 6, 1969).
- 70. The Times, 16 May 1903.
- 71. Quoted Amery, Chamberlain, vol. 5, pp. 193-4.
- 72. Quoted *ibid.*, vol. 5; also Amery, *My Political Life*, vol. 1, p. 238.
- 73. Kidd to Lord Milner, 25 April 1908, K140. I have put the words into direct speech. The Chamberlain letter referred to has not been located.
- 74. B. Kidd, 'The State in Relation to Trade', *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. 34 (1903), pp. 248–274 (including discussion). Following quotes from this source.
- 75. Kidd to Chamberlain, nd (c. 24 April 1903), K232; Chamberlain to Kidd, 14 May 1903.
- 76. Kidd to Chamberlain, nd (c. 16 May 1903), K230.
- 77. *Daily Mail* (ed. Marlowe) to Kidd (telegram), 18 May 1903. The *Daily Mail*, after hesitating, came out on Chamberlain's side.
- 78. B. Kidd, letter to editor, Daily Mail, c. 19 May 1903.
- 79. B. Kidd, 'Trusts', World, 10th May 1903; 'Imperial Policy and Free Trade', *Nineteenth Century and After*, vol. 54, no. 317 (July 1903), pp. 33–54.
- 80. Kidd, 'Imperial Policy and Free Trade' (1903), p. 36.
- 81. Chairman Croydon Liberal and Radical Association to Kidd, 6

June 1903, M371, and 23 June 1903.

- 82. A.J. Balfour to Kidd, 28 May 1903; F.H. Jeune to Kidd, 29 May 1903, S5.
- 83. Keir Hardie to Kidd, 11 June 1903, H14; 16 July 1903.
- 84. Derek Judd, *Balfour and the British Empire* (London, 1968), p. 113.
- 85. Amery, Chamberlain, vol. 5, p. 305.
- 86. Duke of Sutherland to Kidd, 14 July 1903, S255.
- 87. B. Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform* (London, 1960), pp. 75–82; Amery, *Chamberlain*, vol. 5, p. 286.
- 88. Amery, My Political Life, vol. 1, p. 238.
- 89. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 19 July 1903, M322.
- 90. W.A.S. Hewins to Kidd, 19 July 1903.
- 91. For example, Kidd to editor, *The Times*, 18 July 1903, 9 October 1903, 15 October 1903. For criticism of Kidd's statistics, see S. Rosenbaum to editor, *The Times*, 21 October 1903.
- 92. For example, letter to editor of *The Times* opposing preference by fourteen Professors of Political Economy, 5 August 1903.
- 93. Kidd to T.A. Brassey, 30 July 1903.
- 94. Amery, My Political Life, vol. 1, p. 239.
- 95. H.J. Mackinder to Kidd, 8 August 1903, M47. Mackinder apparently understood that he would organise the literary work: L.S. Amery to Kidd, 9 August 1903, A35. Mackinder enlisted Hewins's support to be secretary of the executive: 'Good *private* news. Hewins will join the Committee if I am Sec. He proposes going straight to Chamberlain to ask him to intervene.' Mackinder to Kidd, nd, M49.
- 96. Amery, My Political Life, vol. 1, pp. 238–9.
- 97. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 31 July 1903, M324.
- 98. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 16 August 1903, M35.
- 99. J.A. Spender, *Life*, *Journalism and Politics* (London, 1927), vol. 1, p. 117.
- 100. Kidd to Balfour, 28 September 1903, K97.
- 101. *Ibid.* Kidd's economic ideas were influenced by the writings of the German economist Georg Friedrich List (1789–1846), a protectionist who stressed the economic importance of nations as against the individualism and cosmopolitanism of Adam Smith.
- 102. Kidd to J. Chamberlain, nd (c. 19 September 1903), K234.

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- 103. Spender, Life, Journalism and Politics, vol. 1, pp. 110-11.
- 104. Kidd to The Times, 5 November 1903 (p. 10).
- 105. Sec. London Chamber of Commerce to Kidd, 15 October 1903 (the dinner took place on 11 November).
- 106. Sec. Economic Club to Kidd, 9 December 1903. He declined but agreed to take part in a later debate on 'dumping', led by C.P. Sanger.
- 107. Hammond Hall to Kidd, 14 October 1903, D9; 31 October 1903, D12; 2 January 1904. Also Kidd to Hammond Hall, 6 November 1903.
- 108. Kidd to W.S. Teignmonth Shore, 29 October 1903, K103.
- 109. J. Knowles to Kidd, 24 October 1903; 7 November 1903; 21 December 1903. The article is discussed below.
- 110. Kidd to Chamberlain, nd (c. November 1903), K233.
- 111. E.g. W.A.S. Hewins, Apologia of an Imperialist (London, 1929), vol. 1, pp. 78–9. The full list of members is given in The Times, 18 December 1903, p. 7 and in Amery, Chamberlain, vol. 6, pp. 531–2 n3. Semmel inaccurately states that Kidd served on the Commission: Imperialism and Social Reform, p. 102. The Times described the Commission as consisting of 'practical men'.
- 112. J. Chamberlain to Kidd, 23 December 1903.
- 113. C.A. Pearson to Kidd, 22 October 1903, P31.
- 114. Kidd to W.S. Teignmonth Shore, 29 October 1903, K103; Shore to Kidd, 30 October 1903, S104. (The journal's full title was *Academy and Literature*.)
- 115. J. Saxon Mills to Kidd, 15 October 1903, M326.
- 116. William Lucas to Kidd, 8 December, 1903, L26.
- 117. W.G. Ashley to Kidd, 10 December, 1903. Ashley and Kidd formed a closer acquaintance as a result of this correspondence.
- 118. William Lucas to Kidd, 11 December 1903, L27.
- 119. B. Kidd, 'The Larger Basis of Colonial Preference', Nineteenth Century and After, vol. 55, no. 323 (January 1904), pp. 12–29. Following quotes from this source, if not otherwise indicated.
- 120. B. Kidd, 'Nation-Making', Outlook, vol. 16, no. 389 (15 July 1905), p. 49.
- 121. Hammond Hall to Kidd, 14 October 1903; January 1904; 4 April 1904; 28 April 1904. See B. Kidd, 'Colonial Preference

and Free Trade', Articles 1–10, *Daily Graphic*, 31 October to 10 November 1904.

