BIOPOLIS -

Patrick Geddes, Edinburgh,

and the City of Life

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After training as a biologist Patrick Geddes's polymathic interests included sociology, urban renewal and town planning. To these pragmatic activities he brought a lively interest in such arcane topics as Masques of Learning, Temples of the Greek Gods, and Gardens of the Muses. The city was the focus of all of Geddes's intellectual activity, and urban theory and planning became his principle activity in the later years of his life. This thesis presents an analysis of Geddes's theory of City Design, as he preferred to call his work. Chapter 1, "Angling for Cities! ...", sets out Geddes's early intellectual development and related important influences. Chapter 2, *Patrick Geddes's Theory of the City*, presents an analysis of Geddes's 'Notation of Life' - his most complex and famous "thinking-machine". The analysis focuses on the contribution of the diagram to an understanding of City Design, especially by reading it against Plato's *Republic*. The following chapters explore cities and City Design in relation to geography, history and spirituality; three views of the subject matter proposed by Geddes himself. Chapter 3, *The City and Geography*, deals with Geddes's idea of a Region-City. The origin of his concept in the biological sciences is examined, and the advantages of biological models for Geddes's work as a City Designer are investigated. Chapter 4, *The City in History*, focuses on Geddes's understanding of the city as the constant expression of human life throughout history. Geddes's interest in the city in history is analysed as an attempt towards a morphology of cities in which all cities are derivations from an *ur*-city - an abstract notion comparable to a Platonic Idea and to the biological concept of an Urpfanze. Chapter 5, *History in the City*, examines Geddes's activities regarding historic buildings and cities as a means of allowing city and citizen to recollect - in the Platonic understanding - and to recapitulate - according to the biological theory of recapitulation - the history of a city. Chapter 6, *Edinburgh Old and New*, presents an analysis of Geddes's urban renewal work in the Old Town of Edinburgh, thus looking at an example how Geddes implemented in practice what has been analysed in the two preceding chapters. Chapter 7, *Excursus: The Metaphysical Imperative in Urban Design around 1900*, examines the popular contemporary urge among architects and planners to implement a metaphysical idea in cities in the form of a temple as a precondition for all urban design and renewal. Chapter 8, *The City and Spirituality*, brings together Geddes's temple schemes; the majority presenting Geddes's understanding of human life as an eternal phenomenon constantly expressing itself in cities. Chapter 9, *Conclusion: The Quest for a City Crown*, unites the arguments from all preceding chapters by analysing the importance and form of Geddes's concept of a City Crown. The thesis relies on primary sources, but also on a reading of a large numbers of Geddes's essays on a variety of topics. Contemporary biological theories are a methodological tool with which to analyse City Design and its essential elements. References to Platonic thoughts and the Greek *polis* allow one to identify activities of Geddes as elements of City Design, whose importance is not otherwise obvious. While reference is made to many of Geddes's City Design reports, the principal focus rests on Edinburgh, the city Geddes made his home and in which he developed his most important ideas.
DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis has been composed by myself and is my original work.

Volker M. Welter
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In 1991, when researching contemporary architecture in Tel Aviv for the German weekly Bauwelt I came across the name Patrick Geddes for the first time. Since then many people have shared (or perhaps have suffered under) my interest in Geddes and his work. At Edinburgh University I have to thank especially my supervisors Professor Iain Boyd Whyte and Martin Birkhans, both at the Department of Architecture for their constant help and constructive criticism. Furthermore, I wish to thank the Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies, most notably its director, Sofia Leonard, who is actively engage in keeping the memory of Geddes alive. Likewise, I wish to express my gratitude to have met the late Kitty Michaelson, who combined an impressive knowledge of Geddes with a truly weltbürgerlichen outlook on the man and his work.

In Tel Aviv, I wish to thank most of all Renate Schein and Maoz Azaryahu. Without the support of Avishai Fisz, Edna Moshenson, Tel Aviv Museum of Art, and Esther Zandberg research in Israel would have been less successful. Likewise, Edina Meyer-Maril, University of Tel Aviv, Ita Heinze-Greenberg, Technion - Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa, and Benjamin Hyman, Ministry of the Interior, Jerusalem, were of the utmost help.

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# TABLE OF CONTENT

## VOLUME 1

**DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP** 1  
**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS** 2  
**TABLE OF CONTENT** 3  
**LISTS OF TABLES AND ABBREVIATIONS** 6  
**INTRODUCTION** 7  

### CHAPTER 1  "ANGLING FOR CITIES ! ..."
- The Scientist of Life 14  
- Place - Work - Folk 15  
- The Invention of Thinking-Machines 16  
- Modernity and Order 17  
- The Economics of Nature 18  
- The Economics of Cities 22  
- The Order of Nature 25  
- The Order of Cities 26  
- Towards "A Plea for the Larger Modernism" 28  
- Synoptic Overview of Geddes's Life and Time 34

### CHAPTER 2 PATRICK GEDDES'S THEORY OF THE CITY
- Victorian Britain and the Middle Ages 46  
- Victorian Britain and Classical Greece 47  
- Plato's *Republic* 50  
- The Notation of Life 51  
- From Town to City 54  
- From Act to Deed 60  
- From Individual to Communal Psychology 63  
- Geddes's Theory of the City - A Platonic Reading 74  
- Civics and City Design 77

### CHAPTER 3 THE CITY AND GEOGRAPHY
- Town and Country 85  
- The Valley Section 93  
- Edinburgh and its Region: A Northern Athens and its *Polis* 101  
- The Region-City - A Step towards Conurbations and the World-City 108  
- Regional and Universal 121  
- The Outlook Tower 124
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 4</th>
<th>THE CITY IN HISTORY</th>
<th>127</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scientific History</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Narrative History</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Re-creation and Re-enacting of History</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geddes's View of History - the <em>Arbor Saeculorum</em> or Tree of Eternity</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People, Chiefs, Intellectuals, and Emotionals</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Four Social Types in the City</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The City as a Human Organ</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The City in History</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The City - A Part of Society</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The City - A Synonym for History</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Organicism and Morphology</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Towards a Morphology of Cities</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The 1911 Cities and Town Planning Exhibition</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The City - Regional and Historical</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 5</th>
<th>HISTORY IN THE CITY</th>
<th>174</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local History</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restoration and the S.P.A.B.</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Survey of a Town</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading History from the City</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reading Westminster's Architecture</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geddes and the <em>Genius Loci</em></td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conservative Surgery - The City</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conservative Surgery - Individual Buildings</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rebuilding of Crosby Hall in Chelsea, London</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at Chelsea 1911</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Outlook Tower as a Universal Index Museum</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recapitulation and Recollection</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 6</th>
<th>EDINBURGH OLD AND NEW</th>
<th>206</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inventing Historical Edinburgh</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Towards the New Town</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Return of the Old Town</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geddes's View of the Old Town</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Historical Survey of Edinburgh</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Ideal Edinburgh</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geddes's Building Activities</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Decorative and Monument Schemes in Edinburgh</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Antiquarian Historian</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 7</th>
<th>EXCURSUS: THE METAPHYSICAL IMPERATIVE IN URBAN DESIGN AROUND 1900</th>
<th>241</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community or Society ?</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Building the Ideal Community</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Temple Ideas around 1900</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Temple and the City</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Temples of Art and Culture</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Temples of the City</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 8 THE CITY AND SPIRITUALITY 276
The Temple of Geography 277
The City and Eugenics 286
Life between Anabolism and Katabolism 290
The Temple of Life 294
The Garden of the Nine Greek Muses - Life in Action 300
The Temple as the Union between Science and Religion 305
A Hall of Vision 310
The Temple of the City 315
The Thinking Cell - The Temple of Inlook 320
Celebrating the City 323

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION: THE QUEST FOR A CITY CROWN 335
The City Crown 336
Edinburgh's Old Town - A Cultural Acropolis for the Athens of the North 345

BIBLIOGRAPHY 357
Primary and Archival Sources 357
Printed Sources by Patrick Geddes 364
Printed Sources by other Authors 384
Theses 384

VOLUME 2 385

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS 385

ILLUSTRATIONS 395

APPENDIX 543
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 (pp. 34-44) Synoptic overview of Geddes's life and time

Table 2.1 (p. 55) The triad Place-Work-Folk and its interrelations
Table 2.2 (p. 56) The Town proper reflected in the thought-world of Schools
Table 2.3 (p. 58) The fourfold analysis of the City completed
Table 2.4 (p. 62) Geddes's psychological analysis of social life
Table 2.5 (p. 65) Comparison of the Town-City and Act-Deed formulas

Table 4.1 (p. 163) The homologous four social types in different historic cities

Table 5.1 (p. 198) Cities and Town Planning Exhibition and City Design Reports

Table 7.1 (p. 257) Idealistic temple projects from the 1880s to the 1920s

Table 8.1 (p. 306) Projects and schemes by Patrick Geddes for Temples and temple-like structures

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CZA Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem
NLS National Library of Scotland
NLS, MS National Library of Scotland, Manuscript Collection
SUA Strathclyde University Archives
SUA, T-GED Strathclyde University Archives, Patrick Geddes collection
SUA, T-TYR Strathclyde University Archives, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt collection

"Angling for Cities! - That is the sport on which I am engaged ...",¹ wrote Patrick Geddes in a letter in 1907. Only three years earlier he had published City Development: A Study in Parks, Gardens and Culture Institutes,² a planning report for the Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline. Geddes's first ever City Design report guaranteed him a prominent place among architects and members of the emerging profession of town planning. But what could have marked, in retrospect, the beginning of a distinguished career in town planning - comparable to that of Thomas Mawson, Geddes's likewise unsuccessful competitor in Dunfermline - did not take off. Geddes continued the quoted sentence by cautiously hinting at some obstacles regarding the appreciation of his efforts by the targeted cities: "... and while as you see they nibble, and even bite as at Dunfermline, ... to land one properly is the difficult matter."³ The difficulties Geddes experienced then seem to continue today.

Commonly, Geddes is hailed as one of the fathers of the town planning movement, forerunner of regional planning, and inventor of 'conservative surgery'. Studies dedicated to his planning work prefer to adopt a chronological narrative, occasionally incorporated within a biographical framework. They are highly informative, but at the same time mainly descriptive, and one finds important questions left unconsidered. To look briefly at two examples.

As is well known, Geddes derived his notion of a region from contemporary geographical and botanical concepts. The alleged naturalness of Geddes's region, means its given existence as opposed to artificial man-made units, seems to foster the

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¹ Letter by Patrick Geddes to [ ] Large, 16 April 1907, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 20).
³ Letter by Patrick Geddes to [ ] Large, 16 April 1907, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 20).
assumption that this concept is self-explanatory. Questions regarding the advantages Geddes thought could be gained from his idea, or the implications of the region for his own planning proposals are seldom asked.

Geddes's renewal work in Edinburgh's Old Town is one of the best known examples of 'conservative surgery' - the renovation rather than demolition of historic buildings. But regardless of his preserving activities Geddes also proposed the demolition of old houses in Edinburgh's Old Town, for example on the Royal Mile next to the Outlook Tower. Elsewhere, he occasionally described historic buildings opposite Edinburgh's St. Giles Cathedral as "of no great interest, value, or amenity", and recommended their removal. Obviously, conservative surgery relied on judgements regarding the value of historic buildings; yet the rationale behind Geddes's concept remains unexamined in favour of emphasising its "ahead-of-its-time" character.

This thesis, written in the subject of architectural history and theory, takes a strictly historical interest in Geddes. Its particular concern is Geddes's theory of the City and its design. Place, Work and Folk - Geddes's famous triad - provides the analytical structure. According to Geddes, Cities should be understood from three broad viewpoints: the geographical, the historical, and the spiritual aspect; categories which correspond to Place, Work and Folk, and are likewise closely interrelated.

Scholarly analysis has so far concentrated on the first two of the three aspects. Significantly, these two facets of cities are generally considered independently of each other. Despite the strong emphasis commonly put on Geddes's holism, his striving towards a synthesis of diverse subjects and fields of knowledge, this attitude

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is not applied to his activities regarding cities. Not surprisingly, the third, the spiritual aspect of cities has to date been ignored. Manifold references to Greek gods and muses in Geddes's reports for cities in Scotland, India, and Palestine, or his grand architectural schemes for temple buildings, religious and secular alike, are not fantasies of an imaginative and vivid mind, or merely fascinating, but otherwise rather unimportant. They are deliberate references to, and immediate expression of the spiritual aspect of the City, and thus directly related to the geographical and historical aspect.

Two main analytical tools are employed throughout this thesis. One is biology; Geddes's transfer of knowledge from this discipline into town planning turns out to be far more sophisticated than the often made assumption that a city is an organism, or an organic entity. The second is the Greek polis, the real and the ideal, especially of Plato's Republic; a hitherto ignored source of influence that Geddes acknowledged continuously with direct and indirect references. Regarding both sources of inspiration, it is important to bear in mind that this thesis is concerned with the use that Geddes made of these sources, rather than the philosophical, historical or scientific correctness of his exploitation.

Methodologically, this thesis relies on a reading of as many of Geddes's publications, essays and books as possible. It has been stated that the "real" Geddes can best be discovered in his letters and notes, because they are far more authentic than the body of published writings. Others, especially the early biographers, even claim that the only way to really understand Geddes, was to listen to him. However, his published work is usually dismissed as badly written, thus of little help. Furthermore, because it deals primarily with single subjects it lacks what Geddes's often announced opus magnum would have provided: the synthesis of his philosophy and thoughts for outsider and posterity alike. Although this opus remained unwritten the many existing
and accessible sources - typescripts, manuscripts, notes and diagrams - have proved to be more than helpful.

To focus on Geddes's fascination with the City might appear to be unduly narrow, taking into account the breadth of his intellectual outlook and the subsequent synthesis of the many insights Geddes claimed to have gained. Notwithstanding, the City provides a unifying focus for most of his theoretical writings and practical activities. For the biologist Geddes, a scientist of Life, the city was the form that human life in its highest evolutionary development, viz. communal and co-operative, could and should take. Consequently, the City, its past, present and future, runs like Ariadne's thread through Geddes's life.

Sometime after the publication of the report for Dunfermline Geddes had paper printed with the following letterhead:

Patrick Geddes & Colleagues / Landscape Architects, Park and Garden Designers, Museum Planners, etc. / City Plans and Improvements / Parks and Gardens / Garden Villages / Type Museums / Educational Appliances / School Gardens

This is more than a piece of "some elaborate writing paper" printed in "an effort to drum up 'a client or two' ". It is one of the most concise pieces of writing about cities Geddes ever produced, for taken literally and read carefully, it provides a nearly complete list of the essential elements constituting, according to Geddes, a true City.

"Vivendo Discemus - By Living We Learn"
Patrick Geddes

"Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach ... nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. ... Stick to Facts, Sir!" are the opening sentences of Charles Dickens's novel *Hard Times*, describing the plight which came with the Industrial Revolution. Measurable, calculable and definable facts were, according to Dickens's protagonist Mr. Gradgrind, the basis allowing everybody to master the new life as a better life: "In this life, we want nothing but Facts, Sir; nothing but Facts."¹

In the *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* that John Ruskin delivered at Edinburgh's Royal Physician's Hall in Queen Street in 1853, the citizens of the Scottish capital were reminded of an interesting fact about their town. Referring to the standard window of the Georgian houses constructed with a massive stone lintel on square-cut jambs Ruskin asked: "How many windows precisely of this form do you suppose there are in the New Town of Edinburgh? I have not counted them all through the town, but I counted them this morning along this very Queen Street ... and on the one side of that street there are of these windows ... six hundred and seventy-eight." Ruskin was precise. His count included York and Picardy Place, but excluded "any window which has mouldings."² Yet the sheer number of the windows did not amount to architecture, nor did the rational and Cartesian street pattern of the New Town create a city. Both, window and New Town were neither interesting and attractive, nor entertaining and pleasing. They were not right for they appealed purely to reason but not to the heart: "The proof of a thing's being right is, that is has power over the heart".³

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Knowledge of a different kind stood at the centre of Robert Pemberton's *Happy Colony*, a model settlement for British workers to be built in New Zealand.\footnote{Robert Pemberton, *The Happy Colony* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1854), (hereafter *Happy Colony*).} (Figure 8.2) Maps of the world and the sky, geometrical forms, and botanical and horticultural gardens occupied the central space of the circular colony. But Pemberton did not confine himself to accumulate facts at the colony's educational centre. The world he presented to the working men was not merely a heap of dissected facts, but a meaningful composition of them; circular groves occupied by statues representing history, mythology and the muses were reminders of a unity and order of the world larger than rational knowledge.

Patrick Geddes was born in Ballater, Aberdeenshire, Scotland in 1854. In the same year Dickens and Pemberton published their above mentioned books, and Ruskin his lectures from the previous year. The broad common interest of these publications - knowledge, its constituting elements and higher order or synthesis - and their similar focus - the benefit of life and society, most notably in cities - makes the authors appear to have stood sponsor to Patrick Geddes. Geddes was born into a century of cities. While he grew up in Scotland, attended Perth Academy, began an apprenticeship with a bank, and, finally, decided to study natural sciences, modern societies were beginning to collect experiences in dealing with large scale urban problems, both socially and aesthetically.

After 1853 George-Eugène Hausmann remodelled Paris by cutting boulevards into the historic urban fabric. Six years later Ildefonco Cerdá presented his grid plan for an extension of Barcelona, while Vienna began to implement Ludwig Förster's design for the Ringstraße in the same year. Each of the three schemes approached a city in a particular way. The rebuilding of the French capital rejected the
right of historic Paris for a continuous existence; Geddes was later to collect lithographs by the French artist Theodor Josef Hoffbauer depicting the lost city.\(^5\) Barcelona decided to expand with a rational plan for a new city, thus turning away from the existing city; Geddes obviously did not like it, only one, bad, reproduction of a map of Barcelona including Cerda’s plan has survived among his papers.\(^6\) Vienna’s Ringstraße celebrated the city’s wealth and self-confidence by assembling cultural and civic institutions together with the palatial residences of the bourgeoisie on the sites of the demolished defence systems surrounding the historic city core. This was, however, a matter of convenience, rather than an expression of adoration of the traditional Vienna. Geddes collected plans of Vienna before and after the Ringstraße, which he approved of not because it replaced an ancient fortification but for the concentration of public buildings and functions.\(^7\)

Activities like those in Paris, Barcelona and Vienna, or contemporary ideas like Arturo Soria y Mata’s linear garden city from 1882 contributed in the decades flanking 1900 to a lively debate on town planning and urban design. Geddes was to become a prominent figure in this debate (Figure 1.1), but arrived at it from a different route than many architects and social reformers. Geddes was first of all a biologist, a scientist of life. In 1874 Geddes moved to London to study zoology under the biologist Thomas Henry Huxley, a prominent defender of Darwin’s evolutionary theories. After an initial preparatory year at the Royal School of Mines, Geddes was admitted in 1875 to Huxley’s classes at the same institution. There he became exposed to one of the most interesting questions of contemporary biology.

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\(^5\) See for example SUA, T-GED 25/1/232. The lithographs show views of Paris in the late medieval times and compare them with views of the same locations in the 1870s and 1880s.

\(^6\) Reproduction of a Map of Barcelona by D. J. Serra from 1890, (SUA, T-GED 25/1/829).

\(^7\) Two plans of the Ringstraße are today in the collection of the Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies, University of Edinburgh. (See Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies (ed.), *Catalogue of the Cities Exhibition* (University of Edinburgh, 1988), no. 59, no. 60).
The Scientist of Life

In the aftermath of Darwin's theory of evolution, forms of life and their relation to the environment were of utmost interest. If Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection was correct, both the existence of a species and slight variations between representatives of that species in different populations was the result of the survival of those members best equipped to live in a particular environment. Yet in order to determine this advantage of the fittest, it was necessary to study both, the species and the environmental conditions. Without knowing about the latter, it would have been impossible to identify the environmental conditions to which the characteristic qualities of the fittest species responded particularly well. Without environmental knowledge, the variations occurring between various populations of one species in different valleys lacked, for example, the scientific basis necessary to explain these variations from an evolutionary point of view. From this relation between organism and environment the notion of a biological region emerged. It was a necessary tool for anybody interested in theories of evolution; Huxley for example made it the basis of his study of organisms and life in the Thames Basin.8

Forms of life, their emergence and development in interaction with the environment were to become a major interest of Geddes, determining his life work from the earliest publication to the last book. A study period at Roscoff marine-biological station in Brittany, France, which Huxley had organised for Geddes in 1878, allowed him to begin his investigation of this particular area of interest with a startling discovery. Geddes succeeded in showing that chlorophyll was not only to be found in plants but also in certain basic forms of animal life. The latter existed like plants through photosynthesis, an amazing illustration of the importance of

environmental factors for life. In 1931, when Geddes published together with Arthur Thomson the two volumes of *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, the question regarding forms of life and the environment provided still the focus around which the study evolved. By the same token Geddes's interest in cities acquires a dimension going far beyond a typical late nineteenth-century social consciousness, aroused by urban misery and finding relief in philanthropic endeavours. Cities were for Geddes the most distinct form that human life could take, even more, they were the form human life should take, especially in its highest development as co-operative and communal life.

**Place - Work - Folk**

After completing his time at Roscoff, Geddes followed Professor De Lacaze-Duthiers, the head of Roscoff, to Paris where he continued his studies at the Sorbonne and other academic institutions. Paris in 1878, a few years after the devastating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and after the Paris Commune was a city full of excitement, promise and change. The World Fair of 1878 was an obvious symbol of the fascination and attraction the city aroused. Geddes was deeply fascinated by both the intellectual climate of Paris and the international atmosphere of the exhibition. But the greatest discovery he made in Paris was the social theory of the French sociologist Frédérique Le Play, which Geddes encountered in a lecture by Le Play's disciple Edmund Demolins. Both men's social philosophy centred around the triad of *lieu, travail et famille*; which Geddes adopted and adapted in the following decades as Place, Work and Folk, or as Environment, Function, and Organism.

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Le Play's triad enabled Geddes to place the category Work - human labour and activities - at a central position in the relation between the environment and human beings. This allowed Geddes to emphasise that man, regardless of the fact that he was just another form of organic life, distinguished himself from animals through the ability to change the environment consciously through his own labour according to his needs.

The emphasis on labour as the main characteristic of man and society was a common feature during the nineteenth century. While for Thomas Carlyle labour had a quasi-religious function, John Ruskin and William Morris considered it more as a possible form of art; an approach that inspired Ruskin's essay on the Gothic in The Stones of Venice in particular, and the Arts and Crafts Movement in general. Marx and Engels recognised labour as a means by which man raises himself above nature. Geddes developed a different, distinct view: Man should not attempt to rise above nature but should adapt himself to the environment through his labour or Work. While animal and plant life interacted with the environment passively or instinctively, human life interacted consciously. The results of human Work - the material and cultural products - were likewise unique to human life. Furthermore, through Work the other two categories - Place and Folk - could be actively influenced and determined.

The Invention of Thinking-Machines

In 1879 Geddes returned to Scotland, but only to leave again towards the end of the year on an expedition to Mexico. While collecting scientific data and specimens Geddes suffered temporary blindness. This illness was caused by a combination of strenuous work with the microscope and the exposure to the strong southern sun. Geddes attempted to cure himself by living temporarily in a darkened room and avoiding all light. This confinement amounted to a crisis, whose importance can be gathered from autobiographic verses written by Geddes in 1925.
As with winged eyes I had lived my life, / Gloating o'er all I saw: / Through nature and art, in beauty rife, / Observe! was my life's law!

[...]

From tropic rides and quests and finds / Prisoned in night-dark-room! / Long weeks, then months, its boding binds / Hope between gloom and doom!¹²

During this time of insecurity over the possibility of ever returning to laboratory work Geddes conceived a means which would help to order thoughts and ideas. Trying to follow a train of thoughts, Geddes resorted to the squares of a window. He made the individual panes represent the variables of the problem. Because each pane was adjacent to at least one other, more likely to three or more panes, relations and dependencies between the variables could easily be symbolised. Out of this tactile thinking device - due to Geddes's blindness it was not initially a visual device - Geddes developed what is today known as 'thinking-machines'.¹³ These were pieces of paper that Geddes folded several times so that when unfolded they were structured by lines forming smaller squares. Similar to the window panes, the squares could represent thoughts, ideas or symbols, and their relationships. These diagrams were a means to create and express order.

Modernity and Order

The desire for order was, according to the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, a main characteristic of modernity.¹⁴ The pre-modern world "just was, without ever thinking how to make itself to be".¹⁵ It passed away at the moment man began to gain insights into this traditional, divine order.

¹² Quoted from Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 46.
¹³ For a good introduction into these diagrams see Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, pp. 465-484.
¹⁵ Bauman, Modernity, p. 4.
We can think of modernity as of a time when order - of the world, of the human habitat, of the human self, and of the connection between all three - is reflected upon; a matter of thought, of concern, of a practice that is aware of itself, conscious of being a conscious practise and wary of the void it would leave were it to halt or merely relent.\textsuperscript{16}

Reflection upon the world led to classification. It was an attempt to give the world a structure again by establishing categories, and ascribing facts and observations to them. The ideal of classification was, in the words of Bauman, to erect a "commodious filing cabinet that contains all the files that contain all the items the world contains".\textsuperscript{17} Each file and fact was given a specific place, ideally, there would be no ambivalence, but cross-references would help in cases of doubt.

Classification relied on fragmentation, the continuous dissection of the world into ever smaller, solvable questions. The price to pay for this approach to order was, however, the discovery of yet another layer of chaos underneath the order just arrived at. Order was one of the \textit{foci imaginarii} of modernity, moving further away the closer modern mind seemed to come.\textsuperscript{18} This weakness was at the same time the source of the continuous strength of modernity, although as Bauman points out: "The war against chaos splits into a multitude of local battles for order. ... For most of modern history there were no headquarters to co-ordinate the battles - certainly not commanders-in-chief able to chart the whole vastness of the universe to be conquered ..."\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{The Economics of Nature}

After his return from Mexico Geddes settled in Edinburgh in 1880, where he continued his career as a biologist. At the same time he pursued his interest in ordering and classifying phenomena, facts and things. Beside the fascination with forms of life,

\textsuperscript{16} Bauman, \textit{Modernity}, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{17} Bauman, \textit{Modernity}, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{18} Bauman, \textit{Modernity}, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{19} Bauman, \textit{Modernity}, pp. 11-12.
classification was to become another main interest of Geddes. Similar to the former interest, the latter was likewise still influential when Geddes and Thomson published in 1931 *Life: Outlines of General Biology*. A thinking-machine with the title 'General Sciences' is illustrated on the end-papers of both volumes.\(^{20}\) For Geddes the connection between biology and classification was close and logical.

Already in 1881 in 'The Classification of Statistics and its Results', his first and major publication on the subject, Geddes had declared that "to biology above all is presented the problem of an innumerable multitude of actual phenomena demanding arrangement."\(^{21}\) A zoologist occupied with grouping animals, for example, had "to work in two directions, to specialise until every member of these groups is known in the greatest detail, and also to generalise these groups into larger and larger ones."\(^{22}\)

Taking for granted the need for the classification of statistics Geddes proposed biology as an appropriate model because it had to keep the balance between individual facts and the larger whole. The largest whole of course was life, encompassing ultimately all individual facts.

Geddes's efforts in classification resulted in a "colossal balance-sheet" allowing for generalisations, yet at the same time accommodating "the most trivial details of common life".\(^{23}\) (Figure 1.2) Geddes claimed that his classification was scientific, systematic, universally applicable to human and animal societies alike, and comprehensive as it incorporated the results of a variety of sciences.\(^{24}\)


\(^{22}\) Geddes, *Classification of Statistics*, p. 302.


\(^{24}\) According to Geddes the scheme incorporated amongst other "the facts of political geography, of physical, geological, botanical, and zoological economics, of technology and the fine arts, of anthropology, of demography, and of political economy ..." (Geddes, *Classification of Statistics*, p. 313).
regardless of this it was useful, for it assembled the results of statistics in a whole, and it allowed their application to other tasks:

Thus, for instance, it is one of the most marked advantages of the tables that it would be easy to monograph on this principle a city or a village, a single household or even an individual, as well as a nation, to compare these facts of personal and domestic economy among each other, and to generalise bodies of these ...

There was, however, a second connection between biology and the proposed classification. Geddes's scheme developed around the triad Place, Work, and Folk; although by employing the words "Territory", "Occupations", and "Organisms" he used slightly different terms. The underlying assumption was the thought that a human society could be looked at along the same lines as "lower animals", for example. Thus human societies existed "within certain limits of time and space." They consisted of "a number of living organisms", which modified "the surrounding nature, primarily by seizing part of its matter and energy". This, in turn, was applied "to the maintenance of their life".

The consideration of life as a mechanism processing matter and energy was the basis for Geddes's intention to apply his classification to individual organisms, cities, and nations alike; all could be understood as different forms of life. In the coming years Geddes developed this assumption further in both directions. In the biological context he elaborated his ideas in various essays on cell theory, and with regard to human societies in essays on economics. Without embarking on a detailed

27 "As the term society indeed assumes, some general truth must be common to societies of *Formica,Apis, Castor*, and *Homo* alike - to ant-hill, bee-hive, beaver-dam, and city, and this must therefore underlie our classification of social facts." (Geddes, *Classification of Statistics*, p. 304).
analysis of Geddes's attempt to root human economy in principles of dissipation of matter and energy, two points are important to note in relation to Geddes's interest in cities.

First, Geddes distinguished between the production and consumption of "necessaries" and "super-necessaries". The earlier were products like fuel, shelter, food and similar, required to maintain structure and functions of an organism, biological or social alike. The latter were purely aesthetic products, for example "articles of ordinary city consumption, such as ashlar housefronts with iron railings, furniture and decorations, cookery and dress." The function of these super-necessaries - products above the level of the necessaries - was the "stimulation of sense organs, gustatory, visual, and tactile". Thus, because higher forms of life relied on a more developed nervous system - the most developed was that of human beings - Geddes arrived at the surprising conclusion, that these forms of life needed more "super-necessaries".

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29 Geddes, Principles of Economics, p. 960. Elsewhere Geddes coined the terms "necessities" and "plus-necessities", (Geddes, John Ruskin, p. 297). There were, however, mixtures between both categories, like necessaries with super-necessity qualities added. (Geddes, Principles of Economics, p. 951).

30 Geddes, John Ruskin, p. 298


32 This conclusion illustrates very well the unconventional way in which Geddes thought about economics, but also the weakness of his approach. He began with a comparison of the levels of consumption in Russia, Norway and Scotland. From the fact that a Russian managed to survive on £ 7 a year, whereas a Scot spent about £ 30 Geddes concluded that the earlier figure represented the necessaries, and the difference to the latter figure stood for the super-necessaries. It followed from this the "paradoxical generalisation that production, though fundamentally for maintenance, is mainly for art." (Geddes, Principles of Economics, pp. 959-961). Geddes attempted to root the comparison in scientific principles by claiming that the comparison was possible due to the fact that the three nations were located within roughly the same geographical climate and condition. He, however, did not consider the significant differences in production and consumption within any of the three nations, or to put it in a different way, Geddes's comparison relied on a firm national point of view.
Second, necessaries and super-necessaries differed with regard to their consumption. Necessaries like food or clothing, although of existential importance, were transitory, whereas super-necessaries were permanent. From the observation that over longer periods of time "the transitory element ... increases at the expense of the permanent" Geddes concluded that this was a waste of matter and energy. This could be improved by re-organising production and consumption towards permanent super-necessaries. The latter, newly produced and accumulated over the ages, constituted the real wealth of a society and, ultimately, of mankind.

The Economics of Cities

To consider the creation of wealth in the form of permanent super-necessaries as the ideal result of human activities was, according to Geddes, not a new insight. But it was innovative to base the analysis of economics on physical laws and principles. Yet Geddes's classification of statistics, based on the interaction of Place,:

33 Geddes, Principles of Economics, p. 961.
34 "In other words, the physical economist, desiring to increase not the population, but the wealth of nations, - instead of simply approving the continuous development of the existing industries, and attempting to increase average well-being by stimulating the exploitation, manufacture, or exchange, of the transitory products with which these mainly deal, - must advocate the proportional increase of permanent ultimate products, and organise industrial processes towards that ideal. We have thus reached the new paradox ... that the sphere of practical physical economics is to discuss the ways and means of increasing not so much bread, as Art." (Geddes, Principles of Economics, p. 963). It has been pointed out that these positions of Geddes were influenced by contemporary ideas like Malthus's thoughts about over-population and the second thermodynamic law (Reilly, Early Social Thought, pp. 128-129, pp. 140-141). The second thermodynamic law as formulated in the early 1850s by R. Clausius and the Scotsman W. Thomson (Lord Kelvin) stated that a closed thermodynamic system was characterised by a growing entropy. Thermodynamics consider the energy necessary for work originating in the transition of heat from a higher to a lower level of temperature. Entropy is a unit measuring that amount of energy which accompanies a system's work without contributing to it. This energy is lost, not as such but as a means of work. When applied to the cosmos and the earth this law appeared to point towards a future standstill of cosmos and earth, or as Geddes wrote: "From the point of view of matter and energy our society is a vast clock being wound up and running down; the mechanical equivalent of heat holds everywhere; between machines and the automata [i.e. human beings] who mind them there is no physical difference." (Geddes, John Ruskin, p. 296, my addition). The applicability of the law to cosmos and earth is still debated today, see H. Hörz et. al., Philosophie und Naturwissenschaften Wörterbuch zu den philosophischen Fragen der Naturwissenschaften (Berlin [DDR]: Dietz, 1983), ad vocem: Entropie (pp. 223-226), Thermodynamic (pp. 923-925), Wärmetod (pp. 980-983).
35 "The highest generalisation of production, is that of the collective production of mankind - of the Synergy of the Race, with its material products, transitory and permanent." (Geddes, Principles of Economics, p. 959).
Work and Folk, and his analysis of economics as the transformation of energy and matter, was "simply a return to the conception from which political economy arose and departed, that of the study of household management and law." In a footnote to this remark Geddes elucidated his points of reference, which were, originally written in Greek, politeia, oikos, and nomos - the civil polity, or polis, the household and the law.36

This is one of the earliest references by Geddes to ancient Greek philosophy and thought. In addition to biology Geddes adopted the Greek idea of economics - the ethical and moral sound management of one's estate and household, most notably expressed and achieved in the field of agriculture - as another basis for his study of the economic activities of contemporary societies.37 Geddes followed John Ruskin here who had already earlier proposed that political economy was "the generalized aspect of domestic economy."38

In 1876 Ruskin began to publish the Bibliotheca Pastorum, an ideal library for Britain's peasants. The first volume was a translation into English of The Economist by the Athenian author Xenophon, probably the most famous text about the ancient concept of economics.39 While the translation was done by two of Ruskin's students at Oxford, Ruskin himself introduced the text to the reader. Before approaching agricultural life - the main subject matter of the book - Ruskin wrote

36 Geddes, Classification of Statistics, p. 316. Similarly in the 'Analysis of the Principles of Economics' where Geddes defined the quantity of wealth as comprising newly produced and existing permanent products. He continued: "The old conceptions of domestic economy find here there place and use, and only require generalisation to be exhaustive." (Geddes, Principles of Economics, p. 961).

37 For a brief but in depth discussion of the history of the term economics from its beginnings as a primarily ethical concept in the ancient world to (political) economics, the science of the wealth of nations or a nation in the late nineteenth century, see Moses I. Finley, The Ancient Economy, (London: The Hogarth Press, 1985; repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1992), pp. 17-22.

38 Geddes, John Ruskin, p. 296.

about cities. The connection between the city and rural life was obvious for Ruskin, for only in the shadow of the "Metropolis", "the city in which the chief temple of the nation's God is built", could the good life be lived. Even more, the relation between the rural life and the city was indissoluble, because when "the temple of the city ... changed into a den of thieves" the surrounding "fields of the country" turned into "a labouring ground of slaves."  

Geddes developed this amalgam of ideas taken from biology, natural sciences, classification of knowledge and Greek philosophy and culture in a sequence of essays and papers written in Edinburgh, and published in the 1880s. These essays do not present a linear intellectual development proceeding from biology towards sociology and cities. Rather, they aimed at the clarification of a set of ideas, and a testing of their applicability to various subjects, including cities.

Considering human life in the light of the ideas outlined above, Geddes concluded that human organisms, their functions and environment required improvements for the benefit of man. Existing cities ran counter to this aim.

What has any modern industrial city, however stupendous its wealth - on paper - to show save a sorry aggregate of ill-constructed houses, mean or showy without, unhealthy within, and containing little of permanent value; for the rest, dirt and darkness, smoke and sewage everywhere, as if its inhabitants had absolutely framed the ideal of a short life and a dismal one, with which they are dull enough to rest contended.

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40 Ruskin, *Economist*, p. 11.
42 "For every student of organism, function, and environment must agree that man, if he is to remain healthy and become civilized, must not only aim at the highest standard of cerebral as well as non-cerebral excellence, and so at function healthy and delightful, but must take especial heed of his environment; not only at his peril keeping the natural factors of air, water, and light at their purest, but caring only for production of wealth at all, in so far as it shapes the artificial factors, the material apparatus and surroundings of domestic and civic life, into forms more completely serviceable for the ascent of man." (Geddes, *John Ruskin*, p. 302).
These cities were examples of waste, formed by what Geddes came to call the 'paleotechnic age'. The new city, on the contrary, was a "city of healthy and happy artists" creating permanent wealth by working on super-necessaries. It was "surrounded by imperishable treasure", the results of the good rural life conducted in the city's shadow, as described likewise by Ruskin. This city was the product of the 'neotechnic age', of the development, expansion and refinement of the creation and more economic use of industrial products facilitated, for example, by electricity, a cleaner and more efficient means of transforming matter into energy.45

The Order of Nature

With order chaos came into being, which emerged when the pre-modern divine order collapsed. Chaos and order were the two sides of modernity. An opposing third, or "other", was nature, which "means, after all, nothing but the silence of man."46 Nature reflected upon, meant man speaking about a lack of order or structure; in short chaos. Nature considered as such was no longer expressing a divine order but an "unordered existence".47 It contained all the elements of a possible new order which, however, no longer came about unaided.

Even if the form has been preordained by nature itself, it will not come about unassisted and will not survive undefended. Living according to nature needs a lot of designing, organized effort and vigilant monitoring."48

This order had to be total and comprehensive. Although fragmentation and

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44 Geddes, John Ruskin, p. 304.
45 "As of old, industry passed from its rude stone age to a finer one, so it is again in our own day. As the paleolithic age and its men gave place before the neolithic, so now the ruder coal age, with its waste not only of implements but of life, is passing into a finer economy - of electricity, of art. We think less of transient things made to sell; we think more of things made to use and keep. We are rising not only to finer mechanics and labor-saving, but to finer organics, subder psychics of laborer-saving." (Geddes, John Ruskin, pp. 307-308).
46 Bauman, Modernity, p. 6.
47 Bauman, Modernity, p. 7.
48 Bauman, Modernity, p. 7.
classification appear to make this an impossible task, the aim remained a "compleat [sic] mappa mundi." Once formed, the definition of this idea of order became the basis of intellectual reasoning and scientific research, its realisation the quest of the modern state. Against the background of the chaotic, unordered and uncultivated given existence, the modern mind perceived itself as a gardener, occupied with the deliberate introduction of a rational order for the benefit of man.

The Order of Cities

"Town-planning", Geddes once wrote, "is not mere place-planning, nor even work-planning. If it is to be successful it must be folk-planning. This means that its task is... to find the right places for each sort of people; places where they will really flourish." These places were of course not to be found, but had to be made. The creation of such places Geddes pursued from his earliest design for a botanic school garden and urban renewal work in Edinburgh to his latest building initiatives in Montpellier in southern France. His self-perception in relation to this work was that of a gardener ordering the environment for the benefit of life.

49 "Modern practice is not aimed at the conquest of foreign lands, but at the filling of the blank spots in the compleat [sic] mappa mundi. It is the modern practice, not nature, that truly suffers no void." (Bauman, Modernity, p. 8).

50 Bauman, Modernity, pp. 20-30. With an interesting sequence of quotations from Frederick the Great to the zoologist and supporter of National Socialism in Germany, Konrad Lorenz, Bauman highlights how modernity resorted continuously to the metaphor of the gardener and gardening to describe its intentions and its practice. Bauman comments on this observation: "Let us emphasize that none of the above statements was ideologically motivated; in particular, none of them was aimed specifically at the Jews, or stemmed predominantly from antisemitic sentiments. ... The quoted scientists were guided solely by proper and uncontested understanding of the role and mission of science - and by the feeling of duty towards the vision of good society, a healthy society, an orderly society. In particular, they were guided by the hardly idiosyncratic, typically modern conviction that the road to such a society leads through the ultimate taming of the inherently chaotic natural forces and by systematic, and ruthless if need be, execution of a scientifically conceived, rational plan." (Bauman, Modernity, p. 29).


52 This perception was not confined to Geddes. See George Sandeman's book review of Geddes's town planning report for the city of Indore which was published with the title 'A Gardener of Paradise'. [George Sandeman, A Gardener of Paradise, (Papers for the Present, no. x), (n. pl., n. d. [c. 1919]), (SUA, T-GED 1/7/36)].
working on gardens as places for plant life, and cities as places for human life were not substantial but only a question of degree. Later in his life Geddes was quoted as saying:

My ambition being ... to write in reality - here with flower and tree, and elsewhere with house and city - it is all the same, in each we need all resources on one hand - simplicity and unity - yet the rich mosaic of variety and detail too.  

The 'neotechnic age', according to Geddes, aimed at a threefold result. It would "culminate in the Rehabilitation of Beauty, ... in the ordering of nature, and the creation and conservation of art." All three aims were rooted in Geddes's attempt to derive from the eternal economics of nature the future economics of society and city. The rehabilitation of beauty was the return to the balance and harmony between input and output in nature. To apply this beauty to any form of life meant to give nature an order, which would help to create permanent wealth in the form of super-necessary art and architecture. Consequently, amongst those working towards the new order Geddes listed artists and architects. Both were "natural and eternal leader", artists because of their social idealism and often collective pattern of work, and architects because of their "power of resource and practical organisation".