- 122. Fabian News, May 1904 (clipping SB4, p. 40).
- 123. Edward Pease to Kidd, 7 June 1904, F6; also 19 May 1904, F5.
- 124. Kidd to Pease, 8 June 1904.
- 125. Semmel highlights the club's influence, while H.C.G. Matthew diminishes it. See Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform*, pp. 75–82, and H.C.G. Matthew, *The Liberal Imperialists* (Oxford, 1973), p. 167.
- 126. L.S. Amery to Kidd, 3 March 1904. Just which 'small League' was meant is not clear from available evidence.
- 127. Semmel, *Imperialism and Social Reform*, p. 113, and generally ch. 5.
- 128. Judd, Radical Joe, p. 249.
- 129. National Liberal Club to Kidd, 2 January 1905, N8.
- 130. Quoted, Matthew, *Liberal Imperialists*, p. 167; generally pp. 166–8, 100–2.
- 131. H.H. Asquith to H. Campbell-Bannerman, 18 May 1903, q. *ibid.*, p. 100.
- 132. Saxon Mills commented: 'I was a Liberal Imperialist, but I feel myself rather in the position of the Irishman who complained that the whole regiment was out of step.' *Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute*, vol. 35 (December 1903), p. 61. Kidd also spoke (*ibid.*, pp. 60–1).
- 133. Thomas Wilson to Kidd, 8 September 1903, W112.
- 134. H.M. Johnstone to Kidd, 18 December 1903.
- 135. H.M. Johnstone to Kidd, 18 February 1904.
- 136. Kidd to H.M. Johnstone, 20 February 1904, K111.
- 137. The Times, 16 November 1904 (cutting in SB4).
- 138. J. Chamberlain to Kidd, 17 December 1904.
- 139. Semmel, Imperialism and Social Reform, p. 111.
- 140. Mary Chamberlain to Kidd, 9 January 1905.
- 141. Kidd to J. Chamberlain, nd (c. March 1905), K199.
- 142. Kidd to Lord Ridley, nd (c. March 1905); also J. Walter to Kidd, 20 March 1906, W6.
- 143. Kidd to J. Walter, 22 March 1905 (draft).
- 144. Kidd to J. Chamberlain, 30 March 1905, K129.
- 145. J. Chamberlain to Kidd, 25 May 1905.
- 146. Kidd, 'The Decadence of Liberal Thought', (1905), pp. 722–3. Following quotes from this source.

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- 147. Kidd to J. Chamberlain, 23 November 1905.
- 148. J. Chamberlain to Kidd, 25 November 1905.

5 Individualism and after

- 1. Albion W. Small, American Journal of Sociology, vol. 5 (July 1899), p. 123. Small later attacked 'The sciolistic electicism represented by Benjamin Kidd, which the editors of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* mistook for sociology', *ibid.*, vol. 30 (1924–5), p. 218, q. Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*, p. 189n.
- 2. H.C. Skelton, 'Is Sociology a Science?', Fortnightly Review, vol. 96 (August 1914), p. 341.
- See Lester F. Ward, 'The Data of Sociology', American Journal of Sociology. vol. 1, no. 6 (May 1896), p. 748, and 'Sociology and Cosmology', *ibid.*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1895), pp. 136ff; F.H. Giddings, 'Imperialism', Political Science Quarterly, vol. 13 (December 1898), pp. 599ff; E.A. Ross, 'Social Control', American Journal of Sociology, vol. 1 (March 1896), p. 527; and C.A. Ellwood, Sociology in its Psychological Aspects (London 1913), pp. 9, 38, 243-4, 274.
- F.W. Headley, Problems of Evolution (London 1900), p. 275, also pp. 84, 285, 288, 290, 322, 324-5. P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York 1928), pp. 662, 671, 691-2;
- 5. Sociological Papers, vol. 1 (1905), introductory pamphlet, pp. 24–8. The meeting is fully described in Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*, pp. 198–201.
- The Times, 6 July 1903; American Journal of Sociology, vol. 9 (1903–4), pp. 275–6; Sociological Society to Kidd, 21 January 1904, S176; also Meeting of General (Provisional) Committee, Agenda, 20 November 1903, S166. For an excellent account of the early society, see R.J. Halliday, 'The Sociological Movement, the Sociological Society and the Genesis of Academic Sociology in Britain', Sociological Review, vol. 16, no. 3 (November, 1968), pp. 377–98.
- 7. Halliday, *ibid.*, p. 377.
- 8. 'The Battlefield of Sociology', *Outlook* (London) vol. 20, no. 497 (10 August 1907), p. 179.
- 9. Victor Branford to Kidd, 9 March 1904, S176.

- 10. V. Branford to Kidd, 14 March 1904; Frederick Macmillan to Kidd, 9 March 1904, M191.
- 11. The Chinese edition was unofficial. Macmillan received a copy of the translation from Kelly and Walsh, booksellers of Shanghai, and duly forwarded it to Kidd, who was most tickled. See above, ch. 3.
- 12. Royal Commission on the Decline of the Birth-Rate and on the Mortality of Infants in New South Wales (1904), vol. 2 (Government Printer, Sydney), pp. 230-6, 245-6. I am indebted for location of this source to Neville Hicks, 'This Sin and Scandal': Australia's Population Debate, 1891-1911 (Canberra, 1978), p. 98 and passim. He points out that Kidd's name was widely quoted in the press and journals, and even at the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1901; pp. 56, 97, 110. The commission president Hon. C.K. Mackellar's papers contain hand-written notes from Social Evolution.
- 13. Macmillan to Kidd, 4 February 1904, M79.
- 14. George P. Brett to Kidd, 12 April 1904, M108.
- 15. Kidd to H. Chisholm, 15 August 1904, E51; and nd (1904), K229.
- 16. T. Herbert Warren to Kidd, 13 May 1904, W15; 21 June 1904, W16.
- 17. William Cunningham to Kidd, 3 July 1904. The British Association visit took place from 17–24 August.
- 18. British Medical Association to Kidd, 18 May 1904, L9. I have found no information that he attended.
- 19. B. Kidd, *The Science of Power* (8th edn, 1919), pp. 77–82. More fully discussed below, ch. 6.
- 20. F. Galton, 'Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 10, no. 1 (July 1904), p. 1, and generally pp. 1–25. The paper was read at the London School of Economics on 16 May 1904. Caleb Saleeby, the socialist eugenist, recalled in 1919 how he and Kidd had been present: *Yorkshire Observer*, 2 April 1919. Hobhouse, also present, was alarmed too by the dangerous social implications of eugenism: Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology*, p. 202.
- 21. Galton, 'Eugenics: Its Definition, Scope and Aims', pp. 13ff.
- 22. *Eugenics Review*, vol. 12 (1920–1), p. 72. (letter to editor by George Pitt Rivers).
- 23. Science of Power, (8th edn, 1919), p. 78. As this account of his