To realise the neotechnic order required "productive action in country and city". Geddes's focus on country and city aimed at a unity he later would call the region. The region was not only a reminder of the natural scientific roots of Geddes's approach to cities but also a symbol of the comprehensiveness implicit in his claim to order nature. The region was to become the visual expression of the order Geddes had

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55 Other professions Geddes referred to in this context were economists, physiologists, hygienists, and physicians. (Geddes, *John Ruskin*, p. 303).
56 Geddes, *Co-operation*, p. 23.
found in nature. It embraced the whole variety of human life experience moving between the rural and the urban, but life and nature had to be made to serve the underlying theoretical model. Even nature as such, areas for example so far unexploited and untouched by capitalist development, had to, and could easily be incorporated into the order in the form of nature reserves, botanical and zoological gardens; although once incorporated they ceased to be nature, even if they continued to be natural.58

Towards "A Plea for the Larger Modernism"

With the realisation of the modern order the difficulties modernity faced changed. Beside the problem of continuously defining the order the question of safeguarding the already achieved arose. Apart from comprehensiveness, exclusiveness emerged as a second essential characteristic of order. The clear definition of inside and outside, and a growing awareness of the importance of borders became indispensable means in modernity's battle against ambivalence.59

In the intellectual realm, purging ambivalence means above all delegitimizing all grounds of knowledge that are philosophically

58 To what extent Geddes supported the exploitation of nature in all its appearances for the benefit of man can be concluded from the following example. In 1894-95 the British Aluminium Company became interested in the Falls of Foyers in Inverness district as a potential source of water power to generate the electricity necessary for producing aluminium. Part of the scheme was to divert water just above the falls to the power station and to build a dam to maintain a constant water level. Geddes commented in a letter to an unidentified recipient on the scheme, which required large scale engineering work and posed a potential threat to an acknowledged place of natural beauty. Geddes wrote: "I have been appealed to as landscape gardener to take an active interest in the changes of the Falls of Foyers through their utilisation for electrical purposes. Of course such agitation may take merely hostile form like that indiscriminate abuse of railways by which Mr. Ruskin was wont so much to weaken his own case, but on the other hand it ought to be possible at the outset of what is evidently a new stage in the development of industry and perhaps in the history of the Highlands to see our way towards some reconciliation of the useful and the beautiful." Geddes continued to recommend the use of the dam to raise the water level high enough to supply water to the power station and "to run the Falls also, if not constantly at least periodically." He furthermore insisted on disguising all embankments and other changes to the landscape by planting. His final advice concerned the building of the power station which "when once devised by the engineers for the economic utilisation of the water should be revised in architectural style, by some architect ... for ... all that is wanted is picturesque grouping of roofs and pleasant contouring of whitewashed walls." [Patrick Geddes to Anonymous, 23 February 1895, (NLS, MS 10508 A, f. 98)].

uncontrolled or uncontrollable. More than anything else, it means decrying and invalidating 'common sense' - be it 'mere beliefs', 'prejudices', 'superstitions' or sheer manifestations of 'ignorance'.

Geddes's intellectual development was to take a different course. He did not complement his approach towards classification and the ordering of nature with a concept of selection and elimination. Rather, he broadened his interests, and instead of narrowing he widened the focus of his activities to include religious concepts, metaphysics and mysticism.

In the early 1880s Geddes stated with respect to the use of scientific methods and principles that "the influence of other extra scientific conceptions, theological or metaphysical ... has ... to be guarded against." Yet at about the same time when expressing this suspicion Geddes was also in contact with groups like the 'Fellowship of the New Life'. The Fellowship comprised intellectuals and social reformers in London with an interest in spiritual development rather than the pursuit of material goods, who assembled around the Scotsman Thomas Davidson. Likewise, already since the 1870s Geddes was acquainted with Annie Besant, a future influential figure of international Theosophy.

Ideas like those of the Fellowship or of Annie Besant were popular during the fin-de-siècle. Geddes's fascination with them can be gathered from his depiction as "Professor P. Grosvenor" in the contemporary novel *The Cruciform Mark*. Grosvenor, a professor of psychology at Edinburgh University, was a central figure in a circle of friends and students, centring around a student hall of residence above

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Edinburgh's Old Town. While the daytime was occupied by the pursuit of rational knowledge, the evenings were given over to the discussions of psychological and spiritual interests and strange mystical events, the latter happening preferably during the nights.

In the years and decades after 1900 Geddes spent more and more time in London where he was in 1903 among the founders of the Sociological Society. These years in London proved to be decisive for Geddes's intellectual development, because his fascination with religious, psychological and mystical thoughts was stimulated there. It was fostered by his friendships with old and new friends, for example Victor Branford and David Eder.

Victor Verasis Branford (Figure 1.3), an accountant and former student at Geddes's summer schools in Edinburgh, was the driving force in the early years of the Sociological Society.\(^65\) Although a financier in the City, Branford took a keen interest in philosophical and religious questions. Lewis Mumford latter praised "Branford's early interpretation of the significance of religion as the binding force in all human societies" as anticipating "by two or three decades a change of philosophic orientation that is still going on."\(^66\) This interest of Branford was certainly highly influential on Geddes's analysis of societies, cities and the planning of the latter.

Of a comparable influence was David Montague Eder, one of the first British psychoanalysts of the Freudian school.\(^67\) His friendship with Geddes began sometime

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\(^65\) Victor Verasis Branford (1864-1930) came into contact with Geddes while studying at Edinburgh University. Between both men a close intellectual and personal friendship developed, in which Branford, an accountant, additionally took over the function of being one of Geddes’s financial advisors, and often saviours. The intellectual agreement between both men was so close that mutually published books do not identify each author’s contribution. To analyse the history of the mutual influences between Branford and Geddes would be an intriguing study, which is, however, beyond the scope of my thesis. For Branford see Lewis Mumford, *Sketches from Life. The Autobiography of Lewis Mumford. The Early Years* (Boston: Bacon Press, 1982), pp. 252-269, (hereafter *Sketches from Life*).

\(^66\) Mumford, *Sketches from Life*, p. 259.

\(^67\) David Montague Eder (1865-1936) was a trained doctor, who had worked in the slums of
in the years around 1908, and developed especially around 1919 when Eder supported vigorously Geddes’s design for the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. Eder was also closely acquainted with David Herbert Lawrence, who, in turn, was a regular visitor to the utopian community of Monte Verità. Through friends like Eder and Branford, but also contacts with people like Alfred Richard Orage, the editor of the journal *New Age*, Geddes was informed about the renewed interest in religiosity everywhere on the European continent and the Western world, and the rising fascination with spirituality, mysticism and Eastern beliefs.\(^68\)

The Hebrew University, a Temple of Life for the Region of Palestine, was also the climax of a professional co-operation between Geddes and his son-in-law, the architect and town planner Frank Charles Mears. A lack of sophisticated architectural drawing skills forced Geddes to constantly engage architects, engineers or draughtsmen for the presentation of his thoughts in plans and drawings. Seldom, however, was Geddes able to ensure the support of an architect as skilled as Mears.\(^69\) Mears was, as has been pointed out, “the planner who most faithful attempted to

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\(^{68}\) For a description of the circle of people Geddes was moving in at London see Philip Mairet, *Autobiographical and other papers*, ed. by Charles Hubert Sisson (Manchester: Carcanet, 1981).

\(^{69}\) Frank Charles Mears (1880-1953) had been apprentice to the Edinburgh architect Hippolyte Blanc and studied part-time at the School of Applied Art. Mears completed his training with the Edinburgh architect Robert Rowand Anderson and qualified as an architect in 1901. He then worked with Robert Weir Schultz in London on the design for a Cathedral at Khartoum. In 1906 he returned to Edinburgh to the office of Sidney Mitchell and George Wilson, a practise Patrick Geddes had commissioned to design and built various projects in the 1890s. The connection between Mears and Geddes originated in the years around 1908 when Mears collaborated with the young architect Ramsay Traquair, son of the artist Phoebe Traquair who, in turn, was a close acquaintance of Patrick Geddes and his circle. A survey of historic Edinburgh and of the city’s development was the first project Mears and Geddes worked on together. The relation between both men progressed from a professional to a private when in 1915 Mears married Norah, Geddes’s daughter, who was trained as a landscape architect. [For Mears see Graeme Purves, *The Life and Work of Sir Frank Mears: Planning with a Cultural Perspective* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Heriot-Watt University, 1987), (hereafter *Frank Mears*)].
translate Geddes's ideas on social evolution into practise." Yet Mears's architectural projects for Geddes were interpretations rather than straightforward translations of Geddes's thoughts. Schemes like that for the Hebrew University were the results of a reciprocal working partnership between an unusual intellectual thinker and a gifted artist-architect, in which the individual contributions are sometimes hard to identify.

The literary critic Raymond Williams has pointed out that modernity's obsessions with cities was less concerned with the city as a community rather with isolated "man walking through" the urban space. This fragmentation of cities into individuals who no longer formed a collective of citizens was, according to Williams, the ultimate experience of subjectivity and individual consciousness. It stimulated, nevertheless, the return of a "collective consciousness". The renewed knowledge of the existence of a community of citizens differed, however, from the community lost with the rise of the modern city. The regained collective of citizens, or even humanity, was one of myths and archetypes, its communities were examples of a "metaphysical or psychological 'community'". The often bemoaned loss of the old community and social consciousness was turned into a virtue of modern man.

The historically variable problem of 'the individual and society' acquires a sharp and particular definition, in that 'society' becomes an abstraction, and the collective flows only through the most inward channels. Not only the ordinary experiences of apparent isolation, but a whole range of techniques of self-isolation, are then gathered to sustain the paradoxical experience of an ultimate collectivity which is beyond and above community.

Geddes's growing interest in religion, metaphysics and mysticism was more than purely theoretical, but became reflected in his vision of building a temple for the benefit of cities. His long years in India after 1914 with its magnificent temple

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70 Purves, Frank Mears, p. 17.
72 Williams, Country and City, p. 246.
architecture, and his short, but intensive working spells in Palestine and Jerusalem in the 1920s - the Holy Land and City of his Christian childhood education - nourished this interest.

The classification of knowledge for the benefit of forms of life, with which Geddes had begun his career in the 1880s, had finally lead him to a call for building temples as spaces for the synthesis of knowledge and facts for the pursuit of wisdom. Geddes's attempts to resuscitate forms of knowledge other than rational was not the pursuit of an alternative to modernity but, as Victor Branford once called it, "a plea for the larger modernism".73

73 Victor Verasis Branford, Living Religions. A Plea for the larger Modernism (London: Le Play House Press and Williams & Norgate, 1924), (hereafter Living Religions).
### Table 1.1 Synoptic overview of Geddes’s life and time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Life of Patrick Geddes</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Related Contemporary Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Born in Ballater, west Aberdeenshire, Scotland, three years later family moves to Mount Tabor, a cottage near Perth | 1854 | - Since 1853 Georges-Eugène Haussmann rebuilds Paris  
- *The Happy Colony* by Robert Pemberton (1854)  
- 1859 Ildefonso Cerdà’s plan for the extension of Barcelona  
- 1859 - 72 Ringstraße Vienna after plans by Ludwig Förster |
| - Attends Perth Academy  
- 1871 an 18 months (unfinished) apprenticeship with National Bank of Scotland | 1861 - 1873 | - 1871 Paris Commune, the geographers Elisée and Elie Reclus participate in the revolutionary events  
- 1872 Festspielhaus Bayreuth opens as an architectural focus of Richard Wagner’s attempted *Gesamtkunstwerk* |
| - October 1874 studies in Botany and Natural Sciences at Edinburgh University, leaves after one week;  
- Winter session 1875 studies of Zoology under Thomas H. Huxley at Royal School of Mines;  
- Subsequently work as demonstrator at University College London | 1874 - 1878 | - 1875 - 94 *Géographie universelle: la Terre et les Hommes* by Elisée Reclus, a key publication of regional geography  
- 1877 William Morris establishes Society for Protection of Ancient Buildings  
- 1877 Thomas Coghlán Horsfall opens Art Museum and University Settlement at Manchester |
| - Works under Prof. Henry de Lacaze-Duthiers at marine-biological station Roscoff, Brittany;  
- Geddes meets at Roscoff Charles Flahault, later Professor of Botany at Montpellier University | 1878 | World Exhibition at Paris
- Autumn and winter studies of biology at the Sorbonne, and histology at Ecole de Médecine, Paris;
- Geddes attends lectures by Edmond Demolins where he learns about Frédéric Le Play's social theory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1878 - 1879</th>
<th>Scientific research work in Mexico (October 1879 - April 1880), temporary blindness, invention of thinking-machines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>George Cadbury begins to build Bourneville as a model worker settlement, main development starts later in 1895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Return to Scotland;
- Works as demonstrator in practical botany and vegetable histology at Edinburgh University

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1880</th>
<th>'The Classification of Statistics and its Results' by Geddes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

- Geddes in contact with Fellowship of New Life, introduction to Indian philosophy and religion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1881</th>
<th>'An Analysis of the Principles of Economics' by Geddes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'John Ruskin, Economist' by Geddes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Geddes involved in founding of Edinburgh Social Union, philanthropic organisation for relief work in Edinburgh's Old Town</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1882 | Fellowship of the New Life found by Scottish philosopher Thomas Davidson in London with three aims: new educational theory, new relations between sexes, and pursuit of culture |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1883</th>
<th>Botanic Garden at Grange House School, Edinburgh, first garden design by Geddes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summer 1883 travels to Jena University to visit his friend J. Arthur Thomson and to meet evolutionist Ernst Haeckel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 1884 | Fabian Society founded in London as a separation from Fellowship of the New Life |

<p>| 35 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Geddes lectured on 'Conditions of Progress of the Capitalist and of the Labourer' (published 1886) at Industrial Remuneration Conference in London, other speakers were William Morris and Alfred Russell Wallace</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1886 | - Marriage with Anna Morton, with whom Geddes has three children; move from Princes Street into James Court in Edinburgh's Old Town, beginning of Geddes's active urban regeneration work  
- Pjotr Kropotkin visits the Geddes's at their new home  
- Geddes reads 'Theory of Growth, Reproduction, Sex and Heredity' to Royal Society of Edinburgh, the paper outlines his theory of cell metabolism  
- Travels with friend and benefactor James Martin White to Athens, Venice, Rome, Constantinople, and Cannes from February to April |
| 1887 | - International Exhibition of Industry, Science, and Art in Edinburgh, main feature is 'Old Edinburgh Street' designed by Sydney Mitchell  
- Kropotkin writes approvingly about Geddes's move into the Old Town of Edinburgh in a letter to Elisée Reclus |
| 1888 | - Every Man his Own Art Critic at the Manchester Exhibition by Geddes  
- Opening of first University Hall of Residence in building No. 2 The Mound, Edinburgh  
- Co-operation versus Socialism by Geddes  
- James Martin White Chair of Botany endows at University College, Dundee, Geddes accepts offer of chair with teaching obligation only during winter term, (Geddes resigns from Chair in 1919)  
- Charles Robert Ashbee establishes Guild of Handicraft in connection with the university settlement Toynbee Hall in the East End of London  
- Beginning of Port Sunlight as model worker settlement of the Lever Company |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</table>
| 1889 | Visit of World Exhibition at Paris where Geddes meets the French architect François Galeron  
|      | - Patrick Geddes, J. Arthur Thomson publish *The Evolution of Sex*  
|      | - World Exhibition at Paris, the tower and the *Galerie des Machines* by Eiffel are the most famous buildings  
|      | - François Galeron exhibits a celestial globe at the Paris exhibition  
|      | - *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* by Camillo Sitte  
| 1890 | Purchase of Ramsay Lodge, former home of the Scottish poet Alan Ramsay, and adjacent properties  
|      | - Chapel of Ascension, London, built by Herbert P. Horne, conceived as a quiet space within the busy and noisy city  
| 1891 | First summer school in Edinburgh, after Geddes offered summer courses at Granton marine station since 1885; last summer school takes place in 1899  
|      | - William Richard Lethaby publishes *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth*  
|      | - a study into the symbolic and cosmic meaning of architecture  
| 1892 | - Purchase of Short's Observatorium near future Ramsay Garden, subsequent refurbishment of building as Outlook Tower  
|      | - Foundation of Old Edinburgh School of Art, John Duncan director, school ceases to exist in 1900  
| 1893 | - Building of Ramsay Garden at the top of the Royal Mile, Edinburgh, Architects Samuel Henbest Capper; Sydney Mitchell and George Wilson  
|      | - Renovation of Riddle's Court (acquired in 1889), this project marks a series of similar undertakings in Edinburgh's Old Town after the initial refurbishment of the first University Hall of Residence in 1887  
| 1894 | - In April opening of second part of Ramsay Garden with performance of 'Ceremony of the Torch'  
|      | - William Warde Fowler's *The City State of the Greeks and Romans* claims the identity between *polis* and natural regions  
|      | - Elisée Reclus attends Edinburgh Summer School, again in 1895  
|      | - The British positivist Frederick Harrison publishes *The Meaning of History*, an attempt at a historiography focusing on cities
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
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</table>
| 1895 | Geddes describes funeral procession through Edinburgh of John Stuart Blackie, Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University and Scottish nationalist, as manifestation of the city as community in an obituary published in the first of four issues of *The Evergreen*, a journal by Geddes propagating Celtic cultural revival. | - Elisée Reclus begins to propagate Great Globe for the forthcoming World Exhibition at Paris in 1900  
- 'The Evolution of Cities' by Elisée Reclus proposes idea of ever-expanding cities  
- *Degeneration* by Max Nordau.                                                                                                                                 |
| 1896 | - Friends of Geddes establish Town and Gown Association as to relief him from financial burden of renovation and building schemes.  
- Eastern and Colonial Association established to support financially Geddes's relief work on Cyprus in autumn 1896 for the benefit of Armenian refugees. | - Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society organises lecture series on *Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities* during their fifth exhibition at London.  
- *The Cruciform Mark* by Riccardo Stephens depicts life in Geddes's University Hall of Residence, and portrays Geddes as P. Grosvenor, Professor of Psychology.  
- *Renoveau d'une cité. (On the social work of Patrick Geddes at Edinburgh)* by Elie and Elisée Reclus.  
- First modern Olympic Games propagate classic Greek ideas on art, architecture, physical education and competition as contemporary ideal. |
| 1897 | First ideas for Roseburn Cliff suburban terrace of cottages, built only in 1911 by architects McArthy and Watson.                     | - Robert Smith, assistant of Geddes at University College, Dundee, begins botanical survey of Scotland by investigating natural region of Edinburgh.  
- First World Zionist Congress.                                                                                                                                 |


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>First ideas for University Hall of Residence &quot;More's Garden&quot; in Chelsea put forward by Geddes, Lethaby and F. W. Troup; built 1902 - 04 by Edinburgh architects Dunn and Watson, since 1907 University Hall of Residence.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1899     | - Charles Robert Ashbee initiates the Survey of London.  
           - Begin of Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt, Germany.  
           - *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow* by Pjotr Kropotkin.  
           - Tony Garnier began to design his *Cité Industrielle* while working on reconstruction of Tusculum at Villa Medici at Rome. |
| 1899 - 1900 | - Architect Fritz Schumacher organises and designs *tableaux vivants* performance of a dialogue between Faust and Mephisto, conceived as a civic event. |

Two tours (February to April 1899; September 1899 to April 1900) to the USA, lecturing and fund-raising for forthcoming summer school at Paris and for Reclus's globe; Geddes meets the educationalist G. Stanley Hall, the philosopher John Dewey, the sociologist Charles Zueblin, the urban reformer Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago, and the Indian philosopher Swami Vivekananda.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Geddes organises together with the International Association for the Advancement of Science, Arts and Education the International Summer School at the World Exhibition at Paris.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Geddes meets Henri Bergson, and Paul Otlet and Henri Lafontaine from the International Office of Bibliography (later Mundaneum) in Brussels.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Fruitless attempts at saving the pavilions of the Rue des Nations as a Via Sacra of international peace and co-operation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Planning scheme for Dunfermline, Pittencrieff Park; Competitive design by Thomas W. Mawson; neither design is commissioned. Geddes and Victor Verasis Branford among founding members of Sociological Society in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>- Planning scheme for Dunfermline, Pittencrieff Park; Competitive design by Thomas W. Mawson; neither design is commissioned. Geddes and Victor Verasis Branford among founding members of Sociological Society in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>- Planning scheme for Dunfermline, Pittencrieff Park; Competitive design by Thomas W. Mawson; neither design is commissioned. Geddes and Victor Verasis Branford among founding members of Sociological Society in London.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>1904 - 1906</td>
<td>Three partite lecture series 'Civics as applied Sociology', presenting Geddes's theory of Civics and City Design to the Sociological Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>Francis Galton presents during the same sessions lectures on eugenics to the Sociological Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>- <em>The Myths of Plato</em> by John Alexander Stewart</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>International architecture competition for Peace Palace at The Hague</td>
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<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>- Opening of Castle Wynd Garden, the first of several open spaces established in Edinburgh's Old Town - Idea of Temple of Life appears for the first time in Geddes's notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>- Saving of Crosby Hall in Chelsea, subsequently rebuilt by architect Walter Hindes Godfrey, Geddes and others - David Montague Eder, Freudian psychoanalyst, and leading British Zionist invites Geddes to lecture on eugenics to biology group of Fabian Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Geddes participates in a town planning tour to Germany organised by National Housing Reform Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Chair and Department of Civics established at Liverpool University with funds from William Hesketh Lever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>- Housing and Town Planning Act; first British town planning legislation - <em>Town Planning in Practise</em> by Raymond Unwin - Foundation of Tel Aviv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>International Town Planning Conference at the Royal Academy in London, organised by the Royal Institute of British Architects</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>- Rudolf Steiner proposes to build Johannesbau in Munich - <em>Civic Art</em> by Thomas H. Mawson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>- Foundation of Tel Aviv in Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Geddes displays the Survey of Edinburgh at Town Planning Conference in London - In a paper read at a health congress Geddes introduces term conurbation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>First display of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at Crosby Hall in Chelsea, London, exhibition later in Edinburgh and Dublin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Geddes displays the Survey of Edinburgh at Town Planning Conference in London - In a paper read at a health congress Geddes introduces term conurbation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Performance of Masque of Learning in Edinburgh marks the 25th anniversary of the University Hall of Residence</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Ramsay Traquair and Frank Charles Mears conceive completion of the National Monument on Edinburgh's Calton Hill as Temple of Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Edwin Lutyens begins working on New Delhi plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>- Hendrik Christian Andersen and Ernest M. Hébrard publish project of a World City as a centre of peace and co-operation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- 1913 - 1914: Rudolf Steiner builds <em>Goethenaeum</em> I in Dornach</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>- Bruno Taut builds Glass-house at Werkbund Exhibition in Cologne</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Frank Charles Mears works with Edwin Lutyens in London on Headquarters for Theosophical Society</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Friends of Geddes assemble second Cities and Town planning Exhibition including material from the Outlook Tower</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>- Lewis Mumford contacts the Outlook Tower</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Publication of <em>Cities in Evolution, An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and the Study of Civics</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Summer school 'The war: Its social tasks and problems' in London, organised by Geddes and Gilbert Slater, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1923</td>
<td>City Design work in India, publication of numerous reports, most notably <em>Town Planning towards City Development: A Report to the Durbar of Indore</em> (Indore, 1918)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916-1923</td>
<td>Louis Bourgeois begins model for a Bahai Temple, the model completed in 1920, the temple opens in Wilmette, near Chicago in 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Yearly exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society dedicated to the City, designed by Henry Wilson as a sequence of temple rooms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td><em>Where the Great City stands. A Study in New Civics</em> by Charles Robert Ashbee.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1919 | - *Die Stadtkrone* and *Alpine Architektur* by Bruno Taut.  
- Frank Charles Mears designs 'Scottish National Memorial to Scots who fell in the Great War' to form with Ramsay Garden a city crown. |
| 1920 | - Second visit to Palestine, City Design reports for Haifa and other Zionist settlements and projects.  
- *Die Auflösung der Städte* by Bruno Taut. |
| 1920 - 1923 | - 1922 Lewis Mumford states in *The Story of Utopia* the identity between *polis* and valley section.  
- Geddes and Frank Charles Mears design Bahai temple, Allahabad.  
- Geddes redesigns an Indian palace garden in Patiala as temple for Greek gods and muses, and as symbolic garden of Notation of Life.  
- Lecture tour to the USA, Geddes finally meets Lewis Mumford. |
| 1923 | - Rudolf Steiner builds *Goetheanum II* in Dornach.  
- Lewis Mumford and friends establish Regional Planning Association of America. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Return from India, travels in Europe, Geddes criticises Geneva</td>
<td>1924</td>
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<tr>
<td>buildings of League of Nation and other international organisations as lacking Outlook Towers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Foundation of Scots College in Montpellier, France</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibition of Hall of Vision at a Conference on Living Religions in the British Empire, London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third visit to Palestine on occasion of the opening of the Hebrew University Jerusalem, City Design report for Tel Aviv-Jaffa</td>
<td>1925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage with Lilian Brown, Geddes's second wife</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Life: Outlines of General Biology, by Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Geddes and Frank Charles Mears negotiate design for a Hindu Temple, London</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Geddes accepts knighthood for educational services</td>
<td>1931</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Geddes dies at Montpellier after his return from England</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Interpreter Geddes: The Man and his Gospel by Amelia Defries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- International architecture competition for design of League of Nation Building at Geneva, Switzerland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The Science of Life by Herbert George Wells, George Philip Wells, and Julian Sorel Huxley</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Corbusier designs Mundaneum for Paul Otlet, Geddes's friend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 2 PATRICK GEDDES'S THEORY OF THE CITY

"We are, in truth, at the opening of one of those phases of human as of simpler evolution, when individuals casually crowded, loosely grouped, begin to enter upon a new phase of existence—more social, more orderly, and in general more beautiful."

Patrick Geddes, *Town Planning and City Design*, 1910, p. 59

Victorian Britain was the first society to experience on a grand scale the process of industrialisation and the establishment of modern capitalism. Progress and change occurred rapidly but also continuously, and were physically observable in towns and cities. Railway tracks and telegraph wires drew new lines of transport and communication over the land. Railway stations, stockmarkets, bank buildings, and department stores dominated overnight the city centre and rivalled the traditional spires of the churches. The city grew into the countryside, where it threatened the realm of the upper classes, the country house. Elsewhere extended areas of the cherished countryside turned into coalfields or disappeared under endless rows of working class houses forming new industrial cities. But not only town and country changed their appearances; the life of the people changed too. This was true for the upper classes, although they benefited from the newly created wealth which they spent commuting between the urban cultural amenities and the rural retreat on the country estate. It was even more true for the people at the other end of the social hierarchy, working in the new factories and living in the row houses. They had to come to terms with unemployment, illness, and bad housing. For them life in an industrialised society was not necessarily a better life. They were often compelled to give up a poor, but ultimately secure life in the countryside in exchange for a poorer and insecure town life. Furthermore, the emerging working class was a potential threat for the rich whose wealth they produced. Therefore they deserved attention.
Another phenomenon of the transformation of the Victorian society was the emergence of the centralised state. The administrative and political power guaranteed a stable frame of laws and regulations, within which the individual entrepreneur could compete with other producers at home or abroad. The state also attempted to guarantee the economic basis of any production by dealing with the improvement of health, living and labour conditions of the working class. However, in the dominantly liberal climate of Victorian Britain any interference with the natural course of economics was deeply unpopular. Accordingly, state initiatives were confined to measures easing the worst results of laissez-faire economics. Additional and further-reaching endeavours were initiated by churches, individual persons or philanthropic organisations. Their endeavours concentrated often on single problems like alcohol consumption, or the improvement of urban housing with model settlements, such as Cadbury's Bournville (from 1879 onwards) or Lever's Port Sunlight (since 1888). Furthermore, the problems of society were often considered as arising less from the economical, political and social structures of society than from the moral and ethical conduct of its individual members. The issues at stake were the relations between both, different social classes on the one hand, and the individual and the state on the other. The aim was to ensure social and political coherency despite the huge discrepancy in the results modern industrialised society brought about for its members. As the experience of an industrialised capitalist society was totally new many of those concerned with the condition of society began to look back into human history for better times. They turned to imaginary models and embarked on re-introducing such models into a completely different social, economical and political environment.

Victorian Britain and the Middle Ages

The Middle Ages displayed such a model-character. They were admired as a period of a great society, structured and dominated by Christian thought. The medieval
city was considered as the nearly perfect expression of a society unifying the Christian basis with a particular mode of production. The life of the city’s inhabitant was dominated and structured by the guilds; unions of citizens of the same profession which guaranteed its members economical and social security and advantages. Among those guilds the mason’s guild, the Bauhütte, was of particular interest to many nineteenth-century reformers, especially those coming from art and architecture. The mason’s guild was responsible, supported by the rest of the inhabitants of a city, for the erection of the cathedral; the one edifice dominating the medieval cityscape architecturally and symbolically. The cathedral became a symbol of the possible heights to which a society could rise, in which the mutual endeavour of all people, despite different social positions, was guided towards one unifying aim. The antiquarian Gothic revival in the early decades of the century, John Ruskin’s Guild of St. George, William Morris’s Red House designed by Philip Webb in 1859, Morris’s guild-like company Morris & Co., or the Arts and Crafts movement in general were influenced by aesthetic and economic principles derived from the Middle Ages. Although, the points of reference differed depending on the contemporary social, political and artistic interest of the individual artist and reformer. But the Middle Ages were only one possible model society; very popular towards the end of the nineteenth century. They have been preceded and paralleled by a strong interest in Antiquity, and especially the classical Greek civilisation.

Victorian Britain and Classical Greece

The classical Greece of the fifth and fourth centuries achieved the status of a model-society with the Enlightenment in the second half of the eighteenth century. The

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questions Enlightenment philosophers asked about human self-understanding and man's position in nature, and political upheaval like the French Revolution shook seriously traditional institutions, and moral and ethical values of the older societies. This was the beginning of the process which lasted throughout the whole of the nineteenth century. The classical Greek period offered an alternative society which was characterised by a stable condition with a coherent body of values. The model could be exploited by both those who wanted "to foster further change" and those who wanted "to combat the forces of disruption". The latter were represented by the enlightened absolutist rulers, who embellished towns and country estates with classicist buildings both to impress and to teach their people about humanist values and their own greatness. The artists, architects, or writers travelling on the *grand tour* through Greece and Italy, while possibly dreaming of democracy for the people, stood for the former. They, ironically, were often financed by the absolutist ruler who made use of their knowledge at home.

In nineteenth-century Britain the "classical world stood at the heart of major areas of Victorian thought, political philosophy, theology, and formal education." Classical subjects in higher education traditionally fostered a knowledge about Greek civilisation among the educated classes. For those who were no longer taught Greek or Latin, new translations of classical authors into English attempted "to preserve that frame of cultural and intellectual reference for an expanding, but not always classically trained, political elite." The interest in Antiquity was less a historical rather than a contemporary one, for "writing about Greece was in part a way for the Victorians to write about themselves." It was a way to address the ruling class in Britain recruited

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3 Turner, *Greek Heritage*, p. xii.

4 Turner, *Greek Heritage*, p. 5.

from the educated part of the population. The historicist, evolutionary interpretation of national histories as stages in a process of growth allowed for the comparison of Victorian Britain with classical Greece. Both cultures were seen as being on the same level of their development and therefore facing comparable political, moral and aesthetic problems.6

Within the larger frame of the general interest in ancient Greece, the middle of the last century was marked by a revival of interest in Plato. According to the historian Frank M. Turner, the nineteenth-century revival of Plato was much stronger than that during the Renaissance.7 At a time when the influence of the Christian churches was on the retreat, Plato offered an alternative intellectual paradigm similarly concerned, for example, with questions of transcendence and the eternity of the soul. Furthermore, Plato's dialogue *The Republic* addressed a question - the relation between the state and the individual citizen - which was of utmost importance to the Victorians.

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6 Turner distinguishes four "general philosophical approaches to the past" as the basis of a Victorian looking to Greece for guidance. Christian historians considered Greece as having prepared "the world for the Gospel" due to its high moral standards and philosophical debate. Second, a cyclic view of history, often informed by Vico, allowed for drawing parallels mostly between Greece in the fifth century BC and Victorian Britain. August Comte's law of three stages of intellectual development provided another pattern for references to Greece which was taken as a microcosm embodying these three stages. The fourth approach was "Hegel's concept of the development of Greek philosophy ... Nineteenth-century writers who accepted his view of the passage from *Sittlichkeit* to *Moralität* in Greek civilization discerned a similar development in their own time." (Turner, *Greek Heritage*, pp. 11-12).

7 See chapter 8 'The Victorian Platonic Revival' in Turner, *Greek Heritage*, pp. 369-414. As distinguished by Turner there were three major directions in the Platonic revival: First, a direction for which Plato was a prophet, "a vehicle for upholding vestiges of Christian or transcendentalist doctrines in the wake of utilitarian morality, positivist epistemology, and scientific naturalism." Second, there was Plato, the "cause of critical, even sceptical epistemology and in some cases radical social reform". Third, a direction which "used Plato's moral and political philosophy to provide a more or less idealistic surrogate for Christian social and political values." (Turner, *Greek Heritage*, p. 374).
Plato's Republic

_The Republic_ is a dialogue between Socrates and some pupils on the moral question "What is justice?" The question was not a purely academic one, for Socrates wanted to find out if the just life pays for the man who lives it. Socrates suggested it would be appropriate to begin the examination on the level of a Greek _polis_ and then focus on the individual. The _polis_ was chosen as a study-ground since if justice could be found in this larger unit it would be easier to identify the equivalent in the smaller unit, the individual. However, justice was a matter of both the community and the individual whereby the latter was the decisive part: "Well we are bound to admit that the elements and traits that belong to a state must also exist in the individuals that compose it. There is nowhere else for them to come from." A good city should possess four virtues or qualities: wisdom, courage, self-restraint and justice. If the first three were located within the city, the fourth, justice, could be traced immediately. The perfectly good city was characterised by a division of the inhabitants into three classes. The majority of people belonged to the economic class, serving the ruling class which was divided into Auxiliaries, the military, and Guardians proper.

Courage, defined as the ability to adhere to that which was correct and according to the law under whatever circumstances, was the virtue associated with the Auxiliaries. The Guardians proper were the old and wise men administering in favour of the interest of the _polis_. Their virtue was wisdom, the knowledge about the well-being of the city as a whole and its relations to other cities. The virtue of self-restraint was the rulership of the good part of a city, _viz._ the Guardians proper, over the other parts. Justice was the virtue concerning all inhabitants of the _polis_ equally. It was the

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9 Plato, _Republic_, 435e.
10 Plato, _Republic_, 430b.
11 Plato, _Republic_, 428d.
12 Plato, _Republic_, 430d-432.
principle that each man should do one job only; the job which suited him naturally most. Later Socrates extended the principle to classes. Each should be confined to its functions and none should try to perform functions of another class. If the relations between the classes were determined by this restriction the city would be a just city. Similarly to the city, each individual was composed of three parts, and the relation between them decided if the individual was just or not. The connection between city and individual has been summed up as follows: "The city is to be regarded as a large-scale individual and what can be said of it is to be determined by what can be said of the individual."

The Notation of Life

One of Geddes's most sophisticated thinking-machines is the Notation or Charting of Life, a graphic summary of his thoughts about human life. (Figure 2.1) The diagram puts forward a theory of human interaction with the environment drawing on many ideas ranging from contemporary psychology and politics to sociology, arts and beyond. The Notation of Life was not merely descriptive; it is a call for action as it contains Geddes's idea of a methodology for the improvement of human life. Without pretending to provide an exhaustive analysis of the Notation of Life I will concentrate in the following on a Platonic reading of the diagram.

As quoted above, Plato's quest for the just and good life led to the insight that polis and citizens were connected in an interdependent relationship and only from there the good life was feasible. Geddes assumed a comparable relationship between the two principal forms of human life: individual and social or co-operative. Using a

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13 Plato, Republic, 432b-434d.
14 The parts were desire or appetite, reason or the rational factor, and spirit. (Plato, Republic, 437-441c, 443c-443e).
16 See above p. 50, footnote 9.
biological metaphor Geddes states: "Like flower and butterfly, city and citizen are bound in an abiding partnership of mutual aid." Around this mutual beneficial relationship the Notation of Life developed. Furthermore, from the analysis of this relation Geddes derived a methodology towards an improvement of life, its organisation and material expression. The central four terms of the diagram - "Town / School / Cloister / City in Deed" - represent what I suggest to call the Town-City formula; summarising four steps of transforming a mere Town into a City. Along the outer frame of the diagram the words "Acts / Facts / Thoughts (Dreams) / Deeds" constitute accordingly the Act-Deed formula, again consisting of four steps towards raising individual human lives on higher levels of conscious existence.  


18 I was unable to reconstruct the exact history of the Notation of Life. The diagram was only published once during Geddes's life time, when Amelia Defries included it with a supplementary text by Geddes in her book The Interpreter Geddes, (pp. 129-144, plate V). However, several publications by Geddes allow an approximation regarding the years he was in particular developing the Notation of Life. Beside the version of the diagram in Defries's book there exist three essays by Geddes dealing mainly with the Town-City formula. In 1904 and 1905 Geddes read two papers to the Sociological Society in London in which he developed his idea of cives. (Patrick Geddes, 'Civics: as Applied Sociology. Part I, in Sociological Papers 1904, (London: Macmillan, 1905), (hereafter Civic I); Patrick Geddes, 'Civics: as concrete and applied Sociology. Part II', in Sociological Papers 1905, (London: Macmillan, 1906), (hereafter Civic II). Both papers are reprinted in Helen Meller, The Ideal City (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1979), pp. 75-183, (hereafter The Ideal City)). Also in 1905, between the 21st of January and 25th of March, Geddes delivered at the Horniman Museum in London a series of lectures on "Great Cities". (Patrick Geddes, Syllabus of a Course of Ten Lectures on Great Cities: Their Place in Geography, and their Relation to Human Development (London: London County Council, Horniman Museum, 1905), (hereafter Great Cities)). The syllabus of the lectures contains two diagrams, both very likely illustrations for Geddes's lecture on the 18th of March with the title "The Interpretation of the City" (Geddes, Great Cities, diagrams after p. (6), p. 5). The second of the two Civics papers, read on January 23rd 1905, dealt with the uplift of towns on the level of Cities. The published version of the talk contained diagrams similar to those in the syllabus of the lecture series. (See for example illustration page 154 in Meller, The Ideal City). Although the diagrams in both sources operate with the terms Town, School, Cloister and City, the drawings in the syllabus show the remotest similarity with the full version of the Notation of Life. Taking into account that the syllabus was very likely produced in advance of the first lecture at the Horniman Museum on the 21st January 1905, and that Geddes delivered his second lecture (23.01.1905) to the Sociological Society only two days after he had begun the lecture series at the Museum, it can be concluded that the Town-City formula was essentially developed at the beginning of 1905. With regard to the Act-Deed formula less historic evidence exists. The basic ideas of this formula are described in a short publication by Geddes with the title The World Without and the World Within (Bournville: The Saint George Press, and London: George Allen, 1905). The merger of both formulas seemed to have happened sometime between 1905 and 1909. In the latter year Geddes delivered a course of lectures on "Country and Town in Development, Deterioration, and Renewal" for the University Extension Movement at the University of London. During lecture VI Geddes talked about the Act-Deed formula, the Town-
The following analysis is less concerned with tracing all sources and inspirations Geddes exploited in the diagram, or - for the time being - discussing the contents of the improved life rather than with describing the methodology to achieve the uplift of life incorporated in the diagram. Geddes intertwined indissolubly the two formulas in the diagram. Only if taken together as the two parts of a whole the formulas could function properly and guarantee the constant evolution of human life - individual and social - towards ever higher forms, an evolution comparable to the movement of the coils of a spiral.¹⁹ (Figure 2.2) The underlying assumption that better means to be on a higher level was influenced by contemporary theories of

City formula, their relations and connections, although both were not yet presented in one diagram. [Patrick Geddes, Country and Town in Development, Deterioration, and Renewal (n. pl.: n. pub., n. d. [1909], (hereafter Country and Town)). (See also Patrick Geddes, Syllabus of a Course of Ten Lectures on Evolution in Life, Mind, Morals and Society (London: University of London, 1910), pp. 13-14, (hereafter Evolution in Life)). The diagram of the Notation of Life was very likely produced during the following years as Defries reported that Geddes presented it for the first time to the public during a lecture delivered for the Sociological Society at the Royal Society of Arts in 1914. (Defries, The Interpreter, p. 129, footnote 2). I could not find any proof of this event. Geddes returned to the Notation of Life in two further essays. One was published in 1924, the other one in 1927 but had already been read to a conference in 1925. [Patrick Geddes, 'The Mapping of Life', Sociological Review, 16 (1924), 193-203, (hereafter Mapping of Life), (this essay was reprinted with small changes in the appendix of Defries, The Interpreter); Patrick Geddes, 'The Charting of Life', Sociological Review, 19 (1927), 40-63, (hereafter Charting of Life)]. Probably the best description of the Notation of Life, however, was provided by Victor Branford in his essay 'A more Realistic Approach to the Social Synthesis' [Sociological Review, 22 (1930), 195-218, (hereafter Social Synthesis)]. What I call Act-Deed formula Branford named "formula of Personality", and for the Town-City formula he used the term "civic formula" (p. 215).

Both formulas and their connection have been more or less neglected by many writers on Patrick Geddes. Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, the editor of the reprint of "Cities in Evolution" in 1949 supplemented the book with the diagram and some extracts from articles by Geddes relating to the diagram. (Patrick Geddes, Cities in Evolution, edited by the Outlook Tower Association and the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction London, (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915; repr. 1949), (hereafter Cities in Evolution, 1949). Among the articles are Geddes's description of the 'Notation of Life' from Amelia Defries's biography and parts of his essay 'The World Without and the World Within'. Paddy Kitchen's reference to the thinking-machines and the Notation of Life is dominated by an interpretative language. She called the diagrams "Mandalas", related them to the C. G. Jung's psychology, and continued: "Later in life he [Geddes] became interested in psychoanalysis, but always related any inner journey to the significance it might have to the outer manifestations of society. In this he was ... truly responsible." Geddes's diagrams were the synthesis of the two worlds, but an explanation was not attempted because the diagrams are "a difficult code to crack if one has not already made a little progress along the two paths." (Kitchen, Most Unsettling Person, p. 66). In an essay about Geddes's role in geography and social science the Town-City formula is described but the Act-Deed formula is not mentioned. (Brian Turnbull Robson, Geography and Social Science: the Role of Patrick Geddes', in Geography, Ideology and Social Concern, ed. by David Ross Stoddart (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), pp. 186-207). Geddes's latest biographer Helen Meller published the Town-City formula in the long and the short version as "two of his basic 'city' diagrams. She continues: "What he was trying to reveal was the 'life-force' of the city, the relationship between physical and social phenomena which created the cultural context for change. ... But his diagrams of city life, when
evolution and development in biology.

From Town to City

According to Geddes any city, town or village, in short any settlement of human beings, could be comprehended by applying the triad Place - Work - Folk. A town occupied a certain location, its Place. There people were involved in all sorts of activities, their Work. Their life being structured by Work and influenced by the conditions of the Place, the people would form a Folk with a common superstructure of shared beliefs, traditions and customs. To arrive at a full picture of a town the interrelations between the main categories, as set out in table 2.1, have to be included into the analytical categories.