reaction is permeated with a theoretical analysis that belongs to the period of World War I, it is dealt with more fully in ch. 6.

- 24. W.F. Alexander, 'Evolution and the Soul', Contemporary Review, vol. 85 (April 1904), pp. 519-31.
- 25. B. Kidd, 'The Man Who is to Come', *Current Opinion*, vol. 34 (February 1903), p. 142 (originally published in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. 106. no. 632, (January 1903), pp. 215–20).
- 26. Kidd to H.G. Wells, 22 April 1904, K120.
- 27. H.G. Wells to Kidd, 29 April 1904, W64. Kidd duly sent him a copy of *Control of the Tropics*.
- 28. B. Kidd, 'Mr. Well's Utopia', Outlook vol. 15, no. 378 (29 April 1954), pp. 616–7 (unsigned).
- 29. See B. Kidd, 'Science and Higher Education', Outlook, vol. 18, no. 445 (August 1906), pp. 181–2. He deplored the specialism that divorced the two branches of knowledge: 'In the result we are getting one of the characteristic products of the time namely, men highly trained in a few branches of natural science and who may obtain the highest academic distinction therein without being at the same time in any real sense educated . . . the entire world of literature, philosophy, art and history has remained practically closed to him.' This did not prevent them often posing arrogantly as authorities on vital social and political matters. (Perhaps he had Karl Pearson in mind.) See also B. Kidd, 'Commerce as a Science', Outlook, vol. 18, no. 446 (18 August 1906), pp. 213–4
- 30. Based on an interview with Jack Kidd at Welwyn village , 1979.
- 31. B. Kidd, 'The Simple Life', interview with the *Daily Graphic*, 28 April 1905. Following quotes from this source.
- 32. B. Kidd, 'The Phantom of Race Degeneracy', Outlook, vol. 16, no. 401 (30 September 1905), pp. 425–6.
- 33. *Ibid.* He added: 'How many realise that the so-called degenerate standards at which the controversialists are so often tilting have behind them the most effective of all sanctions – their own merits from the point of view of the race rather than the individual, and the fact that the peoples among which they have prevailed are for this reason in the van of the world's progress.'
- 34. *Ibid.* He even argued that standards of beauty were coming to reflect the development of a more ethical type: 'that face which

shall suggest to us something of the spirit of the universal sympathy, the universal tolerance, the universal refinement of the future for which humanity yearns': 'Living Beauty and Aesthetic Types', *Outlook*, vol. 17, no. 429 (21 April 1906), pp. 544–5. The paper argued the Darwinian view that standards of beauty and taste were relativistic, and closely related to social utility and survival value. 'The sensuousness of earlier types of female beauty does not satisfy the modern mind.' Many utopians predicted a future race of unblemished beauty and health (although Wells in the *Time Machine* made them a race of 'cattle' for the ugly, but dominant, Morlocks).

- 35. See A.M. Gollin, *The 'Observer' and J.L. Garvin*, 1908–1914: *A Study in a Great Editorship* (London, 1960), ch. 1.
- 36. *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.
- 37. E. Grigg to Kidd, 1 May 1905, O6. See Bibliography for a list of his *Outlook* articles.
- 38. J.L. Garvin to Kidd, 6 June 1905, G7.
- 39. J.L. Garvin to Kidd, 23 October 1905. Kidd's letter has not survived.
- 40. Kidd to J.L. Garvin, 24 October 1905; and J.L. Garvin to Kidd, 25 October 1905, G9.
- 41. J.L. Garvin to Kidd, 23 April 1906, Garvin Papers, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas.
- 42. J.L. Garvin to Kidd, 28 April 1906, O18.
- 43. E.g. he addressed the Birmingham University's Socratic Society on 7 December 1905, on 'The First Principles of Sociology', for which 'delightful' speech he received £1-14-0. No record seems to have survived of the occasion. He was elected a member of the Birmingham Classical Association. See E.A. Sonnenshein to Kidd, 7 July 1905, S187; 26 July 1905, S188; 10 December 1905, S191; and Birmingham Socratic Society to Kidd, 12 December 1905, S66.
- 44. The lectures were never published, but there were short reports in *The Times*, 2 and 10 February 1906. Constable and Co. asked him to consider publishing the lectures as a small book but the project fell through: Constable and Co. to Kidd, 1 March 1906.
- 45. Introduction to second edition of *Principles of Western Civilisation* (1908), p. xvi, and generally pp. xvii–xviii. Kidd attacked eugenics again in February 1906 after listening to a

paper by William McDougall before the Sociological Society entitled 'A Practicable Eugenic Suggestion'. Kidd commented at the meeting that top nations needed large populations, and that breeding for purely intellectual elites was predicated upon 'a dangerous fallacy... We cannot approach the study of these large questions armed only with a footrule and a few biological generalisations': *Sociological Papers*, vol. 3 (1907), pp. 82–3; paper read 21 February 1906.