Presented most fully in London for the first time ... in 1905, proved to be totally unappealing ... it is not hard to see, even from a handful of Geddes's simplest, most basic diagrams, just how unhelpful they were as educational tools. When he began refining them and adding psychological factors and symbolic references to the Greek Gods as manifestations of the life force, the lack of communication becomes obvious." (Meller, Patrick Geddes, pp. 47-49). Meller reduces the connection between the life-force of the individual and the life-force of the city to the mere addition of psychological factors. Accordingly, there are no references to the Act-Deed formula or to the "Notation of Life". I agree with Helen Meller's judgement on Geddes's diagrams as teaching tools, but nevertheless the diagrams provide valuable insights into Geddes's thoughts. Helen Meller's earlier analysis of Geddes's theory of civics describes various aspects of civics and their intellectual roots, but does not analyse in detail the four steps towards a City, and the corresponding Act-Deed formula. [Helen Meller, 'Patrick Geddes: An Analysis of His Theory of Civics, 1880-1904; Victorian Studies, 16 (1973), 291-315, (hereafter Theory of Civics)].

20 See chapter 1, p. 15 for the origin of this triad in the sociology of Frédéric Le Play.
21 Geddes began his analysis of a town actually in a slightly different way. In his second talks on Civics delivered to the Sociological Society in London in 1905 - which is the main source for the section from Town to City - Geddes stated that a neutral observer would find the inhabitants of a town mainly and first of all "speaking and thinking for the most part of People and of Affairs; much less of places." He continued by outlining what could be tabulated under this three categories, for example individuals and their institutions like governments or churches made up the category People. Affairs comprised commerce, industry but also war and peace. The places were accordingly markets, banks, factories or fort and field. He then rejects this approach as being a "popular view ... reached from the side of science" in favour of replacing the triad of People - Affairs - Place with Place - Work - Folk and the related analysis as I outline it in the main text. However, the earlier analysis was less a popular view rather than Geddes's criticism of inhabitants of a city running and considering their life and town. Geddes did not quote any scientist or science in particular considering towns this way. Furthermore, the similarity of the two triads makes clear that it was Geddes who set out the earlier and rejected methodology as a background against which he could pursue more conveniently his analysis beginning with the geographical environment. (See Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, pp. 134-136).
Table 2.1 The triad Place - Work - Folk and its interrelations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place Folk</th>
<th>Work-Folk</th>
<th>FOLK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;Natives&quot;)</td>
<td>(&quot;Producers&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place-Work</th>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>Folk-Work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>Work-Place</th>
<th>Folk-Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sub-categories are more than auxiliary means to fill the table. Every aspect of a town and town-life could be accounted for with the help of the three main and the six sub-categories. But it was in particular the latter group which allowed for an element of dynamic in the analysis of towns, for example when Geddes identifies the same group of people as being "Natives" or "Producers"; thereby referring to their different roles within a society.

For Place, it is plain, is no mere topographic site. Work, conditioned as it primarily is by natural advantages, is thus really first of all place-work. Arises the field or garden, the port, the mine, the workshop, in fact the work-place, as we may simply generalise it; while, further, beside this arise the dwellings, the folk-place.

The nine categories applied to any town provide a picture of the "objective elements" of life, the "everyday world of action". A town analysed as such Geddes named "Town proper". So far, the analysis dealt with the complexity of every town; which although complex was nevertheless still a basic analysis. Geddes admitted that the further development of, for example, the folk into "social classes or castes" was not yet shown; to do this similar tables would be necessary. But his line of inquiry was to take a different direction.

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22 After Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 138.
23 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 137.
24 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 135.
25 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 138. Following Geddes I will use the word Town (or Town proper) with a capital initial to indicate that I am referring to his particular understanding of a Town as opposed to any town. Similarly in the following the words School, Cloister and City (in Deed) will refer to the specific Geddessian terms.
26 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 138. Geddes wrote later that he omitted a chapter about the emerging of ruling classes (p. 142). I have not been able to locate this chapter.
Up until this junction Geddes's analysis concerned only the daily life composed of objective elements. They were supplemented with, or reflected in, the "subjective elements" making up the corresponding "thought-world". Each element of the Town had its corresponding element in the thought-world. Geddes introduced the word School as a generic term for the subjective elements; Schools understood in a very wide meaning comparable to its use in art history. Within the division into the three categories of Folk, Work and Place the institutions of the Town proper, for example, were reflected in Schools of History. Likewise, the lives of individual inhabitants could become reflected in Schools of Biographies. Another example were the occupations of the inhabitants giving rise to Schools of Economics. The following table 2.2 shows the objective elements in the Town and the corresponding subjective elements in the Schools.

Table 2.2 The Town proper reflected in the thought-world of Schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>PLACE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOLK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Individuals</td>
<td>(a) Occupations</td>
<td>(a) Work-Places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Institutions</td>
<td>(b) War</td>
<td>(b) War-Places</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) History</td>
<td>(b) Statistics and History</td>
<td>(b) Geography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&quot;Constitutional&quot;)</td>
<td>(&quot;Military&quot;)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Biography</td>
<td>(a) Economics</td>
<td>(a) Topography</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence a Town consisted of the Town proper - the world of action - and the Schools - the world of thought. Accordingly, a Town proper never existed on its own, automatically with it the thought-world came into being. Daily town life and its activities could be seen as a dialectic process between the two worlds of action and thought. A school emerged, influenced the objective elements of which it was the

27 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 135.
28 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 140.
29 After Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 135. This diagram was an illustration to Geddes initial description of towns as referred to in footnote 21 (above page 54). I changed the original titles of the main categories from People - Affairs - Places to Folk - Work - Place allowing to bring the table in accordance with Geddes's main analysis. Geddes himself did not reject the contents of this table, only, as explained above, the order and titles of the main categories.
reflection, and thus a new school as the reflection of the changed objective elements emerged. Although the Town proper gave rise to the Schools, Geddes did not wish to express a purely materialistic point of view. The driving force in the dialectic relation were the subjective elements; they influenced and changed the objective elements:

Once and again we have noted how from the everyday life of action - the Town proper of our terminology - there arises the corresponding subjective world - the Schools of thought, which may express itself sooner or later in schools of education. The types of people, their kinds and styles of work, their whole environment, all become represented in the mind of the community, and these react upon the individuals, their activities, their place itself.30

A town or city on this level of existence would function adequately, but it would not rise towards a higher level in the evolution of human societies. The simple process of reflection was not enough to instigate the development of a Town into a City, something else was necessary.

Geddes assumed a continuous production of Schools, from which a selection would be reinterpreted "into a larger and larger whole of thought; in fact, in a Synthesis of a new kind".31 Geddes located this activity of selection in places he called "Cloisters of contemplation, meditation, imagination".32 Cloisters were characterised by "a deeper ethical insight than any rule or precedent can afford, ... a fuller and freer intellectual outlook than that which has been derived from any technical experience or empiric skill, ... an imagery which is no mere review of the phantasmagoria of the senses."33

The activities of the Cloister were again classified in three categories. First, the category of the Ideals, the Ethics, based on the understanding of what is Good.

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30 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 138.
31 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 149.
32 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 149.
33 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 150.
Second, the category Ideas (Synthetics) based on the understanding of what is True. Third, the final category was that of Imagery or Aesthetics based on the understanding of the Beautiful. Accordingly, three different results were the outcome of the cloister: Ideals or Ethics led to Polity; Ideas to Culture; and Imagery to Art.34 (Figure 2.3) The results of the Cloister pointed towards a City, yet they did not make a City.35 The City proper, the fourth step of the Town-City formula, needed the transfer of the ideas emerging from the Cloister into reality.

Finally and supremely arises the City proper - its individuality dependent upon the measure and form in which ideals are expressed and harmonised in social life and polity, ideas synthesised in culture, and beauty carried outwards from the study or chamber of the recluse into the world of art.36

The City completed, or the "great or true city" as Geddes called it elsewhere,37 consisted of all four components of his analysis: Town, School, Cloister and City as shown in table 2.3.

Table 2.3 The fourfold analysis of the City completed38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWN</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Folk</th>
<th>Polity</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>CITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Morals</td>
<td>Law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Soc. Econ.</td>
<td>Ideas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ideals, Ethics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CLOISTER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 152.
35 "Now, 'at long last,' we are ready to enter the city proper. This is not merely the Town of place and work and folk, even were this at their economic best. It is not enough to add the School, even at its completest; nor the cloister, though with this a yet greater step toward the city proper is made. For though this is not itself the City, its ideals of human relations, its theory of the universe and man, its artistic expression and portrayal of all these, ever sooner or later react upon the general view and conduct of life." (Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 151).
36 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 157.
38 After Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 154.
A cross, the four fields inscribed with the words Town, School, Cloister and City, was used by Geddes as a simplified graphic version of the Town-City formula. (Figure 2.4) This reduced version formed the centre of the Notation of Life. (Figure 2.1) In the inner top left corner of the Notation of Life is written Town and Village, the Town proper of Geddes's analysis. In the quarter below, at the level of Schools, one finds the words: "School, Nature & Experience". The latter two refer to Geddes's principle that all living beings should be observed in their natural environment, as Geddes had concluded while studying biology under Huxley in London, and had reiterated in the Town-City formula as a principal also applicable to human beings.39 The next quarter to the right contains the words "Cloister", "Hermitage", "University" and "Studio"; they indicate possibilities for human intervention in the development from Town to City.40 The last quarter of the Notation of Life is finally inscribed "City in deed"; symbolising the transformation of reality according to the ideas developed in the Cloister.

Strengthening the idealistic orientation of the Town-City formula Geddes finally remarked that a City vanished if the Cloister ceased to exist, or decayed.41 This could happen in two ways. Each Cloister unavoidably would decline into a School again; the cause was a Cloister's very success in leading the transformation of the Town into a City.42 Decay might happen while a Cloister still functioned as such, it could "take place within itself, since imagination and ideal may be evil, and theory false."43 In either case, Geddes took the process of decline for granted:

It must, however, be kept clearly in view that the city of each day and

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39 See above chapter 1, p. 14.
40 I will return to this point in the latter chapters, see below chapters 6 and 8.
41 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 150.
42 "This continual fixation of fashionable standards as moral ones is thus a prime explanation of each reformer's difficulty in making his moral standard the fashionable one, and also, when his doctrine has succeeded, of the loss of life and mummification of form which it so speedily undergoes." (Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 146).
43 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 150. This means that a false idea might lead to a true city.
generation subsides or decays more or less completely into the mere town anew, as the cloister into the schools. The towns and cities of the world are thus classifiable in terms of their past development and present condition.44

These final statements emphasise how strongly Geddes conceived the Town-City formula as a law of the evolution of cities. Contemporary evolutionary biology had to accept the degeneration of a species as part of the laws of evolution, even if it meant the end of any evolution, at least for a particular species. In a comparable manner Geddes included the decay of cities in the Town-City formula; the disappearance of a City at this point of the analysis was a stage in the law of the development of cities rather than expressing a moral statement. But also similar to natural laws, which once understood allowed human beings to exploit them for their own good, Geddes's law of the development of cities opened them to human intervention.

From Act to Deed

The Town-City formula describes the transformation of a Town into a City, but there is no explanation how the process is instigated. Furthermore, the role and position of a town's inhabitants is left undefined. The Act-Deed formula, the other half of the Notation of Life, provides this information. (Figure 2.1) This formula sets out another course of four steps comparable to the earlier. The four steps of Acts - Facts - Dreams - Deeds deal with, as Geddes once said, "mental side" of social life.45 Each of the four levels consists of three categories, which Geddes believed allowed to classify human social behaviour.

The basic level were Acts classified according to the triad Place - Work - Folk

44 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 156.
45 Geddes, Mapping of Life, p. 195.
and its interrelations. They made up the "chord of elemental and objective life" and allowed to understand the "simple village, the modern working Town".46 The objective world was complemented by a closely related subjective world.47 Facts were the reflection of the objective life in "school of elemental mental life".48 Geddes's interest at this point was to elaborate by resorting to psychological terms how Schools came into being as a reflection of Acts:

It is with our senses we come to know our environment, perceiving and observing it. Our feelings are obviously developed from our folk, in earliest infancy by our mothers' love and care. And our experiences are primarily from our activities, of which our work is increasingly the predominant one.49

The step from the Facts, "the chord of simpler Subjective life "made up of Sense - Experience - Feeling, on the level of Thoughts or Dreams was a step from the simple to "deeper psychology".50 Accordingly, Sense becomes Imagery or Imagination, Experience turns into Ideation and Emotion substitutes for Feelings.

Our primary (i.e. objectively acquired) feelings become transformed and individualised to us as Emotions, our experience becomes clarified from ordinary intelligence to rational Ideas, and our sense impressions not only fade or revive in memory, but rearrange as personal Images.51

The triad Imagination - Ideation - Emotion was "the cloister of the inward life"52 whose results, the idea of a City, had to be applied to reality. This led the individuals to the final level of Deeds where Emotion found its expression in a "new type of community ... no mere folk-group, but of it matters not what folk-origins: the essential bond being 'not according to the flesh, but to the spirit.' This new type of

47 "We must keep objective and subjective together in their two-sided unity, as Act/Fact". (Geddes, Evolution in Life, p. 8).
48 Geddes, Charting of Life, p. 44.
49 Geddes, Charting of Life, p. 44.
51 Geddes, Mapping of Life, p. 196.
group thus needs a type-name; and as fundamentally of ethic bond, yet social purpose, let us call this an Etho-polity."

Ideation, the "Synthesis in thought ... tends to collective action - to Synergy in Deed: and Imagination concentrates itself, to pre-figure for our (Etho-) Polity, in Synergy the Corresponding Achievement, which it may realise". The triad Etho-Polity - Synergy - Achievement formed the "new Chord of Life". The following table 2.4 presents the complete Act-Deed formula with all the categories on each level. A simpler graphical expression was a swastika with the words acts, facts, thoughts (or dreams) and deeds written in the four fields. (Figure 2.5)

Table 2.4 Geddes's psychological analysis of social life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTS</th>
<th>DEEDS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Folk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sense</td>
<td>Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feeling</td>
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<tr>
<td>FACTS</td>
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The Act-Deed formula attempts to explain social behaviour of a group of human beings. The Town-City formula focuses on the results regarding the environment human beings can create on the various levels of the Act-Deed formula. The Act-Deed formula forms the frame of the Notation of Life; the Town-City formula is placed at the centre towards which all human action should be directed. Both

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53 Geddes, Charting of Life, p. 59
54 Geddes, Mapping of Life, p. 200.
55 Geddes, Mapping of Life, p. 200.
56 Geddes employed the symbol of a swastika because it was an ancient Celtic symbol of life. Its division into four quarters and the indication of a circular movement made the swastika an ideal symbol for expressing the spiral movement of the Notation of Life in a two dimensional representation. (Patrick Geddes, The World Without and the World Within. Sunday Talks with my Children. Not dated typescript, p. 10, (SUA, T-GED 12/2/171), (hereafter World Without TS). This is the typescript for Geddes's publication with the same title, see above p. 52, footnote 18).
57 After Geddes, Charting of Life, p. 59.
Formulas are indissolubly connected; one makes sense only with the other, although the individuals play the leading role: "The City Beautiful must be the result of its own life and labour; it is the expression of the soul and mood of its people."58

**From Individual to Communal Psychology**

What the Act-Deed formula describes with regard to the inhabitants of a town as a group holds true as well for individual members of this group. Each human being could lift his own life from the level of mere existence to a higher state of being and acting. This principal idea underlying the Act-Deed formula Geddes had put forward already around 1905 - the same year when he had read his second paper on Civics to the Sociological Society - in a short essay with the title *The World Without and the World Within. Sunday Talks with my Children*.59 In this essay Geddes divided the world into an every-day "Out-world" and an "In-world" or "thinking-world". Both worlds together form the habitat of each human being.60 A garden in which children played and worked was employed by Geddes to elucidate this concept. The garden used as a play-ground is the Out-world made up by Facts. The corresponding In-world is composed by the Memories of these Facts. To consider the garden mainly as a play-ground means to confine life to these two worlds. But to think about, and to plan the future of the garden is the step from the In-world of Memories into another, deeper In-world of Plans and Designs. These subsequently transferred into the Out-world leads to Acts. Facts, Memories, Plans and Acts were the four steps of this first version of Geddes's analysis of the dynamic upwards directed process of man living in, reacting to, and acting on the environment.61

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58 Patrick Geddes, 'The City Beautiful - In Theory and Practise', *Garden Cities & Town Planning Magazine*, 3 (1913), 196-200 (p. 199), (hereafter *City Beautiful*).
59 Geddes, *World Without TS*.
60 "Well, what we call work is in this every-day outer world, the "Out-world," let us call it; while schools and lessons are meant at least to open up the thinking-world, the inner world - the "In-world," let us say. Out-world and in-world thus make up our whole world." (Geddes, *World Without TS*, p. 1).
61 "Yet these four make up one rounded whole - the circle of life. Let us call it rather the spiral of
Combining the Act-Deed formula with the Town-City formula amounts to an attempt to explain the behaviour of a collective of inhabitants of a Town as derived from the psychology of individual human beings. When Geddes was presenting both strands of thoughts to students at London University he advised them to consult either the essay *The World Without and the World Within* or contemporary psychology manuals for further insights into the psychological foundation of his ideas. Geddes mentioned especially the American psychologist William James and his British colleague George F. Stout. Without embarking on a detailed analysis of the psychological roots of the Notation of Life, it is important to dwell upon this subject, which is exemplary in so far as it offers insights into the assumed correspondence between both formulas. Furthermore, the points discussed below prefigure important aspects of Geddes's work as a City Designer.

Geddes, *Evolution in Life*, lecture V "The World Without and the World Within", lecture VI "Life and its Bio-psycho", Lecture VII "Psycho-Biology; Evolution as Moral and Social", pp. 7-14. Geddes was acquainted with both psychologists. William James (1842-1910) was professor of psychology and later of philosophy at Harvard University. He was one of the key figures in psychology around the turn of the century. Geddes knew him personally for James had lectured at the Edinburgh Summer Meeting, summer schools organised by Geddes, at the Outlook Tower in the years 1887-1899. James was in Edinburgh again in May and June of 1901 and 1902 to deliver the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religions. In two courses, each of ten lectures, he spoke about "The Varieties of Religious Experience". It is not known if Geddes attended all or some of the lectures but it is likely showing the store he placed in them by referring to the publication in the essay 'The Mapping of Life', although he quoted the title wrongly (variations instead of varieties). George Frederick Stout (1860-1944) studied at Cambridge University but turned his attention to psychology after his studies. He edited from 1891-1920 the philosophical magazine *Mind* which Geddes occasionally read. (*Mind A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy*; SUA, T-GED 8/3/1 contains, for example, notes of Geddes's readings of the *Mind* issues published in 1896). Both Geddes and Stout were members of "The Heretics", a Cambridge based society which aimed "to promote the discussion on problems of religion, philosophy and art". Among the other members were for instance George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, and Jane Ellen Harrison. The information about *The Heretics* and the members are taken from the cover of Jane Ellen Harrison, *Unanimism. A Study of Conversion and Some Contemporary French Poets. Being a Paper read before The Heretics on November 25, 1912 by Jane Ellen Harrison* (Cambridge: The Express Printing Co., 1913), (SUA, T-GED 23/13/10). Geddes might have referred to psychology books like George Frederic Stout, *A Manual of Psychology* 2 vols (London: University Tutorial Press, 1898-99), (hereafter *Manual*), or William James, *Psychology. A Briefer Course* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1892), (hereafter *Psychology*).

I was not able to find secondary literature dealing with Geddes's interest in psychology and providing an assessment of his adaptation of contemporary psychology. As it is beyond the topic of my thesis to research these aspects in detail I have confined myself in the following to the presentation of those points in Geddes's writing, which link his interest in psychology to his work in architecture and town planning. This should not be taken as a judgement on the quality of Geddes's references to psychological terms and knowledge.

life, and think of it as a growing spiral - widening with the years." (Geddes, *World Without TS*, p. 12).

62 Geddes, *Evolution in Life*, lecture V "The World Without and the World Within", lecture VI "Life and its Bio-psycho", Lecture VII "Psycho-Biology; Evolution as Moral and Social", pp. 7-14. Geddes was acquainted with both psychologists. William James (1842-1910) was professor of psychology and later of philosophy at Harvard University. He was one of the key figures in psychology around the turn of the century. Geddes knew him personally for James had lectured at the Edinburgh Summer Meeting, summer schools organised by Geddes, at the Outlook Tower in the years 1887-1899. James was in Edinburgh again in May and June of 1901 and 1902 to deliver the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religions. In two courses, each of ten lectures, he spoke about "The Varieties of Religious Experience". It is not known if Geddes attended all or some of the lectures but it is likely showing the store he placed in them by referring to the publication in the essay 'The Mapping of Life', although he quoted the title wrongly (variations instead of varieties). George Frederick Stout (1860-1944) studied at Cambridge University but turned his attention to psychology after his studies. He edited from 1891-1920 the philosophical magazine *Mind* which Geddes occasionally read. (*Mind A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy*; SUA, T-GED 8/3/1 contains, for example, notes of Geddes's readings of the *Mind* issues published in 1896). Both Geddes and Stout were members of "The Heretics", a Cambridge based society which aimed "to promote the discussion on problems of religion, philosophy and art". Among the other members were for instance George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, and Jane Ellen Harrison. The information about *The Heretics* and the members are taken from the cover of Jane Ellen Harrison, *Unanimism. A Study of Conversion and Some Contemporary French Poets. Being a Paper read before The Heretics on November 25, 1912 by Jane Ellen Harrison* (Cambridge: The Express Printing Co., 1913), (SUA, T-GED 23/13/10). Geddes might have referred to psychology books like George Frederic Stout, *A Manual of Psychology* 2 vols (London: University Tutorial Press, 1898-99), (hereafter *Manual*), or William James, *Psychology. A Briefer Course* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1892), (hereafter *Psychology*).

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While the four steps of the Town-City formula once conceived were never altered Geddes re-named the steps of the other formulas' two version as shown in table 2.5. In the essay The World Without and the World Within Geddes used the term Facts for the Out-world and Memories for the In-world; the earlier became Acts and the latter Facts in the final version of the Act-Deed formula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.5 Comparison of the Town-City and Act-Deed formulas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Out-world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 In-world</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 In-world</td>
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<tr>
<td>4 Out-world</td>
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Although the Act-Deed formula described the circle of life, not all types of life circumscribed the whole circle. In The World Without and the World Within Geddes referred to people who lived in the Out-world only, or to the "poor Rich" who owned a rich Out-world but a poor In-world.64 To these types of life, which were active but confined to the Out-world, the term Acts referred to far better than Facts. Acts indicated a life which although above "reflex activities"65 did not enter the In-world as the realm of Facts; the term replacing the word Memory.

Memory meant to recall in the evening when going to bed the garden one has played in during the day, Geddes explained in his talks with his children. What happened "is another sort of looking ... The garden has come in with you; it is in your In-world now."66 Memory was also the defining characteristic of the Schools in the everyday Town: "the school is essentially one of memory, the impress of the town-life."67 In Stout's Manual of Psychology memory is defined as an ideal reproduction.

64 Geddes, World Without TS, p. 2, pp. 7-8.
66 Geddes, World Without TS, p. 4.
67 Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 146.
of an object or event. The reproduction should happen both without recalling inferences connected with the original event or object, and without any interest defined by the moment of the reproduction.\textsuperscript{68} Furthermore, as William James emphasised, memory was necessarily connected with the past time. James's interest was less the very obvious fact that memory referred to the past, rather than that memory "must be dated in my past. ... I must think that I directly experienced its occurrence."\textsuperscript{69}

Geddes's substitution of the word Facts for Memory can be understood as paying tribute to James's individualisation of memory. Each human being remembers his or other's peoples Acts as Facts in his own past. There are no Facts outside the individual, they only exist as memory in each individual's In-world: "In a very true and thorough sense it is more familiar, more real than the other; for all we know, or can ever know of the Out-world, or of each other, is in our minds."\textsuperscript{70} Similarly, the memories of Towns as expressed in their Schools were individualised as "fundamental Subjective life":

This is fundamentally, and ever partially, the record and reflex of the life of the hive, the Town: of all its general and particular environment and function, its family type and development; and however overlaid by imported culture or by decayed ideals, it is fundamentally expressed in local knowledge, in craft tradition, in kinship and its associated kindness, in habits and customs, and their development up to morals and laws.\textsuperscript{71}

From this level of the In-world, the world of individualised memory, human beings could proceed further to a level of the In-world, where plans were conceived to guide future activities. In the later version of the Act-Deed formula the term Thoughts (Dreams) replaced Plans, and Geddes classified the stage according to the keywords

\textsuperscript{68} Stout, \textit{Manual}, pp. 435-36. (Although Stout doubted that the last characteristic was possible at all).
\textsuperscript{69} James, \textit{Psychology}, p. 288.
\textsuperscript{70} Geddes, \textit{World Without TS}, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{71} Geddes, \textit{Civics II}, in Meller, \textit{The Ideal City}, p. 156.
Emotion, Ideation, and Imagery.\textsuperscript{72} The equivalent keywords for the cloister in the Town-City formula were Ideals (Ethics), Ideas, and Images.\textsuperscript{73} The keywords on this level formed a unity constituting the inner life of the individual and provided the basis for its characteristic activities.\textsuperscript{74} The transfer in the Out-world of ideas arising from Emotion, Ideation, and Imagery was the fulfilment of the circle of life. The same happened in the Town where the Cloister developed ideas to transform a Town into a City.

The keywords of the final level (Deeds) of the Act-Deed formula were Etho-Polity, Synergy and Achievement. As explained Etho-Polity stemmed from Emotion, Synergy derived from Ideation, and Achievement was the realisation of Imagery. Occasionally, Geddes used the term Synthesis instead of Ideation,\textsuperscript{75} but, regardless of the wording, Ideation/Synthesis as the link between Etho-Polity and Achievement lead to Synergy which strove to "collective action".\textsuperscript{76} The equivalent terms of the fourth level of the Town-City formula were Polity, Culture, and Art. Polity concerned with the organisation of the social life was the result of Ideals, and Art would provide Images of the new life. The connecting link between Polity and Art was Culture, the outcome of realised Ideas. The underlying thought at both formulas' fourth level was that ideas developed in the Cloister or in the individual would become dominant for both the life of the City and of man.

On this level of the Notation of Life, the analogy between an individual’s psychology and that of a group of Town inhabitants constitutes a problem. As already explained the Town-City formula corresponded to the Act-Deed formula, which in turn relied on the psychology and behaviour of Individuals. These were, according to

\textsuperscript{72} Geddes, \textit{Evolution in Life}, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{73} See above pp. 57-58.
\textsuperscript{74} Geddes, \textit{Evolution in Life}, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{75} Geddes, \textit{Mapping of Life}, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{76} See above p. 62, footnote 54.
Geddes, ultimately the driving forces in the process of changing a Town into a City. But if individuals derive their Dreams from individualised Facts (Memories) the results would be a variety of individual Deeds. However, with regard to the Act-Deed formula Geddes states that there will be "collective action". The problem is how "collective action" towards forming a City can arise from Thoughts (Dreams), made up by Emotion, Ideation and Imagery, which ultimately stem from individualised Facts within each human being? Again, a brief digression into psychology helps to understand why Geddes could assume that from individualised Facts Thoughts would arise which result in "collective action".

Contemporary psychology distinguished between sense-perceptions, images, and ideas or ideational processes; senses Geddes had referred to when explaining how Schools and Facts arose from Town and Acts. Such perceptual processes were caused by an object and found an expression in an immediate (bodily) reaction towards the object.77 An image was a mental copy of something already perceived,78 although it was "sketchy and schematic because it contains only an extract from the context of sense-perception."79 Images were closely related to ideas or ideational processes for the earlier were necessary parts of the latter.80 Ideational processes were "trains of ideas, with the sequence and combination of images and their meanings".81 Stout distinguished two sides of these ideational process. The first was the reproductive side, the "association of ideas". This was followed by the "ideal construction", or combination, the productive side. Ideational processes were "trains of mental activities"82 directed towards some practical or theoretical end.83

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77 Stout, Manual, p. 393. (See above p. 61, footnote 49).
78 James, Psychology, p. 302.
81 Stout, Manual, p. 418
82 Stout, Manual, p. 419.
83 Stout, Manual, p. 418
But the ideational consciousness can cross a bridge before coming to it. It can begin by the ideal anticipation of the end, and it can move freely to and fro over the series of links intervening between end and starting-point. Thus, if it meets a difficulty midway in the series, it need not provide for that difficulty at the point where it emerges. It may go backward to an earlier stage or even to the beginning, and there make a suitable re-arrangement. It is plain that the process admits of all kinds of variations, and re-adjustments of part to part, which are impossible for perceptual consciousness.\textsuperscript{84}

This quotation describes exactly the difference between the two types of consciousness Geddes explained to his children in his Sunday thinking lessons. Only to remember the garden is perceptual consciousness; but to plan the garden’s future is a mental activity characteristic for an ideational consciousness. Similarly, Ideation, or “Synthesis in thought”\textsuperscript{85} resulting in Deeds, on the third level of the Act-Deed formula (Thoughts/Dreams) had a meaning very close to Stout’s ideational processes. Geddes might even have borrowed the term Ideation from Stout, who also attempted an explanation why individual thoughts would result in "collective action". Stout defines the problems as follows:

The ideal combinations which arise in the individual mind can only become permanent parts of the ideal structure representing the real world if they are entertained by other minds also, and so become current in the society to which the individual belongs.\textsuperscript{86}

To make individual ideas the dominating ones of all members of a society required their communication; as an appropriate means Stout had identified language. And it was this very act of communicating ideas derived from ideational thoughts which, according to Stout, could bridge the gap between the individual with his own mind and the social group with a collective mind.

Through language, ideal combination becomes a function not of the individual merely, but of society. It may be confidently asserted that the capacity for ideational thought would be of little use to a solitary

\textsuperscript{85} Geddes, \textit{Charting of Life}, p. 200.
\textsuperscript{86} Stout, \textit{Manual}, p. 514.
animal. Such thinking is essentially a social function. Other animals co-operate in work and play, but only men co-operate in thinking. Where many men are united in striving to realise a common end, each single mind is, so to speak, part of a great collective mind. The ideas occurring to each are communicated to all. 87

To attribute a social function to the communication of ideational processes and their results leaves the problem of the relation between individual and group essentially unsolved; men might co-operate in thinking, but this does not explain why they should act in unison. However, Stout's attempted solution offers a possible explanation why Geddes could take an identity between individual and larger collective for granted. 88 That Geddes was aware of this potential problem can be concluded from two points.

First, Geddes rejected the notion of class and with it the idea, as found in Marxist thought, that societies have to be understood as resulting from a process of competition between different classes or social groups. A notion of cities being the product of the balancing of the diverting interests of groups within a larger population also informed Max Weber's famous essay on the city. 89 This, however, was not Geddes's line of inquiry. 90 He instead focused on the individual and argued that the analogy between individual and a social group or a city would cut across social

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88 Beside language Stout also identified imitation of adults by children and the man-made material environment as means to communicate the results of ideational thoughts: "... the material environment of human beings is in a large measure a creation of human thought transmitted from one generation to another. Tools, weapons, utensils, buildings, gardens and cultivated fields, are all products of human intelligence. They are material arrangements embodying in outward and visible form trains of ideas which have passed through human minds. Flowing from human intelligence these objects appeal to human intelligence. The child, in learning their nature and use, re-thinks the thoughts which gave them being. In this way, as much as by the help of language and direct imitation, the ideas of one generation are transmitted to the next to be by it further developed, so that from one comparatively small beginnings human civilisation may grow like an avalanche ever accumulating and retaining new materials as it advances." (Stout, Manual, pp. 512-13). This idea of decoding the meaning of the material environment might have influenced Geddes's idea of the social inheritance which can be read from the urban fabric. (See chapter 5, pp. 179-181).
89 See below chapter 4, pp. 152-154.
90 See above page 55.
classes, would even go beyond them.

Second, despite this line of argument, Geddes nevertheless divided town inhabitants into social groups. Geddes separated all citizens of any city into four social types - People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals - and related these types to the four steps or levels making up a City, thus People stood for the Town, Chiefs for the Schools, Intellectuals for the Cloister and Emotionals for the City.91 This can be seen as an admission that the relation between individuals and a city was not as straightforward as the analogy between both formulas suggests. From this it also can be concluded that Geddes's goal was not primarily, as it has been argued, that "ideally, each citizen had to take part in the affairs of both the Cloister and the city; the translation from thought to deed was to take place not from a person in the Cloister to a person in the city, but within each individual."92 It is true that Geddes wished each individual to participate in creating a City. But the Cloisters Geddes proposed as the most important places within a City, were of two different kinds.93 He envisaged Cloisters like universities where ideas were developed by a defined group of citizens. He also proposed Cloisters for individuals - Thinking Cells and temple structures - where the citizen could make the ideas emanating from the Cloister-Institution his own ideas. Taking this into account, the step from Cloister to City was a step from one person to another person. A participatory moment embodied in the Notation of Life was, that once the citizen had perceived an idea from a Cloister it was nevertheless his responsibility to work towards the realisation of this idea. The citizen's contribution to the City was to adjust his private life from the level of Acts to the level of Deeds; to realise that each individual could work towards changing the environment for the common good and thus reach a better individual life.

91 More on this four social types follows below chapter 4, pp. 140-142.
93 See below chapter 4, pp. 143-144, and table 4.1 (p. 163) for examples of historic cloisters, and chapters 6 and 8 for proposals by Geddes for new Cloisters.
Finally, the question has to be addressed why Geddes called this diagram Notation of Life. The basic division underlying all forms of human life was the existence of an Out-world and an In-world. Each of these worlds exists in two versions. All three formulas' courses begin in the Out-world, run into the In-world, where they proceed on to another level before emerging in the Out-world again. Characteristic for these courses is that life becomes more conscious about its possibilities and future. The first level of the Out-world is that of simple unreflected activities, the second is the level of conscious Deeds. A similar division rules the In-world. On the first level it consists of simple sense-perceptions whereas on the second level it is characterised by ideational activities directed towards the future. Thus the Notation of Life is not only divided into In-world and Out-world, but also into passive and active halves. The lower half of the diagram symbolises the In-world of both individual and town; the upper half represents their Out-worlds. The left half is the passive way of life; the right half the active. (Figure 2.6) Accordingly, human life is a process oscillating between both halves. "To be at home in the Out-world and in the In-world, and to be active as well as passive in each by turns; that is what we have seen you can aim at in your education", Geddes explained to his children.94

Ultimately, this model of life derives from Geddes's research into the metabolism of single cell organisms.95 Geddes believed that he could explain their life as a process consisting of a more active (katabolistic) and a more passive (anabolistic) stage. Yet the application of this active-passive dichotomy to human life, and beyond to social life, creates a difficulty. The phases in simple organic life followed each other rather mechanically, instigated and controlled by external factors like provision of nutrition, temperature and light. The link between the active and passive sides of human and social life, on the contrary, Geddes had located in the In-world. There

95 A more detailed analysis of this research follows below in connection with Geddes's proposals for a Temple of Life. (See below chapter 8, pp. 290-294).
human beings, individually and as a group, should leave the passive in favour of the active In-world, thus connecting both phases of life. But why they should make this step - the decisive precondition to achieve life and City in deed - Geddes was at unease to explain.

How our simple life-feelings evolve to emotion, become complexed and fixed as sentiment; how they crystallise as ideal, and kindle as passion, is the central mystery of life in its evolution: it is the secret of mystic and saint, of lover and poet also. Yet it is much to see that such evolution does take place; and who shall say how great its evolutionary potency, how deep in germ, how permeating in flower?96

To understand human life as a mystical glorification of a mechanical process taken from simple organic life is not an alternative explanation rather than no explanation at all. Together with the social classes Geddes had obviously also dismissed notions of human activities instigated and driven according to individual and class-determined needs of both kinds - material, like shelter and food, and immaterial, like wealth and power - which all might result in adaptation and change of the environment in order to satisfy these needs. To leave the step from the passive in to the active In-world not only unexplained but to mystify it undermines the value of the Notation of Life as a theory, although this did not constitute a problem for Geddes. Even if the central aspect of human life was beyond human understanding, it was not beyond experience. Therefore, it could be exploited for future development.97 For Geddes the diagram provided a theoretical structure coherent enough as to base on it his activities in town planning and architecture.

97 "... the main question and problem of evolution is not of the enquiry into origins, but into tendencies. ... For the most fruitful of questions, even for our advance in scientific psychology, and certainly, above all, for our evolution in life and character, is to ask, not simply - What are Ideals, Ideas, Images? nor even - How did they arise? but - What can we do with them? And they with us?" (Geddes, Evolution in Life, p. 13.) Regardless of the value the Notation of Life had as a theory the central mystical aspect stimulated Geddes to produce some of his most ambitious and interesting town planning and architectural activities, a variety of proposals for Temples of Life. (See below chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of some of these schemes).
Both, Plato and Geddes, connected the *polis* or City with the individual. Plato argued from the individual to the *polis*, although he presented the argument the other way round. A *polis* was for Plato a living individual on a larger scale. Geddes had a similar understanding of the city: "Like the living being it is, a city reacts upon its environment ...". He also argued from the human being towards the city: "For if each human individuality be unique, how much more must that of every city?" While Plato ascribed an immortal soul to each individual, Geddes ascribed a soul to the city and its community which in turn was composed of the souls of its inhabitants. Both, Plato's and Geddes's types of souls were subject to a process of rebirth. Plato's concept of rebirth was not a simple repetition of the past; rebirth meant to him the return of the Soul in different historic manifestations with a knowledge of transhistoric eternal Ideas or Forms. Geddes wrote in an analysis of Chelsea's past: "Our record of local history and achievement is ... a perpetual renewal of certain recognisable elements. ... it is of the very essence of our growing sociological re-interpretation of the past to see its essential life as continuous into the present, and even beyond, and so to maintain the perennation of culture, the *immortality of the social soul*".

Plato's *Republic* was administered by the Guardians or philosophers, living their lives only for the city. Plato insisted that they apply their knowledge of the "divine order" (the Forms) to "the habits of men both in their private and public lives". This was an obligation as Plato stressed in the Simile of the Cave. The

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100 As quoted above page 63, footnote 58.
103 Plato, *Republic*, 500d.
philosophers had to go back to the men living in the cave. They were not allowed to remain in the realm of the upper world where they had seen the divine. The Guardians' task was to serve the community by bringing to it the knowledge of the divine.\footnote{Plato, \textit{Republic}, 519c-520b.} The Cloister and the Intellectuals of Geddes's City occupied a position comparable to the philosophers' place and function in the Republic. Without transferring the ideas about a City from the Cloister into the Town proper the City would never exist. The philosophers of Geddes's City were a selected group within a community; considering universities as Cloisters, Geddes describes their function as the "inspiring intercourse 'of picked adolescents and picked senescents'.\footnote{Geddes, \textit{Civics II}, in Meller, \textit{The Ideal City}, p. 153, (my emphasis).} The results of Geddes's Cloister were Platonic again: The ideals led to Eu-polity, a synonym of the "Good"; ideas realised the "True" in culture; and Imagery expressed the "Beautiful" in art.\footnote{Geddes, \textit{Civics II}, in Meller, \textit{The Ideal City}, p. 152, (diagram).} (Figure 2.3)

The connection between \textit{polis} and individual was valid for both the good and the bad \textit{polis} or city. Plato described as imperfect societies Timarchy, Oligarchy, Democracy, and Tyranny; each accompanied by a type individual whose character corresponded to the characteristics of the society.\footnote{Plato, \textit{Republic}, 543-592b (books viii-ix).} Beyond doubt for Plato was that every society, even if organised on the principles laid out in \textit{The Republic}, would one day decline.\footnote{"Then how will change take place in our state? ... It will be difficult to bring about any change for the worse in a state so constituted; but since all created things must decay, even a social order of this kind cannot last for all time, but will decline. And its dissolution will be as follows. Not only for plants that grow in the earth, but for animals that live on it, there are seasons of, fertility and infertility of both mind and body ... And though the rulers you have trained for your city are wise, reason and observation will not always enable them to hit on the right and wrong times for breeding; some time they will miss them and the children will be begotten amiss." (Plato, \textit{Republic}, 545d-546b).} The decay would originate from among the auxiliaries and philosophers: "Change in any society starts with civil strife among the ruling class".\footnote{Plato, \textit{Republic}, 545d.} Comparable to Plato, Geddes took the decline of a City for granted, and he
also located the initial cause within the leading part of the City, in his case the Cloister. Accordingly, Geddes conceived to the upward movement of the Town-City and Act-Deed formula a downwards directed equivalent leading to the "City of Destruction". The related four stages were "Disease / Defect / Vice / Crime" with the associated characterisation of the "populace at present" as "Poor, Diseased / Ignorant, Defective / Vicious / Ineffective, Criminal" as seen in Figure 2.7. The City of Destruction represented for Geddes "the essential evils of the City's life".

As outlined earlier, Geddes had identified two causes for the unavoidable decay of a Cloister and subsequently a City. The first cause - a successful Cloister regresses to a School due to mummification - supports the presentation of the Town-City formula, and the Notation of Life, as a value-free law of the development of Cities and societies. The second cause - the decay of a Cloister due to a wrong or evil idea - points towards a morally rather than scientifically inspired analysis of a City's decay; for science knows ideas but not good or bad ideas. The formula of the City of Destruction underlines this moral basis by linking Poverty and Disease unavoidably with Criminality and Ineffective Life. Furthermore, both negative results are only understandable via the by-pass through the mind of the criminal or the tramp. Criminality, for example, is not so much a direct response to economic and social conditions, instead, it is declared to be the result of vicious Thoughts. Thus, in accordance with Geddes's statement that the In-world is more real than the Out-world, criminality becomes primarily a question of individual character and society is relieved

110 See above p. 59.
111 This name Geddes might have borrowed from John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress, in which Christian sets out from the earthly City of Destruction to find the heavenly City on Mount Zion. (John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress, ed. by Roger Sharrock (1678, repr. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987).
112 Patrick Geddes, manuscripts notes on the City of Destruction, (SUA, T-GED 1/5/54).
113 This was the title Geddes gave to lecture seven in his series of lectures Country and Town. Lecture seven dealt exclusively with the city of destruction. (Geddes, Country and Town, pp. 21-24 (p. 21).) See also Defries, The Interpreter, p. 86; Victor Branford presented a slightly different version consisting of the four steps "Poverty and disease" followed by "Ignorance, folly and insanity", which in turn lead to "Apathy and Vice". The final result would be "Indolence and Crime". (Branford, Social Synthesis, pp. 216-217).
from the responsibility for this kind of social behaviour. Geddes's attempt to explain contemporary social realities beyond notions of class or economics by resorting to individual psychologies did not lead to new insights into social life other than moralising judgements.114

Civics and City Design

There are further similarities between The Republic and Geddes's City on a more general level. Plato's concerns were "What is the best life?" and "What is the best order or organization of human society?"115 Everything had to serve the aim of creating a good polis: the position of the individual citizen within the social hierarchy, the pursuit of a citizen's profession within the division of labour of the polis, and the education of children, which required, among other things, a beautiful and healthy environment.116 Similarly, art was subdued to the larger aim as its function was restricted to guide children and adults alike to morally right judgements with regard to the polis. All these thoughts touched fields very similar to those activities Geddes was engaged in, like education, art and architecture as teaching tools, and the improvement of the (built) environment.