- 46. H.G. Wells, 'The So-Called Science of Sociology', Sociological Papers, vol. 3 (1907), pp. 357–77; read at London School of Economics, 26 February 1906; Kidd's comment on the paper, *ibid.*, pp. 371–2.
- 47. Report in Free Press, 16 February 1906, in SB4/46.
- 48. Kidd to Dr. Herbert Snow, 30 July 1906. In May he had taken a brief holiday and rest cure at Weston-super-mare. The previous year they holidayed at Stirling in Scotland.
- 49. B.Kidd, 'Rejuvenescence', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 455 (20 October 1906), pp. 503–4. At this time he showed great interest in chemical methods of rejuvenating cells and prolonging life.
- 50. B. Kidd, 'Tolstoy: The Last Phase', *Outlook*, vol. 17, no. 427, (17 March 1906), pp. 379–80.
- 51. B. Kidd, 'Lord Acton on Modern History', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 452 (29 September 1906), pp. 416–7. After reading Acton, he insisted that the future empire must be 'an Empire of Liberty to be different, rather than of Necessity to be the same.'
- 52. B. Kidd, 'The American Sphinx', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 449 (8 September 1906), pp. 31–2.
- 53. Gollin, 'The Observer' and J.L. Garvin, 1908–1914, pp. 15–16.
- 54. Albert Masey to Kidd, 11 December 1906, O27.
- 55. J.L. Garvin to Kidd, 12 January 1907, G18.
- 56. B. Kidd, 'The Two Principal Laws of Sociology', *Rivista di Scienza*, pt 1, vol. 2, no. 4 (1907); pt 2, vol. 3, no. 5 (1908); published in English as *The Two Principal Laws of Sociology* (Williams and Norgate, London; pt 1, 1907, pp. 1–18; pt 2, 1908, pp. 1–16). References following in the text are to the latter publication. Kidd was paid £24 for the two articles, which appeared in Italian in the Italian edition of the review and in English for the international edition. Rignano projected

his review as one of scientific synthesis covering the international scene, and included such distinguished figures as Poincaré, Binet, Weismann, Durkheim, Adam Sedgwick and Francis Darwin. See E. Rignano to Kidd, R33–R44 (Rignano's letters were in French).

- 57. N.S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory* (3rd edn, New York, 1967), p. 294. Kidd had anticipated some of these ideas in his 1902 article on 'Sociology' for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. See ch. 4 above.
- 58. Greville Macdonald opposed Kidd's communalist and futurist ethics in *The Ethics of Revolt* (London, 1907), arguing that ethics must be 'individually utilitarian' to survive: p. 150, and ch. 6 generally.
- 59. F. Macmillan to Kidd, 27 November 1907, M199; G.P. Brett to Kidd, 10 March 1908, M110.
- 60. Introduction to second edition, *Principles of Western Civilisation* (London, 1908), p. vii (dated Tonbridge, January 1908).
- 61. *Ibid.*, pp. xxii–xxiii. This phrase led the *Review of Reviews* to plead: 'I wish Mr. Kidd would learn to think in French. He would become so much more lucid if he did', vol. 37 (March 1908).
- 62. Ibid., p. xx (my emphasis).
- 63. Outlook, vol. 21, no. 525 (29 February 1908), p. 309.
- 64. A. Masey to Kidd, 2 March 1908, O30.
- 65. Quoted by S.H. Mellone, *Mind*, vol. 17 (1908), pp. 98–9.
- 66. J.H. Muirhead to Kidd, 25 March 1908, M385.
- 67. B. Kidd, 'Intelligence of Squirrels', *Outlook*, vol. 19, no. 474 (2 March 1907), pp. 288–9, repr. *Philosopher with Nature*, pp. 207–11.
- 68. B. Kidd, 'The Habits of the Cuckoo', *Outlook*, vol. 15, no. 380 (13 May 1905), pp. 674–5.
- 69. 'Hares', Outlook, vol. 18, no. 444 (4 August 1906), pp. 151–2, repr. Philosopher with Nature, pp. 68–9.
- 70. Ibid., p. 69.
- 71. B. Kidd, 'The Instinct of Animals', *Century Magazine*, vol. 75 (April 1908), pp. 947–53, repr. *Philosopher with Nature*, pp. 153–70.
- 72. Ibid., pp. 153-4.
- 73. Kidd, 'Hares' (1906), in Philosopher with Nature, p. 70.
- 74. Kidd, 'Instinct of Animals' (1908), p. 156.

- 75. B. Kidd, 'Eels', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 458 (10 November 1906), pp. 599–600, repr. *Philosopher with Nature*, pp. 62–7; see also 'Sea Trout', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 450 (15 September 1906), pp. 343–4, repr. *ibid.*, pp. 148–52.
- 76. Kidd, 'Intelligence of Squirrels' (1907), in *Philosopher with* Nature, pp. 209–10.
- 77. B. Kidd, 'The Mind of a Dog', Outlook, vol. 17, no. 421 (24 February 1906), pp. 261–2, repr. Philosopher with Nature, pp. 204–5.
- 78. Kidd, 'Instinct of Animals' (1908), in *Philosopher with Nature*, pp. 162, 164-5, 169-70. See also 'Wasps', *Outlook*, vol. 16, no. 394 (19 August 1905); pp. 217-18; 'The Ways of Wasps', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 451 (22 September 1906), p. 375.
- 79. Andrew Mitchell to Kidd, 11 May 1908, M359, and M360, 361.
- 80. T. Herbert Warren to Kidd, 13 February 1908, W17; also W18, and *The Times*, 30 May 1908.
- A 'Small Book' was how he described it to Rignano, but others gained the impression of a large work in progress. Kidd to E. Rignano, 8 June 1907, K134; L.T. Hobhouse to Kidd, 1 March 1908, H58.
- 82. There was a brief note on Ward in Kidd's 'Apotheosis of the Male', Outlook, vol. 17, no. 419 (10 February 1906), pp. 198–9. Ward in Outlines of Sociology criticised Kidd's view that reason and religion were opposed: 'Religion is rational through and through . . . it is an exclusively human institution . . . it is the product of thought; an attempt to explain the universe' (New York, 1909 edn, p. 281, also p. 186).
- 83. B. Kidd, *Individualism and After* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908), 36 pp. (Page numbers in text are to this publication.)
- 84. In another article he had favoured the two-party system, which 'everywhere represents organisation, progress, elimination, competition and stress'. *Outlook*, vol. 16, no. 404 (28 October 1905), pp. 577–8, 'The Fears about Party Government'.
- 85. For another graphic account of the development and impact of science see his 'Science in the Nineteenth Century', *Outlook*, vol. 18, no. 448 (1 September 1906), pp. 287–8. Josiah Strong emphasised the population growth of the Anglo-Saxons, and Kidd may have been influenced by him.

NOTES TO PP. 300–6

- 86. Science of Power (8th edn, 1919), pp. 254-6.
- 87. Kidd to Milner, 4 June 1908, K143; 13 June 1908, K144.
- 88. Kidd to Milner, 25 April 1908, K140.
- 89. Kidd to Milner, 4 June 1908, K143.
- 90. A. Masey to Kidd, 12 May 1908, O31.
- 91. Robert Erskine Ely to Kidd, 6 July 1908, E37. Ely, director of Civic Forum, a society promoting international goodwill, commented: 'You must be aware how well known and widely read your works are across the Atlantic.'
- 92. See W.B. Provine, Origins of Population Genetics (University of Chicago Press, 1971), ch. 4.
- 93. Kidd to William Bateson, 23 April 1909. Also Kidd's 'Heredity', Outlook, vol. 21, no. 530 (28 March 1908), pp. 435–6. In this he said: 'The main sociological import of the conclusion that acquired characteristics are not transmissable is that natural selection, with its accompanying stress and struggle, must continue in society, and that the current ideals of socialism which contemplate the suspension of this condition are therefore biologically invalid.'
- 94. Kidd to Bateson, 23 April 1909; Principal McGill University to Kidd, 4 June 1909, P40; H.B.S. Montgomery and A.S. Posnette, 'Franklin Kidd, 1890–1974', *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of Royal Society*, vol. 21 (1975), pp. 407–30. His poetry included *Almond in Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1950) and *The Peopled Earth* (Ryde, 1965).
- 95. B. Kidd, 'A National Policy', *Fortnightly Review*, New Series, vol. 87 (April 1910), pp. 602–14. Subsequent quotes are from this article unless otherwise indicated. The article was mentioned as the first of a series, but no sequel appeared under this title.
- 96. Milner had been arguing in these years that Britain could profit from the German example: 'The vast industrial and commercial development of Germany under that system does absolutely dispose of all *a priori* demonstration of the crippling effect of protective duties upon an otherwise thriving community.' Speech to Constitutional Club, *The Times*, 29 June 1908.
- 97. Kidd, 'A National Policy' (1910), p. 611. Following quotes are from this source.

NOTES TO PP. 307–16

- 98. See E.J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (London, 1968), p. 161.
- 99. Review of Reviews, vol. 41 (April 1910).
- 100. Bolton Journal, 9 April 1910.
- 101. Aberdeen Free Press, 6 April 1910.
- 102. Kidd to W.L Courtney (editor *Fortnightly Review*), 15 January 1910, K160.
- 103. G.W. Balfour to Kidd, 8 February 1909 (Kidd wanted a consultation on the issue of the South African shipping ring, on which he was writing an article); Kidd to A.J. Balfour, 16 February 1909; Kidd to Austen Chamberlain, 27 February 1909; A.J. Balfour to Kidd (telegram), 24 February 1909; J. Wilson to Kidd, 12 March 1909.
- 104. A scrapbook in the Kidd Papers has this entry: 'Draft only for diary': 'Saw Mr. A. Chamberlain at his home today. Discussed editorship of "Outlook" at lunch with him and Mrs Chamberlain. No one else present. He thought my proposal a good one.' BK9, 15 February 1909. No diary has been located.
- 105. 'Tariff Reform and National Policy', Daily Mail Year Book (1910), pp. 1–5.
- 106. Ibid.
- 107. B. Kidd, 'Darwinism', *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh, New York, 1911), vol. 4, p. 405.
- 108. *Ibid*.
- 109. B. Kidd, 'Sociology', *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th edn (1910–11), vol. 25, pp. 322–31.
- 110. Encyclopaedia Britannica to Kidd, 28 April 1910; 10 May 1910; 21 March 1911; 22 December 1911, E56.
- 111. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. J. Hastings (Edinburgh, New York, 1910), vol. 3, p. 685.
- 112. Ibid. (1911), vol. 4, pp. 402–5.
- 113. B. Kidd to Franklin Kidd, 1 May 1910, K166; 17 May 1910.
- 114. B. Kidd, letter to editor *Outlook*, vol. 20, no. 503 (21 September 1907), p. 401. See also Kidd's review, 'The Perception of Time in Sleep', *Outlook*, vol. 20, no. 502 (14 September 1907), pp. 332–3. In 'Suspended Animation' he raised the science-fiction possibility of suspending human life processes for fifty or a hundred years. In one of his own

experiments he found that a toad survived 'for over a year firmly packed in the ground under a depth of two feet of solid London clay'. *Outlook*, vol. 17, no. 439 (30 June 1906), pp. 869–70.

- 115. T.W. Mitchell to Kidd, 11 May 1910, M363; 10 July 1910; 27 October 1911. Also T.W. Mitchell, 'The Appreciation of Time by Somnambules', paper delivered October 1907, published in *Proceedings Society for Psychical Research (PSPR)*, vol. 21, pt 54 (1908), pp. 2–59, repr. Mitchell, *Medical Psychology and Psychical Research* (London, 1922), ch. 1.
- 116. T.W. Mitchell, 'Mesmerism and Christian Science' (review of Frank Podmore's book of same title, 1909), *PSPR*, vol. 25 (1910), p. 697. Also Mitchell, 'Some Recent Developments in Psychotherapy', *PSPR*, vol. 24 (1910), pp. 665–86.
- 117. Harvey Hilliard, Hon. Sec. BMA, to Kidd, 9 June 1910.
- 118. Rev. James Marchant to Kidd, 2 March 1911, N5; 15 March 1911; 27 February 1912. The National Council of Public Morals attracted considerable attention in 1911 when it held a Public Morals Conference in London.
- 119. H.A. Gwynne to Kidd, 11 October 1910, G80; 10 October 1911.
- 120. In 1894, in an interview for the *New Age*, he described the emancipation of women as 'in the main a healthy social movement', part of the general altruistic movement that was taking place in our civilisation. Although it might tend to interfere detrimentally 'with woman's place as wife and mother', the women's movement had raised the tone of public debate on sexual morality by combating double standards. *New Age*, 4 October 1894.
- 121. Grant Allen, The Woman Who Did (London, 1895), p. 177.
- 122. Brighton and Hove Women's Suffrage Society (F. de G. Merrifield) to Kidd, 8 January 1912, N45; 27 January 1912, N47. For Mrs. Fawcett's support for tariff reform see her letter to *The Times*, 26 May 1903. She and Kidd disagreed on Chinese labour. See Mrs. Fawcett to *The Times*, supporting cheap Chinese labour, 28 December 1905.
- 123. Mrs. Merrifield asked him to the Society's summer outing in July: 'I shall not forget your speech from the Chair at Streat.' F. de G. Merrifield to Kidd, 4 July 1912.
- 124. The Times, 16 April 1912, 'Syndicalism: The Movement in