Without putting too much emphasis on these similarities - their general contents makes them characteristic of many schemes for ideal or utopian societies -

114 Victor Branford expressed the same moralising attitude when analysing tramps and so-called "idle rich" living in hotels as both being without Place or mis-placed. That the life of a tramp is more determined by economic calamity rather than abundance as the life of the Idle rich is simply ignored. "Individuals without definite "place," or misplaced (i.e., in the wrong place), are observable on all sides, from tramp or vagabond to the crowd of the "idle rich" who float aimlessly from one international hotel to another. So, too, in the case of "work" and "folk," one may be without work (from unemployed dock labourer to wealthy flâneur), or wrongly worked, i.e., mis-worked (with resulting tendency to become "unemployable"). And one may be folkless like the outcast and the derelict, or mis-folked (i.e. in association with the wrong folk) like many "poor-law children" or the jeunesse dorée of the night clubs." (Branford, Social Synthesis, p. 216).
116 Plato, Republic, 401c.
they, nevertheless, express Geddes's interest in defining an all-embracing concept of the "good life". Plato's pursuit of this life centred around philosophical categories like justice. Geddes's concept of the "good life", for which he coined the term Civics, differed in so far as it was derived from an analysis of life itself. Consequently, Civics claimed responsibility for all aspects of human life.

The word 'Civics," in its derivation, linked with citizen and civilisation, designates a subject which is yet in the making ... 'Civics' deals with all that appertains to the life and surroundings of any citizen, and includes far more than the spheres of legislation and administration.117

Civics can be considered as a contribution to the contemporary late nineteenth and early twentieth-century debate about citizenship.118 Yet it attempted to widen a debate mainly focused on theoretical notions of democracy and voting rights. Civics would not result in abstract but in two concrete gains. Civics called for an immediate engagement of citizens in the affairs of their society. This call for action would lead to an improved environment for example in the form of garden cities.119 Beyond this, because Civics derived from Geddes's analysis of life, it would contribute to the improvement and evolution of life. Civics was Geddes's solution of what he considered to be the most pressing question of his time.

117 Ebe Minerva White, The Foundations of Civics (London: Syndicate Publishing, 1927), p. 7. In the following the author continued that to understand Civics fully Geddes's triad of Place, Work and Folk had to be applied and developed. Ebe Minerva White was lecturer in Civics at the London County Council, and her book is deeply influenced by Geddes's ideas and terminology.

118 For a summarising account of this debate see Paul Barry Clarke, Citizenship (London: Pluto, 1994). Clarke emphasised the characteristic of Greek citizenship as being identical with the active engagement of (male) citizens in the affairs of their polis. To be a citizen meant to be a human. This notion became replaced after the fall of the Roman empire by the Christian definition of human beings modelled on God rather than being members of a body politic. The vita contemplativa substituted for the vita activa of the polis. The retreat from the public affairs in favour of the inner life was identical with the abandonment of the earthly city in favour of Augustine's City of God. (Clarke, Citizenship, pp. 5-13). Geddes's idea of Civics, considered as a political theory, can be interpreted as an attempt to unify both conceptions into one. To create a City both, the In-world of the Notation of Life - the vita contemplativa - and the Out-world - the vita activa - were necessary. "The rise from the town to the city is to be thought of as a gradual process, a process towards the realization in each place of a local embodiment of the 'city of God.'" [Sybella Branford, 'Citizenship and the Civic Association', Sociological Review 13 (1921), 228-234 (p. 229), (hereafter Citizenship)].

119 See for example Sybella Gurney, 'Civic Reconstruction and the Garden City Movement', Sociological Review 3 (1910), 35-43, (hereafter Civic Reconstruction); or Sybella Branford [née Gurney], Citizenship, 228-234.
The central search of our age ... is for a theory of Life in its Evolution, and this in all its aspects and products; and such a theory must deal ... with the organic life therefore, but also with the psychic life; similarly with ethical life no less than with social.120

What Geddes defined here as a needed theory was nothing else than Civics as encrypted in the Notation of Life. More important is how Geddes continued the description of this theory.

Furthermore, it must correlate the individual life with the social, and this in no mere abstract, ethical way, but as the citizen with his city.121

Human "Life in its Evolution" could take only one form, that of a City, the most distinctive, concrete, materialistic creation of human beings. Significantly, Geddes choose for his one major book on cities the title Cities in Evolution, which has an ambiguous meaning. It can be read as cities in their evolution, thus referring to the evolution of cities. But as it stands, it can equally mean cities in evolution as such, thus referring to the function cities have in the larger evolutionary process of life. Whenever Geddes wrote about Civics, he wrote about towns and cities. In his two essays on 'Civics: as applied Sociology, respectively 'Civics: as concrete and applied sociology', Geddes did present the application of sociology, as a meta-science of life, to cities as a result of necessity rather than choice.122 Similarly, a lecture series on Civics. The Conditions of Town Planning and City Design Geddes had delivered in 1910 dealt, according to the syllabus, mainly with how cities have been built at different times and why.123

Civics, the analysis of the evolution of human life as a spiral running

121 Geddes, Country and Town, p. 18.
122 See Geddes, Civics I in Meller, The Ideal City; Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City. Helen Meller argues for the latter, see Meller, Theory of Civics, p. 303.
perpetually through the four stages of Act to Deed, and Town to City respectively, provided Geddes with a philosophical approach to cities. Civics focused on cities, their function in evolution, and their internal structures and institutions, but left without consideration the question of the practical application. As the title for Geddes's lecture series on Civics indicated, Civics was merely the condition for town planning and City Design. The terms 'City Design' and 'City Development' Geddes employed when referring to the application of Civics to existing and new cities. Towards this application both the polis and The Republic provided a working conception.

Yet now the modern town-planner, for whom Greek citizenship is not a mere learned reminiscence or a moral wonder, but a working conception once more, is in these days actually designing, for the bettering cities of the opening future.125

This working conception functioned in two ways. First, the polis was an example of the "good life" in a City, and could therefore be considered as an application of Civics. The "good life" had been achieved because "Greek ethics" as an Idea were rooted in "natural origins" on the levels of Act and Town, and refined through artistic and intellectual reflection "into philosophic form[s]" on the level of Dreams and Cloisters. The visible expression of the "good life" in a City had consequently to be expected, because the City on the final level of the Town-City formula was the "corresponding evolution" of both "clarified thought and perfected art."126 Accordingly, Geddes's interest differed from the contemporary view of Greek

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124 For example Geddes, Dunfermline report; Patrick Geddes, Town Planning and City Design - in Sociology and in Citizenship (London: Sociological Society, 1908). Geddes did not use the terms consistently. However, the importance of the word City in the Notation of Life and the practise to translate polis as City or City-State render the term City Design as particularly suitable to refer to Geddes's approach as distinguished from contemporary town planning.


126 "Greek ethics, their natural origins. Expression of these, mythic, poetic, artistic (a) Development of these in temple and statue, in ritual and drama. (b) Elaboration through discussion into philosophic form. (c) Corresponding evolution of the City, in its dual completeness; i.e., as not only a Town of labour and daily life, but an Acropolis of temporal and spiritual idealism, of
citizenship as primarily an abstract polito-philosophical conception. Instead, and this is the second aspect of the "working conception", Geddes focused on the physical structure and urban fabric of the polis. Of particular interest were the "natural origins" which had given rise to Greek ethics first of all, and the Cloisters where the thoughts had been clarified into Ideas for a City.

When Geddes insisted that "Hellas may be more fully recovered, modern life more truly hellenized", he did not suggest an aesthetic appreciation of Greek culture, town planning and architecture, for example in neo-classical buildings. His interest was in a new, contemporary version of the polis considered as an embodiment of an ideal form, in particular a return to the "natural origins" and a provision of the "organs for that fuller life" for which the term City stood.

City Design was the necessary precondition, without which activities in town planning would be in vain. But whereas town planning was primarily concerned with the material aspects of a town, City Design would, in addition, take care of the psychological side of a City as a community.

Acropolis and Temple, Forum and Cathedral, thus fully reappear, and these not only in their rationale and significance in the past, but in their renewal in the future. To ask - what examples of all these in London today? in Paris etc.? is obviously to establish a scale of criticism and valuation of cities far beyond the current economic and statistical ones. Furthermore, we may even proceed to apply the same methods towards the ideal cities and their renewal in modern thought ....
City Design worked on three levels. (Figure 2.8) It dealt with geographical considerations, the natural origins of the polis of old or, on a more general level, with the Place. There were historical aspects, attempting to stimulate City building by showing that there have always been Cities in history - among which the polis was the earliest successful example. But because these Cities had been real, historic places, it was necessary to consider, furthermore, historic structures in existing cities - the Work of past generations. Finally, there was the consideration of Cities as communities. This was the focus of the spiritual aspect of City Design, which attempted to unify citizens into a community, or a Folk, by emphasising the soul of a City. The evolution of Towns into Cities required the implementation of Cloisters and structures embodying Ideas for a City into the urban fabric, comparable to the Acropolis in Athens or the Cathedral in the medieval Stadt. The religious references of the historic examples and the term Cloister were not accidental but deliberate as Sybella Branford (née Gurney) explained:

Up to the time of the Renaissance religion was not only in its essence but in its outward form the unifying reality which made a group of individuals into a city ... and as the tradition dwindled so did the city perish...

The spiritual aspect of City Design marks the most significant difference in comparison to town planning. The term spiritual, derived from the Latin, referred to the essence or soul of a city. In Platonic theory the soul not only gives life to matter but is also the carrier of knowledge of Ideas and Forms. The soul of a City had

132 "Coming to detail, we ask how to rise from town to city may be achieved. ... To grasp the facts and tendencies of the social life of a community is to irradiate the questions of drains, water supply and other 'practical' matters by seeing these as the necessary basis without which the rest cannot be developed but not as the be all and end all. [sic] For this rise of the civic spirit there is needed beyond the existing activities of the local 'temporal power' (the Mayor and Corporation and their officials in the Town Hall), a corresponding kind of 'spiritual power' ... which will definitely aim at providing and stimulating the provision of opportunities for a fuller life, at quickening the finer senses and loftier impulses and enlarging, even creating, opportunities for their exercise and outlet." (S. Branford, Citizenship, p. 229).

133 Gurney, Civic Reconstruction, p. 37.

134 See above p. 74.

135 Plato, Phaedo, 75a-77a; Plato, 'Meno', in Protagoras and Meno, trans. by W. K. C. Guthrie
comparable functions and the Cloister was their visible expression. As an institution a
Cloister would produce Ideas for a City. One such Idea was Geddes's analysis of a
City as being a form of life, and having a function in the evolution of life. As a built
structure the Cloister would symbolise the idea it had brought to the City, similar to
religious buildings whose "outward form" had once symbolised the "unifying reality"
of religion. Yet the City as a symbol of life at the centre of a secular religion recalls
once more ancient Greek culture with its religious veneration of the polis.136

No other historical city proved to be as important for Geddes as the Greek
polis, to which he referred to time and again, sometimes outspoken, sometimes
disguised.137 In retrospect, the polis as a working conception can be used as a
methodological tool to analyse Geddes's ideas about Cities and City Design.
Furthermore, this working conception allows to identify aspects of Geddes's life-
work as belonging to his City idea, whose relation to the City is not immediately
obvious otherwise. The historic pageants of Geddes and the Olympus project - a
Garden for the Greek Muses and a Temple for the Greek Gods - were necessary
elements of City Design rather than mere expressions of an eccentric mind. However,

136 Helen Meller analysed a reference of Geddes to a needed "social religion" as expressing "the
underlying paradox of his theory of civics. On the one hand, it was the outcome of his systematic
and scientific effort to understand society; on the other, it was a religious mission with strong
overtones of morality and idealism." (Meller, Theory of Civics, p. 300). I disagree with Meller's
conclusion that the quest for a religion expressed a paradox, instead, I consider both aspects as
necessary related, and especially the religious aspect at the heart of Geddes's work as a City
Designer. (See chapter 8)

137 In March 1914 for example Geddes intended to deliver a series of lectures on the improvement
of cities and life with the title "The Returning Gods". The individual lectures were dedicated to
"Athens in London: The City of Pallas", and "Parnassus in London: The Nine Muses". (Geddes,
Returning Gods) [See also Notes for "Afternoon Causeries" held at the Little Theatre, (annotated
typescript, 1914, (SUA, T-GED 8/3/13)). The following quotation contains a disguised reference
to Plato and to the function of the Cloister: "...Philosophy, when it leaves its cloister, as so
rarely, rise to Wisdom; hence not only the tradition of Israel, but the greatest thought of Helias,
if not indeed of humanity, has proclaimed that 'it will never be good times for the world till
the kings are philosophers, and the philosophers are kings.' " (Geddes, Mapping of Life, p. 201). In
an essay about Social Evolution Geddes referred to Danish rural co-operation as the "true
beginning of Etho-Polity". The quotation continues with a general reference to the Platonic triad
of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful. "...since thus truly eupychic - that is, increasingly in
goodwill, eager fuller knowledge, and even arousing to art - in short seeking the essential ideals,
of good, beautiful and true ..." [Patrick Geddes, 'Social Evolution: How Advance It?',
Sociological Review, 21 (1929), 334-341 (p. 338)].
paraphrasing Turner's earlier quoted remark about the Victorians and their relation with the Greeks, it is important to bear in mind that Geddes's references to the *polis* and Plato's *Republic* were references to his own City.
"Thus begins to appear the essential point ... It is to suggest that our town and country divisions ... are ... now for the most part totally inadequate for modern purposes."

Patrick Geddes, *City Surveys for Town Planning*, 1910, p. 4

Around the turn of the century the experience of the great cities with several hundred of thousands or even millions of inhabitants was still a relatively young phenomenon. Great Britain was the first country to undergo a massive shift of the population from the countryside into cities. Although cities like London already housed over two million people by the middle of the nineteenth century, the quality of urban growth during the second half of the century was different. Not only did some towns grow extensively as a result of the industrial revolution but the relation between rural and urban population reversed. By 1901, 80% of the population lived in urbanised areas or in one of 74 cities with population above 50,000 inhabitants.¹

**Town and Country**

This rapid urban growth was looked at from two main points of views. First, from the fact that more people than ever were experiencing life in cities with all its related insecurities regarding housing, health, labour conditions and unemployment. Thus the city itself became considered as a problem. Second, the physical growth of cities at the expense of agricultural land, forest or unexploited natural areas supported the perception of the countryside being in a state of crisis. Cities attracted people who had previously earned their livelihood as agricultural workers, and forced them to live under the same conditions as the other town inhabitants. Town and country were

perceived as opposites. The town-country conflict developed into a standard framework for the analysis of urban growth and related problems. The city was blamed for the negative development, whereas the country was seen as a victim. While the city became a synonym for things bad in modern, industrialised life, the country evolved into the mythical subject of a better past rooted firmly in a rural environment and tradition. It was likely that even those people concerned with urban conditions of life still came from a background in the country, villages and small towns. This offers a possible explanation why the city was considered as the active, and the country and its economy as the suffering, passive part in the conflict. That the relation could not easily be analysed as a simple cause-effect-relation obviously needed some distance of time to realise.2

The period of the rapid urban growth was also a time of decline in agriculture. Although the decline was strongly influenced, for example, by the import of cheap grain from the United States of America, the explanation and the description of the agricultural crisis nevertheless followed the pattern of the town-country conflict.3 The country lost because the city was too attractive. London was, for example, "a tumour, an elephantiasis sucking into its gorged system half the life and the blood and the bone of the rural district."4 Despite identifying the city as the cause of the town-country conflict, some attempts at the solution took into account the country. Focusing on both antagonists, a new balance between city and country was

2 Still the best summary of the emergence and development of the town-country conflict - perceived through the analysis of literature and poetry - is Williams, The Country and the City. Williams consistently points out that the development of town and country were closely connected. He emphasises the important role of agrarian capitalism as an agent of change that at least partly caused urban problems through the change (like modernisation and rationalisation) it brought about the countryside. (See Williams, Country and City).

3 Matthew named as reasons for "the great depression" in British agriculture between roughly 1870-1890: several bad harvests in Britain, the opening of the American continent for farming, and better and cheaper transportation of agricultural goods over the oceans. (Matthew, Liberal Age, p. 63).

sought for. Two possible solutions were offered by Ebenezer Howard and Peter Kropotkin. They both appear to call for a return to the land, but on closer examination represent quite distinctive thoughts, so that they can be taken as two opposites.

Ebenezer Howard accepted that cities were attractive to people for various reasons.\(^5\) Consequently, his concept of the social city, or garden city as it is usually named today, started from this perception. Howard wanted to establish smaller cities surrounding congested places like London. Developed to the ideal size of 32,000 inhabitants and covering 6,000 acres the new city would not expand, but another city would be founded near by. The emerging complex of smaller cities Howard named the social city. All individual cities of the social city including the old centre were encircled by a country belt and connected by tramway and high-speed train systems. The economic basis was publicly owned land, administered by a trust. The value would rise according to the progress in building the city. Rents paid to the trust would finance public institutions. After the foundation of several garden cities the central older city would be unattractive and rebuilt on a lower density level for a maximum population of 58,000 inhabitants.

Howard claimed that the social city was the marriage of the town and country, but both the old cities and the countryside as known would have disappeared. The social city distributed the inhabitants of an existing big city over a large area. Green belts separated the individual garden cities; yet the countryside was no longer dedicated only to agriculture with dispersed villages. 6,000 acres of land were

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\(^5\) Howard stated at the beginning of his book that it had been "attractions" which had made people moving into cities. In the drawing of the "Three Magnets" Howard listed as such "social opportunities", "places of amusement", "high money wages", "chances of employment", "well-lit streets", and "palatial edifices". He continued to argue that only better attractions would make people move out of cities. (Howard, Garden Cities, pp. 6-9). Important is, however, that his perception of cities was positive, although the country was even better. "The town is the symbol of society - of mutual help and friendly co-operation, of fatherhood, motherhood, brotherhood, sisterhood, of wide relations between man and man - of broad expanding sympathies - of science, art, culture, religion. And the country! The country is the symbol of God's love and care for man. All that we are and that we have comes from it." (Howard, Garden Cities, p. 11).
allocated by Howard to each garden city, but the city in the literal meaning of the word was confined to 1,000 acres. The remaining 5,000 acres were dedicated to various purposes amongst them agriculture and forestry, but also brick production, asylums for handicapped people, homes for convalescents and children. What Howard called country was an extended green fringe of the city accommodating institutions like asylums and hospitals, similarly located at the fringe as in a historically grown town of old. Although, Howard's reason was less the need of cheap land rather the idea to establish such institutions permanently in a healthy environment. By locating these functions outside the urban core the town was imposed permanently on the country, visualised in a network of roads and traffic lines connecting the institutions and their users with the city. Howard's solution for the town-country conflict brought the town to the country and made the countryside available for the city. He made no statement about the relation and connections among several social cities.

For the Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin, neither the city nor the smaller town or village but the economic situation of industrialised countries was the starting point to think about the relation between town and country. Kropotkin analysed the emerging international division of production between older industrialised countries, for example Great Britain, and its colonies. The latter provided the raw material for the industry in the mother country which in turn exported the end-products into the colonies and elsewhere. But Great Britain also received the largest part of food from the colonies. The British agriculture was in decline because its products were too expensive and it was cheaper to import foodstuff rather than investing in modern technology resulting in a higher productivity. This was, according to Kropotkin, the cause for the crisis of the country and the immigration of the country people into the cities. As a solution Kropotkin suggested to return to a combination of agricultural and industrial work, which he considered as the normal self-sufficient way of life before
the industrial revolution. Smaller units of human settlements like villages or towns in the Middle Ages had supported the ideal of working in a small workshop and to be farmer at the same time. Goods were mostly produced for the local market and there was no centralisation on a large scale. Exchange or long distance trade was confined to commodities that could not be produced locally.

Although Kropotkin intended to re-introduce this structure, his socio-economic ideas were no simple return to the past. He thought about an agrarian and industrial production using the latest technology available, but taking place in decentralised units. “The factory amidst the fields” or in industrial villages was the alternative proposed by Kropotkin. This idea was directed against both the capitalist dream and the Marxist analysis of a continuous concentration of industry and capital in ever larger units. The essential element in Kropotkin’s socio-economical and political thinking was the socialisation of the means of production and consumption.

However, Kropotkin did not develop any planning or architectural model of the future society. He favoured the village and the medieval town as perfect expressions of the ability of human beings to co-operate. He mentioned Howard’s garden city in the second edition of *Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow*, but nothing indicated that this was his favourite urban model. Kropotkin did not come up with a program to establish industrial villages on a large scale before any revolution nor did he insist on the dissolution of big cities like London. Even in existing big industrial cities decentralised, self-determined production could become possible due to new small electrical power aggregates. Technology as the most important means of

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7 Kropotkin, *Fields*, p. 151.
change did not lead to a specific urban form, but allowed steps towards a non-alienated form of labour. To gain this through a revolutionary change of society was more important for Kropotkin than to solve the town-country conflict. However, the combination of industrial labour with agriculture, derived from a historic model of a rural economy based in smaller towns and villages, would foster the return to this ideal form of life. Therefore, Kropotkin did not object to ideas of smaller settlements instead of big cities.

Both Howard's garden city and Kropotkin's industrial village were similar in their utilisation of the latest possibilities of contemporary technology. But they did not arrive at the same urban form except for a general preference of smaller human settlements. Howard intended to distribute the qualities of city life through smaller towns - garden cities - in rural areas followed by a subsequent abolition of the large cities. Mainly for economic reasons preferred Kropotkin the idea of smaller rural settlements - preferably industrial villages - without thinking of them as an substitute for larger cities. A third - distinctively urban - solution for the town-country conflict has been envisaged by the French anarcho-geographer Elisée Reclus. Although Reclus's idea, as published in a brief essay with the title 'The Evolution of Cities', was rather an outline than a coherent theory, its uniqueness and its importance for Geddes demand a more detailed analysis.10

Reclus began his reflections on the future of cities by resorting to the popular image of the city as an octopus spreading its tentacles over the countryside.11 But his

11 "To look at our enormous cities, expanding day by day and almost hour by hour, ... and running out their suckers, like giant octopuses, into the surrounding country, one feels a sort of shudder come over one, as if in presence of a symptom of some strange social malady." (Reclus, Evolution of Cities, p. 246). The geographer David Matless describes the "urban Octopus" as a "recurrent image" in turn-of-the-century and early twentieth-century town planning literature, especially that concerned with the preservation of the countryside as opposed to cities. Matless continues that the urban octopus "brings out the central planning theme of energy and its control. [Emile] Verhaeren's Villes Tentaculaires provides the original for these preserving planners."
conclusion ran contrary to the equally popular condemnation of a city's growth, which
Reclus, instead, embraced whole-heartedly as a positive sign of mankind's
development.

Yet it is easy to show that this monster growth of the city, the complex
outcome of a multiplicity of causes, is not altogether a morbid growth. If ... it constitutes, in some of its incidents, a formidable fact for the
moralist, it is ... in its normal development, a sign of healthy and
regular evolution. Where the cities increase, humanity is progressing;
where they diminish, civilisation itself is in danger.12

Throughout all known history man was a city builder, whose cities were influenced by
a variety of factors like the geographical environment, political ideas, economic
necessities and cultural amenities. High periods of human civilisation were
classified by a dense network of towns and cities of all sizes and functions.

In the final two pages of his essay, Reclus outlined a blueprint of his ideal
city.13 A necessary precondition towards the realisation of the ideal scheme was that
mankind would bury all wars and quarrels so as to free its potential and energy for a
peaceful development of civilisation through city building. Reclus drew in the
following on many contemporary ideas, mainly those in an anarcho-socialist and
urban reform tradition, among them common ownership, communal life led in
"phalansteries" [sic], or the creation of public parks and spaces. His ideal city also
purported ideas which would figure prominently three years later in Howard's To-

Matless characterises the octopus as representing a "picture of vigorous disorder" and being an
"enemy" for Geddes, Abercrombie and other planners. [David Matless, 'Appropriate Geography:
Patrick Abercombrie and the Energy of the World', Journal of Design History, 6 (1993), No. 3,
167-178 (p. 172)]. Both Verhaeren's collection of poems and Reclus's essay were published in
1895, although Matless was obviously not aware of Reclus's publication. Reclus's equation of a
city with an octopus suggests that this symbol was not always expressing a negative meaning.
For Reclus a city developed like an octopus because "following the direction and importance of
its overland commerce, the town projects its suburbs like tentacles along the country roads"
(Reclus, Evolution of Cities, p. 256). In this case the octopus image describes a very functional
pattern of city growth rather than "vogierous disorder". Geddes also employed the octopus as an
image when he wrote about London: "This octopus of London, polypus rather, is something
curious exceedingly, a vast irregular growth without previous parallel in the world of life ..."
(Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 26). The "enemy" for Geddes appears to me to be more the
irregularity of the growth rather than the expansion of the city as such (see below pp. 116-117).

13 The following summary is based on Reclus, Evolution of Cities, pp. 263-264.
morrow, for example the relocation of public institutions into the countryside and the combination of the best of both country and city.

It was this last point, however, where Reclus arrived at a unique position, for his ideal city required an "indefinite extension of towns". The difference between town and country could be overcome through the permanent expansion until "throughout the length and breadth of the land the provinces will be scattered with houses which, in spite of the distance, really belong to the town." These houses continued to be town, and did not become country, because they still were in the sphere of influence of the old city. The existing cities, especially their centres, Reclus intended to transform into a space dedicated to the communal life of the ever-expanding city.

What was once the most densely inhabited part of the city is precisely the part which is now becoming deserted, because it is becoming common property, or at least a common centre of intermittent life. Too useful to the mass of the citizens to be monopolised by private families, the heart of the city is the patrimony of all. It is the same, for the same reasons, with the subordinate nuclei of population; and the community claims, besides, the use of open spaces of the city for public meetings and open-air celebrations. Every town should have its agora, where all who are animated by a common passion can meet together.

Reclus's ideal city was characterised by communal ownership focused on the cultural and educational institutions. From this cultural centre the city would continuously expand into the countryside. Smaller cultural nodes would support the main centre by serving smaller groups of citizens. The ever-expanding city was structured hierarchically and what had been countryside would be covered by a network of human settlements and individual houses of different sizes and types. Town and country would merge because the city would not simply return to its rural

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14 Reclus, *Evolution of Cities*, p. 264. This was, according to Reclus, currently only prevented by the high costs of means of transport and communication.
roots but transform and elevate the countryside on to its own, higher level of social and cultural life: "By virtue of its very growth, the modern town loses its isolated existence and tends to merge itself with other towns, and to recover the original relation that united the rising market-place with the country from which it sprang."  

The Valley Section

Considered against the background of the town-country conflict, Patrick Geddes's diagram of the valley section did not oppose the two antagonists but united them in the valley region. The valley section was a longitudinal section from the mountains to the sea thereby following a river from the source in the mountains to the broad river entering the sea. (Figure 3.1) It combined physical conditions - represented in the drawing by plants - with so-called natural or basic occupations - represented by tools. Furthermore, it included various types of settlements; symbols of social organisations arising from the natural occupations adapted best to the environment.

Beneath vast hunting desolations lie the pastoral hillsides, below these again scattered arable crofts and sparsely dotted hamlets lead us to the small upland village of the main glen: from this again one descends to the large and prosperous village of the foothills and its railway terminus, where lowland and highland meet. East or west, each mountain valley has its analogous terminal and initial village, upon its fertile fan-shaped slope, and with its corresponding minor market; while, central to the broad agricultural strath with its slow meandering river, stands the prosperous market town, the road and railway junction upon which all the various glen-villages converge. A day's march further down, and at the convergence of several such valleys, stands the larger country-town ... Finally, at the mouth of its estuary, rises the smoke of a great manufacturing city, a central world-market in its way. Such a river system is, as geographer after geographer has pointed out, the essential unit for the student of cities and civilisations.  

The city was located at the coast followed by the country town in the

hinterland as the focal point of various valleys. Each valley consisted of glens converging at the lower end in the market town on the agricultural plain beyond the valley. The beginning of the glens or mountain valleys was marked by an "initial village" and followed, further up, by upland villages. The highest located human settlements were hamlets, the first type of human settlements consisting of several houses. Even higher up, only isolated crofts were to be found. The region Geddes circumscribed with the valley section encompassed several valleys and the agricultural plain stretching from the bottom of the mountains to the coast.19 (Figure 3. 2) The valley region was characterised by a strong connection of the three major elements - the physical environment, the occupations and the settlement types - as one influenced the other.

Conceptually, the valley region was based on the idea of a plant-association derived from the botanical survey work of the biologist Charles Flahault in Montpellier, a friend of Geddes.20 Flahault had mapped in his survey work, published between 1896 and 1900, the distribution of species of trees. In different environments some trees were best adapted to the given situation. They dominated the existing plant population. Flahault called them "'social' species", because they indicated "the presence of an association of subordinate species".21 The social species allowed both for conclusions about the environmental conditions and the subordinated species to be drawn, and accordingly, the identification of the economic possibilities inherent in the region.

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19 Although Geddes used the term "valley section" he was always clear about the fact that a valley section referred to a region comprising several valleys. Geddes wrote for example in an essay in 1925 the valley section was "that general slope from mountains to sea". (Patrick Geddes, 'The Valley Plan of Civilization (The third of the talks from the Outlook Tower), Survey Graphic, June 1925, 288-290, 322-324, 325, (p. 289), (hereafter Valley Plan). When the essay was reprinted in 1968 the editor, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt changed the plural of mountains into the singular and thereby disguised this important fact. [Patrick Geddes, 'The Valley Section', ed. by J. Tyrwhitt, Architect's Yearbook 12 (1968), pp. 65-71 (p. 65)].


Geddes adopted the concept of plant-association for the study of human beings and their societies. While Flahault's concern was the regional distribution of plant species Geddes's interest focused on the natural occupations in the valley region because it was "inhabited by all these types - hunter, shepherd, agriculturalist, and fisher, each at his proper level." The basic occupations represented - comparable to the "social" species - the best adapted human beings in distinguished environments like mountains, forest and agricultural plain. The environment's physical conditions determined human life in a similar way as they influenced plant-life. To study a valley region could help to understand "how far nature can be shown to have determined man" and "how far the given type of man has reacted, or may yet react, upon his environment." Geddes's choice of words - nature determines and man reacts - expresses the leading role of nature in the process of "mutual adaptation ... of region and race".

The variety of occupations in the valley region was the equivalent to the mixture of species in the plant-association. But as the character of a plant-association was determined by a dominating species, so the valley region was dominated at

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23 Geddes, Influence, p. 583.

24 Geddes, Influence, p. 581, (my emphasis). Geddes admitted that "subjective aspects" like "intellectual morals" could not easily be explained by physical conditions. Consequently, he separated them from the economic and material conditions and suggested to study them in parallel. "Both needs may be broadly met by a simply convention - that of tabulating the objective phenomena upwards in our three columns, the subjective phenomena downwards; their distinctness of aspect, yet their permanence of association, becomes thus apparent, such subjective phenomena as are clearly dependent upon the material evolution of society being alone thus treated." This tabulation was the beginning of what later developed into the Act-Deed formula of the Notation of Life. (Geddes, Influence, p. 584-585). (See chapter 2, pp. 60-63).
various levels by different occupations. Each social species was in the end responsible for the association of subordinated species living, so to speak, under the shadows of the trees. Similarly, from each of the basic or natural occupations "distinct types of social organisations" with related political and religious ideas arose; symbolised in the different human settlements ranging from hamlets to cities. Based on this assumption Geddes wanted to establish "geographical and social laws" as to arrive at "the all comprehensive account of the evolution of nature and human life throughout space and time." The valley section separated human beings comparable to species in a plant-association. The concept of natural occupations has rightly been judged as "a conceptual cul-de-sac" for missing any idea of class or as, "to put it charitably, not especially helpful in understanding contemporary social life." However, despite this justified criticism the question remains, why did Geddes develop this concept with regard to regions and cities?

The plant-association was characterised by an element of co-operation in that the species formed a relationship which, although hierarchical, was beneficial for all. This element of co-operation might have inspired Geddes to transfer the plant-association from the botanical into the sphere of human societies. It allowed him to get away from the popular social Darwinist notion of society being a permanent and

27 In his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society Geddes said: "The hunter of the Amazonian forest, the lumberman of Canada, the forester of Bavaria, or of the Indian Forest Department, each in his own grade of civilization, is a very definite type, and one surely at least as well worthy of monographic study by the geographer as the gall-insect or the woodpecker, to which the attention of the reflective naturalist cannot be permanently confined." (Geddes, Influence, 582). Human beings belong all to a single species which consists of subspecies. Homo Sapiens subsp. Sapiens is the only surviving subspecies. Another subspecies was for instance Homo Sapiens subsp. neanderthalensis, although this subspecies has been considered for a long time as a separated species. Further separation of the subspecies are forms, to which historically the term race was applied as well.
enduring struggle for existence. In opposition to Darwin, and the social Darwinist, Geddes tended to consider co-operation as more important for the evolution of all forms of life than the struggle of existence. The best known advocate of the idea of co-operation was Kropotkin. His main concern was co-operation within a species, where Darwin had located the fiercest struggle for existence. In opposition to the latter, Kropotkin attempted to prove that animals survived only through mutual aid and co-operation; he believed the same to be true for human beings. Medieval Europe provided Kropotkin with the best example of co-operative human societies; the medieval city structured by guilds, the union of men based on occupations, was the highest expression of human co-operation. Both, the medieval city and the guilds were "Mutual Aid Institutions".

Geddes's concept of natural occupations can be considered as an attempt to develop from a biological basis a similar classification of man according to their work. Once such a classification is established, co-operation between the basic occupations is within reach. Each species in a plant-association survives due to its adaptation to particular conditions in the environment; yet all species together create a balanced association taking maximum advantage of the region. The same principle had ruled the medieval city. Each citizen pursued his profession as a member of a guild; all guilds contributed to the mutually beneficial institution of the city. By analogy, the same idea underpins Geddes's valley region. Each basic occupation exploits a specific area of the region; together they create a co-operative association of human beings in the region.

30 Reilly writes that Geddes had the idea about co-operation as an important factor in evolution already in the early 1880's, whereas Kropotkin published his book Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution only in 1902. Regardless who conceived the idea earlier, there is a difference between both men's consideration of co-operation and competition. Geddes judged co-operation as more important than competition without discarding the latter which was necessary to prevent degeneration. Kropotkin ruled out the latter completely. (Reilly, Early Social Thought, pp. 221-222).


32 Kropotkin, Mutual Aid, p. 18.
However, the valley section was not merely rooted in contemporary botany and biology; it also contained a historic reference.

By descending from the source to sea we follow the development of civilisation from its simple origins to its complex resultant; nor can any element of this be omitted.33

The historic development Geddes had projected into the valley region was the popular theory of social evolution that described the development of mankind through the four stages of hunting, pastoral, agriculture and commercial life.34 One of the main proponents of this theory was the Glasgow philosopher John Millar. Millar emphasised that this approach to human evolution relied strongly on the analysis of the relation between the given environmental conditions, the "species of labour" which arose to exploit this environment, the communities of human beings, and their development regarding the arts and social life. The reciprocal relation between all these elements defined the degree of civilisation reached.35 Millar had already assembled all the ingredients, that Geddes later united in the valley section, although in a slightly more differentiated form. The natural occupation of the hunter stood in Geddes's model for Millar's hunting stage, the shepherd for the pastoral and the peasant for the

33 Geddes, Civics I, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 77.
34 See for this theory of social evolution and its relation to cities: Moses I. Finley, 'The Ancient City: From Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and beyond', in Economy and Society in Ancient Greece by M. I. Finley, ed. by B. D. Shaw and R. P. Saller (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), pp. 3-23 (p. 10), (first publ. in Comparative Studies in Society and History, 19 (1977), 305-327), (hereafter Ancient City). Finley points out that this "most notable theory of social evolution to have emerged, on the basis of comparative studies, in the century between Montesquieu and Marx" had its "main proponents ... in France and Scotland" (p. 10).
35 "In searching for the causes of those peculiar systems of law and government which have appeared in the world, we must undoubtedly resort, first of all, to the ... fertility or barrenness of the soil, the nature of its productions, the species of labour requisite for procuring subsistence, the number of individuals collected together in one community, their proficiency in arts, the advantages which they enjoy for entering into mutual transactions, and for maintaining an intimate correspondence. The variety that frequently occurs in these ... must have a prodigious influence upon the great body of a people; as, by giving a peculiar direction to their inclinations and pursuit, it must be productive of correspondent habits, dispositions, and ways of thinking." [John Millar, The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks (Edinburgh, 1806 (4th edn); repr. Bristol: Thoemmes, 1990) p. 2, (my emphasis)]. Geddes owned a copy of the first edition of Millar's book which was published in 1771 with a different title. (John Millar, Observation concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society (Dublin: T. Ewing, 1771), (SUA, T-GED 24/292).
agricultural stage. Miner, woodman and fisher can be allocated to all of the three stages. Significantly, the commercial stage - the city - was not represented by a natural occupation.

The projection of the four stages of mankind's evolution into the space of a valley was a symbolic representation. Even if man's earliest ancestors hunted in the mountains, mankind's history did not originate there but in the fertile plains and coastal areas where Geddes had located the big city. The inclusion of this historical reference in the diagram of the valley section appears to be driven by Geddes's desire to point out the continuous importance for the contemporary city of man's roots in a rural way of life. The "descending hierarchy from mountain-hamlet to oceanic-metropolis" of the valley section described both a historical and a contemporary, spatial relationship between town and country.36

In short, then, it takes the whole region to make the city. As the river carries down contributions from its whole course, so each complex community, as we descend, is modified by its predecessors. The converse is no doubt true also, but commonly in less degree.37

All the smaller settlements of the mountains and the upper plains, representing social organisations of natural occupations, made the city at the lower end of the valley region. This spatial and historical descent was mediated by the natural occupations. As mentioned above, the only settlement not related to a natural occupation was the city. This was not necessary, for as the city was derived from the smaller settlements, all the professions and types of labour in contemporary cities were differentiations of the basic occupations. Thus, the miner, for example, was the forerunner of ironworker and goldsmith, or house, furniture and ship-builders derived from the woodman. The crofter, for whom life meant to struggle with poor soil in the upper plains, created "the origins of the bank and insurance company" because he had

36 Geddes, Civics I, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 78.
37 Geddes, Civics I, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 78.
to develop a "life economy" for his survival. The lawyer stemmed from the peasants in the lower, richer areas of the plain for he needed records of "land-tenure and crop-sales; for taxation too, and more." Many modern types of labour like clerical and industrial work, characteristic of and increasing in contemporary cities, this model simply neglected.

A city viewed as such was more than an element of a region; it acquired a symbolic meaning for it contained in a microcosm the macrocosm of the valley. Accordingly, the valley section was mirrored in a section through any street and the urban premises of workshops and other commercial activities could be taken as representations of the natural occupations. (Figure 3.3) The success of a plant-association relied on the adaptation of the species to the environment; the same was valid for cities. A city was "a system of life-adaptations" Geddes wrote in a review of The Study of the City by Park and Burgess, the manifesto of the Chicago School of urban sociology. Geddes's approach towards cities shifted the focus of inquiries into the social urban reality. While other sociologists and social reformers concerned themselves with class conflicts, ownership of the means of production or, as the Chicago School in the 1910s, with territory disputed between social or ethnic groups, Geddes identified mis-adaptation to the environment as the underlying cause of problems within a city. Conflicts did not happen between classes but between occupational groups and the environment. Therefore co-operation between the citizens appeared not only to be possible but necessary as the aim was to adjust the whole city to the environment.

38 Geddes, Valley Plan, p. 323.
Edinburgh and its Region: A Northern Athens and its Polis

Edinburgh and its hinterland offered nearly all the elements Geddes had combined to the valley section, and presumably stimulated Geddes's model. The Pentland Hills to the south-west of Edinburgh were the area of mountains. The region of Lothian was both the pastoral hillside and the agricultural plain with interspersed settlements and villages. Edinburgh itself represented the city, although located a short distance away from the coast, and Leith, the harbour of Edinburgh, the fishing village. Some elements of the valley section were missing or existed only to a very small extent for example a river binding the whole region together, or mining areas which were only to be found in Midlothian. Taking these disadvantages in account Geddes came to the conclusion:

Our region, then, if not indeed exhaustive, if not quite an ideal microcosm of geography, is yet an exceptionally complete approximation to this, in all its aspects, -- physical, political, commercial, and the rest.40

The region of Edinburgh corresponded to a botanical region defined in a survey by the biologist Robert Smith. Smith had been Geddes's assistant at the University of Dundee and was sent by him to work with Flahault during the winter of 1896-97 at the University of Montpellier.41 After his return to Edinburgh Smith began to work on a botanical survey of Scotland. The first two parts of the survey, published in 1900, dealt with the Edinburgh and the North Perthshire District.42 Due to the advanced deforestation around Edinburgh, Smith had to base the survey on the

40 Patrick Geddes, 'Edinburgh and its Region, Geographic and Historical' Scottish Geographical Magazine 18 (1902), 303-312 (p. 306), (hereafter Edinburgh and its Region).
distribution of lower plants like grasses and heaths, although he tried to reconstruct the historical, typical tree distribution. The botanical region of Edinburgh was divided in three parts. First, the cultivated areas with plains and the lower slopes of the Pentland Hills. The coastal strip was the most densely populated zone within this area. This "Region of Cultivation" was furthermore divided into a lower zone of wheat cultivation and a zone where oat was the most suitable crop. Second, the hills with mostly uncultivated pasture and moorland. This zone could be differentiated into areas of heather association, grass association or hill pasture, a mixture of both, and an alpine-like region. A third, very minor area, was a littoral zone along the shore.