England'. See also *The Times*, 25 March 1912, 'Syndicalism: What it Means'.

- 125. B. Kidd, letter to *The Times*, 'The Middle Classes and Social Legislation', 5 April 1912.
- 126. *Ibid.* (previous quotes from same source). Sir John A. Cockburn, a distinguished ex-politician from the Australian colonies, declared that Kidd's letter was 'a lamp in utter darkness'. Cockburn was interested in eugenics and tariff reform, and as a pioneer in introducing women's suffrage in South Australia, approved of Kidd's view that women would play a key role in future evolution. Sir J.A. Cockburn to Kidd, 7 April 1912; also 6 December 1910.
- 127. Secretary of Sociological Society (S.K. Ratcliffe) to Kidd, 9 May 1912, S182. Ratcliffe wrote: 'We are glad to know that you are still interested in the work of the Society and should be extremely pleased if you could see your way to resuming your membership.'
- 128. The Times, 1 May 1912.
- 129. Ratcliffe to Kidd, 9 May 1912, S182.

6 The science of power

- B. Kidd, 'Wild Bird Life in the Severn Estuary', unpublished paper, written c. 1908, parts 1 and 2, included in *Philosopher with Nature* (pp. 1–38), quote in text, pp. 29–30; also 'The Wild Duck in Sociology', *Nation*, vol. 7, no. 10 (4 June 1910), pp. 345–6.
- 2. See Mary Midgley, *Beast and Man* (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1978), ch. 3.
- 3. Kidd, Science of Power (8th edn, 1919), p. 281.
- 4. *Ibid*.
- 5. W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics* (1869), p. 186, notes in Kidd Papers (Misc.). One must note the possibility that the marking was made by Franklin.
- 6. The Times, 22 September 1913.
- 7. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 10.
- 8. The Times, 23, 28 May 1913 (p. 11); Evening News, 23 May 1913.
- 9. The Times, 15 October 1913.
- 10. Franklin Kidd, letter to editor, The Times, 16 October 1913.

- 11. *The Times*, 4 November 1913, 22 March 1916 (p. 5). He won the Slater research studentship and the Frank Smart prize for 1912. In 1914 he communicated a short report to the Royal Society showing the effect of carbonic acid gas on the germination of seeds: *The Times*, 6 March 1914.
- 12. Benjamin Kidd Senior died in Winnepeg on 3 October 1914. Mary Rebecca Kidd died on 30 March 1916 at Dulwich.
- 13. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 10.
- 14. *Ibid*. The first draft of the book is in the Kidd Papers at Cambridge.
- 15. B. Kidd, 'The Great War of Mankind Towards the United States of Civilisation', *Daily Mail Year Book* (1915), pp. 3–7. See also Kidd to J.L. Garvin, 22 November 1914.
- Harold Bolce, passport application, US Passport Bureau, Paris, 19 December 1919: also emergency passport application, American embassy, London, 28 April 1916, courtesy United States National Archives and Records Service.
- 17. Harold Bolce (Office of Commercial Attaché, American Embassy, Paris) to Maud Kidd, 14 November 1916, B162. The indexes of Department of State files and Name Index to the appointment of United States Diplomatic and Consular Officers, 1776–1933, and Commissioned Officers of the Federal Government, 1789–1933, fail to reveal the name Harold Bolce. Presumably, like many businessmen abroad, he used the Paris consulate as a mailing address. (Information courtesy of United States National Archives and Records Service.)
- 18. Violet Tweedale to Franklin Kidd, 10 October 1916, T56: 'I am so proud of the chance I had of knowing him.' He was always great enough, she added, 'to talk down to my level' while quietly revealing his own ideas. See also her introduction to *The Veiled Woman* (1918). For the almost literal use of material from the *Science of Power*, see p. 291 of the novel.
- 19. H.B.S. Montgomery and A.F. Posnette, 'Franklin Kidd, 1890–1974', in *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of Royal Society*, vol. 21 (1975), pp. 407–30.
- 20. Croydon Advertiser, 6 October 1916.
- 21. Franklin Kidd to Macmillan and Co., 12 October 1916, K249.
- 22. Franklin Kidd, 'Benjamin Kidd: Biographical', p. 11.