The region as published on a map stretched from Dunfermline and Burntisland in the North to Dolphinton and Stow in the South. (Figure 3.4) The western Border ran from Linlithgow to Newbibbing in the West and from North Berwick to Gifford in the East. Smith was not concerned with mapping any human intervention traceable in the region. As the most practical purpose of his survey, apart from purely scientific documentation, Smith considered the guidance it might give to a better adaptation of agriculture and farming to the natural conditions prevailing in the various zones. Whatever Smith's reason was to begin his survey work with Edinburgh Geddes's support, and probably influence towards this decision, can be taken for granted. Geddes pursued at that time the establishment of a National Geographical Institute in Edinburgh, which should encompass his Outlook Tower as a regional laboratory. Part of the campaign was to show the work and results that the new institution might provide; a botanical survey of Edinburgh and its environs which would lead to a definition of Edinburgh's natural region served the campaign very well.

43 See Meller, Patrick Geddes, 1990, pp. 122-134. For the National Geographical Institute see below chapter 8, pp. 277-286.

44 Smith's botanical survey of the Edinburgh district became later an exhibit in Geddes's Cities and Town Planning Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1911: "3) Maps of Edinburgh - ordnance, orographical, geological and botanical 4) Corresponding Relief Model and Botanical Survey of
The region of Edinburgh was Geddes's model of a valley region. The Cities and Town Planning Exhibition presented Edinburgh and its region in an idealised drawing as "A European Valley Region".\(^{45}\) (Figure 3.5) The Old Town of Edinburgh figured prominently in the centre as a "castle burgh"; Portobello and Musselburgh represented the "seaside resort", and Leith a "fishing village, later harbour and dock town". An invented river meandered from the coastal towns towards the Pentland Hills at the background of the picture. The city was located next to the castle burgh. A country town marked the merger the smaller valleys with the plain. More towns - among them a "Ford City", a "Ferry Town" and a "Bridge Town" - were dispersed throughout the region.

Amongst the features raising Edinburgh and the region to a model were not only botanical and geographical characteristics, but also historical connotations.

Indeed, to understand a city of this type we must go further afield than ever. Hence the comparison, side by side, of Edinburgh and Athens - each plainly a hill-fort associated at once with a sea-port, and with an agricultural plain. This combination of an Acropolis with its Piraeus and its Attica, is common throughout Mediterranean Europe, though less frequent in the north; and such a threefold co-operation is conducive alike to agricultural efficiency, to maritime enterprise and commerce, and to regional as well as civic culture. Thus we see the traditional comparison of Edinburgh with Athens has really little to do with our eighteenth and nineteenth-century imitations of Greek temples or Greek sophistries, but lies far deeper, in geographical and historical origins.\(^{46}\)

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\(^{45}\) See Geddes, Cities in Evolution, 1949, pp. 164-165. The provenance of the drawing and its author remain unclear. An earlier version was included in Patrick Geddes, 'The Valley in the Town (The fourth of the talks from the Outlook Tower)', Survey Graphic, July 1925, 396-400, 415-416 (p. 396), (hereafter Valley in Town). The unusual view towards the south from the Firth of Forth, however, reminds one strongly of the geographer John Laurie's 'Map of the County of Midlothian from an actual Survey by John Laurie' (1763) adopting a similar perspective. It might well be that the drawing of Edinburgh as "A European valley region" had been modelled on Laurie's map. [For a description of Laurie's map see M. K. Meade, 'Plans of the New Town of Edinburgh', Architectural History, 14 (1971), 40-52 (p. 44)].

Edinburgh and Athens were divided into political and spiritual centres, with a town below to accommodate the inhabitants, and a harbour at some distance. (Figure 3.6) Geddes based his comparison initially on this observation, but the location of both cities in larger geographical areas allowed him to carry the comparison further.47

The analysis of the Notation of Life has shown that a City emerged as an expression of man's reflection on the environment and its inherent possibilities. A City was, so to speak, a superstructure erected on the basis of Place, Work and Folk. It was a cultural reflection of the given environment, comparable to the section through a street mirroring the valley section. Going back into the history of human civilisations the first cultural equivalent Geddes could identify was the Greek polis and its younger sister, the Roman civitas. The point of reference in comparison with the valley section was the geographical area occupied by a polis, and its relation between town and country.

In making our regional and city surveys, the old meaning of civitas has to be remembered, since this included both the town (or municipium - what we know as the municipal group or area) and the pagus or countryside. Civitas, indeed, was what we still call diocese, which was not always restricted to an ecclesiastical sense. A right concept of country and town, with its schools and its cloisters - in our day not a monastery but a university, art centre, socialized religious centres, too develops as a city indeed, and recovers that good term from London's centre of money-changers.48

Greek and Roman city-states encompassed not only a town or city but always a larger territory.49 Contemporary theories about the origin of the polis stressed that

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47 See also below chapter 9, p. 346.
48 Patrick Geddes quoted in Defries, The Interpreter, pp. 224-225. Similarly, Geddes wrote in an undated letter (c. 1915): "Pray remember that in all my thinking and teaching the long and evil contrast of rural and municipal is met by returning to the old meaning of Civitas as Diocese, or Region, with its Municipal and Pagus - the former as market and Forum, Acropolis and Cathedral to the latter - (but not its Megalopolis, Canceropolis, &c.)" [Letter by Patrick Geddes to anonymous, n. d. [c. 1915], (NLS, MS 10515, f. 30)].
49 A useful summary on the (economic) relation between town and country in a city state provides Finley, Ancient City, pp. 3-23. The character of the relation between city and country in the
the city-state had emerged from this hinterland. Historically, the territory had been settled by several families bound "in groups or cells, held together by the tie of kinship", and once the settlement had taken place the families "were fixed upon the land in forms which may roughly be described as village communities." The moment these villages established a union beyond blood bonds for reasons like self-defence or common worship of a deity, the city-state was born.

There are not likely to be natural geographical boundaries between the lands of adjacent villages, - no such stern natural limits as between the kin by blood of one set of villagers and another. When once the blood-tie has grown fainter, there is no serious obstacle to the union of villages and their lands in a larger whole, if there be obvious advantage to be gained by it, or if a strong hand urges or forces on the process. And this process may go on, gradually or by leaps, until some natural boundary is reached, such as the sea and the mountain barriers which enclose Attica or Latinum, or the Rhine and the Alps, beyond which the Swiss have hardly, and at their peril, succeeded in extending their confederation.

In a polis like Attica, the city, in this case Athens, had a well-defined function. The city was the one point "in which the whole life and energy of the people, political, intellectual, religious, is focused at", even if the citizens lived in the countryside. Although Fowler considered the country more as an adjunct to the city, he nevertheless stressed that in "a Greek City-State, city and land must be one whole, admitting of no disproportion or division of natural interest."

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50 William Warde Fowler, The City-State of the Greeks and Romans. A Survey Introductionary to the Study of Ancient History, (London: Macmillan, 1893), p. 28, (Fowler's emphasis), (hereafter City-State). Fowler refers here to the contemporary evolutionary theory of man's organisation developing from family bonds to sophisticated societies. Other proponents of this theory were Lewis H. Morgan, who had published in 1877 The Ancient Society; Friedrich Engels, especially in Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats. Im Anschluss an Lewis H. Morgan's Forschungen (Zürich: Schweizerische Genossenschaftsdruckeri, 1884), and Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges, La Cité antique: étude sur le culte, le droit, les institutions de la Grèce et de Rome (Paris: Durand, 1864). All three authors differ when describing the emphasis why kinship becomes replace through other bonds, but all adopt an evolutionary point of view.

51 Fowler, City-State, p. 43, (my emphasis).

52 Fowler, City-State, p. 9.

53 Fowler, City-State, p. 52. (See below p. 112, footnote 76).
Accounts of the origin of the city-states like Fowler's were influenced by the contemporary attempt to base modern nations states on principles of race, language, or ethnicity; criteria that cannot that easily be applied to the ancient city-states.54 However, Fowler's summary of the origin of the *polis* reads like a historical made-to-measure proof of Geddes's valley section.55 In both cases the cities derived from villages in the countryside, and the territories of *polis* and valley region were defined by natural barriers. The city Geddes summarised with the valley section was a whole consisting of town and country as in the *polis* of old. This concept of a city, which I will name a Region-City, was based, as explained above, on the analogy of the plant-association; a basis which allowed Geddes to claim that his concept was natural. To the same extent this concept derived from the ancient *polis*; a historical proof for the correctness of the assumed natural origin of the Region-City. The *polis* represented the historically most successful model of human civilisations and settlements because it had originated in natural regions, and never outgrown the "natural boundaries" as Fowler had explained. Thus as Geddes stated the city-state was "conducive ... to regional as well as civic culture".56 This idea of a Region-City had consequences for Geddes's perception of contemporary cities. Instead of focusing on city and town as opposed to the country, Geddes emphasised the continuities between both. His way of looking at contemporary cities followed the descent from hamlets to city in his symbolic image of the valley region.

54 See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge: University Press, 1990; repr. 1993). Hobsbawm especially denied that ethnicity played any significant role in the foundation of city states compared to its function for the modern nation-state (p. 64). But he also pointed out that for instance language has been considered at least by some writers like Herodotus as a reason to consider the Greeks as one people and that this could become part of what he calls proto-nationalism (pp. 58-59).

55 I have found no proof that Geddes knew Fowler's book. It is likely that he read it because it was reprinted during Geddes's life thirteen times after the first edition had appeared in 1893.

56 See the quotation of Geddes on p. 103, footnote 46.
For our regional and civic surveys elucidate the *evolution of the town and city, as at best a rural concentration* towards regional development at its highest as with cloister and cathedral of old, and with University at its coming best ...\(^{57}\)

Geddes's use of the term *City* refers to both a region as a City, and to an urban place within a region as the point of the highest and densest concentration of a principally rural way of life. The analysis of the division of labour in modern cities as derived from natural occupations now makes sense, because it was an attempt to explain the city as the continuation of the country. Everything which happened in a City was rooted in the country or region.

The origin in the region was no safeguard against a city's tendency towards autonomy from the region. Geddes accepted the contemporary perception of metropolitan cities as big and rootless, and potentially subjugating a region, or even a nation, to its character and needs.\(^ {58}\) But Geddes did not arrive, as so many of his contemporaries, at an anti-urban position. Even a metropolis like London continued to display its origin in villages, because it was "still essentially rather the biggest of village-groups than in any deep sense the greatest of cities".\(^ {59}\) This observation pointed towards a way to redeem the metropolitan city, which could become a great City again not by denying its rural and regional roots but by emphasising and building on them.

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59 Patrick Geddes, 'A suggested Plan for a Civic Museum (or Civic Exhibition) and its associated Studies', in *Sociological Papers* 1906, ed. by Editorial Committee, Sociological Society (London: Macmillan, 1907), pp. 197-236 (p. 201), (hereafter *Civics III*).
Geddes's valley section and valley-region were less analytical tools for comprehending complex urban realities rather than models expressing what a City should be: a logical extension and climax of the surrounding country and region, distinguished by a higher degree of differentiation of rural verities. Geddes's preference of "visual thinking", for example the representation of the Region-City as a valley section, did not foster a clear expression of this concept.60 Furthermore, Geddes obviously assumed that sparsely dotted references to the polis would be understood at a time when knowledge about antiquity was still common among the educated. The catalogue of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1911 stated briefly under the heading "Ancient and Historic Cities": "Of these Great Cities everyone has some general knowledge". For those who did not know, or did not know enough, Geddes continued: "and beyond this the visitor must depend on his own study or on the oral guidance."61

The Region-City - A Step towards Conurbations and the World-City

The valley section as a visualisation of a Region-City emphasised strongly a larger physical unit than the existing administrative boundaries of most cities. This

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60 Among the earliest publication Geddes illustrated with the valley section drawing is the syllabus of the course of lectures on Country and Town Geddes had delivered c. 1909/10 at the University of London. (Geddes, Country and Town). From then onwards the drawing appeared regularly in Geddes's publications. The only example I have found, where the smaller settlements were omitted is a bird's eye view of the valley section drawn by Philip Mairet. Although, Geddes pointed out that the settlements and towns have only been omitted for reasons of clarity. (Branford, Geddes, Coming Polity, 1917, pp. 84-85). However, most of Geddes's biographers tend to omit the smaller settlement types. The city is the only settlement shown, despite the smaller settlement type's importance for the emergence of the city. The earliest drawing I have found without the previous settlements is, interestingly, that in Mairet's biography of Geddes from 1957. [Philip Mairet, Pioneer of Sociology. The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes (London: Humphries, 1957), p. 125, (hereafter Pioneer of Sociology)]. The same drawing was reprinted in Boardman's biography (Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 144), and in Paddy Kitchen's volume on Geddes (Kitchen, Most unsettling Person, p. 161). Similarly, the latest re-drawing published in Helen Meller's biography is also without the smaller villages and hamlets (Meller, Patrick Geddes, p. 41).

61 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 20. Geddes continued: "Enough here simply to point out the main meaning of this Exhibit - the reminder how the respective heritages of Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome underlies all subsequent civilisation, up to that of to-day, and necessarily also that of to-morrow. Note as respectively most characteristic, the Temple, the Acropolis, the Pantheon. And as fundamental to Roman progress and empire, the paved road."
raises the question of the consequences Geddes's idea had for his own activities - practical and theoretical - in the emerging fields of town and regional planning. That cities relied on zones of influences in their nearer and wider environs was not a novel thought. When John Ruskin, for example, derides in 1873 in *Fors Clavigera* the fact that Loch Katrine had become a reservoir to provide Glasgow with water, he drew attention to the regions which cities had already begun to define around them as to satisfy their material needs.62 Observations of the town-country conflict like Ruskin's, the deteriorated conditions of living in growing cities, and the increasing necessity to balance diverging economic interests of potential users of land in and outside cities, all contributed in the decades around 1900 to the emergence of town, and subsequently regional planning. The *1909 Town, Country Planning etc. Act* marked the end of the preliminary period with the recognition of town and regional planning as a statutory duty.63 In this context, Geddes is commonly credited with the introduction of an idea of a city's region into the developing concept of planning. However, descriptions of contents and character of Geddes's contribution remain vague. They hardly go beyond references to the origin of Geddes's region in biological and geographical models, or observations such as that Geddes "began to feel his way towards the idea that the city and its region were intimately related and that to understand the one, it was necessary

62 "... it is interesting to see a Scotch Professor [J. Kirk] thinking the lakes of his country were made to be "Reservoirs", and particularly instancing the satisfaction of thirsty Glasgow out of Loch Katrine, so that, henceforth, it will be proper in Scotch economical circles not to speak of the Lady of the Lake, but of the Lady of the reservoir." (John Ruskin, *Fors Clavigera. Letters to the Workmen and Laboulers of Great Britain*, The Works of John Ruskin, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: Allen, 1907), XXVII, p. 497).

to understand the other."64 This vagueness can be traced back to Geddes's own references to Edinburgh and its region if set in relation to his work in that city and its environs.

Geddes never planned the region around Edinburgh encompassing the area between the Pentland Hills and Leith. This region had been the basis for Smith's Botanical survey, and was illustrated in the 'Civic Survey of Edinburgh' in 1911. (Figure 3.7) Geddes concentrated his work in Edinburgh's Old Town along the Royal Mile between the Castle and Holyrood Palace.65 Beyond the Old Town, but still within Edinburgh, he was involved in the planning of a small terrace of cottages at Roseburn Cliff above the Water of Leith (1892-1911).66 (Figure 3.8) He also claimed to have been responsible for working men's housing close to a factory near Edinburgh.67 (Figure 3.9) To what extent the region of Edinburgh was included in a "vacant land survey" which unveiled 450 unused acres in the environs of Edinburgh, is unknown.68


65 An account of his work in more detail follows in chapter 6.


67 "I have lately for instance succeeded in getting a block of cottages built for the workmen of a factory near Edinburgh with which the firm are as well pleased as if they had been of the customary ugliness." [Letter by Patrick Geddes to anonymous, 23 February 1895, (NLS, MS, 10508A, f. 98)]. The housing Geddes referred to in this letter are probably the "Worker's cottages, Cox's gelatine works, Edinburgh (1893)" which Geddes illustrated in Cities in Evolution (Fig. 34, p. 153). The location of the cottages is today unknown. The premises of Cox's gelatine work (J. & G. Cox of Gorgie) had been around today's Westfield Road, north of Gorgie Road in the west of Edinburgh. Nearby is a small street with the name Coxfield; this might have been the location of the cottages. However, if those cottages had been built in this area, they have been demolished, obviously without any knowledge of Geddes's involvement.

68 Geddes, Civic Survey Edinburgh, p. 540.
Furthermore, Geddes made various comments about the Midlothian coal fields around Newtongrange in the south-east of Edinburgh as a suitable area for future industrial development and "industrial garden villages". In this context Geddes was critical that the Innocent railway connecting Edinburgh with the coal fields had never been developed properly.69 Further away from Edinburgh Geddes and Frank C. Mears designed a garden suburb for the "Burgh of Leven" at the eastern coast of Fife,70 (Figure 3.10) and occasionally, Geddes mentioned the garden city of Rosyth north of the Firth of Forth as an outstanding example of town planning.71 Finally, it is known that Geddes supported a shipping canal between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde.72

All this, however, does not amount to a regional scheme as defined by Wannop and Cherry. Analysing the "pioneering years" of regional planning from 1920 to 1948 the authors identify as key elements of regional plans statements regarding "zoning, open space, road, satellite settlements, the preservation of beauty (largely rural) and the need to maintain a distinction between town and country."73 Regional plans were distinguished from mere urban schemes by "an increasing recognition that town planning required a wider frame of reference than the spatially restricted boundaries of Borough and District Councils."74 Considering that Geddes had worked in Edinburgh from the late 1880s onwards, at a time when concepts of co-ordinated town and regional planning schemes existed only in the most nascent form, it is not surprising that he did not propose a comprehensive regional scheme. But as Geddes's renewal scheme for Edinburgh's Old Town was far more comprehensive

70 Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 390. The garden suburb was never built. The dates on the illustration are illegible.
71 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 37.
72 "Almost since its foundation, ... the alternative routes for this canal have been on exhibition in our Outlook Tower ..." (Geddes, Civic Survey Edinburgh, p. 558).
73 Wannop, Cherry, Development of Regional Planning, p. 33.
74 Wannop, Cherry, Development of Regional Planning, p. 35.
than a simple slum rebuilding initiative, he could have outlined a more comprehensive scheme for the region of Edinburgh, had he felt the need to do so. Similarly, when Geddes was working for the Zionist Commission on various projects in Palestine between 1919 and 1925, he talked about the region of Palestine, but his work again concentrated on schemes for urban settings like Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel Aviv, and a few smaller settlements. Clearly, Geddes propagated the ideas of a region and of Region-City while pursuing urban renewal work in the centres and town extensions like garden suburbs at the fringe of existing cities, without feeling that there was a contradiction.

Geddes's understanding of a City's function within a Region-City allowed him to confine town planning and renewal work to urban centres in those geographical areas he conceived as Region-Cities in the making. This approach was an attempt to regain for cities a function comparable to a City as the heart of an ancient city-state. Athens had been the centre of the polis, because there all important institutions like temples and the agora had been assembled. Geddes envisaged a similar function for a City in a Region-City. A town like Edinburgh had to be transformed again into a City, bound into a region by accommodating the highest concentration of civic, cultural and spiritual institutions and facilities. Subsequently, a City's influences would radiate into the region; region and City would become again a whole, a Region-City. They could become a whole because a City, as a well-defined centre of a region, would restore a lost unity by overcoming the modern distinction between town and country.


76 "Athens, Sparta, Miletus, Syracuse, Rome, were themselves cities, with a greater or less amount of territory from which they drew their means of subsistence. This territory was indeed an essential, but it was not the heart and life of the State. It was in the city that the heart and life was centred, and the territory was only an adjunct." [Fowler, *City-State*, p. 8, (Fowler's emphasis)].
"... going back to the times before we gave ourselves body and soul into the hands of politicians, lawyers and statisticians, we find the distinction was not quantitative and material, but qualitative and spiritual."[77]

A Region-City, although derived conceptually from larger territories like biological or geographical regions, was ultimately defined through its centre. It was the spiritual and cultural power of this centre that would determine the region of a City. Therefore, Geddes concentrated on elevating villages, towns and cities to the level of Cities, as to guarantee that a network of spiritual and cultural centres would bind the larger whole together into a Region-City. As a result, Geddes was relatively uninterested in determining the exact regional boundaries.

Regionalism in literature, biology, geography, planning or any other field faces two main theoretical problems: the definition of the regions and, based on this, the question of boundaries.[78] The definition of a region Geddes had sufficiently solved by resorting to the plant-association as a model for regions of human societies. The distinctive cultural production of each region was another means to identify a region. But the question of the boundaries remained. Natural regions in biology do not necessarily have clear boundaries. This is not so much of a problem for biologists concerned with distribution of plants or animals. Their habitats can be mapped and between various natural regions might be zones of transition. Regions of various species can even overlap without constituting a problem for the theoretical concept as a whole. However, regions used to distinguish qualities of, and differences between

[78] "At first sight, the definition of 'regionalism' and 'the regional novel' promises to be a relatively easy task. We are concerned, surely, with fiction set in a distinctive locality - one that takes on, through the power of literature, an independent imaginative existence ... No sooner have we said this, however, than a number of perplexing questions begin to arise: can a region be too large - or too small? can a novelist be master (or mistress) of more than one region? does a writer have to be born and brought up in a region in order to portrait it adequately?" [William John Keith, Regions of Imagination. The Development of Rural British Fiction (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. 3, (hereafter Regions of Imagination)].
man, human societies and cultures put the question of boundaries to the forefront; this even more if regionalism attempts a re-organisation of existing administrative units or even states. In this case, the regionalist deals with the distribution of power and zones of influences of local elites which find their limits at the boundaries.

Geddes never arrived at a well-defined idea about the boundaries of Region-Cities. He declared frontiers and boundaries of modern nations and states as being "essentially concepts of war, and of that passive, latent, potential war" which was "connected with expansion". Boundaries and war were ultimately caused by the dominant position of the hunter and his descendants. To constrain both required that society was given a structure composed of Region-Cities, which, in turn, meant basing societies on natural and geographical regions. Existing boundaries of cities, districts, and other administrative units had to be overcome, or as Geddes stated: "Municipal boundaries exist for the sake of cities, and not cities for municipal boundaries". Society and Region-Cities based on natural regions would place the development of the regional life above the expansion of man-invented wholes like states. Boundaries would lose their importance, and to the same degree to which they decline, the importance of the urban centre would rise. Again, the emphasis on the urban core allowed Geddes to insist on an immediate beginning with the renewal in existing cities as a step towards Region-Cities. Definitions of boundaries beyond the vague ideas of a "natural" or "geographical" region could safely be ignored, as they were future superfluous lines of division between two or more Region-Cities.

Accordingly, the region of Edinburgh was never clearly defined by Geddes. Edinburgh's region varies in his writings between Smith's botanical region and the

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whole of Scotland. On another occasion Geddes divided Scotland, from Aberdeen to the southern border, into five regions, yet Edinburgh's region from Leith to the Pentland Hills was not among them. (Figure 3.11) Despite the lack of a clear description of which geographical area Edinburgh's region occupied, it was beyond doubt for Geddes that the city had to branch out. With regard to the legal and political implications of the proposed industrial area in the Midlothian coalfield - outside the administrative boundaries of Edinburgh - Geddes declared that Edinburgh, with the "largest legal and political population" in proportion to the number of inhabitants, should be able "to enlarge at once its area and its powers to an extent worthy alike of the opening social future, and of the continual place of Scotland as one of the Great Powers - of Culture ...".

To lay claim on the hinterland was neither an expression of Edinburgh's imperialism, nor an end in itself, in so far that Edinburgh's expansion would not come to a halt at the coalfields. It was part of a broader pattern in the growth of a new type of city Geddes had observed in various parts of the United Kingdom. Looking towards Edinburgh from the other side of Scotland, from Glasgow, Geddes wrote:

I may describe Glasgow as a vast city, which I venture to name Clyde-Forth, because it extends from the opening of the Firth of Clyde to the Forth at Edinburgh. I believe it to be manifest that, in the process of

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82 In Edinburgh and its Region (1902) Geddes wrote about three regions. The first stretched from the Pentland Hills to Leith (p. 306), the second was Scotland as representing north-western Europe (pp. 308-309) and the third was located between Glasgow and Newcastle, where a new industrial area for Edinburgh should be located (p. 311). In the Civic Survey of Edinburgh (1911) Geddes described again three regions. The first was similar to the first of the earlier essay (p. 542). The second was a greater region including to the north and the east the estuary of the Firth of Forth, and Fife with its towns. To the west it encompassed the Forth Bridges and Dunfermline (p. 542). The third stretched "far beyond" Stirling and the great Highland Hills (p. 542). The Exhibition Edinburgh catalogue (1911) simply stated that Edinburgh's region was Lothian (p. 20), although Scotland needed Edinburgh and vice versa (p. 20).

83 The valley regions were: Braemar-Ballater-Aboyne-Banchory-Aberdeen; Edzell-Kerriemuir-Brechin-Montrose; Corfachy-Forfar-Brechin-Montrose; Pitlochry-Dunkeld-Bankfoot-Perth-Dundee; St. Fillans-Greiff-Methven-Perth-Dundee; Balquhidder-Callander-Doune-Stirling-Leith; Biggar-Lanark-Hamilton-Glasgow-Greenock. These valley regions were listed on a drawing "The Eastern Watershed of Scotland; Generalised Section from Hills to Sea". (See Geddes, Valley in Town, p. 400).

84 Geddes, Civic Survey of Edinburgh, p. 564
development, this particular region between the Clyde and Forth will ultimately be divided by a canal, which will make Glasgow a European Port, and Aberdeen and Newcastle Atlantic Ports. This would afford a great opening in the future for a still greater city. We have, therefore, to prepare for a great and living city, and that in a large and effective way, a city which would be second to none.\cite{Geddes1913}

Mergers such as that between Glasgow and Edinburgh would transform that "geographic tradition of town and country in which we were brought up".\cite{Geddes1913} This transformation had already begun, and Geddes recognised "City-Groups" as elements of thriving civilisations.

"City-Groups" ... furnish the real and essential element of city life. They have developed into a modern heptarchy, and are completely equipped in themselves in every aspect of civilisation for a long, permanent and effective existence.\cite{Geddes1913}

'Conurbations', as Geddes came to name city-groups, developed also elsewhere in Great Britain, for example "Greater London", or between Liverpool and Manchester in the form of "Lancastor". Conurbations were extended geographical areas characterised by a network of settlements ranging from villages to towns, cities and Region-Cities. Each of the settlements could, according to the Town-City formula, be a City, all together would form another City on a larger scale. The position of the Region-City within the hierarchical structure was that of a primes inter pares.

\cite{Geddes1913} Patrick Geddes, 'Opening Address' for a 'Discussion on Housing in Scotland', Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 44 (1913), 246-249 (p. 246), (hereafter Discussion on Housing).
\cite{Geddes1913} Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 34.
\cite{Geddes1913} Geddes, Discussion on Housing, p. 247.
\cite{Geddes1913} See Patrick Geddes, City Surveys for Town Planning (Edinburgh, Chelsea: Geddes and Colleagues, 1911) (Reprint of a paper Geddes had read at the Birkenhead Health Congress in 1910). Already in this paper Geddes stated his aim to overcome the town country dichotomy. He wrote that the purpose of his conference contribution was "to suggest that our town and country divisions ... are ... now for the most part totally inadequate for modern purposes" (p. 5). This lecture is the first published paper in which Geddes used the term conurbation. Parts of the 1910 conference paper became latter included into chapter 2 (The Population-Map and its Meaning) of Cities in Evolution (pp. 25-45). The other emerging conurbations in Great Britain were the area of the rivers 'Tyne-Wear-Tees', 'West-Riding' (the area around Huddersfield and Bradford), 'South-Riding' around Sheffield, 'Midlandton' around Birmingham and 'South Walesdon' or 'Waleston' (the area around Cardiff). (Geddes, City Surveys for Town Planning, pp. 9-11; Geddes, Cities in Evolution, pp. 32-41).
Conurbations composed of Region-Cities would be rooted in geographical truths; a precondition for a conurbation's directed growth. Geddes was highly critical of the contemporary uncontrolled development of conurbations, but nothing in his references to this type of city suggests that he disapproved of conurbations as such.

Howard and Kropotkin, as analysed above, represented two attempts to overcome the town-country conflict. The earlier who had approached the problem from an urban point of view arrived at a compromise. The latter, who started from a rural point of view, never developed a clear idea what to do with existing cities. Only Reclus had made a clear decision in favour of urban point of view as even remote houses and settlements were bound to the existing cities.

Geddes's conurbation was very likely influenced by Reclus's idea of an ever expanding city. Geddes aimed at the integration of the existing cities into even larger conurbation rather than to dissolve them into smaller units. Both the conurbation and the ever-expanding city had emerged from the country and returned to it - in Geddes's

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89 With regard to the conurbation of Midlanton around Birmingham Geddes explained: "It is recognition of regional facts for which I am pleading; for the present Birmingham Bill has no adequately natural regional basis, but is only a temporary and makeshift expansion after all, if prosperity and growth continue. That larger recognition of regional facts involves the conception of a large city region of "Midlandton" as we may call it: of this, even Greater Birmingham is but the capital, though its exact limits may be hard to define". (Geddes, City Surveys for Town Planning, p. 10).


91 See above pp. 87-90.

92 I am not arguing that Geddes's conception followed strictly chronologically Reclus's idea. It would be interesting to study who influenced who, but this is beyond the scope of my thesis. Reclus mentioned in his essay Geddes's work in Edinburgh: "We are told that in Edinburgh, the lovely Scottish capital, pious hands are at work in quite another way; breaking in upon its picturesque but unclean wynds, and transforming them gradually, house by house - leaving every inhabitant at home as before, but in a cleaner and more beautiful home, where the air and light come through, grouping friends with friends, and giving them places of reunion for social intercourse and the enjoyment of art." (Reclus, Evolution of Cities, p. 262). In turn, Geddes referred to Reclus's essay "The Evolution of Cities" in "Civics: As applied Sociology" by writing "with Reclus we see the regular distribution of minor and major towns to have been largely influenced not only by geographical position but by convenient journey distances." (Geddes, Civics I, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 78; the reference is to Reclus, Evolution of Cities, p. 251).
case mediated through the Region-City - as the highest expression of the possibilities inherent in the country.\textsuperscript{93} It is remarkable how seldom Geddes criticised the city as sucking everything and everybody out of the country. The opposite was true for him because every "town arises and renews itself from country; and this not only in blood and in temperament but in tendencies, aptitudes, activities, in qualities and defects; in short in character, individual and social."\textsuperscript{94} Both Reclus's and Geddes's future cities were structured hierarchically. While the conurbation was considered to be polycentric, the Region-City followed Reclus's scheme in having a clear urban focus which radiated into the hinterland. Similar to Reclus, Geddes proposed to concentrate in that centre cultural, educational, and spiritual institutions and buildings.\textsuperscript{95} Both conurbation and Region-City allowed Geddes to incorporate easily other types of cities, for example garden cities. Describing the conurbation between Glasgow and Edinburgh as a "future Garden City, stretching from sea to sea",\textsuperscript{96} Geddes did not place both concepts on the same level but established a hierarchy, in which the conurbation was superior.

Reclus had considered peace as a precondition of the ever-expanding city. Geddes reversed this order and hoped to achieve world peace through the constructive activity of city building. All cities united in a world confederation would help to bring about peace and international co-operation, aims that nation states had not proved very successful in. Geddes explained retrospectively that he had conceived of the idea of a \textit{Congrès International des Villes} in 1912 - roughly about the time when the idea of conurbations began to appear in his writings - together with his acquaintance, the Belgian Internationalist Paul Otlet.\textsuperscript{97} Otlet, whom Geddes had met at the \textit{Exposition}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[93]{See above pp. 90-93; p. 107, footnote 57.}
\footnotetext[94]{Geddes, \textit{City Surveys for Town Planning}, p. 4.}
\footnotetext[95]{More on this aspect follows in chapters 8 and 9.}
\footnotetext[96]{Geddes, \textit{Civic Survey Edinburgh}, p. 558.}
\end{footnotes}
Universelle de 1900 at Paris, had visited Edinburgh in 1912 to assure the presentation of Geddes's Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at the International Exhibition at Ghent the following year. According to Geddes, his exhibition presented Civics "as at once a comprehensive science, and an international progressing art" and therefore suggested a world league of cities.98

Although references to, or even detailed suggestions of how to organise a world league of cities are rare in Geddes's publications, the idea as such is important for it puts Geddes into the growing cultural internationalism of his time. This internationalism was a reflection of both the increasing economic internationalism of capitalism and the political internationalism of Marxist and socialist movements. Cultural internationalism was characterised by the belief that growing tensions between the capitalist nations in Europe and North America could be checked by cooperative cultural and scientific activities across national borders. Paul Otlet, who had pursued since 1895 the collection of an international bibliography, expanded his activities subsequently into the foundation of a world museum and a world library, to be accommodated in the Mundaneum, a world centre for knowledge.99

Similar thoughts guided the idea of a world city, which was "a Super-Metropolis, in which not only European Civilisation, but the world's, should centre and culminate."100 These words of Geddes actually referred to a project by the

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98 Geddes, World League, p. 166.
99 See Kuehl, Dictionary of Internationalists, pp. 556-557. In the late 1920's Otlet could assure Le Corbusier's collaboration, who contributed a design for the Mundaneum centred around a pyramidal structure. (See Jean-Louis Cohen, Le Corbusier and the Mystique of the USSR, Theories and Project for Moscow 1928-1936 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 111-114). Another example of this cultural internationalism was the invention in 1887 of the artificial language Esperanto by the Russian Jew Lazarus Ludwig Zamenhof (1859-1917), who intended to foster international relations and friendships by removing language barriers.
100 Patrick Geddes, Two Steps in Civics: "Cities and Town Planning Exhibition" and the "International Congress of Cities," Ghent International Exhibition, 1913, (Liverpool: The
Norwegian architect and sculptor Hendrik Christian Andersen, who had designed in collaboration with the French architect Ernest M. Hébrard between 1912 - 1913 a World City. (Figure 3.12) The intention was to establish a single city as a visual centre of internationally shared knowledge as a step towards the common good of humanity and world peace.101

Geddes had included the lavishly printed volume of Andersen and Hébrards' scheme into his Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, but he differed from such ideas in so far as he did not envisaged one world city, but Cities all over the world: "Yet, despite coming decentralisation, the concept of the World-City ... is not exhausted."102 Geddes's world city was a world league of cities, composed of Region-Cities and conurbations.103 What had begun with the valley region and section led Geddes finally to the level of the whole world. Regardless of the vagueness of his ideas about world cities and leagues, this raises the question of the relation between the region and the world, between the regional and the universal.

University Press, 1913), p. 11 (Reprint from The Town Planning Review, July 1913, pp. 1-16), (hereafter Ghent Exhibition). An edited version of this essay Geddes included in Cities in Evolution (pp. 259-289).

101 Hendrik Christian Andersen (1872, Norway - 1941, Italy) studied architecture and art in Boston, Paris, and Italy. The idea to the world centre Andersen conceived while he was working on a design for a Fountain of Life. His private wealth allowed him to dedicate his whole life to elaborate the design and to propagate the idea of the world centre. (Kuehl, Dictionary of Internationalists, pp. 17-18) Hendrik Christian Andersen, 'World-Conscience' An International Society for the Creation of a World-Centre to house International Interest and to unite Peoples and Nations for the Attainment of Peace and Progress upon broader Humanitarian Lines (Rome: World Conscience Society, 1913); Hendrik Christian Andersen and Ernest M. Hébrard, Creation of a World Centre of Communication (Paris: n. pub., 1913). See also Jean Dethier and Alain Guiheux (ed.), La ville, art et architecture en Europe, 1870-1993, exh. cat., (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 1994), pp. 164-165.

102 Geddes, Ghent Exhibition, p. 11.

103 On Geddes and the idea of a world city see also Alessandra Ponte, 'The Thinking Machines From the Outlook Tower to the City of the World', Lotus International, 1982, No. 35, 46-51, (hereafter The Thinking Machines). Ponte emphasises strongly that Geddes's attempt to preserve the Rue des Nations of the Exposition Universelle de 1900 at Paris aimed at establishing a "World City of culture, an enormous Index Museum, quintessence of his [Geddes's] totalizing dreams of universal museum application." (p. 51). While I agree with Ponte's conclusion, it is important to add that Geddes's "World-City" was a symbolic representation of a real world composed of Cities. Geddes himself indicated the latter when he choose in "Cities in Evolution" as the title for the third chapter "World-Cities and their Opening Competition". (Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. xi).
Regional and Universal

Geddes's view of Edinburgh was that of a biologist's searching a solution for a general question by studying through a microscope, for example, a single cell.

Here [at Edinburgh] at any rate is a rare advantage: that of having under our eyes in one not too extensive scene the main aspects of temperate nature, the main activities of man, and this throughout the main phases of history, primitive and ancient, mediaeval and modern. Here then we can both specialise and generalise by turns, the first with greater ease, the latter with greater safety and completeness, controlling our general abstract views by continual return to the observation of our literal and concrete ones.104

The specialist focused on the "local and regional" aspect of a single city like Edinburgh and its hinterland; the generalist would keep at the same time the "culture of the world, the common heritage of civilisation" in view.105 Both aspects were closely connected and the one could only be understood with and through the other.

Edinburgh was a nearly ideal "microcosm of geography"106 because it allowed one to study the universal macrocosm. Consequently, Geddes preferred to refer to the city as a model or type.107

Geddes was convinced that the valley section represented a universal model. It could be enlarged or reduced "to any scale, and to any proportions" in Great Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia, Europe, the Siberian Plain, North America including Canada and South America: "Broadly speaking, this way the world is built."108 Seemingly

104 Geddes, Edinburgh and its Region, p. 306.
107 See for example Geddes, Edinburgh and its Region, p. 306, p. 310. The 1903 summer meeting at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh had as its special subject "Edinburgh and its Region considered as a Type". [Anonymous, 'Geography at the Summer Meetings', The Geographical Teacher, no. 2 (June 1903), 77-78 (p. 77)].
108 Geddes, Valley Plan, p. 289. "The Rhine-Danube valleys, for instance, are just an enlarged version of the Avon-Thames valleys." (Branford, Geddes, The Coming Polity, 1917, p. 81.) To which extent a valley region could be enlarged shows the case of Berlin. The region Berlin was located in encompassed the plain stretching north of the city to the Baltic Sea, and had its southern border only in the hilly and mountainous areas of Bohemia. [See H. J. Fleure, 'Berlin and its Region', Sociological Review 10 (1916), 14-26 (a map after p. 20)].
contrary to this statement, Geddes declared elsewhere that the valley section was not a well-defined natural unit.

There is no such exact thing in nature as our diagrammatic valley, containing all the types and in their right place. But as an ideal unit it is valuable just in proportion as it enables one actual valley with its quantum of regional life to be compared with another, and conformity to the ideal standard or departure from it, observed and defined.\textsuperscript{109}

This quotation presents not a self-criticism by Geddes, but describes the very function of the valley region. The valley region was an "ideal unit" against which reality and history could be compared. The latter would foster the knowledge that the ideal type had been realised in history again and again; most notably in the form of the Greek polis and medieval Stadt.\textsuperscript{110} The earlier would lead to the recognition how to improve cities through City Design so as to realise the ideal unit once more. The ideal character of the valley region does not lend itself easily to attempts to interpret it as a planning unit. Geddes described an idea, and the important structural elements as presented in the valley section: a mixture of settlement types, a division of labour derived from the basic occupations in order to maximise the adaptation to the environmental conditions, and a recognisable centre binding together the region into a Region-City.

To analyse the valley region as an ideal unit allows comparison with Plato's

\textsuperscript{109} Branford and Geddes continue: "Similarly for the occupational types and their assumed mode of life and manner of interplay. These regional types are, it may be incidentally noted, a concrete version of then "economic man" that served the classical political economists for a unit of study." [Branford, Geddes, \textit{Coming Polity}, 1917, p. 188-189, (my emphasis)].

\textsuperscript{110} In 1918 Geddes wrote: "... we Westerners may recall and share our heritage from Israel and Greece; therefore must as ever revive the latter, ... he is the true Athenian who lives most fully, yet not for himself alone; but in and for his city, even to renewing or completing it in ways befitting its ideals. Thus it was that Florence rose; and alike in Medieval times and at the Renaissance came to be in its own way a new Athens. Since then Paris has thus oftenest headed European civilisation ..." ([Patrick Geddes], 'Life in Humanity and its Ideals', in an unidentified newspaper, Calcutta, December 1918). Geddes had delivered at Calcutta a lecture series with the title "Proteus in Evolution. A Re-Statement of the Theories of Life with Applications to Education & Reconstruction" at the end of 1918. All 10 lectures were reviewed in a Calcutta newspaper. The clippings are in SUA, T-GED 18/3/513/2, 3. There exists also a manuscript written by Geddes for at least one of the ten reviews; it seems likely that Geddes was the author of his own reviews, of which none is signed.
Ideas or Forms. Lewis Mumford confirmed the similarity between the two when writing on Plato's Republic: "As the basis for his ideal city, whether Plato knew it or not, he had an 'ideal' section of land in his mind - what the geographer calls the 'valley section'."\textsuperscript{111} Similarly, Geddes's contemporaries needed an Idea before embarking on building a City. The analysis of the Notation of Life has shown that the step from the third level - Cloister and Dream - to the fourth level - City and Deed - was the decisive step.\textsuperscript{112} Furthermore, Geddes had declared that the In-world was more real than the Out-world; this can be taken as a reference to Plato's Forms. Reality in Plato's metaphysic was confined to the eternal Forms, whereas sensible world and material phenomena were mere copies or more or less perfect imitations. The Idea Geddes had to offer was the valley section or Region-City. It was detailed enough as to allow one to trace regions all over the world; yet it was at the same time abstract enough as to allow for classifications of all these regions as realisations of a universal ideal unit. Consequently, City Design would work on both levels, the regional and the universal at the same time.

For we can best and most fully share in the world's culture as we utilise our local and regional advantages, as we know and overcome our special difficulties or disadvantages, as of geographical position or the like; while reciprocally we can in the future as in the past best contribute our part to this general culture by developing our local possibilities to the full.\textsuperscript{113}

Plato's dialogue \textit{Meno} contains the famous story of the uneducated slave boy who through careful questioning by Socrates was able to solve a geometrical problem.\textsuperscript{114} The slave boy could provide the solution, for he recollected forgotten knowledge of Ideas or Forms his soul had acquired, when it was in touch with the eternal realm of Ideas while separated from the body. Geddes once criticised citizens

\textsuperscript{112} See above chapter 2, pp. 57-58, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{113} Geddes, \textit{Edinburgh and its Region}, p. 303.
\textsuperscript{114} Plato, \textit{Meno}, 82B-85E.
of not being able to teach other people about Civics. They were unable, not because they did not know, but "They have forgotten most of the history of their own city".\footnote{Geddes, \textit{Cities in Evolution}, p. 18.} To enable citizens to recollect the forgotten Idea of the valley region and the Region-City Geddes conceived two means, the Outlook Tower and the regional and historical survey.\footnote{For a consideration in more detail of the survey see below chapter 5, pp. 177-179.}

**The Outlook Tower**

In 1892 Geddes purchased the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh with the intention to develop the building as a tool for a City Designer. The structure of the tower focused a visitor's eyes and mind on Edinburgh and its region. (Figure 3.13) The top floor of the tower was reserved to synoptic views of Edinburgh through the Camera Obscura and of the immediate hinterland from the open gallery. The storeys below accommodated exhibits referring to ever larger spatial units, ranging from Edinburgh, Scotland, the English speaking world, and Europe to the World. After the view over the city and the region a visitor would climb down the tower. On the way down the image of city and region would merge from floor to floor with the widening geographical and cultural zones, and universal phenomena. The aim was the world, accommodated at the ground floor on the same level as the real Edinburgh behind the exit of the tower. On leaving the tower, this Edinburgh entered the mind again, not only as the reality behind the image produced by the Camera Obscura, but also as a symbol of the world and life as such.

Here around us, in short, and visible wellnigh from every window and street crossing, is an amphitheatre of social evolution ... In this great amphitheatre we must study man's struggle for life, at first in direct contact with nature, as hunter and fisher, shepherd and peasant, woodman and miner; and thence trace the complex development, yet enduring influence, of these elemental occupations into our modern industrial division of labour, with its specialised science and law, or
The concept of the Outlook Tower as a means to derive universal ideas from local and regional phenomena is more obvious in early sketches of the tower by Geddes. (Figure 3.14 and 3.15) Both drawings present the concept of the tower without references to a particular place. The first sketch connects the self on the top level with family, village, Region-City - the three steps of the historic origin of the polis - language, the world (Orient and Occident) and Man. The second sketch repeats the same levels, but for a city as a community which is related again to the final level of "Man/Life". The Edinburgh Outlook Tower deviated from these ideal schemes as Geddes allocated the available five floors to geographical areas which were less universal rather than derived from the British Empire.

The tower represented a merger of the regional with the universal mediated by the "categories of the city and state, of the nation and empire, of the unity of language, of the occidental and oriental civilisations - in short, of the whole gradated social framework". "Civism", another Geddes term for Civics, seen from a geographical point of view, brought together "into a working unison the separate doctrines of

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118 An example of a tower giving only a local outlook is the tower of the school building in Bournville (1895), where a stone map pointed to the immediate environs. (See Jan Marsh, *Back to the Land* (London: Quartet, 1982), pp. 222-223). An outstanding analysis of the emphasis on exploring the local and regional in British Geography after World War I is provided by David Matless's essay 'Regional surveys and local knowledges: the geographical imagination in Britain, 1918 - 39' (*Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* N.S. 17 (1992), 464-480). Matless discusses Geddes's ideas like the outlook tower and the valley section, but he illustrates the latter with a drawing from a third source, which had not only omitted the smaller settlement types but also the city. Matless points out that Geddes was pursuing the local as to derive at the universal. However, I disagree with the author's implied conclusion that those influenced by Geddes had similar intentions. A further investigation of Geddes's influence and how his ideas were developed and/or distorted is beyond the scope of my thesis.
119 Elsewhere Geddes proposed that a study of Westminster had to take into account beyond the local level, London as a "Town", "County", "sub-capital (English)", "Capital (British)", "Metropolis (imperial)", a centre of the English speaking world, a European city and a World-City. (Geddes, *Civics III*, p. 206).
regionalism and humanism.121 The result of this unison was the valley section symbolising historic and future Region-Cities. Furthermore, it offered an ideal to compare contemporary towns and cities with so as to establish their shortcomings and needs of improvement. The latter were, however, not achievable without knowledge of the earlier.

Planning our concrete survey, it must extend from the early culture-cracles of Asia, Egypt, Cyprus, and the rest, through nearer and later ones, through Phoenicia, Israel, Hellas, and Rome, and thence through mediaeval and modern times seeking to develop and realise with increasing fullness our apprehension of each culture period in turn, of each social formation, seen if possible from its centre, but also from its tidemark this remote corner of the historic world. All this we must appreciate ...122

Geddes's contribution to the emerging disciplines of town and regional planning was, similar to many contemporaries' ideas, "an ideological doctrine based on a set of convictions about desirable spatial form and relationships."123 The novelty of Geddes's concept was less the idea of a region as such rather that his region and conurbation were meta-structures accommodating other concepts of cities and planning in an even larger, ultimately universal, frame of interaction between man and environment.

121 Branford, Geddes, *Coming Polity*, 1917, p. 15.
"History is not ended with our historian's "period", the world is ever beginning anew, each community with it, each town and quarter ... How then shall we continue the past tradition into the opening future; that is the problem, the essence of our Utopia."
Patrick Geddes, *Chelsea, Past and Possible*, 1908, p. 4

Towards the end of the nineteenth century historiographical thought moved between the consideration of history as a pure science and history as something serving a contemporary purpose. As the British historian John Robert Seeley explained to students in Cambridge in 1881 "history, while it should be scientific in its method, should pursue a practical object. That is, it should not merely gratify the reader's curiosity about the past, but modify his view of the present and his forecast of the future."¹ The reassuring tone of Seeley's comment about his own subject was not accidental since both the scientific character and method of history, and its purpose were seriously discussed during the decades immediately before and after 1900.

This was different during the first half of the nineteenth century, the period Hayden V. White calls "history's golden age".² Then not only did a distinctive historical world view emerge with a distinct sense of history but also a close cooperation between history, art, philosophy and science "in a common effort to comprehend the experiences of the French Revolution."³ The attempts to understand the historical event of a man-made, successful revolution resulted in the perception of time as a continuum characterised by change and, perhaps, progress. To make man aware of this dimension of his life, and of his own responsibility for the present and

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the future was, according to White, history's function at that time. It was less the historical thinking in itself but the perception of change which became problematic in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Broadly speaking, among those concerned with history, two attitudes are discernible. On the one hand that which recognised change as something happening according to laws. Change was something positive, especially because man can take part in it consciously by acting according to the laws. On the other hand there was the attitude that considered permanent change as a loss of the well-known, a threat to the continuance of existing societies.

With the Enlightenment a process began which declared man instead of God as the maker of society and history. The replacement of God happened step by step, intermediated by philosophical directions like deism or naturalism, which represented various attempts to declare that if not a God, then nevertheless something outside man as responsible for human society. One root of this process was the growing success of science since the seventeenth century. More and more natural laws were discovered, which explained natural phenomena and were applicable to the production of commodities, for medical purposes, in short, for a better quality of life. Nature was no longer simply useful or merely a threat to mankind, but became understandable; its exploitation could be directed, improved and enhanced. This process embraced soon not only natural resources but also man and society. If nature can be improved, why not improve man's nature and the condition he is living in?

Scientific History

To achieve man's improvement it was necessary to declare man as being part of nature rather than considering him as a distinct being living within a nature given to him for the purpose of exploitation as described in the Genesis.4 The book *De l'esprit*

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4 "And God created man in His image, in the image of God He created him; male and female, He created them. God blessed them and God said to them, 'Be fertile and increase, fill the earth and master it; and rule the fish of the sea, the birds of the sky, and all the living things that creep on
de lois (1748) by the French philosopher Charles-Louis de Sécond Montesquieu was such an attempt. Montesquieu described societies and their characteristics as based on principles finally rooted in nature, and stressed particularly the importance of geographic and climatic factors as the main causes for the structuring principles. These factors were located outside man and therefore observable as objective factors comparable to scientific facts. Accordingly, the resulting principles were identifiable in the same way as natural laws. By conceiving "human life as a reflection of geographical and climatic conditions" the improvement of society consequently turned into a question of reason: of discovering and obeying the laws. The fate of a society still depended on the will of a single person, the enlightened absolutist ruler for example, who appeared less as the fulfiller of laws ruling man and society, but rather an authority by his own power.

The collection of facts to discover laws by induction was the method of natural science. Historians and other scientists dedicated to the exploration of human society and its laws began to use a similar method. This found a popular theoretical expression in the Positivism of the French philosopher Auguste Comte. Comte aimed to get beyond metaphysical philosophy concerned with the essence of things by focusing all studies on the collection of existing facts, what he called the Positive, their relations and connections. He proposed the same for the study of human societies, past and present. History would provide the facts and a new science, sociology, would establish the laws behind the facts. Comte classified the existing sciences according to their inner structure beginning with what he had considered the simplest, mathematics, and arrived via physics, chemistry, biology, at sociology as the synthesising meta-science. The results of Comte’s classifications were positivistic calendars and charts listing important events in history and science, combined with the

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emergence of outstanding individuals.\textsuperscript{6}  

Similar to the permanent process of evolution in nature, Comte identified a constant process of progress in the history of mankind or, as he called it, humanity, the "Great Being ... constituted by the beings, past, future and present, which cooperate willingly in perfecting the order of the world." \textsuperscript{7} The single human being became subordinated under Humanity: "Individuals were its ministers, through their service of other 'composite beings' such as the Family, the Country and the West." \textsuperscript{8}  

Comte's theory of the three stages of the development of humanity, the theological, the metaphysical and, finally, the positivistic stage were the result of this quasi-religious consideration of human history. Although Comte had begun with a strongly scientifically oriented view towards history he ended by establishing the "Religion of Humanity".

The relation between science and history during the nineteenth century was reciprocal. Science provided, with the collection of facts, a method for historical enquiries. History contributed a dimension of time to the understanding of science. Especially after Darwin's proclamation of the theory of evolution, science appeared no longer as only working mechanically according to cause-effect rules. In biology, for example, suddenly the existing species were seen as the result of a process that had begun generations ago. The existence of particular species was only understandable by studying other, historic and living species, and by placing both in a pedigree of relationships and hierarchies. Each present species was the result of a continuous process of evolution in the past. This thought was not new; the French botanist and


\textsuperscript{8} Wright, \textit{Religion of Humanity}, p. 23.
zoologist Jean-Baptiste Lamarck had proclaimed already around 1800 the first ever theory of evolution, but his hypothesis of the inheritance of acquired characteristics as an explanation for the emergence of new species had never been proved. It was not until Darwin that the theory of evolution received a scientifically acceptable basis with the natural selection as explanation.

Darwin changed the outlook on both sciences and society. The mechanical understanding was replaced by a more organic interpretation; species were connected with each other, even more, they derived from each other. The same can be observed in the history of human societies. Darwin proved that the German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel had been wrong in rejecting the possibility of a development within nature; development according to Hegel was confined to the realm of Geist. While Darwin's theory of evolution destroyed this assumption of Hegel, by analogy it confirmed another. Hegel had declared history as the process of the development of the absolute Idea, the Weltgeist, towards a perfected society realising ultimately the idea of freedom and reason. This process was driven by the principle of dialectical negation. Hegel placed along the stages of the dialectical process various historic people like the Persians, Greeks, or Romans, thus combining the known historic societies into a single continuum of human history. Humanity was no longer related in terms of biology only, but also in history. Contemporary society could be explained as a result of the past, which, in turn, was seen "as a process becoming the present", as the historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote. To arrive from this understanding of history at the "teleological view of history, where the past is realised in the present" was only a small step, which Hegel for example took by declaring the Prussian State as the ultimate embodiment of reason and freedom.

10 Füredi, Mythical Past, p. 195, (my emphasis).
However, all attempts at establishing a scientific theory of history were based on the assumption that an underlying set of laws could be discovered. Despite the questionable scientific value of proposals like Montesquieu's or Comte's, these approaches towards history were often influenced by such Enlightenment ideas as universalism, objectivity and rationality. Mankind was considered as a single universal humanity, whose history was understandable to itself. But whereas in science a natural law explained a phenomenon universally, the different laws various historians claimed to have discovered seemed not to be valid universally. There were obvious differences between various people and societies, and even within single members of societies. Furthermore, the same fact did not guarantee that historians arrived at the same conclusion. The rational enquiries into everything concerning human society and life also questioned traditional values represented by institutions like the church, and threatened their position in the long term. The development of Comte's philosophy into a Religion of Humanity can be considered as an attempt to establish a new form of a religion with a secular set of values. Men objectified as Humanity had to worship history, and progress, its inevitable result, as they had served the idea of God in traditional religions. But there was also a broader reaction against the enlightened, scientific approach to history, which was dedicated to the defence of the traditional and unchanging against the changing, of the particular against the universal.

**Narrative History**

The sociologist Frank Füredi defined the emerging relativist reaction as being concerned with the preservation of "tradition by claiming that individual and cultural values could not be assessed by any objective criteria; they were either product of divine intervention or the prejudice produced through the experience of time."¹¹

¹¹ Füredi, *Mythical Past*, p. 120. Füredi points out that the thinkers of this relativist reaction were not "self-consciously relativist. But a relativist programme was the logical consequence of their particularist epistemology." (p. 125).
Especially in eighteenth-century Germany there existed among idealist philosophers and historians a tendency to consider "that sensitivity to the inward life and an intuitive feeling for culture were more important than rational analysis." This resulted in an appreciation of particular communities or entities as distinguished from the enlightened idea of a universal humanity. The particular had to be understood as something special, if it was open to any understanding at all, it did not make sense to try to analyse it through a universal pattern. Füredi quotes the German philosopher Justus Moser who had said that "historical and rural life were, in some sense, mysterious, awe-inspiring, and for that reason incapable of rational analysis."

Imagination, feeling and intuition were appropriate methods for the study of particular communities or other smaller entities. History, written from this point of view, can be called narrative history. At the centre of the inquiry was no longer the quest for laws, but the biography of a people, a nation, a community or a region. The story of their rise and probable decline was often told from a retrospective viewpoint, inspired by an idea of the loss of this tradition, which had already occurred or was about to happen in the imminent future.

The writings of Sir Walter Scott are an example of this kind of narrative history. Although Scott had not been a historian in a strictly academic sense, history did play an important role for him. It has been pointed out that Scott's writing "arose out of the local and visible landscape. From an early age Scott 'associated' stories with specific places." Place had a dual function within Scott's writings. It was the source of historical facts and events, and of topographical characteristics. Scott collected historical records of places and testimonies of events which had happened in the locality under question. The literary historian William John Keith considers Scott's first book, a collection of folksongs with the title the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*

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13 Keith, *Regions of Imagination*, p. 24. The account of Scott's understanding of history is mainly based on Keith's chapter on Scott.
(1802-03), as the beginning of the authors lifelong "awareness of historical heritage", combined with "a concern for its preservation". This interest was driven by the recognition that records and testimonies were under threat of disappearance due to contemporary political and historical developments. But preservation through collection was not enough; Scott considered his fictional writings as a means to popularise history, both the deeds of great historic figures and the social history of the common people.

To raise the historical awareness of his contemporaries Scott employed typical topographical features of various places in Scotland as an incentive for readers to identify the original places and people who might have figured as the author's models. Often this was impossible, because Scott had worked with an idealised image of a place, or wove features of various localities into an ideal romantic Scottish landscape. However, Scott's regional and historical writing, fictional or non-fictional, often proved to be a successful way to involve people into the history of a place or a region. History turned into something which was mediated through a writer's or artist's achievement, but could nevertheless be experienced in a subjective, personal way by deciphering and eventually visiting places of past events and lives.

A criticism of scientific history of a different kind was formulated by Thomas Carlyle. Although he identified in the essay 'On History' (1830) history as the "root of all science" it was impossible in his view ever to arrive at a complete understanding of history. The historian faced an incredible amount of facts because history was the "essence of innumerable Biographies" of individual lives. Any attempt to select from these facts had to fail. Selection may lead to the description of laws or structuring

14 Keith, Regions of Imagination, p. 27.
16 Carlyle, On History, p. 497.
principles but they provided only the frame for the individual historical life and did not take into account the "inward condition of Life". The second difficulty a historian had to face was the tendency to observe historical facts as successive whereas they occurred simultaneously. The historian's "Narrative is linear, [but] Action is solid", it took place within an "ever-living, ever-working Chaos of Being".

The function of history was clear to Carlyle. It was the "true fountain of knowledge", only from there present and future were understandable. But if knowledge was rooted in the past rather than in the present needs of man, how could it ever be gained, especially if any understanding of history seemed to be impossible? Carlyle ultimately reverted to a religious understanding of history. Beyond the real natural world there existed a supernatural world. The past was not merely past present, it was a passed realisation in the real world of the ideal existing in the supernatural world. This could be unveiled through history. Carlyle insisted on increased studies of the past with the intention on tracing the "mysterious vestiges of Him, whose path is in the great deep of Time, whom History indeed reveals, but only all History, and in Eternity, will clearly reveal." After the final understanding had firmly been placed outside man's scope, all man could hope for was to decipher "some letters, some words" and to gather "here and there an intelligible precept". History became a great mystery, a "real Prophetic Manuscript".

Ecclesiastical or Church History was the supreme form of history because it dealt with man's moral well-being, with the spiritual and inward aspects of his life. These were more important than the physical well-being, which belonged to the tasks of the political historians. All other branches of history were subordinated to ecclesiastical history. Within this hierarchy the history of philosophy came second to

church history "for Philosophy, in its true sense, is or should be the soul of which Religion, Worship is the body".\textsuperscript{20} Finally Carlyle proposed that philosopher and priest should become united again in one and the same person, who had to worship and investigate divine things. Carlyle extended this concept in \textit{Heroes and Hero-worship} (1840) into the idea of the hero, "the messenger of the divine to men".\textsuperscript{21} Carlyle defined six different types of heroes, the hero as Divine, Prophet, Poet, Priest, Man of letters, or King. Both the concept of the Hero and the superiority of the assumed supernatural over the real world, of the spiritual life over man's material life, were influenced by Carlyle's fascination with early nineteenth-century German romantic thought and idealistic philosophy of Fichte, Schelling, and Goethe. Accordingly, Carlyle favoured imagination and intuition as superior methods to gain an understanding of the divine, supernatural world. The function of the historian as a hero-like figure was to recreate "the vanished past in the imagination of the reader" but at the same time to interpret and apply it to the present.\textsuperscript{22}

\textbf{Re-creation and Re-enacting of History}

The notion of the re-creation and re-enacting of history in the individual mind became more and more popular from around the end of the nineteenth century onwards so that Benedetto Croce could summarise "all history is the history of thought".\textsuperscript{23} Facts lost their ability to explain by themselves historical events. The historian had to make them speak, he "must re-enact the past in his own mind",\textsuperscript{24} as Collingwood wrote later in the 1940s. Re-enacting distinguished history from memory for which "the past is a mere spectacle".\textsuperscript{25} Collingwood finally arrived at a concept of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{20} Carlyle, \textit{On History}, p. 503.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Le Quesne, \textit{Carlyle}, p. 42.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Collingwood, \textit{Idea of History}, p. 282.
\item \textsuperscript{25} Collingwood, \textit{Idea of History}, p. 293.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the "living past, a past which, because it was thought and not mere natural event, can be re-enacted in the present and in that re-enactment known as past."26 The re-enactment turned all history into "contemporary history",27 and considered from the perspective of the historian, enabled him actually to experience and live in various periods of history.

This approach towards history degraded facts into the basic material necessary for the process of re-enactment. The result was a subjective interpretation of the historical facts; objective history became impossible. The relativistic approach towards history which had begun as a conservative attempt to defend traditional political structures and values against the universal claims of the Enlightenment had not lead to the re-instalment of a coherent world view, but ironically to an even more relativistic result. History acquired an infinity of meanings, which as it has been pointed out, came close to having no meaning.28

History as one of the great themes of the nineteenth century began as an attempt to establish a scientific understanding of the subject with the goal to define laws applicable to the whole of humanity. It ended at the close of the century with a narrative approach with biographies of smaller units as the subject matter. This preference for smaller units can be regarded as the diminution of the enlightened interest in the universal and general in favour of the particular and individual. Differences and particular characteristics moved into the foreground, whereas common traits and characteristics stepped back. Narrative history no longer defined the universal through the (scientific) analysis of the particular but concentrated on the independent existence of smaller units like regions, nations, or people with individual histories. In opposition to the debate at the end of the nineteenth century about the

26 Collingwood, Idea of History, p. 158.
28 Carr, What is History?, p. 26; see also Füredi, Mythical Past, pp. 119-126.
sense and meaning of history, Geddes asked primarily a different question. His concern was less to formulate a philosophy of history, although he did to a certain extent, but to show the practical advantage history offers for any human action, and for town planning and City Design in particular.

**Geddes's View of History - the *Arbor Saeculorum* or Tree of Eternity**

To make use of history for the present and future demands a system uniting all known history into a single entity, otherwise the present cannot be declared as derived from the past. Geddes summarised all known history in the *'Arbor Saeculorum'* ('Tree of Eternity'). (Figure 4.1) He developed this symbolical presentation of history sometime towards the end of the last century. The Tree of Eternity was a "Graphic Chart" of the "stream of history" symbolising "the more general presentment of history". (Figure 4.2) It was not a new, original view of history, but rather the common nineteenth-century understanding of European history as a succession of periods of highly developed cultures. It began with Egypt, followed by Israel, Greece, Rome, and, leaving geographical entities, continued chronologically with the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, the French Revolution, and, finally, the contemporary time of Industrialism and Capitalism.

At the centre of the illustration stands the Tree of Eternity whose branches, each consisting of groups of four leaves, symbolise the different periods of past cultures. On the margins two scrolls display symbols of each period:

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29 In 1917 Geddes wrote that students of "an Edinburgh Summer Meeting a full half generation ago" worked on a stained glass window of the tree of life for the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh. (Patrick Geddes and Gilbert Slater, *Ideas at War* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1917), p. 27). This means that the window was produced during the summer meeting of 1892, the year Geddes established the Outlook Tower at the Camera Obscura building on the Royal Mile in Edinburgh. The whereabouts of the window is unknown.


31 Geddes identified the tree as a young pine (Geddes, Slater, *Ideas at War*, p. 23). However in a letter from 1895 he wrote: "Thomson and I are prepared to prove that this was the original arbor vitae itself, and have already adopted it for the modern symbol of evolution - genealogical tree of
Thus, reading from below upwards, we see half-submerged, on the one hand [left], the crown of Egypt, on the other [right] the winged orb of immortality. Above these are the star of Solomon ...of Israel, and on the right the sacred name. So for the Greeks, ... the galley of trade or of Ulysses, balanced by the aegis of Pallas.32

Rome is represented by a chain for slaves and the standard of SPQR (senatus populusque romanorum), by the fasces for law and justice, and the Pax Christi sign of the emerging religion of Christianity. The helmet of chilvary and the charter of the free cities opposed with the papal tiara and the barrel, a sign for the intemperance in prosperous cities, stand for the Middle Ages. The Renaissance contributes the blazons of their noblemen and the hat of the Puritan movement. On the right side Greek letters symbolise the intellectual achievement of the Renaissance and the Bible reminds one of the Reformation. Above these the Revolution is characterised by the hat of liberty rising above the fleur-de-lis of the absolutist regime. The left scroll shows the sword (conflict) and the crown wheel of modern industry as characteristic for this period.

The purse of the rich and the empty hands of the poor stand for Geddes's own time on the left, and on the right he put the red and black flags of socialism and anarchism.

The tree between the two scrolls ends in a bud at its top which is the future of human history. To the right a butterfly symbolises the Psyche of thought and its counterpart to the left is the Phoenix of action. The stem of the tree is wrapped in a spiral of smoke rising from a fire burning at its bottom which Geddes commented with the words: "Each node is concealed from its predecessor and successor by a twinning wreath of smoke - symbol of our forgetfulness of the past ages, our blindness to those succeeding."33 Finally, two sphinxes on both sides of the fire are symbols of the

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32 Geddes, Slater, Ideas at War, p. 24. The following description of the Tree of Eternity is based on Geddes, Slater, Ideas at War, pp. 23-27.
33 Geddes, Slater, Ideas at War, p. 27.
world-riddle. The Tree of Eternity puts forward Geddes’s concept of history as a continuous process of growth. The horizontal division into cultures was accompanied by a vertical through all cultures. All historic periods could be understood as “an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers”, symbolised in the two scrolls on either side of the tree. The right scroll stands for what Geddes called the ‘Spiritual Powers’ and the left for the ‘Temporal Powers’. Accordingly, the various periods of human history were not related because a latter culture was a logical successor to an earlier one, but because all cultures shared the same structural concept.

**People, Chiefs, Intellectuals, and Emotionals**

Geddes had borrowed the distinction between Temporal and Spiritual Powers from Auguste Comte. Comte had divided the Temporal Powers further into People and Chiefs, and the Spiritual Powers into Intellectuals and Emotionals. All four groups together constituted the so-called four social types. Temporal powers expressed “the material order and its immaterial counterparts” were expressed by the Spiritual Powers. Spiritual Powers “would, in the ideal instance, intervene in politics, business and industry only indirectly”, whereas Temporal Powers “would leave the hands of the Emotionals and Intellectuals free and untrammelled in the maintenance of religion, the conduct and the prosecution of research.” But reality was not ideal; therefore human history was an ongoing “drama of temporal and spiritual powers moving through crisis of effort and trial towards a certain goal”, which was the balance between the social types.

Geddes identified this structural concept as the core idea of Comte’s

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sociology, and emphasised, again in accordance with Comte, that this concept meant that "society could be remade within a generation, if men really set their mind to the task and with adequate knowledge." The necessary knowledge could only be provided by history whose task was to analyse and study human evolution.

History should find its only legitimate justification for existence as a department of Sociology with which it should be most intimately linked by generalisations, extending, on historical basis, to direct sociological Science. The only real sociologic study of history in modern times has been and is extra-academic e.g. Le Play, Spencer, Comte +c. [sic], who have genuinely attempted to view all history as generalised truths for throwing light on the Evolution of man in historic times.

The fourfold division of society was the generalised truth as proposed by Comte. To study human history one must trace this historical concept. It was necessary to "see that there are spiritual histories and temporal ones." Temporal histories were those of the People, the workers, to be studied by subjects like economics, economic history or anthropology. The history of the Chiefs, the other Temporal Power, encompassed rise and fall of dynasties, public law, and constitutional history. The spiritual histories were those of Intellectuals with subject matters like history of philosophy, science, geography or invention. The history of Emotionals was concerned with the histories of art, literature, poetry and religion. These different histories had to be synthesised into a coherent picture, or as an unknown student of Geddes noted with regard to the spiritual and temporal histories:

In true history the two should be organically woven together: at present Ecclesiastical history straight-onedered for theological purposes, while constitutional history (the temporal) is equally onesided for legal purposes.

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41 Anonymous, On History and the Teaching of History, lecture notes (manuscript, n. d.[c. 1889]), p. 7, (hereafter Teaching of History), (SUA, T-GED 4/1/2). These notes appear to refer to a lecture on history by Geddes.
The differentiation between ecclesiastical history as the history of the Spiritual Powers and constitutional history as the history of the Temporal Powers goes back to Carlyle's essay 'On History'. Carlyle had proposed to unite under the leadership of ecclesiastical history all other types of histories because the subject matter of the former, the spiritual side of mankind, rendered it to the most important type of history. The final goal of Geddes's historical studies was the "systematisation of the manifold streams [of histories] into a unified drama of social life ...". This also reflected Carlyle's influence. To analyse historical and contemporary social life as a drama was an attempt to overcome the problem Carlyle had identified by stating that the historian's narrative was mostly linear and did not take into account the solid character of actions. Comparable to the performance of a drama with the actors playing one story on a single stage, Geddes regarded the four social types as actors moving in the city and presenting the drama of social life: "...a city is more than a place in space, it is a drama in time."

The Four Social Types in the City

This fourfold division of human societies was the basic concept Geddes traced in any society at any time. It was a simplistic concept dividing human beings into four larger groups according to their functions within society. This division was similar to the fourfold structure of the Notation of Life. The four leaves of each section of the Tree of Eternity symbolised both the four social groups of a society, the four steps of the Town-City formula and the four stages of the Act-Deed formula as detailed in chapter 2. Accordingly, the Town-City formula did not indicate merely an abstract process achievable in a community whose the individual members lived

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45 See above pp. 135-136.
47 See above p. 135, footnote 18.
48 Geddes, Civics I, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 79.
49 See chapter 2, From Town to City, pp. 54-60, and From Act to Deed, pp. 60-63.
according to the Act-Deed formula. The various parts of the formula - Town, School, Cloister and City - referred to existing groups within a Town's population, and to their role for the functioning and well-being of the whole community. In a little sketch Geddes combined the concept of the four social types with the Town-City formula. He wrote: "People in Town" and "Chiefs in School". Accordingly, the Cloister can be ascribed to the Intellectuals and the City to the Emotionals.

Geddes's application of the four social types to historic periods was rather loose. He identified, for example in the Middle Ages, as People two very distinctive groups of the population: peasants in the country and burghers in towns. The Chiefs were the barons, the nobility. The regular clergy in abbey and monastery were the Intellectuals, and the secular clergy in the cathedral church represented the Emotionals. The distinction between the People and the Chiefs roughly reflected the difference between the ruled and the rulers. The difference between the Intellectuals and the Emotionals was that the former were in charge of a community's intellectual life and the latter of its "emotional uplift". This, translated into the language of the Notation of Life, means that the former were responsible to develop an idea of the City, and the latter had to bring this idea into a Town, thereby raising it into a City.

The description of the four social types in the modern period, the Age of Industrialisation, was equally vague. A general division grouped society into the four categories of business (People), politics (Chiefs), education (Intellectuals) and religion (Emotionals). Yet as soon as Geddes embarked on a more detailed analysis, things became more difficult. The complicated social conditions of the modern society

51 Geddes, Slater, Ideas at War, pp. 62-63. In The Coming Polity the identification of the four social types of the Middle Ages was slightly different: the People were the serfs, the Chiefs again the barons, monks stood for the Intellectuals and priests for the Emotionals. (Branford, Geddes, Coming Polity, 1917, p. 20).
53 Branford, Geddes, Coming Polity, 1917, p. 216.
required that the category of Chiefs combined mechanical inventors like Arkwright, Watt, Stephenson, with entrepreneurs like Carnegie or Rockefeller, imperialists like Cecil Rhodes, political leaders like Chamberlain, soldiers and armament makers like Krupp, financial chiefs like Speyers and Morgan, and "leaders of a more modern and technical efficiency" like Emil Rathenau of the Allgemeine Electricitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) at Berlin.\textsuperscript{54} The "specialist at the British Association" were the Intellectuals in modern abbeys like universities and colleges. The corresponding Emotionals were journalists, musicians, artists, novelists, playwrighters, and similar.\textsuperscript{55}

The application of the four social types to historical periods does not enhance the understanding of a society, because the categories are far too unfocused to be considered seriously as well defined analytical sociological categories. The rather curious, arbitrary mixture of individuals in the group of Chiefs of the modern time does not take into account, for example, that some of the Chiefs were very influential during their lifetime, whereas others gained importance only in retrospect. The contemporary importance of the latter's achievements does not mean that they belonged during their lifetime to the group of Chiefs. For Geddes the four social types served as a generalisation, as a "working model of social life in each of its characteristic historic phases".\textsuperscript{56}

The four social types explained why some periods in human history were great ones. Each society wishing to be a great one had to organise itself into these four groups, and the groups, in turn, had to fulfil their functions best to ensure the highest development of the society under question. Similarly, a City was only achievable if the four groups worked together in a harmonious way: "The world-history of City Development shows that this has only taken place when the fertile union has occurred

\textsuperscript{54} Geddes, Slater, Ideas at War, pp. 129-130.
\textsuperscript{55} Geddes, Slater, Ideas at War, pp. 64-65.
\textsuperscript{56} Branford, Social Synthesis, p. 212.
of a deeply civilised and well-skilled people ideally minded too - with an active leader - usually therefore their ruling Prince ...

... This concept was not so much an analytical rather than a moral one, ascribing to the four social types eternal functions for the success of a City. Accordingly, individual members of each social group had to realise their role and position within the larger social whole, and the fulfilment of their particular task became their contribution to the common good:

... thus to remind the ordinary citizen of the fourfold aspect and responsibilities of his own life, industrial and directive, reflective and executive; and so make him aware of his high calling, to be not only a strenuous worker, or a competent organiser, or a thinking being, or a generous soul, but in some measure all of these in one.

However, despite all its shortcomings, Geddes used the four social types as an analytical concept for two closely related purposes. On the one hand, as shown above, he considered it as an appropriate tool to analyse historical periods. On the other hand, he applied it to the analysis of towns and cities. Each of the four groups had a definite function within the Town. The People for example were the workers, peasants, merchants or traders. The Chiefs were the political leaders or administrative class of a Town. Intellectuals and Emotionals were connected with institutions like the church, or at later times, with Universities. These functions were not abstract categories but referred to present or historical human activities, which were still traceable in reality through the buildings which had once accommodated a social group and its activity. Human history, symbolically expressed in the Tree of Eternity, was reality in towns and cities:

But this tree of history, the observant traveller will find in every city he visits, every village, often hamlet even. Upon the changing town-plan, with its corresponding monuments, edifices, survivals of all kinds, he reconstructs the main aspects of its branching, and this often in the

57 Patrick Geddes, Town-Planning in Patiala State and City. A Report to the H. H. Maharaja of Patiala (Lucknow: Perry's Printing Press, 1922), p. X, (hereafter Patiala report). Although Geddes only wrote about People and Chiefs in this town planning report, the other two groups, the Intellectuals and Emotionals, have to be included into the endeavour to achieve a City.

58 Geddes, Civics III, p. 218.
strangest completeness of detail, not only the main ramifications here shown, but the minor branching of these.\(^59\)

History was "nearly as open-air a science as those [sciences] of nature, and written far more fully and truthfully in the works and ways of cities"\(^60\) than in any book or document. Necessary was a "direct reading of history from towns and cities and regions with the help of their plans and pictures".\(^61\) The most important of all sources available were the buildings in a city, for example those of a medieval city.

Here then ... the chiefs in their castles, the people in their towns and town-houses, the intellectuals in their abbeys, and the emotional forces of the time centering around the cathedral; and thus it is that town-house and castle, cloister and cathedral are all needed to understand and express the main life of the cities in the mediaeval time.\(^62\)

But the city was more for Geddes than a historical textbook or a storeroom of records. In Geddes's understanding the city played an active role in human evolution and history. Human life always had two types of connections - inheritance and heritage - with the past. There was "heredity proper", the psychic and "organic continuity" of the individual with his predecessors. This relation with the past Geddes named "inheritance". He further distinguished "heritage" divided into the material heritage encompassing the material side of human lives, and immaterial heritage, the "tradition" referring to the "immaterial and distinctively social elements" in the life of a community.\(^63\) For the latter two Geddes identified the city as the "specialized organ of

\(^{59}\) Geddes, Slater, *Ideas at War*, p. 28. See also Branford, Geddes, *Social Inheritance*, pp. 37-38: "Tabulate now all these representatives groups and types of action, of thought and expression as conspicuous ... Set down their respective Institutions. We see these primarily realized as Organizations, yet let us also visualize them, in their characteristic Buildings and Monuments, and realize them in their various outputs also, of Words and Deed."

\(^{60}\) Geddes, Slater, *Ideas at War*, p. 28.

\(^{61}\) Geddes, Slater, *Ideas at War*, p. 32.


\(^{63}\) Geddes, *Civics II*, in Meller, *The Ideal City*, p. 139. In this essay "Memory" was the tradition of the individual. But it would be wrong to assume that this is a coherent distinction and terminology. Geddes sometimes used the term memory to name the traditions of groups (see below page 147, footnote 64) and in the book *Our Social Inheritance* (1919) inheritance meant what was called tradition in *Civics II*. 
social transmission. It is the vehicle of *acquired inheritance.*" He continued:

> It accumulates and embodies the cultural heritage of a region, and combines it in some measure and kind with the culture heritage of larger units, national, racial, religious, human. It stamps the resultant product upon each passing generation of its citizens. ...The city receives the experiences of each passing generation and hands the record on to the next. ...It is the instrument primarily of regional memory, but serves also as the memory of larger groups ..."64

Without cities there would be no human evolution and consequently no history. Only through the city were human beings able to transfer their cultural-historical achievements into the future, because "in the scheme of nature it is the essential function of cities to transmit the culture heritage of mankind".65 Geddes did not dismiss books as a means to transport human knowledge from one generation to another;66 but he preferred the immediate reading of history from buildings and cities. He differed in this point from Carlyle, who put the value of books as a historical source above cities which were dead and crumbling whereas books seemed to last for the future.67

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64 Branford, Geddes, *Coming Polity, 1917*, p. 154, (my emphasis). The expression 'acquired inheritance' refers to a debate in biology in the nineteenth century where evolutionist faced the problem to explain the transmission of any characteristic of animals or plants to the next generation. My italics mark an expression Geddes might have taken directly from the biologist Lamarck, who had argued that characteristics acquired by any living being during its lifetime in response to environmental conditions and specific needs are inherited by the offspring. This is called "the inheritance of acquired characteristics". Darwin offered a more plausible explanation by declaring the variety among living beings as a result of the long-term process of natural selection. Geddes tried to answer this question specifically concerned with human evolution. Assuming that human beings were no longer mere animals living instinctively in their environment but consciously creating and shaping the historical-cultural dimension of human life, and developing the spiritual and immaterial side of human life the question arose how these parts of human life were transmitted into the future as essentially necessary for the coming generations.


66 Geddes, Slater, *Ideas at War*, p. 28.

67 Thomas Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus* ed. by Kerry McSweeney and Peter Sabor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 132. Carlyle consequently put the author above the city builder: "O thou who are able to write a Book, which once in the two centuries or oftener there is a man gifted to do, envy not him whom they name City-builder, and inexpressibly pity him whom they name Conqueror or City-burner! Thou too art a Conqueror and Victor; but of the true sort, namely over the Devil: thou too hast built what will outlast all marble and metal, and be a wonder-bringing City of the Mind, a Temple and Seminary and Prophetic Mount, where to all kindreds of the Earth will pilgrim." (p. 132).
The City as a Human Organ

The city was no accidental human product nor a result of a conscious decision to create it but something essential to human life similar to the organs in a human body. Consequently, Geddes identified the city as "the organ of human evolution, and also, alas, of degeneration", even more, "does it not seem that the city, in its being and becoming, is, as it were, the very incarnation of the evolutionary process?" But the moment man created his own city as a cultural artefact he left the simple animal world for good. His own evolution and history began, structured by the concept of the four social types. The city was the point of intersection between both worlds, or as Geddes had put it in a rhetorical question: "May not the city be the long-sought missing link between animal and human evolution?"

Geddes arrived at an understanding of cities, and, consequently, of human history, in which man was not the only conscious acting subject determining his own life; man had to share this position with his most distinct creation, the city. Geddes's assignment of a place in the natural order to cities and his resorting to the city-organism analogy already indicated that he considered cities as independent from man. Geddes strengthened this inclination by arguing that "civic life and city development represent the supreme striving of nature to balance the freedom of the individual and the continuity of the species!" But the continuity of the species was nothing else than the continuity of life, of which the individual's life was only a temporary expression. Individual man would perish, the city as a form of life, however, would last.

Reading history from the City meant for Geddes accepting this continuity of life in the form of a City. There was little choice of interpretation, for the reader of the

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68 Branford, Geddes, Coming Polity, 1917, p. 155.
history was merely a passive inceptor of the knowledge a city's soul, its spirit, would provide.

By some subtle alchemy, the spirit of the city selects and blends memories of the past with the experiences of the present and hopes for the future. The complex product expresses, or rather constitutes and is, that Individuality of the city which it impresses on each oncoming generation of its citizens.71

Civic life was no expression of genuine human activities and original ideas, but the fruit of a "regional élan vital", history's spirit, or a city's soul.72

However, the simplistic concept of the four social types as a structural model of cities raises the question why Geddes adopted this model to analyse cities at a time the knowledge about the complicated social reality of cities was increasing?

The City in History

Montesquieu, the historian Moses I. Finley once pointed out, "saw nothing in the city as such to require his attention."73 But already a generation later Adam Smith's third book of the Wealth of Nations (1776) began with the famous remark about the reciprocal relation between town and country.

The great commerce of every civilised society is that carried on between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country ... We must not ... imagine that the gain of the city is the loss of the country. The gains of both are mutual and reciprocal ... 74

Although Smith had described the relation as mutually beneficial, he nevertheless held the view that man finally would find his fulfilment only in the countryside; human beings were rural beings. However, the city was for Smith a place of virtue where

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72 Branford, Geddes, Coming Polity, 1917, p. 156.
73 Finley, Ancient City, p. 7.
74 Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, quoted from Finley, Ancient City, p. 7.
man could enjoy the profits of industry by developing, refining and ennobling his culture. Voltaire had a similar, even stronger view of the city as a civilising agent of human life and society distinguished from all earlier forms of urban life through the existence of industry and pleasure.75

It was the novelty of the industrial city and its economic power which made it even more an object of interest and study in the early nineteenth century. As Raymond Williams observed, "city life, until our own century, even in a highly industrial society, was still a minority experience, but it was widely and accurately seen as a decisive experience, with much more than proportionate effects on the character as a whole."76 By the end of the nineteenth century the city was reality for a large part of the population of Great Britain; cities as a significant part of modern life could no longer be avoided as an object of study. But what status had the city within social studies?

The historian Carl E. Schorske put the position of the city as an object of study before the interest in society in large.

Hence the investigation of the intellectual's idea of the city inevitably carries us outside its own frame into a myriad of concepts and values about nature of man, society and culture.77

It would be misleading to assume from this quotation that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century intellectuals were thinking primarily about the city. Most of them did not arrive at the study of society by beginning with the study of cities, but exactly the other way round. The attempt to understand contemporary society led to the study of cities as an expression of this new form of life:

76 Williams, Country and City, p. 217.
77 Schorske, Idea of the City, p. 95.
The city as such was neither central in a descriptive sense, nor manifestly the main subject, of such great theorists as Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Tönnies and Simmel. Each dealt with the city, of course, but only as small part of the larger project of coming to terms with an industrial, capitalist, state-centered, modernity.78

The City - a Part of Society

Marx and Engels provide a good example for the relative importance the city had for early economic and social studies. Engels published in 1845 his book *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England*.79 Although the third chapter dealt extensively with living and housing conditions of the working class in cities, particularly in Manchester, from which Engels included a map, plans of typical blocks of houses and typical streets, the book was not a publication dealing with cities or a study of a city.80 Engels instead delivered an analysis of a moment in the development of modern British capitalism, at which point the cities he referred to were simply a partial expression of the conditions the society in question had generated. Marx and Engels were interested in cities only when they were important to understand society in large. Thus in *Die Deutsche Ideologie* they referred to the emergence of the city as distinguished from the country in relation to the ongoing division of labour which resulted in agricultural occupations on one side, and industrial and commercial activities on the other side.81 Later, insisting on the abolition of the contrast between town and country, Engels expressed the logical result of the Marxist analysis of capitalist societies rather than an "anti-megalopolitan stance".82

Max Weber's preoccupation with the city was of similar, relative importance to his work. Weber's posthumous published essay 'The City' was never intended to be a separate study of cities as such, but was part of a larger project dealing with a "Sociology of Domination". This was the title of the chapter in the book *Economy and Society*, likewise published posthumously, in which the essay was included with its new title 'Non-legitimate Domination (Typology of Cities)'.