- 23. Nature, vol. 98 (5 October 1916); Christian Commonwealth, 4 October 1916.
- 24. New Stateman, 7 October 1916.
- 25. H.J. Laski, 'A Sociological Romance', *New Republic*, vol. 9 (30 December 1916), pp. 235–7.
- 26. Maud Kidd to Franklin Kidd, 31 October 1916 (?), K274.
- 27. He deleted: 'I may well add another chapter to the book, the outlines of which I have from my father, but which at the time of his death was still under discussion between us.' Franklin Kidd to Macmillan and Co., 12 October 1916, K249.
- 28. Franklin Kidd to Viscount Northcliffe, nd (1918?), K255. He noted that *Social Evolution* 'had a wide European circulation and in particular a vogue in Germany'.
- 29. Franklin H. Giddings, Introduction to Science of Power (Putnam, New York, 1918), pp. iii–vi, dated New York, 1 December 1917. Giddings held the Chair of Sociology and History of Civilisation at Columbia University. He also reviewed the book for the New York Evening Mail, 23 March 1918.
- 30. C. Huntingdon (Putnam, London) to Franklin Kidd, 28 February 1918, P73; and 17 April 1918, P74. The book was printed and bound before Franklin's protest was received in New York.
- 31. Kidd, *Science of Power* (8th edn, 1919; 1st edn, 1918), pp. 77–82.
- 32. Ibid., pp. 84-94.
- 33. Confusingly he also blamed Spencer for encouraging the idea of inborn heredity as a controlling factor in civilisation, although Spencer was a Lamarckian who believed in the inheritance of acquired characteristics which placed great stress on the possibilities of environmental reform.
- 34. T. Dobzhansky, *Biological Basis of Human Freedom* (Columbia University Press, 1960), p. 80.
- 35. Kidd was clearly influenced here by Mazzini who exhorted the Italian working class: 'Your task is to form the universal family . . . Humanity is the living word of God . . . Religions govern the world . . . Seek in Woman strength, inspiration, a redoubling of your moral faculties . . . Education, this is the great word which sums up our whole doctrine.' Guiseppe

Mazzini, On the Duties of Man, pts 8, 3, 2, 1, quoted Science of Power, pp. 294–5n. Kidd ridiculed the Nietzschean doctrine of male superiority in 'The Apotheosis of the Male' (1906).

- 36. The printing numbers were: 1st printing 1917: 1500; 2nd printing 1918: 1500; 3rd printing 1918: 1500; 4th printing 1918: 1500; 5th printing 1918: 1500; 6th printing 1918: 1500; 7th printing 1918: 3000; 8th printing 1918: 4000; 9th and last printing 1920: 7500 (information from Methuen and Co.). The price was 7/6d per copy and royalties 10% of home sales and 10% of price received for export. The American edition sold for \$1.50.
- 37. Morning Post, 8 February 1918; Pall Mall Gazette, 15 February 1918; The Times Literary Supplement, 27 February 1918; The Scotsman, 28 January 1918; The Yorkshire Post, 6 March 1918; Daily Chronicle, 5 February 1918.
- 38. William Jennings Bryan, 'The Menace of Darwinism', Commoner, vol. 21, no. 4 (April 1921), p. 7.
- 39. Preceding quotes from *Detroit Sunday News*, 14 April 1918; San Francisco Chronicle, 26 May 1918; Boston Transcript, 5 January 1918; The Public (Chicago), 1918, p. 866; Post Standard (Syracuse), 2 June 1918; Boston Post, 23 March 1918.
- 40. Sydney *Bulletin*, 27 June 1918; *Daily Telegraph* (Sydney), 30 March 1918. For Kidd's earlier impact in Australia, see ch. 5.
- 41. Percy L. Parker to Franklin Kidd, 7 January 1918, P59.
- 42. The Observer, 17 February 1918; Saleeby in Yorkshire Observer, 2 April 1919; Public Opinion, 8 February 1918ff.; Common Sense, 16 February 1918; Cooperative News, 16 February 1918; Everyman, 2 March 1918.
- 43. The Times Literary Supplement, 27 February 1918.
- 44. Guardian, 21 March 1918.
- 45. Ibid.
- 46. American Political Science Review, vol. 12 (1918), p. 741.
- 47. Westminster Gazette, 16 March 1918. The Athenaeum alleged: 'The fact is that Mr. Kidd never convinces us that Reason is self-regarding and Emotion other-regarding, and until he can do that we are interested but not convinced.' Athenaeum, May 1918, p. 235.
- 48. Professor E. Ray Lankester, The Field, 29 April 1918.

- 49. Athenaeum, May 1918, p. 235.
- 50. Fortnightly Review, vol. 616 (1 April 1918), pp. 489-90.
- 51. Bertrand Russell described Schiller as one of the three founders of pragmatism, with James and Dewey (*Sceptical Essays*). See Reuben Abel, ed., *Humanistic Pragmatism: The Philosophy of F.C.S. Schiller* (London, 1966).
- 52. Eugenics Review, vol. 10, no. 2 (1918–19), pp. 101–3. Schiller was violently anti-democratic. See R. Abel, *The Pragmatic Humanism of F.C.S. Schiller* (New York, 1955), ch. 13.
- 53. See G.R. Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain*, 1900–1914 (Leyden, 1976).
- 54. Yorkshire Observer, 2 April 1919.
- 55. C. Darwin, *Descent of Man* (London, 1901; 1st edn, 1871), pp. 847, 858.
- 56. Nature, vol. 101 (9 May 1918), p. 181.
- 57. Nation, vol. 106 (23 February 1918).
- 58. London Quarterly and Holborn Review, vol. 131 (January 1919), pp. 33, 42. Also Methodist Times, 3 May 1918.
- 59. Westminster Gazette, 16 March 1918.
- 60. The Times Literary Supplement, 27 February 1918. Dr. Walter Walsh delivered a sermon on the Science of Power on behalf of the Free Religious Movement of London ('Towards World Religion and Brotherhood') on 24 March 1918: 'I would rather help to close every school in the world than see the world's childhood handed over to a pontificate of imperial pedagogues whose aim it would be to indoctrinate it with particular brands of patriotism.' Free Religious Addresses, no. 7, p. 11 (SB10). E.G.A. Holmes similarly attacked Kidd's proposal in Give Me the Young (London, 1921).
- 61. Westminster Gazette, 16 March 1918.
- 62. Nature, vol. 101 (9 May 1918), pp. 181–2.
- 63. London and Holborn Review, vol. 131 (January 1919), pp. 33-4.
- 64. Quoted, *Science of Power*, p. 151. Wells possibly got this from Oscar Wilde: 'A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing. And when Humanity lands there, it looks out, and, seeing a better country, sets sail. Progress is the realization of Utopia.' *The Soul of Man under*

Socialism (1891), in Oscar Wilde, *De Profundis and Other Writings*, ed. Hesketh Pearson (Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1973), p. 34.