Weber began by defining the city as essentially being an economic market. This definition points towards a different interest in cities than that of Marx and Engels. Weber tried to establish an ideal type of a city. Nevertheless, the city was not his main interest because ideal type meant for Weber a theoretical construction which should aid comprehension of a diverse reality. Weber then proceeded quickly to move away from the economic consideration of cities as an economic association, to which he never returned in the essay, by adding a political-administrative dimension: the aspect of a city as a fortress or garrison.

The fortress city was both market and garrison, and the prince or ruler guaranteed the market peace and the military jurisdiction. Weber went on to identify the relation between the fortress population and the market population as the most important question. Weber was interested in the interaction between various social

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84 "Thus, we wish to speak of a 'city' in an economic sense only in cases where the local inhabitants satisfy an economically substantial part of their daily wants in the local market, and to an essential extent by products which the local population and that of the immediate hinterland acquired for sale in the market or otherwise." (Weber, *The City*, pp. 66-76).
87 "The relation between the garrison of the political fortress population and the civil economic population is complicated but always decisively important for the composition of the city." (Weber, *The City*, p. 78).
groups in a city, and the shifting power from one to the other. The distinction between fortress and market gave birth to the ideal type of the medieval Northern European city, which ultimately resulted from a shift of power between both poles. The citizens of these cities, who had to serve in the army of their ruler, were a potential military threat to the ruler due to the army's self-equipped character. Depending on the ruler's demands from his citizens they often united against him in an act of oath-bound confederation which was the beginning of independent cities.88

Weber compared various forms of European independent medieval cities with the ancient Greek polis, Oriental and Asian cities. Both the polis and the medieval city were based on a deliberate act of fraternisation, expressed symbolically in the polis with the existence of a city-god or city-saint, but also in a common pryaneium to celebrate the act of "synoikia".89 Similarly, the medieval city expressed its cult based fraternisation in the city church, the city saint, and the common Lord's supper as a symbolic feast.90 The situation in Asian or Oriental cities was different. Indian cities, for example, contained a fortress, a market place, a palace of a king or a royal administration. Their division into the city of the notable men and the economic city reminded Weber of the contrast between pnyx and agora in Greek cities, or campus Martius and forum in the Roman city.91 The built expression of the distinction between fortress and market indicated in all three types of cities the potential for the emergence of an independent city. But it did not emerge in India, where the religious caste system prevented the fraternisation of the population.92

88 Weber, The City, pp. 91-120.
92 "Guilds of merchants and castes largely coinciding with professional associations, were present, enjoying considerable autonomy ... Nevertheless, the hereditary caste system of Indian society with its ritualistic segregation of the professions, excluded the emergence of a citizenry and urban community. ... caste estrangement hindered all inter-caste fraternization." (Weber, The City, p. 84).
The study of the religious background of cities was the hidden agenda of Weber's essay. In India salvation and reincarnation depended on living in accordance with the rules of the caste system. This, in Weber's view, irrational aspect of the Indian religion prevented the emergence of cities comparable to those in Europe. The lack of "magical or religious barriers", or to put it in a different way, the existence of a religion supporting the ever growing rationality of capitalism and its predecessors, allowed the fraternisation of the inhabitants in European towns to form the typical medieval cities. Although Weber finally identified various degrees of rationality and irrationality in different religions as the driving forces behind the emergence of modern economic life, regarding cities his writings unveil a conviction that the interactions of social groups formed that city which matched the needs of the strongest interest group.

The City - A Synonym for History

An alternative way in the nineteenth century to look at cities emphasised more their permanent eternal existence rather than their emergence from specific economic, material and historic circumstances. Accordingly, the typical became more important than the historically different. This view considered the inhabitants of a city as a collective force building the city rather than identifying groups of people with different interests creating an urban environment by interacting with each other. Representatives of this view of cities also tended to apply biological and organic metaphors to cities and their development.

An early example of this view is provided by Frederic Harrison, a leading British positivist. Despite its general title, his book The Meaning of History was an attempt to establish the city as an autonomous historical subject. Considering the effects of the French Revolution, Harrison asked: "What is this unseen power which

seems to undo the best human effort, as if it were some overbearing weight against which no man can long struggle." His answer was: "It is the Past. It is the accumulated wills and works of all mankind around us and before us. It is civilisation." There were two possible ways of learning about the past, *i.e.* to be civilised, in addition to reading books. One was to study the history of great men; the classic positivist answer. The other was to study not only statues and pictures in museums but also historic buildings in cities. The combination of the acquired historical facts into a whole would unveil the purpose of history: "The history of the human race is the history of a growth. ... History is a living whole."

This "living whole" of history was not only stronger than man, it also existed as a separate force independently from him. But it was perceivable through material vestiges like buildings; accordingly, the city as the physical embodiment of history, acquired a position far more autonomous from man than, for example, in Weber's thinking.

The life that men live in the *City* gives the type and measure of their civilisation. The word *civilisation* means the manner of life of the civilised part of the community; *i.e.* of the city-men, not of the country-men, who are called *rustics*, and once were called *pagans*, or the heathens of the villages. Hence, inasmuch as a city is a highly organised and concentrated type of the general life of an epoch or people, if we compare the various types of the city, we are able to measure the strength and weakness of different kinds of civilisation.

Comparative analysis was the crucial part of Harrison's thinking about cities. It allowed him to order cities of various civilisations into a single line and judging the value of each single civilisation through their cities. Cities acquired a new quality as a measure of their respective civilisations. This made possible the construction of an

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evolutionary order of civilisations, and led Harrison to adjudge the modern city as being "in a far lower stage of organic life."\textsuperscript{98} The combination of the evolutionary order of cities with the understanding of history as a "living whole" resulted in the equation of the city with the "living whole". History, or the Past, was civilisation, which in turn was embodied in the city; therefore the city was identical with the "living whole".

Although Harrison acknowledged that people built cities, the autonomy the city had acquired relegated man to the second place. Building a city was no longer primarily the expression of the satisfaction of man's needs but a contribution to the independent life of the city as an organism. Man provided the physical body for the "living whole" of History, which existed outside his sphere of influence yet determined his life. This a-historical view robbed Harrison of any possibility of understanding the development and appearance of modern cities through the analysis of the activities of their inhabitants. Harrison observed, but could make no sense either of the changing physical appearance of cities, or of the movements and the behaviour of the inhabitants.

The Modern City is ever changing, loose in its organisation, casual in its form. It grows up, or extends suddenly, no man knows how, in a single generation ... Its denizens come and go, pass on, changing every few years and even months. Few families have lived in the same city for three generations. ... The result is, that a Modern City is an amorphous amœba-like aggregate of buildings, wholly without defined limits, form, permanence, organisation, or beauty ...\textsuperscript{99}

\textsuperscript{98} Harrison, \textit{Meaning of History}, pp. 250-251.
\textsuperscript{99} Harrison, \textit{Meaning of History}, p. 251. The positive aspects of the modern city, the technological progress resulting in hygienic water supply, sewage system, hospitals, the cultural facilities like museum, schools, etc. Harrison included later in his blueprint of an ideal city. The ideal city would be a great city because its inhabitants would form "a very large body of organised families living a common life and combining for great social ends." (p. 257).
Organicism and Morphology

To resort to organic metaphors like the "amorphous amœba" or "living wholes" was an attempt to come to an understanding of these observations. The biological interpretation of cities and civilisations avoided both a purely materialistic and a religious, seemingly irrational, world view. Biology and organic metaphors were convenient as they appealed to modern scientific knowledge due to their derivation from a natural science, and, at the same time, proposed the state of society or cities as natural, and therefore almost immutable. Hence these metaphors emerged in particular, as Gyorgy Lukács pointed out, in the growing anti-scientific climate of the late nineteenth century.100 This climate was not characterised by a general rejection of science, but by a critique of the directions individual sciences had taken. Unable to explain complex social phenomena and the existing, manifest problems in society, scientists seemed to hide behind specialised studies. What was sought after, was a new unifying world view. Biology as the science of life appealed strongly to scientists and intellectuals, although no longer as a rational, empirical discipline, but rather as an irrational, even mystical, metaphor for life itself.

The art historian and philosopher Caroline van Eck distinguished in her recent study on *Organicism in Nineteenth-Century Architecture* two main concepts. One dealt with the "close relation between art and living nature in general". The other was based on the first, but centred around the idea of "organic unity: it aims at achieving in works of art a correspondence and correlation between the parts and the whole which is modelled on the functional correlation of the parts of living organisms."101 The idea of "organic unity" was applicable to cities in two ways. It allowed one to understand

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cities as an organism composed of single physical elements like the road system, the buildings, and open spaces, to name only a few. If these parts were co-ordinated efficiently by the various planning disciplines, which should have the same relation between each other as their subject-matters, the city would function properly as an organism.102

"Organic unity" was also useful if the city was viewed as a social whole, composed of various classes or individuals united by a common interest in keeping the organism of the city alive rather than fragmented by different interests. Harrison's use of the organic metaphor was a beginning of this application of organic metaphors to cities considered as social wholes. But while Harrison applied the organic metaphor in a negative and simplistic way, Patrick Geddes embarked on a more systematic and positive application of organic metaphors and biological principals to cities, thereby referring implicitly through his knowledge of biology to Goethe's morphology.

Morphology as a separate field of biology goes back to Johann Wolfgang Goethe's essay 'An attempt at the explanation of the metamorphosis of plants'.103 In this essay Goethe sought to understand the development of a single plant from one leaf, the primordial leaf, into something composed of different organs. He assumed an "inner identity" between all the parts of the plants, even if the outer appearance was different.104 Goethe went beyond the relation between the parts of a single plant to the question of a probable relation between all existing plants. The variety in the world of plants could only be explained as the result of a reaction of plants to their specific environment. But this variety did not mean that plants were not comparable, rather the

102 Giorgio Piccinato, Städtebau in Deutschland 1871-1914: Genese einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin trans. by Michael Peterek (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1983), pp. 35-36. Piccinato refers to Geddes particularly in the context of this application of an organic metaphor to the city. But this was not, as I will explain in the following, Geddes's use of the organic metaphor.
103 See van Eck, Organicism, pp. 103-113.
104 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Versuch die Metamorphose der Pflanzen zu erklären (Gotha: C. W. Etlinger, 1790), repr. in Goethes Naturwissenschaftliche Schriften. Zur Morphologie ed. by Rudolf Steiner, (Weimar: Böhlau, 1891) VI/1, 23-94 (p. 60), (hereafter Zur Morphologie).
opposite; the similarities between even very distant varieties of plants led Goethe to the idea of an Urpflanze.105

The Urpflanze was the common origin of all plants, similar to the primordial leaf as the origin of all parts of a single plant. Goethe could never identify the Urpflanze, but the idea as such was very influential. Even if taken only as a transcendental concept, as Goethe was to do later, the possibility to connect species through a common ancestor contributed to the development of an evolutionary view in biology. The Urpflanze expressed an underlying unity of all plants comparable to the inner identity of all the organs of a single plant expressed in its form (Gestalt). The form of a plant was more than the first impression the eye perceived of a plant, it was the whole, which means it was life, because the parts could not exist independently of each other.106 According to Goethe, morphology was the science of form, dealing with the shaping and reshaping of the whole organism in its outer appearance and its inner structure.107 Rather than establishing it as a yet another specialisation within biology, Goethe used morphology to attempt at a reunification of all branches of biology into a convincing whole - an idea of life - again.

Geddes was well aware of Goethe's research into morphology. In his entry on morphology for the ninth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica Geddes wrote:

105 "Die allerentferntesten [Varianten von Pflanzen] haben eine ausgesprochene Verwandtschaft, sie lassen sich ohne Zwang vergleichen. Wie sie sich nun unter einem Begriff sammeln lassen, so wurde mir nach und nach klar und klarer, daß die Anschauung noch auf eine höhere Weise belebt werden könnte: eine Forderung, die mir damals unter der sinnlichen Form einer übersinnlichen Urpflanze vorschwebte." [Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Versuch über die Metamorphose der Pflanzen (Stuttgart: Cottasche Buchhandlung, 1831), repr. in Zur Morphologie, pp. 95-128 (pp. 120-121)].
107 Goethe, Physiologie der Pflanzen, p. 293.
Goethe discerned and proclaimed, and that more clearly than any of his predecessors or contemporaries, the fundamental idea of all morphology - the unity which underlies the multifarious varieties of organic form.\textsuperscript{108}

The question if the \textit{Urpf}lanze was "a mere ideal archetype" or "whether ... it represented a concrete ancestral form, so anticipating the view of modern evolutionists [sic]" remained unsolved until Darwin put forward his theory of evolution.\textsuperscript{109} Under the contemporary theological dogma of the origin of species due to a divine intervention, the maximum scientists could achieve in studying species was their classification, which resulted in the theory of types and constancy of species. The French biologist Georges Cuvier for example was a representative of this direction. The idea of an \textit{Urpf}lanze or of the "unity of organic composition", as the French biologist Etienne Geoffroy Saint Hilaire had called it, expressed as Geddes explained, "the vaguely-felt existence of a natural relationship" between species which strict classification did not allow. Both the type theory and the concept of the \textit{Urpf}lanze, were insufficient in so far as "they may be regarded as either expressing a creative plan, or taken as purely Platonic and archetypal ideas." Geddes continued:

The needful solution was effected by Darwin. The 'urpflanze' of Goethe, the types of Cuvier, and the like, at once became intelligible as schematic representations of ancestral organisms, which, in various and varying environments, have undergone differentiation into the vast multitude of existing forms. All the enigmas of structure became resolved; ... conformity to type represented by differentiated or rudimentary organs in one organism is no longer contradicted by their entire disappearance in its near allies, while systematist and morphologist become related simply as specialist and generalizer, ... The phenomena of individual development receive interpretation in terms of ancestral history; and embryology thus becomes divided into ontogeny and phylogeny.\textsuperscript{110}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{109} Geddes, \textit{Morphology}, p. 839.
\textsuperscript{110} Geddes, \textit{Morphology}, p. 840.
\end{flushright}
Like Goethe, Geddes emphasised morphology as the generalising faculty in biology, whereas classification expressed a specialist approach. Morphology provided Geddes with an example of a natural science overcoming the very distinction between generalism and specialism, the critique of which informed so much of Geddes's other activity.

**Towards a Morphology of Cities**

Similar to Harrison's, Geddes's analysis of cities was strongly interwoven with history. But the Tree of Eternity presented historical periods and their cities embedded in a biological metaphor. The motif of the tree meant, according to Goethe's idea of the metamorphosis of plants, that all periods and cities had a common ground, and that there was a sense of inner identity between all of them. Yet the biological legacy in Geddes's thinking about historical cities goes deeper. Morphology taken as a methodological approach towards cities helps to answer the question why Geddes resorted to the simplistic concept of the social reality of cities as a composition of four social types. Considering a city as an organism, as Geddes did,111 the four social groups were the parts of the whole. They were essential to the function of the city.112 To trace them as organs in historic and contemporary cities allowed Geddes to establish a relation between all cities. This relation was a structural one, therefore it can be explained through a morphological approach.

Morphology compares organisms, their structure, and their parts or organs. There are two principal correspondences, either homology or analogy. Analogy stresses the same function of different organs in various organisms. This is understood to be the result of an adaptation to the same environmental conditions, and

111 "Like the living being it is, a city reacts on its environment ..." (Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, p. 264).
112 See above pp. 142-147.
not originated in a common ancestor. Homology is concerned with the similarity of organs due to their common origin in evolution. The actual appearance and function of these organs might vary, including a complete dissimilarity.\textsuperscript{113} The structural similarity Geddes assumed between the groups of People, Chiefs, Intellectuals and Emotionals in cities can be seen as a homology of organs. The four groups constitute the structure of all cities, despite their varying appearances, professions etc., in cities of different historic periods or cultures. This structural unity enabled Geddes to compare cities morphologically.

Thus, in fact, appear the methods of a Science of Cities - that our cities should be individually surveyed, scientifically compared; as their architecture long has been - cathedral with cathedral, style with style.\textsuperscript{114}

Table 4.1 gives an overview of the homology Geddes established between different historic city types. The particular social group is followed by an institution which represents the group as a collective, and by its "Place of Action".\textsuperscript{115} A different version of this morphological comparison shows Figure 4.4.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{113} "... the former [homology] as the same organ in different animals under every variety of form and function ... the second [analogy] as a part or organ in one animal which has the same function as another part or organ in a different animal ..." (Geddes, \textit{Morphology}, pp. 844-845). A case of homology is the relationship between the wings of a bat and the arms of man, different functions, but same origin. A case of analogy are the wings of a butterfly and the wings of birds; same function, but different origin.
\item \textsuperscript{114} Geddes, \textit{Cities in Evolution}, p. 269. The geographer H. J. Fleure, a friend and follower of Geddes, seems to have elaborated on this idea. He published in 1920 an essay 'Some Types of Cities in temporate Europe' (\textit{Geog Rev X} (1920), pp. 357-74) and in 1932 a study with the title 'City Morphology of Europe' (\textit{Journ.Roy.Inst.of Gt.Brit}, 1932). The bibliographical information from Michael Robert Gunter Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', in \textit{The Study of Urban History}, ed. by Harold James Dyos (London: Arnold, 1968), pp. 113-130 (p. 113). The bibliographical information is so inaccurate that I was unable to trace these essays.
\item \textsuperscript{115} Compiled from Branford, Geddes, \textit{Social Inheritance}, p. 36, fig 1; p. 38 fig. 2.
\end{itemize}
Table 4.1 The homologous four social types in different historic cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEDIEVAL CITY</th>
<th>PEOPLE</th>
<th>CHIEFS</th>
<th>INTELLECTUALS</th>
<th>EMOTIONALS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burger</td>
<td>Baron</td>
<td>Monk</td>
<td>Priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>workshop</td>
<td>strategic [sic] point castle</td>
<td>abbey</td>
<td>cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>townhall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>city-centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RENAISSANCE CITY</td>
<td>Roundhead</td>
<td>Cavalier</td>
<td>Scholar</td>
<td>Bible Reader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shop</td>
<td>estate</td>
<td>college</td>
<td>puritan meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>palace</td>
<td>art &amp; song</td>
<td>psalm-singing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDUSTRIAL CITY</td>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>Master</td>
<td>Barrister</td>
<td>Public Speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>labour</td>
<td>capital</td>
<td>parliament</td>
<td>oratory</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>slum</td>
<td>machine</td>
<td>ballot box</td>
<td>Pub incl. Club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPANSIONIST CITY</td>
<td>Guard</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Historian</td>
<td>Bard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>army</td>
<td>bureaucracy</td>
<td>state instruction</td>
<td>nationalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barrack</td>
<td>market</td>
<td>sports &amp; games</td>
<td>flag, music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCIAL CITY</td>
<td>Borrower</td>
<td>Investor</td>
<td>Economist</td>
<td>Philanthropist</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>public tax payers</td>
<td>finance</td>
<td>advertisement</td>
<td>investment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>doss-house</td>
<td>stock-exchange, bank</td>
<td>arithmetic</td>
<td>shop window</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But Geddes did not confine the four social types to the cities of those cultures and historic periods he had combined in the Tree of Eternity. While Max Weber had spent considerable effort on understanding the differences between Indian cities and European Medieval or Ancient Greek cities, Geddes easily identified the Indian castes of Sudras (labourer), Vaishyas (merchants), Brahmins (priests) and Kshatryas (warriors) as yet another expression of the four social types.  

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116 Geddes, *Masque of Learning*, p. 12. He later returned to the topic in the chapter on Celtic history where he declared that the Celtic representatives of the four social types "remind, with all respect to differences, to four castes in Hindu scene" (p. 31).
Elsewhere, in connection with the division of labour in society, Geddes had declared:

In all times, and in all countries, ... the infinite division of labour which characterises our time is nothing more than a development of that of the savage; nothing generically new has ever been introduced, for what seems new is but a differentiation of the old.117

The strong emphasis on the development from an ur-type, the savage in this case, into a variety was also valid for cities and the four social types. The latter were a case of general homology, a "higher relation in which a part or series of parts stands to the fundamental or general type, involving a knowledge of the type on which the group in question is constituted."118 The parts were the individual social types; all four together were a series of parts, a city. The fundamental or general types, the common ancestor of both social types and city, were the "ancestral organisms which ... have undergone differentiation into the vast multitude of existing forms."119 The variety of forms of the social types and of cities were, as Geddes explained in a lecture, cases of metamorphoses.120

Arguing that Geddes's preoccupation with historical cities can be understood through a comparison with morphology, especially homology, raises the question of the ur-city from which all cities, European, Indian and others, were descendants. Geddes did not identify a real historic city as the common ancestor. But the valley region, symbolising the Region-City, provided an idea of a City comparable to the Urpflanze as a Platonic or archetypal idea in morphology.121 The Greek polis, as

119 See above p. 160, footnote 110.
120 Patrick Geddes, *Syllabus of a Series of Ten Lectures on The Study of London* (London: P S King and Son, 1909), (hereafter *Study of London*). Lecture four dealt with "the sociological pageant of temporal and spiritual powers... in their various metamorphoses, ancient and modern." and lecture six with the "historic metamorphoses" of cities as such. (pp. 3-4).
121 See above p. 160, footnote 110.
argued earlier, was the first materialisation of this Idea of a City, to which the four social types have to be added as another constant feature. When Geddes used terms like Mammonopolis, Strategopolis, Biopolis, Geopolis, and Regionopolis he was not inventing "Geddesian nomenclature at its wildest", but referring to his idea of a City. Regardless of their vague meaning, these words taken literally, and read morphologically, name derivations of the polis as the earliest incarnation of the Region-City.

The 1911 Cities and Town Planning Exhibition

Geddes's Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was the result of the idea of an morphological comparison of cities. In this exhibition Geddes confirmed the basic role of the ancient cities, summarising with this term Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Indian cities with Jerusalem, Athens and Rome. The last three were representatives of the first three circles of leaves of the Tree of Eternity. These cities are "the reminder how the respective heritages of Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome underlies all subsequent civilisation, up to that of to-day, and necessarily also that of tomorrow." Although Geddes mentioned the three outstanding buildings of these cities, the Temple, the Acropolis, and the Pantheon, he did not apply explicitly the four social types to these cities.

This was different in Medieval cities. They, especially continental cities like Bruges in Belgium, or Rothenburg and Nuremberg in Germany, were outstanding examples of the division of a city in four social types.

The castle and town hall of the temporal power, the cloister and cathedral of the spiritual power, reached, in the mediæval city, an

122 Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 337. Geddes mentioned all these expression in a draft of a letter to Lewis Mumford. [Patrick Geddes to Lewis Mumford, 25 January 1923, (NLS, MS 10515, f. 52)].
123 More information on the history of exhibition follows below in chapter 5, pp. 195-197.
124 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 20.
architectural perfection and a social co-adjustment which give to that historic period a particular significance for sociology.125

Geddes was even more enthusiastic than Branford about medieval cities, because they offered the best expression of the possible results of a well-balanced relation between Temporal and Spiritual Powers.

Our medieval survey thus brings out what may be called the fundamental conception of Civics, viz., that institutions and buildings are not imposed from above nor constructed from without, but arise from within. The essential types of social life develop as normal and necessary expressions of their particular ideals126

This is more than the usual nineteenth-century fascination with medieval cities found in Morris, Ruskin or Camillo Sitte. The polis had contributed to Geddes's idea of City Design the idea of a region and the identity of town and country. The medieval city provided the understanding of the importance of the four social types and the balance between them for City Development. The emphasis which Geddes placed on the medieval city was also an attempt to counterbalance the common view of the Middle Ages as dark ages only enlightened by the cathedral in the town centres. Geddes underlined, in addition to the importance of the cathedral and other buildings expressing the social division, further positive aspects in the physical appearance of medieval towns. They had displayed "well-planned streets and open spaces, with beautiful and roomy dwellings, and with public monuments, as well as noble churches and magnificent town halls."127 His revision of the typical medieval city went as far as declaring Salisbury in England the predecessor of the contemporary garden city due to its generous layout and provision with private gardens.128 (Figure 4.5)

125 Branford, Social Synthesis, pp. 212-213.
127 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 23.
128 Geddes, Cities in Evolution, pp. 6-7. Geddes confined this comparison to the aspect of housing and the general lay out of the city.
The consideration of the Renaissance city was very brief. The Reformation with the subsequent seizing of the wealth of abbeys and cloisters by the noble classes, old and new, brought an upswing for culture and art. The mansion houses and the palaces with magnificent gardens superseded the castles of the Chiefs in the city. In opposition to this improvement of a city's space, the developing technology of war resulted in the enclosures of cities with sophisticated fortifications, which Geddes blamed for the overcrowding of so many cities, normally considered as a result of the Middle Ages. The fortress dominated the enclosed city which was subsequently reduced to a mere appendix. The Renaissance city destroyed the balance between the four social types and the relation between major and minor cities, thus between the various settlements in the region. War as a dominant force of the Renaissance altered both the appearance of single cities, and the hierarchy of cities as some became centres of military power. This was the beginning of the long development towards "Metropolitan greatness", embodied in cities like Paris, Berlin, London, or Vienna which were comparable only to imperial Rome. The final stage of the historical overview set out in the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was the industrial city, emerging after the period of war-cities had come to an end in the eighteenth century. This was the contemporary paleotechnic city Geddes wished to develop towards the future the neotechnic city.

The historical order of cities in Geddes's exhibition was the same as the sequence of historic periods in the Tree of Eternity. This order also provided the structure for the ideal route through the exhibition. (Figure 4.6) The exhibition began by presenting engravings of cities and regions together with town and county maps. These exhibits were "picturesquely but confusedly grouped under the course of sun

129 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 30.
130 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 30.
131 Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 281; see above chapter 1, p. 25.
and planets. This confusing entrance hall representing man's cosmos was repeated in Ghent, where the exhibition was on show in 1913.

First of all, our visitor must be made to feel, and this strongly the profusion and confusion of the subject. Hence our Entrance Hall is hung ... with a medley of things new and old, of pictures, plans, and views, architectural or civic, each interesting, but without obvious relation or association to any mind except the owner's.

From there the ideal route would take a visitor to the geographic origin of cities, followed by the polis, the medieval cities, the Renaissance and so on, until it reached the garden cities as the beginning of the future. Apart from the last section the exhibition, significantly, did not contain detailed suggestions for the future development of cities. In this its order again reminds one of the Tree of Eternity, where the future had not yet found a concrete form but was indicated only by the final bud.

However, even if the Tree of Eternity did not disclose details of the future, it could be gathered from it that the structural elements of the coming period were the same as those of the past. The same applies to the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. Its function was not to predict the development of cities in detail, but to teach about the elements needed to build Cities. In the *Meno* Plato offered the account of Socrates's interrogation of the slave boy, already referred to in chapter 3. The experiment began by putting the boy deliberately into a state of confusion, which was the necessary precondition for the questioning leading to recollection of the forgotten knowledge. Socrates explained the slave's experience: "So in perplexing him and numbing him ... we have helped him to some extent towards finding out the right

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133 Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, p. 270. The following account of the structure of the exhibition focuses mainly on the Ghent show from 1913 (see Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, pp. 270-282). In Ghent Geddes could arrange his exhibition in a more ideal form than in the constraints of the Royal Academy in Edinburgh in 1911.
134 See above chapter 3, p. 123.
answer, for now not only is he ignorant of it but he will be quite glad to look for it. ... Now notice what, starting from this state of perplexity, he will discover by seeking the truth in company with me, though I simply ask him questions without teaching him."135 As the slave recollected the Forms and Ideas, a visitor to Geddes's exhibition had to discover the idea of a City, hidden in the confusing entrance hall, and only clear to Geddes, the instigator of the exhibition.

Towards this aim, Geddes's exhibition intended to stimulate a process in its visitors similar to that which Socrates achieved in the boy's mind. The ideal exhibition route offered a way out of the confusion of the entrance hall by emphasising the historical continuity of the essential elements of City building. Having completed this ideal route a visitor should have been able to produce answers to the problems of cities, viz. applying the elements of City Development - most notably the regional origin and the social types as a structural continuum - to his own city.

The City - Regional and Historical

Geddes's morphological approach to the city in history illuminates another difficulty in his thinking. Although Geddes had defined the four social types as the basis of his analysis of existing cities, he dedicated astonishingly little thought to the inter-action between these social forces. In his Encyclopaedia Britannica entry on morphology Geddes explained that the "morphological aspect of an organism is merely statical". He continued:

... and thus, though the demonstration of the structural unity of the organic world is in itself a great result, yet the desire of a deeper explanation of form as determined by function and environment is thereby rendered all the more pressing.136

135 Plato, Meno, 84B-C.
136 Geddes, Morphology, p. 845, (my emphasis).
Geddes went on to state that the morphologist had a "physiological ideal" which was the understanding of life, or the vital functions of an organism; the subject-matter of physiology. Geddes, the morphologist of cities, pursued a similar ideal with regard to cities.

Beyond geographic conditions, beyond occupational beginnings and their economic developments, and beneath all the historic metamorphoses, we have to seek a more vital interpretation of city and citizens alike - in fact a theory of life in its evolution.137

The existence of the four social types in all known historical periods proved the structural unity of all cities; but it was the inter-action of the four social types, or the City, with the environment which determined the life of an individual city as an organism. Geddes established a life-cycle of individual cities as organisms beginning with the polis as the ur-city. This cycle comprised the six stages of Polis - Metropolis - Megalopolis - Parasitopolis - Pathopolis and, finally, Necropolis; all of them again deviations from the ideal form.138 Due to the lack of an elaboration of a city's life cycle in printed or written form by Geddes, one has to resort to Lewis Mumford for an account of the six stages.139

According to Mumford's summary of Geddes's scheme, the polis was a village association or "blood-groups" living in an area of land with common deities, and a meeting place which also functions as market. This stage provided an "increased

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138 Geddes, Branford, Rural and Urban Thought, p. 15; Geddes mentioned the six stages also in a letter to Lewis Mumford [25 January 1923 (NLS, MS 10515, f. 52)].
139 Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1938), pp. 283-292, (hereafter Culture of Cities). Mumford changed the order in two points. He added a stage earlier than the polis, which he called "eopolis", agricultural village based culture without cities. Mumford declared the "agricultural village, not the market, ...[as] the prototype of the city." (Mumford, Culture of Cities, p. 285). Geddes used the term "Eupolis" in the letter quoted above, which might have inspired the word Mumford finally used for the new stage. Mumford further combined the fourth and the fifth stages of Geddes's scheme, Parasitopolis and Pathopolis, into a single stage, Tyrannopolis, a term Geddes also had used in the very letter. However, I use Mumford's description to summarise the original Geddes scheme. All explanations above are taken from the mentioned part in Mumford's book. See also Mairet, Pioneer of Sociology, pp. 125-126; Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 346.
scope of a special class, immune to obligations of practical labor, devoted to preserving and extending cultural heritage." This class was concerned with "the erection of special buildings that collectively embodied new cultural and political functions: temple, stadium, theatre, guildhall, cathedral", symbolising "the civic unity and common vision of life".\textsuperscript{140}

The Metropolis followed as the second stage, at which one city rose above the others due to material reasons like water-supply, or strategic location. Industry was highly developed and allowed for inter-regional trade resulting in an inter-cultural mixture. This was, however, the beginning of failure as the new influences proved difficult to integrate. But change and a sense of development lead to a high level of cultural expressions in arts and science. Mumford referred to Plato's Athens, Dante's Florence, or Shakespeare's London as adequate examples of cities at this level of their life.

With the third stage, Megalopolis, the decline began. Vastness and power were the aims of the "capitalistic myth" dominating the city. Military conquest, aggressive financial and industrial enterprises were paralleled by standardisation of culture and mechanisation of the arts. Science and the pursuit of knowledge became primarily interested in collecting facts.

In Parasitopolis and Patholopolis, Geddes's fourth and fifth stage, which Mumford united into Tyrannopolis, the state and money took over the city. There was a growing individualism among the inhabitants whose life was ruled by the striving to possess as much as possible. It was the stage of the city as a mass society, which found for example its expression in the increasing popularity of mass-sports.

\textsuperscript{140} Mumford, \textit{Culture of Cities}, pp. 286-287.
Necropolis, the final stage, indicated the physical decline of the city. It became a place of ruined houses, dilapidated streets, war, famine, disease; Mumford delivered a very apocalyptic impression of the necropolis. But, renewal might come from the countryside: "Relapse into the more primitive rural occupations. The historic culture survives, if at all, in the provinces, the remote villages, which share the collapse but are not completely carried down by it or submerged in the debris."142

Important for the life of a city was the relation with the environment. This refers back to the geographical aspect of the city, including the analysis of a city's social composition as derived from the basic occupations.143 How does this analysis of social reality go together with the four social types as the historical constant social division in each city?

With the geographical survey we can easily associate the historical one. The history chart stands vertical to each region, is as it were a representation of the stratum of dust overlying the post-tertiary; the most concrete illustration being in ruined cities like Troy or Lachish.144

The region as circumscribed in the valley section was an a-historical idea. As explained earlier, Geddes did refer in connection with the valley section to the influence the settlements located upriver had on the city down river.145 But the fact that he did not exclude the reverse influence, indicates that he did not intend to establish an evolutionary, historic order of city development beginning with the village upriver as the oldest and the city downriver as the youngest settlement. Furthermore, Geddes presented the basic occupations in their original form always as existing in parallel; it follows from this that their specific settlements existed in parallel as well.146

141 Geddes spelt Necropolis with a 'c' in his letter, Mumford wrote it with a 'k' in his book.
143 See chapter 3, pp. 95-97.
144 Paper on Geographic Survey by Patrick Geddes, 1894, (p. 3), (SUA, T-GED 1/5/1).
146 See for example Patrick Geddes, *A Course of Three Lectures on Inland Towns & Cities: Their Main Origins* ed. by Royal Geographical Society (n.p.: n.pub., n.d.). Also in Geddes, *Great Cities*. In this lecture series Geddes places the occupational origin of cities at first place followed
The influence Geddes mentioned was the interaction between the various settlement types in a region, representing the original basic occupations and their historical derivations. If the adaptation of a city to the environment was perfect, this interaction would be a balance between the natural occupations as well as between the associated settlement types. No basic occupation, and no type of settlement, would dominate, each would benefit from the other, and all together form a Region-City.

But a city was not only a natural geographical event, it was also as the most specific human creation a cultural product, different according to place and time. The historical aspect of cities referred to this cultural, a-natural facet of human life. The natural occupations represented the social division of life, seen from a natural point of view. The four social types approached life and society from a historical point of view. They - because a-natural - were superimposed on the natural division of society in basic occupations. Only the geographical and the historical aspect of human life taken together could cover the double world man was living in: the natural world, and the cultural-historical world, the latter unique to man in comparison to other living creatures on earth.

To read a City - a form of life - as a historical chart of the evolution of human life was the second reading Geddes put forward in addition to consider them as an expression of the basic occupations. Both readings together form the background against which individual cities can be investigated. This is the subject matter of the next chapter.

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147 Geddes, however, seemed to have never explained in written form how the basic occupations would divide into the four social types, and vice versa.
"Our old city had no lack of historic memories, though these were too little taught us. ... What has this modern town, with its active agricultural interests and markets, its special industries, ... and its large through railway traffic, to do with ancient history?"

Patrick Geddes, *City Deterioration and the Need of City Survey*, 1909, p. 58

The debate about the meaning and content of history in the nineteenth century was not an isolated academic discourse. It ran parallel with a widespread and increasing concern with all things historical in the Victorian society. The historian Charles Dellheim argues that "the role of the past in Victorian Britain was in general neither prescriptive nor normative." He continues:

The concern with history expressed both progressive and conservative values. The essential point is that Victorians reconstructed the past to recreate a cultural tradition that balanced progress and continuity. Reshaping traditions allowed them to forge connections with their history as they liberated themselves from its social, economic, and theological restraints.¹

Local History

At the beginning and towards the end of the eighteenth century the foundations of the Society of Antiquaries of London (1717) and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1780) marked the small beginnings of an institutionalised concern with the past.² This changed from the 1830s onwards with an increasing number of local or regional history societies. Most of them had a combined interest in archaeological, historical, architectural and, occasionally, natural historical subject matters.³ On the local level these societies strengthened the sense of place, and

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² Dellheim, *Face of the Past*, p. 46.
³ Dellheim, *Face of the Past*, pp. 47-48. Dellheim listed 38 local history societies founded in
emphasised the value and importance of smaller towns and cities against the growing industrial cities and the capital London. Dellheim called the awakening awareness of the local identity provincialism. Yet this provincialism was not anti-national, for many local histories were constructed to prove that the town under consideration had contributed significantly to the greatness of the nation.

Methodologically, the local history societies were characterised by a "visual approach to the past" and the emphasis they put on the historical value of each object and fact. Their range of interest was wide, but "their writings were, all too often, depressingly narrow". Walter Scott had fostered the sightseeing interest to places of historical importance through his fictional writings, marked by a liberal use of real and invented geographical and historical data and events. Local history societies attempted to raise a similar interest by providing scientific facts about historical places and actions. Beyond this, these societies not only put local artefacts into a historical order, their research also allowed their members to understand the changing environment within the larger framework of history as a continuum; change became probably more understandable and less frightening.

Restoration and the S.P.A.B.

A practical expression of the concern with the historical value of the environment was the wave of restoration that spread through British towns and cities during the nineteenth century. Churches, castles and other buildings were restored with a tremendous effort, and thereby often altered to match the continuously increasing knowledge, and changing ideas and fashions, about historical styles.

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4 Dellheim, *Face of the Past*, p. 60.
5 Dellheim, *Face of the Past*, pp. 55-56.
6 Dellheim, *Face of the Past*, p. 56.
7 Dellheim, *Face of the Past*, pp. 77-130; Nikolaus Pevsner, 'Scrape and Anti-scrape' in *The Future of the Past. Attitudes to Conservation 1174-1974*, ed. by Jane Fawcett (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976), pp. 35-54, (hereafter *Scrape and Anti-scrape*). An idea of the importance of restoration is given by the figure of fifteen million pounds spent on church restorations in the
Restoration became topic of a public debate in 1877, when William Morris, following earlier criticism of restoration practise by John Ruskin, founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (S.P.A.B.).\(^8\) Morris’s rejection of restoration was based on the falsification of the appearance and the structure of many buildings restored, and was not identical with a rejection of history as such. Just the opposite, because Morris had a dynamic understanding of history, in which the achievements of men were defined in various historic periods by the means of production.

The efforts of historical periods were embodied in architecture which, as Morris wrote, "bears witness to the development of man's ideas, to the continuity of history, and, so doing, affords never-ceasing instruction, nay education, to the passing generations, not only telling us what were the aspirations of men passed away, but also what he may hope for in the time to come.\(^9\) What Morris looked, and hoped for was "an architectural style" that was "the growth of its own times, but connected with all history.\(^10\) The time-boundness of architecture, styles, and the means of productions led Morris to the conclusion that restoration was impossible, and therefore buildings should not be altered. They belonged to both the forefathers and the coming generations: "We are only trustees for those that come after us."\(^11\)

Within this context Geddes’s concern with the history in a city was nothing new. Exceptional, however, was the wide scope of history Geddes introduced into cities and City Design. His initiatives embraced the care of old houses regardless of

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their provenance, and of the urban fabric as a whole, which became summarised in his planning approach of conservative surgery. Furthermore, the historical survey of a town, the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, the establishing of local museums and the masques of history were all means contributing to the historical consciousness of a town, and necessary elements of City Design.

The Survey of a Town

Geddes made the survey of a town the basis of any initiative in City Design and town planning. The survey was a stocktaking exercise of all possible aspects of a town as outlined in Figure 5.1. It would result in a collection of visual images, written sources, statistical tables, diagrams, lists of historic buildings and similar. The first four topics of a survey dealt with the geographical and economic conditions of a town, and with its population. Each aspect was looked at historically and contemporarily. The fifth paragraph, "Town conditions", tackled within the general survey what Geddes called the historical survey. The historical survey attempted to trace the history of a town as far back as possible, it would then concentrate on the more recent history, especially the period beginning with the early nineteenth century. This was obviously an attempt to record painstakingly all changes occurred that had connections with the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of a modern industrial society. The study of local government areas would indicate historic and more recent boundaries, drawn artificially around cities and working against their growth. Having thus explored the past, the survey would concentrate on the present condition of the town. This would provide an up to date picture of the town's physical appearance. The last aspect of the survey - "Town Planning; Suggestions and Designs" - would

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12 Figure 5.1 from Sociological Society, Cities Committee, Memorandum on the Need of City Survey preparatory to Town-Planning (n.pl., n.pub, n.d.[1911]), p. 6; a shortened version was published in the Garden Cities & Town Planning Magazine. (Patrick Geddes, The City Survey: A First Step - I, II, III. Garden City & Town Planning Magazine, NS I (1911), 18-19, 31-32, 56-58). In Cities in Evolution Geddes re-published an edited version of the Cities Committee's memorandum. (Geddes, Cities in Evolution, pp. 344-358).
provide a wider national and international outlook by introducing planning initiatives from British and foreign cities. Only then, at the very last stage, would the survey approach solutions for the particular city it was dealing with.

It seems that no complete survey of any city has survived, assuming that Geddes actually ever completed this task. Of course, a survey could never be finished, once begun it would be an open-ended process involving generation after generation. Geddes's particular interest within the frame of general survey was the historical survey on which he embarked in Edinburgh, but also in rudimentary form in Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, or Chelsea.