- 65. George Orwell, *Inside the Whale* (1940; repr. Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1957), p. 23.
- 66. For a more charitable interpretation of these themes in Kidd see Appendix (section on Freeden).
- 67. See e.g., Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (New York, 1968), and *Unfinished Animal* (London, 1976).

Appendix

- 1. L.M. Bristol, *Social Adaptation* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1915), pp. 85–92.
- 2. H.E. Barnes, 'Benjamin Kidd and the "Super-Rational" Basis of Social and Political Processes', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27 (March 1922), pp. 581–7. (Kidd had not actually read Bagehot before writing *Social Evolution*.)
- 3. H.E. Barnes, ed., *Introduction to the History of Sociology* (University of Chicago Press, 1945; 17th impression 1965), pp. 606–7. Other quotes are from Barnes, *ibid*.
- 4. For example, H. Maus, Short History of Sociology (London, 1962), pp. 44–5; N.S. Timasheff, Sociological Theory (New York, 1955), p. 91. H.E. Barnes and H. Becker, Social Thought: From Lore to Science (New York, 1961), commends the defence of social sympathy and altruism against bellicose Social Darwinism by Kidd, Drummond, Sutherland, and Spiller.
- 5. William McDougall, An Introduction to Social Psychology (London, 1920; 1st edn 1908), p. 271.
- 6. Graham Wallas, Our Social Heritage (London, 1921), p. 16.
- R.M. Maclver, The Elements of Social Science (London, 1921), p. 149; also Society: A Textbook of Sociology (London, 1937).
- 8. Pitirim Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories (New York, London, 1928), pp. 662, 671, 691-2.
- 9. I have argued against this hypothesis for the period 1880–1930 in 'Darwinism: The Political Implications', *History of European Ideas*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1981), pp. 19–34.
- 10. Crane Brinton, English Political Thought in the Nineteenth

Century (Harvard University Press, London, 1949; 1st edn London, 1933), pp. 282–92.

- 11. Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Philadelphia, 1944; rev. edn., 1955), pp. 100–1.
- 12. Bernard Semmel, Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperialist Thought, 1895–1914 (London, 1960), pp. 30–43, 52.
- 13. Michael Freeden, *The New Liberalism: An Ideology of Social Reform* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 80–5, 122–3, 159–61, 181–2.
- 14. Robert C. Bannister, Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 150–8, and passim.
- 15. Greta Jones, Social Darwinism and English Thought (Harvester Press, Sussex, 1980), pp. 84-5, 121-3, 137, 152. Other references to Kidd can be found in: C.A. Ellwood, Psychology of Human Society (New York, 1925), pp. 315, 366; Elie Halévy, Imperialism and the Rise of Labour (orig. edn French, 1926; repr. New York, 1961), pp. 18-19; Ernest Barker, National Character (London, 1927), pp. 180-1; J.S. Mackenzie, Fundamental Problems of Life (London, 1928), pp. 153, 186; E.R. Hughes, The Invasion of China by the Western World (London, 1937), pp. 210–12; C.M. Destler, Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform (Philadelphia, 1963), p. 431; G. Duncan Mitchell, A Hundred Years of Sociology (London, 1968), pp. 56-8; Floyd N. House, The Development of Sociology (Conn., 1970), pp. 162-3; J.D.Y. Peel, Herbert Spencer (London, 1971), pp. 236-7; Hao Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907 (Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 172-7; D. Wiltshire, The Social and Political Thought of Herbert Spencer (Oxford, New York, 1978), pp. 221-22; Reba N. Soffer, Ethics and Society in England: The Revolution in the Social Sciences, 1870–1914 (University of California, 1978), pp. 199, 222 (Soffer called Kidd a 'biological determinist' who, with Galton, Pearson, and the London University eugenists, pleaded for 'the special management of democracy on the grounds of mass biological incompetence' (views he in fact abhorred). Social Evolution was said to have reassured those 'who wanted to believe that their inability to explain or anticipate events was a deficiency in nature rather than in

themselves. By 1908 Kidd portrayed an increasingly organic society in which "natural selection" and social pressure would act upon the individual's instinctual inheritance so as to create an organic or "social" man who would discard inefficient democratic institutions'; Stefan Collini, *Liberalism and Sociology: L.T. Hobhouse and Political Argument in England*, *1880–1914* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 176–7, 189–90, 194–5, 200 (Collini stressed Kidd's polemical influence in favour of sociology as a biologically based synthesis of the social sciences: 'Kidd's combination of biologism, anti-rationalism, and incipient militarism did not endear him to Hobhouse, even though he was advocating a kind of Collectivism').

- 16. Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory (London, 1961), p. 206.
- 17. Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Imperialism* (New York, London, 1971), pp. 33-4.
- 18. M. Banton, *Race Relations* (London, 1967), pp. 37-41, and *The Idea of Race* (London, 1977), p. 94.
- 19. Horace B. Davis, 'Conservative Writers on Imperialism', Science and Society, vol. 18 (Fall, 1954), pp. 310–11. Davis made his rash deductions from the more restrained account of Kidd given by William L. Strauss, Joseph Chamberlain and the Theory of Imperialism (Washington, 1942). For a more detailed study see my 'Was Benjamin Kidd a Racist?', Ethnic and Racial Studies, vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1979), pp. 213–21.

BIBLIOGRAPHY Checklist of Kidd's publications

Kidd produced, aside from his major works, a prolific amount of occasional journalism, contributions to journals, encyclopaedias, reviews, columns, interviews and letters for weeklies and newspapers in Britain and America. He wrote over ninety pieces for the London *Outlook*, a weekly edited by his friend J.L. Garvin during 1905–6, the political years of Kidd's life. The list below gives such publications in chronological order, excluding some minor textbooks for civil service examinations, guides to employment in the government and interviews concerning *Social Evolution*. For evidence concerning authorship the reader is referred to: D.P. Crook and D. O'Donnell, 'A Checklist of the Publications of Benjamin Kidd, 1858–1916', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 27–31.

Major works

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- Principles of Western Civilisation: Being the First Volume of a System of Evolutionary Philosophy (Macmillan, London; Macmillan, New York, 1902).
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- The Science of Power (Methuen, London; Putnam, New York, 1918).
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