An idea of the possible extent of a survey enterprise is given by the Survey of London. This survey was begun in the last years of the nineteenth century under the guidance of Charles Robert Ashbee, who initiated it as a reaction to the demolition of the Old Palace of Bromley-by-Bow, a Jacobean country house in London. The first volume of the survey, dealing with a single parish of London, was published in 1900, while four years earlier a series of monographs on single buildings, to be published parallel with the larger parish volumes, had already been launched. A short glance at the first two volumes on Chelsea, the first main focus of the survey, reveals the extent of the material a systematic inquiry into a locality made available. The main purpose

13 Among the Geddes papers at Strathclyde University Archives, however, exist three sets of drawings and plans relating to Lambeth in London (SUA, T-GED 25/3/127), Newbury (SUA, T-GED 25/1/473) and to Saffron-Walden (SUA, T-GED 25/1/492), which might have been part of surveys.
16 Walter Hindes Godfrey, The Parish of Chelsea (part I), Survey of London, ed. by the London County Council, (London: County Council, 1909), (hereafter Chelsea I); Walter Hindes Godfrey, The Parish of Chelsea (part II), Survey of London, ed. by the London County Council, (London: County Council, 1913), (hereafter Chelsea II). Chelsea was at that time the "bohemian" quarter of London, where a large number of artists, architects and intellectuals lived and worked. It can be
of the survey was to compile a register of historic buildings, but the volumes offer additionally drawings of the buildings, photographs, reprints of historic documents, list of occupants and owners; and this was only a selection of the material collected. Patrick Geddes was very well aware of the survey of Chelsea because he was a member of the London Survey Committee that Ashbee had formed in the 1890s. Although Geddes's name was not among the active members as listed by the architect Walter Hindes Godfrey, editor of the first two volumes on Chelsea. It can be assumed that Geddes supported and sympathised with the survey of London, but it remains doubtful whether Geddes approved of the survey's relatively exclusive focus on collecting architecturally historical facts without looking closer at any wider social or cultural history.

**Reading History from the City**

The historical survey Geddes proposed as part of a survey proper had a different focus than the survey of London. Geddes's interest in historic buildings and structures aimed not at documenting what had survived, but rather at unveiling the Tree of Eternity and the four social types. Furthermore, the historic city had to be put at the disposal of the contemporary city.

... active cities display traces of all phases of evolution, but beside this lie fossils, or linger survivals, of almost every preceding phase.  

Paraphrasing Schelling's famous dictum of architecture as frozen music Geddes stated "Architecture, it has been said, is crystallized history." An "active city" - a City in Deed on the fourth level of the Notation of Life - would de-crystallise history and bring it to life again. Such a city would regain its soul or spirit, for the city

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assumed that the decision to make Chelsea to the first main focus of the survey coincided with the fact that many of those engaged in the survey had taken residence in Chelsea.

Geddes is mentioned as a member on the Survey committee in Godfrey, *Chelsea I.*

Geddes, *Civics I,* in Meller, *The Ideal City,* p. 79.

"which has kept alive its ancient culture by using it for modern needs is the spiritual treasure-house", and would accommodate history as living history. The citizens should make use of historic vestiges for two purposes: to make them their own, which meant to live in the city, and to contribute to a city, which was identical with living for the city.

To achieve this aim the historical survey had to be narrative rather than scientific. A process of selection by interpretation was required, followed by re-composition of the selected elements into a vision, which would instigate the City in Deed. The selection was not a choice made from neutral collected facts but performed against the background of the Tree of Eternity as an a priori concept for the inquiry into history.

From the civic standpoint, the problems to begin with are those of selection by interpretation. Buildings, monuments, street-vistas, and so on, must be chosen for observation, which are visibly suffused with vital elements of the city's individuality. Moreover, these architectonic elements then find their own way to re-composition in the mind ... Images and impressions are thus implanted by the survey which at its close build themselves into a vision of the city, in all the manifoldness of its being and becoming. In proportion to the fullness and opulence of this vision does the citizen take possession of his social inheritance.

Methodologically, this approach to a city's heritage as the transmitter of social inheritance referred to contemporary psychology, which interpreted the "material environment of human beings ... [as] the creation of human thought transmitted from one generation to another. Tools, weapons, utensils, buildings, gardens and cultivated fields, are all products of human intelligence." The artefacts embodied visibly and recognisably "trains of thoughts", which a child, but also an adult, had to re-think if

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20 Branford, Geddes, Social Inheritance, p. 131, (author's emphasis).
21 "... the civic student has to make the region and village, the town and city, his very own by a gradual and discerning incorporation of its characteristic individuality. He tries to live in this, with this, and in increasing measure, for this." (Branford, Geddes, Social Inheritance, p. 124).
22 Branford, Geddes, Social Inheritance, pp. 138-139.
the nature of the artefact under question should be understood. "In this way, as much as by the help of language and direct imitation, the ideas of one generation are transmitted to the next".23

This transmitter function of the urban fabric relied strongly on a direct encounter with architecture in a city. The second part of Our Social Inheritance contained a series of twenty-two walks through Westminster with the title "Westminster: A City Survey for Disoriented Citizens".24 These walks, for example from Piccadilly Circus to St James's Park, or from Leicester Square to Green Park, presented a Westminster soaked with history and cramped with buildings in which even minor pieces of the decoration were full of meaning. Lewis Mumford recalled the effect these walks had on him by writing: "My own walks with Branford around Westminster in 1920 left an imprint on all my later thinking."25

Reading Westminster's Architecture

The theme of the fifth walk was the area between Westminster Abbey and Houses of Parliament, the "sacred centre" of Westminster, London, England, and the Empire.26 The walk began with an outlook from the clock tower of the House of Commons, but for the detailed reading of the history a standpoint closer to the ground was preferable.27 The appropriate point was Victoria Street and the first two buildings which arose interest were the National Liberal Club and Westminster Hospital.28

23 Stout, Manual, pp. 512-13, see above chapter 2, pp. 69-70.
26 Branford, Geddes, Social Inheritance, pp. 262-293 (p. 262).
27 "... from that height, the Precincts of the Abbey, and of Parliament compose with Whitehall, Charing Cross and Trafalgar Square into a unity of vision, of memory and of aspiration, to which may be fittingly applied the great name of FORUM BRITANNICUM." (Branford, Geddes, Social Inheritance, p. 168).
28 The walk began at the corner of Victoria Street and Tothill Street. The National Liberal Club was the former Westminster Palace Hotel, built 1859 by W. and A. Moseley, which was occupied by
The hospital was an example of "the veritable Temples of Suffering", because modern hospitals accommodated the victims of the Industrial Revolution, to which the National Liberal Club, a buildings associated with Chiefs, was an appropriate monument. Opposite the Club the Gothic revival style of the "Church House" embodied the reaction against the Industrial Revolution by the Spiritual Powers. The style expressed "the sought escape from the horrors of the factory age, and ... a pathway to romance, through the pointed arch of medieval mysticism." Behind the National Liberal Club rose the "Old Wesleyan Central Building", a church house partly occupied by a bank. The neo-Renaissance building was a "Temple of some Imperial State on which is piled a pantheon of strange gods", and symbolised the "intimate connection ... between the Reformed Churches and the Industrial Revolution."

In front of Westminster School a column commemorated the dead of the Crimean and Indian wars. The column was also another reminder of the Renaissance. Whereas the reformed churches were symbols of the Spiritual Powers, which purified the People, the column lead the thoughts to the Chiefs, a part of the Temporal Powers. This war memorial expressed the ideals of a "social caste devoted first to courage and
thereafter, though in some distance, to learning." Learning was better embodied in the College Hall of Westminster School, the old refectory of the Abbey. It was a symbol for the teaching by Intellectuals of the coming Chiefs, the contemporary public school boys, descendants of the gentlemen of the Renaissance, the Chiefs of their time.

Westminster Abbey and St Margaret's Church were the only witnesses of the Middle Ages. The church in particular was of great value because it stood for the final period of the Middle Ages, the time of cities and citizenship, which the authors called the "civic phase of medieval civilization in Westminster". The other two medieval periods were the "Dark Ages proper" following the Roman time, and the "springtime of Feudalism", the predecessor of the civic phase. The civic phase might have been best embodied in buildings like a medieval Cathedral, a Town Hall, a Belfry, and a University, but none of them existed in this area of Westminster. However, the rebuilt Middlesex Guildhall and the new Catholic Westminster Cathedral could be read as symbols of this civic tradition. All these churches "provided an ever open release from the fears, fatigues, anxieties, ennuis of the outer life", they "furnished an alchemy which transmuted them into their opposites of the inner life, hope, joy ecstasy." 

Vestiges of the time before the Middle Ages were very rare and the interpretation had to seek guidance in much younger buildings and statues. The classical decoration of the National Liberal Club building recalled Vitruvius, and a male statue in Parliament Square wearing a toga became a symbol for Virgil or Cicero.

34 Branford, Geddes, *Social Inheritance*, p. 278.
Westminster Hall recalled the "Temple of Justicia", although it had lost this symbolic meaning with the move of the Law Court to Fleet Street. Remnants of the Celtic times were even more rare, but it was possible to find them. A statue of Queen Boadicea turned into a symbol for Celtic Britain.\textsuperscript{37} The Embankment presented the modern equivalent of prehistoric men's earthwork.\textsuperscript{38} Even the standing stone, "the most primitive of our British architectural monuments", existed in Westminster. Around the northern side of the Abbey an iron fence was held by "miniature obelisks", symbols for the circles of standing stones "with which early man centred his astronomic cult, and sanctified his burial places."\textsuperscript{39}

When this is truly replaced by a historic symbol, such as an Eisteddfod erects to this day commemorate its bardic meeting, it will complete our wellnigh continuous reading of our historic record, from our modern age of Industrial revolution backwards to Early Man.\textsuperscript{40}

**Geddes and the *Genius Loci***

This reading revealed less man's effort and work embodied in architecture, as Morris had argued, but resulted in interpreting buildings as representations of the four social types. They, in turn, were associated with the Tree of Eternity and the City as a form of life. This was the *genius loci*, which Geddes believed to be embodied in historic structures and hoped a historical survey would unlock. London, as a Town of the People, accommodated three centres for the other social types, although no social type was exclusively bound to one of them. The City, a symbol for the material wealth, represented the Chiefs. Chelsea and Westminster shared the role of being places for the Intellectuals and Emotionals. Westminster in particular was a synonym

\textsuperscript{37} 'Queen Boadicea in her War Chariot', a bronze statue created by Thomas Thornycroft in the 1850s but only placed in the public realm on Victoria Embankment in 1902. (Cherry, Pevsner, *London I*, p. 660).

\textsuperscript{38} Cleopatra's Needle on the Embankment was not mentioned in the walks through Westminster.

\textsuperscript{39} Branford, Geddes, *Social Inheritance*, p. 288.

\textsuperscript{40} Branford, Geddes, *Social Inheritance*, p. 288.
for the "sacred traditions and the governing powers". In particular the sacred traditions, expressed in the churches and sacred structures like the standing stones, formed the *genius loci* of Westminster, and, while walking and contemplating the history of the place, the citizen had to hope that the spirit would unveil itself.

This idea of a *genius loci* had consequences for the City Designer's work. It was impossible to plan against the spirit of the place. Each design that did not take into account the *genius loci* would fail as, according to Geddes, John Nash's plan for Regent Street had failed. Nash's proposal to build a "sumptuous boulevard" from Calton House to Regent's Park in the North worked against the spirit of the place by ignoring the continuous history of fairs and trade in the area that became Lower Regent Street. This tradition had begun in the Middle Ages when citizens of Westminster founded a hospital dedicated to St James. The Benedictine Abbot gave some land, the later St James's Park, and the King established an annual fair whose profit financed the hospital. Henry VIII (1509-1547) enclosed the land as his hunting ground and replaced the hospital with a hunting lodge, and later with St James's Palace. Charles II (1649-1685) finally forbade the fair. But the spirit of the place reappeared in the form of shops and stores both in Restoration London and in modern times. Nash's design achieved only "that which the *genius loci* dictated. Lower Regent Street, if you think of it symbolically, is a ceremonious broadway linking into unity the redefined luxury of Pall Mall and the commoner gaieties of Piccadilly Circus."

Arcades, which Nash had suggested for example, were "promptly assailed as an obstruction to shopping, and most of it was soon replaced by the inevitable"

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42 Geddes and Branford suggested that one should enter the apse of the Abbey "and wait in reverence for the genius of the place to work its miracle in its own way. Soon will your heart be lifted up by the poem in stone, and wood, and glass, which the undying makers of the Lady Chapel chant afresh day by day." (Branford, Geddes, *Social Inheritance*, p. 280).

The City Designer was not so much realising his own ideas but rather expressing what was already there in form of the spirit of the place:

... there are deeds and events which cling to a place, and remain an 'unseen hand' in the ordering of its destiny.  

City Design began by discerning the *genius loci*.

For its principle is that we must not too simply begin ... with fundamentals as of communications ... but above all things seek to enter into the spirit of our city, its historic essence and continuous life.

Having grasped the city's *genius loci*, a synonym for a city's soul or spirit, the following design "will thus express, stimulate and develop its highest possibility, and so deal all the more effectively with its material and fundamental needs." But before the City Designer became actively engaged in developing a plan, his role was a merely passive one. The survey of the city meant studying, analysing, observing, and waiting for the *genius loci* to unveil itself. The design or plan, although actively prepared by a planner, was fundamentally conceived as a disclosure:

... my re-planning has not been 'designed' in the sense of patterns or inventions, but rather has become disclosed, like a solution of a chess-problem, by the close study of the board and all the pieces on it. There is no other way.

The City Designer was a person similar to the romantic artist through whose intercession independently existing ideas find artistic expression in reality. An existing urban environment considered as the embodiment of a *genius loci* required respect as

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the spirit's outer form. Consequently, Geddes developed the concept of 'conservative surgery' as an appropriate approach to work in an existing city.

**Conservative Surgery - The City**

Conservative surgery meant amending and improving an urban quarter by minimising the destruction of existing buildings, and avoiding the demolition of whole areas and the substitution of new houses and structures. Geddes's involvement in repairing and refurbishing old houses began in the Old Town of Edinburgh in 1884, with the foundation of the Edinburgh Social Union, and with Geddes's subsequent move into James Court at the centre of the Old Town in 1886. Geddes recommended conservative surgery while advising the municipality of Dublin between 1913 and 1914 on the improvement of housing conditions in the Irish capital. However, some of the best examples of conservative surgery are to be found in Geddes's Indian town planning reports. There Geddes applied conservative surgery as an alternative to the standard methods of municipal engineers or other members of the British administration. Their approach to any improvement mostly involved the design of a new quarter with a grid of streets replacing the old plan. Consequences like the expulsion of the old inhabitants, who often could not afford a new dwelling in the new quarter, were normally ignored.

Geddes worked along different lines. In the Balrampur report (1917) he suggested the widening of a narrow street running diagonally through a neighbourhood into a sequence of small squares. (Figure 5.3) This achieved both the

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intended improved access to the palace behind the neighbourhood, and retained as many of the existing houses as possible. Trees lining the new squares marked the improvement and defined the new borders. In the same town Geddes also re-planned the Tehri Bazar, a quarter south of the palace beyond a large tank, again by applying conservative surgery. Figure 5.4 shows a comparison of the area before and after Geddes's intervention. The principles were always the same: The worst houses were taken away, and the resulting gain in open space was used to create small squares, often dominated by a temple, a single tree or other features. Trees marked the new spaces, and hindered, or at least rendered more difficult, future encroachment. Conservative surgery was concerned with keeping and maintaining historic urban quarters. Geddes has argued that his approach would be less expensive than the standard solution. In the Lahore report he pointed out that his ideas would cost about 35,000 rupees compared to the 65,000 rupees to be spent on the official plans. In addition his alternative would save 6 1/3 acres from becoming roadland. The second advantage of conservative surgery was the prevention of social unrest and upheaval. Slums were not simply relocated in those parts of a city, where the former inhabitants decided to settle again, but were improved on site. The third argument was the genius loci, which conservative surgery took into account, in opposition to the simple rebuilding of larger quarters. As Geddes explained:

The existing roads and lanes are the past product of practical life, its movement and experience; and observation and common sense alike show them to be in the right directions, and therefore needing only improvements.

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51 The building of the squares would "only affect ruinous and insanitary buildings, and even provides for the renewal of some of these, upon more spacious and sanitary isolated sites." [Patrick Geddes, Town Planning in Balrampur. A Report to the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur (Lucknow: Murray's London Printing Press, 1917), p. 11, (hereafter Balrampur report)].
52 Geddes, Balrampur report, pp. 41-42.
53 See Tyrwhitt, Geddes in India, pp. 40-59 for further examples of conservative surgery in Indian reports.
54 Geddes, Lahore report, p. 9; Tyrwhitt provides a calculation from Geddes's report for Madras. There the official plan would have cost 30,000 rupees whereas Geddes's design required only 5,000 rupees (Tyrwhitt, Geddes in India, p. 41).
Streets, lanes, houses, temples, in short the whole fabric of an existing city was the expression of the *genius loci*. In Indian towns the *genius loci* of a City as a form of life was composed of ties of antiquity, blood, faith, caste, occupation, and the tradition of collective action among the inhabitants of a distinct urban quarter. All this was always there and awaited renewal by the City Designer.

... needed ...is first of all to put Heart into the community, the City. Say to *revive this since plainly sleeping there*; thus renewing the sense of Citizenship. Towards this old separations may help instead of hinder. Family and kinship, Caste and Group, with all their ties of tradition may be roused to good-will ...

In Baroda Geddes was engaged in working in "poles", which were "old ... Municipality units". He insisted in his report to "re-cultivate" them "until old advantages of collectivity substantially return." A similar language was used in the Balrampur report, where in the Tehri Bazar and other quarters, once "reopen[ed] to one another, the old village life ... will be seen to be only awaiting renewal, and this with a completeness unrealised even in its best days." In the Lucknow report Geddes envisaged the "recovery and renewal of old-world village life, which is the vital secret of the working quarter, both for east and west alike."

Translated into the symbolic language of the Notation of Life, Geddes's references to renewing and reawakening an old way and form of life meant climbing on another coil of the spiral of life embodied in the *arbor saeculorum*. Conservative surgery "assures the survival of the essential heritage of the past, yet with needful

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56 Tyrwhitt, *Geddes in India*, pp. 63-64.
61 "The problem is how to accomplish this return of ... village life ... upon a new spiral turning beyond the old one which,... frankly and fully incorporates the best advantages of town-life." (Geddes, *Lucknow, second report*, quoted from Tyrwhitt, *Geddes in India*, p. 57, (my emphasis).
adaptations to the requirement of the present."62

Conservative Surgery - Individual Buildings

No historic city or building could be preserved without function. It was necessary to use historic buildings as to keep them alive, and, it must be added, to guarantee the functioning of the city as the organ for the transmission of the heritage.63 Concerning single historic buildings, Geddes suggested a pragmatic handling of the vestiges. What it was possible to keep should be kept, what was obstructing change had to go. But each old building, independent of age, style, or period, had a value on its own which made it worth considering its future fate.

Must we not respect, record, and if it may be preserve, examples of the honest work of each and every century and generation, whether from the present point of view, also a passing one, it seems to us beautiful or no?64

Geddes's interest was not to keep romantic ruins for the amusement of tourists or the benefit of artists. Instead of interpreting the preservation of an old dilapidated house and the raising of the living conditions of the inhabitants on a contemporary hygienic level as a contradiction - which might require a choice between keeping the old or erecting a new building - Geddes tried to achieve both at the same time.

Starting by all means with the hygienist, not with the aesthete, dirt and decay can constantly be got rid of without demolition, since these are not in the stones of the building, but in the superficial dirt external to these. Old masonwork is not discredited by its weathered surface, nor

63 See above p. 180, footnote 20.
64 Patrick Geddes, 'Civic Education and City Development', Contemporary Review, 88 (1905), 413-426 (p. 417), (hereafter Civic Education). In the same essay: "Even the severely proportioned front of an 18th century chapel or mansion, nay, of a block of stables, and the almost featureless yet well-spaced dwelling-house of the same time are respectively as true revelations of the severely simplified yet skilful art, the abstract culture and the utilitarian spirit of that century ... The time will come, ... when the preservation of a typical example of the modern plate-glass villa with cast-iron railings will in its turn have to be pled for, as that of a human document essential to enable posterity to understand the civilisation and the ideals of our time." (p. 419).
strengthened by carving this away, as the manner of restorers is. Yet let us by all means cleanse, then mend, then adapt frankly to our own modern uses; and though in this process a shock may be given to the merely romantic spirit, a better and truer artistic result is reached, at any rate when with time and use the new elements again harmonise into the old. Is it not to this very process of accretion and adaptation in the past that our great buildings owe their highest interest ...?65

This formulated a position different from Morris’s for the protection of ancient buildings. Both men described buildings as expressions of their time and civilisation, and declared a return or an imitation of the past as neither desirable nor possible.66 But the conclusions of both men differed significantly. Whereas Morris pleaded for a truce concerning work on ancient buildings due to the impossibility to achieve true restoration work because the old skills belonged ultimately to the past, Geddes suggested the opposite. He was not afraid of adding to buildings, or changing them, as long as this meant they continued to be elements of the "Open-Air Museum of the Centuries".67

Historic vestiges could even be replaced without harming their ability to carry history onwards from the past into the present and the future. A gravestone in a church in Grahamston close to Edinburgh commemorated a Knight Graham. The stone was "trampled dim by unthinking feet" several times since it had been laid. But it was continuously renewed, and therefore still reminded visitors of the knight.68 Geddes did not object to such replacements, which allows the conclusion that he was primarily interested in the story such vestiges could tell, regardless of being original or not, rather than the survival of an authentic piece of historic skills. Geddes’s involvement in the relocation of Crosby Hall in London provides a good example how conservative

65 Geddes, Civic Education, p. 418, (my emphasis).
66 "... I maintain return to the past to be impossible, its imitation to be undesirable; simply that conservation of the memorials of the past and the interpretation of its development are of encouragement and of service to that opening future which, with our greater resources, it should be possible to assure." (Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 212).
67 Geddes, Civic Education, p. 418.
68 Patrick Geddes, 'The Scots Renascence', The Evergreen. A Northern Seasonal, 1 (1895) Spring issue, 131-139 (pp. 138-139), (hereafter Scots Renascence).
surgery treated historic buildings.

The Rebuilding of Crosby Hall in Chelsea, London

Crosby Hall was the only remnant of a town mansion in London built in 1466 by Sir John Crosby. Plans of a bank to develop the site in Bishopsgate in about 1908 threatened the existence of the building. Following the account of the Earl of Sandwich, who co-operated with Geddes on the project to save the hall, the bank had decided to take the building down carefully so that it could be kept by London County Council.9 Geddes and Sandwich of course could not offer money but a good idea of what to do with the building. Geddes's interest had been attracted because "this is the hall of Sir Thomas More, where he wrote the 'Utopia'." Geddes had only recently (1903-04) succeeded in building a block of flats at the corner of Beaufort Street and Cheyne Walk. In 1907 the block was converted in a University hall of residence and renamed More Hall. (Figure 5.5) More Hall occupied space in buildings erected on the site of the garden of former Beaufort House, which Sir Thomas More had bought in 1520.71 There "More and Erasmus [of Amsterdam] were wont to discuss the new learning which they did so much to introduce and advance", therefore the genius loci was more than appropriate to establish a hall of residence for students as to revive the genius loci for the future. Geddes's considered his own initiative to be only the latest in a sequence of steps passing the genius loci from one generation to the next.

Again this site ... had been the favourite haunt of dreamer and Utopist ever since More's day. Here Sir Hans Sloane had practically founded that greatest of all realised Utopias of knowledge, the British Museum;

70 Letter by Patrick Geddes to [ ] Schrader, 2 June 1908, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 129).
here Carlyle’s impassioned dreams had borne their fruit, here Turner, Rosetti, and Whistler had each revolutionised the art of his generation.  

Crosby Hall was a more than welcome addition to More Hall. The architect Walter Hindes Godfrey, an active member of the London survey committee and editor of the first two Survey of London volumes dealing with Chelsea, guided the reerection of the Hall in 1909-1910. According to Godfrey, only selected original features of the hall survived the relocation, which required important alterations to both the hall’s structure and finishing, mainly for technical reasons. Other features of the rebuilt hall like a window and a door were new additions "inserted to replace ... missing features, for the original existence of which there is good evidence."  

Without discussing if the rebuilding of Crosby Hall was a successful example of the preservation of an old building, Geddes grasped it as an opportunity to contribute to Chelsea as the place of Intellectuals within London as a community. Geddes envisaged Chelsea as “the community in its cultural aspect” with his university hall, teaching facilities, and an Outlook Tower, named "More Tower".  

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73 Anonymous, Crosby Hall, pp. 2-3, (SUA, T-GED 12/1/344). For a further elaboration of the importance of Chelsea and its genius loci see Geddes, Chelsea, Past and Possible, and Cities in Evolution, pp. 367-375. Geddes particularly pointed out that Sloane, who bought the estate in 1717, wanted to keep the historic mansion of More to incorporate it into the British Museum which Sloane originally wished to establish on that site in Chelsea.  
75 Godfrey, Chelsea II, p. 16. The original internal oak roof structure, stone-windows, doors, the fireplace and corbels carrying the roof survived the translocation. Significant alterations undertaken were a new structure of the walls, a new timber structure with a different roof pitch above the old roof and the replacement of original finishing of the wall surfaces and the gallery.  
76 Anonymous, Crosby Hall, pp. 1-3, (SUA, T-GED 12/1/344). Geddes envisaged the use of Crosby Hall for exhibitions, concerts and other public functions.
in 1895, due to financial restraints Geddes had been unable to help secure Carlyle's house for the benefit of the community of Chelsea. With More Hall and Crosby Hall, Geddes returned to Chelsea in an attempt to reawaken the *genius loci* by establishing a cloister comprising places of learning, culture and art comparable to the Ramsay Garden complex in Edinburgh. This idea must be put in the context of other architect's work in Chelsea, most notably that of Charles Robert Ashbee and Charles Rennie Mackintosh. Since 1893 Ashbee had been involved in designing and building studio houses and artist's flats in Cheyne Walk. He furthermore designed in 1912 the 'London Fraternity House for American and Colonial Students', a large University Residence complex centred around an skyscraper-style tower at Cheyne Walk. Mackintosh designed several artist's studios in Chelsea in the 1910s. Both architect's projects, even if not direct responses to Geddes's idea of a Cloister, would have contributed perfectly to Chelsea as the centre for Intellectuals.

Geddes's contribution of Crosby Hall to the *genius loci* of Chelsea led at the same time to the demolition of four late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century houses. These houses had to be pulled down as to make space for Crosby Hall. Godfrey pointed out that some features of these buildings were incorporated in the basement underneath the two-storeys of Crosby Hall. Obviously, the importance of the hall was judged higher than the ordinary domestic town houses, further proof that Geddes's attitude towards old buildings was respectful but determined by a pragmatism backed up by a strong idea.

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77 See letter by Geddes to Reginald Blunt, Carlyle House Chelsea, [ ] February 1895, (NLS MS 10508A, f. 93). Carlyle's house in Cheynes Row no. 24, originally no. 5, had been bought by the Carlyle House Memorial Trust in 1895 and was subsequently opened as the Carlyle Museum (Godfrey, *Chelsea II*, pp. 64-67).


79 For Mackintosh's designs for Chelsea see *C. R. Mackintosh. The Chelsea Years 1915-1923*, exh. cat., ed. by Hunterian Art Gallery (Glasgow: Hunterian Art Gallery, 1994); for an account connecting all the various schemes see Saint, Ashbee, Geddes, Lethaby.

Despite this, Crosby Hall gave Geddes the opportunity to realise his principle of saving old structures by using them; in this case "as a dining hall and common-room comparable in architecture and in history to those of Oxford and Cambridge".81 That the new function had required the relocation of a building was not a problem, because the old owner and the related genius loci of hall and garden were identical. Elsewhere Geddes wrote that "for a complete historic environment one should have opportunity of actually living and studying - if possible even dramatizing - in the very dwellings of the historic past, as far as far as [sic] these are obtainable; that is from the middle ages onwards."82 In this respect, Crosby Hall was the first ever realisation outside Edinburgh of Geddes's idea of integrating history in a city. The students lived and studied in the adjacent More Hall. Additionally, Crosby Hall accommodated in 1911 the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, an opportunity for both students and public to learn and study for the benefit of the City. Furthermore, in 1913, the Masque of Learning was prepared in Crosby Hall, although it was performed in the Great Hall of the Imperial Institute.83

The Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at Chelsea 1911

The display of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at Crosby Hall in 1911 was the first occasion on which Geddes presented this exhibition to the public in its final concept. A part of the exhibition, the survey of Edinburgh, had already been on show during the Town Planning Exhibition and Conference at the Royal Academy, London in 1910,84 organised by the Royal Institute of British Architects to celebrate the first ever British Town Planning Act of 1909. This nucleus of the later exhibition

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81 Geddes, quoted from Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 212.
83 Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 235.
84 Royal Institute of British Architects (ed.), Town Planning Conference London, 10th to 15th October 1910 Exhibition of Drawings and Models at the Royal Academy from the 10th to the 22nd October, exh. cat. (London: Clowes & Son, 1910), p. 46.
comprised primarily material Geddes had collected since he had opened the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh in 1892. For the version at Crosby Hall, Geddes enlarged the exhibition into what was known as the 'Cities and Town Planning Exhibition'. The Chelsea show incorporated as a new element a survey of Chelsea, although this seems to have been rather small judging from the space it occupied on the ground floor. (Figure 5.7) The larger addition was a visual presentation of the development of the city from its origin in the region to the modern garden city movement as a harbinger of the opening neotechnic age, as described in chapter 4. This part was by far the largest section of the exhibition; at Crosby Hall it occupied the basement and the first floor. Half of the ground floor accommodated, beside the Chelsea survey, the Edinburgh survey, and surveys of cathedral, university and industrial cities.

As the plans of the exhibition in other venues show, the general history of the city was always the largest part, to which the local surveys appeared as small appendices. (Figure 5.8, 5.9) Local and regional surveys required this large general section, because it provided information on the development of cities, on the typology of cities, and on typical problems and their solutions; all information necessary to understand the local city. The spatial arrangement of the show emphasised the function of the general section of cities, as the local surveys of cities hosting the exhibition were always located at the end of the tour through the show, or at least very close to it. The information provided in the large general section were the tools citizens, architects and town planners alike needed to make sense of the development of their own city.

This bipolarity of the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was the translation of the idea of a morphology, a comparative study of cities into a tool for City Design. This tool consisted of two strains: The development of cities, and the development of a particular city; or to stay with a biological metaphor, the general section presented the phylogeny of cities considered as a species, and the local survey
had the ontogeny, the development of an individual representation of that species, as its subject matter. Table 5.1 shows the various location and venues the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition visited since 1911. Wherever possible, Geddes added a local survey. It becomes clear, furthermore, that the show accompanied Geddes to a great number of places where he had actually been commissioned to report on the city. The Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was an essential planning tool for Geddes, but only in its combination of the general morphology of cities and the local historical survey. It temporarily brought, so to speak, the world of cities to a single city. Again, the relation between the universal and the particular has to be looked at, although this time from a biological rather than a philosophical perspective.

The Outlook Tower as a Universal Index Museum

The bipolarity structuring the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition was similar to the relation between the universal and the regional or local in the Outlook Tower. Although there, as explained in chapter 3, the relation was inverted compared to the exhibition. In the earlier, the local was related to the world, whereas in the latter the world of cities was related to the local.

The Outlook Tower was the permanent storage room for the memory of a City. There the information obtained by reading and decoding the social inheritance was held and made available. On the Edinburgh floor of the first ever Outlook Tower the local survey was on display telling contemporary citizens the story of the city. Furthermore, the Outlook Tower and the Index Museum would store this information for future generations. Their future surveys would be less demanding because they could benefit from the work already done and concentrate on adding more recent data. Geddes expanded this moment of foresight in the concept of the Tower by

85 This table is a compilation from various biographies on Geddes and essays by Geddes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year, Dates</th>
<th>Place, Venue</th>
<th>City Design Reports</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1910 10 - 22 October</td>
<td>London, Royal Academy, Town Planning Exhibition and Conference</td>
<td>No, Geddes's contribution to the Exhibition was the Edinburgh Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 6 - 25 February</td>
<td>Chelsea, Crosby Hall,</td>
<td>No, but within the context of re-erection of Crosby Hall and Students Hall in Chelsea / the former enlarged into the CTPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 13 March - 1 April</td>
<td>Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy</td>
<td>No, but within the context of Geddes's work in Edinburgh and EB survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 25 May - 6 June</td>
<td>Dublin, Simmonscourt Hall of Royal Dublin Society</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Belfast, Ulster Halls during Health Exhibition and Congress of Sanitary Institute</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913 27 July - 1 August</td>
<td>Ghent, Belgium, during Exposition Internationale and International Congress of Town Planning and Organisation of City Life</td>
<td>No, Grand Prix awarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Dublin, Linen Hall</td>
<td>No, but preparation of a town planning competition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Exhibition destroyed due to war, friends of Geddes assemble new exhibition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915 17 January - ?</td>
<td>Madras, Senate Hall Madras University</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915 October - November</td>
<td>Calcutta, Town Hall</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1915/1916 December - January</td>
<td>Nagpur, Craddock Market</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916 25 January - 18 March</td>
<td>Lucknow, Kaiserbag</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916 11 June - ?</td>
<td>Paris, during Exposition de la Ville Reconstituée,</td>
<td>No, but selection of exhibition shown as preparation for reconstruction of Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Bombay, Royal Institute of Science</td>
<td>No, permanent display as teaching tool in connection with Geddes's chair of sociology and civics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920 24 September - 11 October</td>
<td>Jerusalem, Boy School</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
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including individual houses and their inhabitants. In connection with his students hall in Edinburgh he proposed a commemorative white book to keep record of inhabitants.

... a Liber Albus should be instituted for each house to include photographs of the residents for the year, and to accumulate also all that interests the house and its old residents. For instance men ought to know that Bruce and Burn Murdoch and through them very directly the Antarctic movement, came out of one house of this Hall.86

All this information was related to the world in two ways. First, the lower floors of the tower contained exhibits relevant to the themes of each of the upper floors. This allowed for comparisons between upper and lower storeys. Second, each artefact or exhibit derived from the local survey not only referred to its own source, but to all similar things elsewhere. The tower was more than a local history museum, it was an "Index Museum to the world".87 An Index-Museum or "cognate type-museum",88 as Geddes called the Tower elsewhere, was a museum which would process a vast amount of information and exhibits. An Index Museum was an "Encyclopaedia Graphica."

That is, we may think of it as an Encyclopaedia of which the articles may be imagined printed separately, and with their illustrations and maps condensed and displayed as an orderly series of labels; labels to which specimens are than as far as possible supplied, so that over and above the description, the image, the interpretation of the thing, you can see the thing itself in reality if possible, or in reproduction or model as the case may be.89

Due to its dual function as the memory of a City and a City's link to the world, the Outlook Tower became a prominent feature for City Design. Geddes

86 Letter by Patrick Geddes to Blackie Murdoch, [ ] June 1909, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 193).
87 Philip Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 141. In the Indore report Geddes wrote that the Type Museum should relate the large regional collections to "small but equally chosen set of Type-collections, thus lucidly summarising the essentials of our knowledge of nature ... throughout the great world." The same applied to the historical part of the collection. [Patrick Geddes, The proposed University for Central India, at Indore. A Reprint from Town Planning towards City Development. A Report to the Durbar of Indore by Patrick Geddes (Indore: Holkar State Printing Press, 1918), p. 24, (hereafter University for Central India)].
88 Geddes, Civics III, p. 211.
accompanied a proposed Outlook Tower often with a museums complex adjacent to the tower.\footnote{To built Outlook Towers Geddes, for example, proposed in Dunfermline, Chelsea, Lucknow, Indore and Tel Aviv. In Dunfermline the Outlook Tower was part of a large history museum (Geddes, \textit{Dunfermline report}, p. 164). To foster the revival of Chelsea Geddes planned an Outlook Tower with the name “More Tower” adjacent to Crosby Hall [Anonymous, \textit{Crosby Hall}, p. 2, (SUA, T-GED12/1/344)]. In his report for the zoo in Lucknow Geddes proposed to combine the Outlook Tower with existing refreshment rooms (Patrick Geddes, \textit{Report on Planning for the Lucknow Zoological Garden} (Lucknow: NK Press, n. d.), p. 13, (hereafter \textit{Lucknow Zoo report}). In Indore the Outlook Tower was an essential element of the university complex (Geddes, \textit{University for Central India}, pp. 28-34). In Tel Aviv Geddes intended to develop a proposed water tower in an Outlook Tower (Patrick Geddes, \textit{Town-Planning Report - Jaffa and Tel-Aviv} (typescript, 1925), p. 59, (hereafter \textit{Tel Aviv report}), (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum).} Regardless of the size of an Outlook Tower- for New York Mears and Geddes designed for example a skyscraper as Outlook Tower - (Figure 5.10), most important about both tower and museums complex was always that the exhibits did not only refer to themselves, but to all identical things. They were a collection of \textit{types} of things and information.

\textbf{Recapitulation and Recollection}

Trained as a biologist, especially as botanist with a keen interest in evolution and morphology, Geddes habitually considered his subject matter as a collection of types of different species. Each single plant represented its species and told about the evolution of the species. Accordingly, knowledge about one type was at the same time a reference to the species. Geddes applied the same way of looking to other things, for example the products he had seen during the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in Edinburgh in 1886. He described the exhibition as "a central museum of industry; too vast and costly for permanence, but all the more fully illustrative of production, and of social progress in every respect." Problematic was that such exhibitions were organised "as an extended shop-window, music saloon, and refreshment bar of unparalleled lustre and magnificence". Yet they should be "a true museum ... of real material and social progress in the immediate past, and a school .. of these in the immediate future." Geddes suggested the reorganisation of industrial exhibitions according to types of labour and products so that citizens could
gain the maximum in information from the exhibition. Similar to the insight plants offered in the evolution of a species, industrial, artistic and scientifically products could offer an insight in "the industrial possibilities and general civilisation of [their] place and time."91

The concepts behind Outlook Tower and the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition were two more applications of the same idea. The universal phenomenon of cities and a group of similar exhibits can be considered as representing a species. An individual city or exhibit is thus a member of the larger species. The dichotomy between species and individual members not only provides a useful analogy for understanding the concepts of Geddes's museological ideas. It also provides the likely ultimate reason why Geddes placed such a strong emphasis on the importance of history and historic buildings for City Design. Other contemporary town planners and architects, although aware of the importance of history, did not go as far as Geddes was prepared to do. Raymond Unwin, for example, explained with regard to Geddes's method of a historic survey:

Professor Geddes has published some most helpful and stimulating essays on this subject; and although it may not always be practicable to carry the survey to the extent suggested by him, there can be no doubt about its importance if the development is to grow healthily from the past life and present needs to the town.92

While Geddes was teaching at Edinburgh University during the early 1880s he was in contact with the German biologist Ernst Haeckel.93 John Arthur Thomson,

91 A small library would have provided additional information and sources on capital and labour relations, occupations and other topics raised by the exhibition (Geddes, Industrial Exhibitions, pp. 1-2). Geddes's involvement in the International School offering interpretative tours, lectures and study aids for the International Exhibition at Paris in 1900 was an attempt to make use of an international exhibition in the sense outlined in the booklet on the Edinburgh Exhibition. (See Mairet, Pioneer of Sociology, pp. 99-108).
93 According to Helen Meller Geddes studied one summer term under Haeckel at Jena University sometime during the 1870s. (Meller, Theory of Civics, p. 294).
one of Geddes's students and later his friend, went to Jena University in 1882 to continue his studies under Haeckel. Haeckel was among the leading German biologist supporting and developing Darwin's theory of Evolution. In 1866 Haeckel published his *General Morphology of Organisms*, in which he introduced the words phylogeny and ontogeny into the terminology of biology. The term phylogeny referred to the evolution of a species, and, accordingly, ontogeny described the development of the life of an individual member of a species. Haeckel furthermore formulated a causal connection between the evolution of a species and the development of an individual member. He later called this connection the "biogenetic basic law".

Ontogeny is the short and fast recapitulation of phylogeny, caused by the physiological functions of heredity (reproduction) and adaptation (nutrition).

This law, translated into a principle of City Design, meant that the understanding the development of a city, its ontogeny, required a comparison with the evolution of cities, the phylogeny. Even more, because Haeckel claimed to have established a causal connection, a city could only produce a new stage of growth by repeating the evolution of cities as such. This was possible, for example, with the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, which offered the evolution of cities at exactly the moment when a specific city prepared itself to enter a new circle of its life, a new plan or town planning report.

But the new phase of the life of a city had to be realised by the citizens. Again, the application of Haeckel's biogenetic basic law is helpful. Each citizen had to repeat in his own life the evolution of the larger community, the city, to which he belonged, before he could contribute actively to the new phase of the city's life. He

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95 "Die Ontogenese ist die kurze und schnelle Rekapitulation der Phylogenesis, bedingt durch die physiologischen Funktionen der Vererbung (Fortpflanzung) und Anpassung (Ernährung)." [Ernst Haeckel, *Generelle Morphologie*, vol I, pp. 295-300, quoted from Lange, Alexander, *Philosophenlexikon*, p. 331, (my translation)]. This theory is no longer held today.
could do this conveniently by studying the exhibits in the Outlook Tower and the museums complex, participating in the survey, or visiting the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. Citizens, especially adolescents, Geddes once wrote, had a "birthright in the social and Civic inheritance". To be born in a city did not mean to be citizen; the latter required that one recapitulated the history of the city of birth or residence.

Figure 5.11 shows a sheet of note paper on which Geddes wrote in the left half a short version of Haeckel's law: "(Ontogeny repeats phylogeny.)" More important is, that on the same sheet Geddes drew in the right half graphs referring to "college city", "factory city", and "High Str[eet]." Between these references to Haeckel's law and to cities, Geddes sketched a small three dimensional Tree of Eternity with the two sides of Temporal and Spiritual Powers. What was implied in these notes Geddes expressed clearly in his report for Dunfermline. In connection with an open air museum displaying historic "primitive settlements" in Scotland, Geddes explained the purpose of this feature.

Again, since rapidly to recapitulate the main phases of the past is nature's way of passing beyond these, even of acquiring the impetus for passing in turn the present phase, it may well also be ours.

This concept had consequences for the work of every town planner, architect and City Designer. Reading history directly from the city's urban fabric and buildings was the best way to learn about and make use of the inheritance. The survey of Westminster had shown that with a little bit of imagination remnants of every period were traceable, which was important for the ontogenetical recapitulation. But London or Edinburgh were existing cities, where the history was available for recapitulation in

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96 Branford, Geddes, Social Inheritance, p. 306.
97 From a folder endorsed by Patrick Geddes "Univ.Hall.Symbious.", containing sheets with manuscript notes and sketches (SUA, T-GED 12/1/358).
98 Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 122, (my emphasis).
form of historic buildings. What if a City Designer approached the plan for a new city not attached to an existing one?

Recapitulation as preparatory for City Design applied to both alike, historic and new - historically rootless - cities. In his entry on morphology for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Geddes had compared in a rhetorical question the morphological idea of the *Urpflanze* with a Platonic Idea.\(^{99}\) By the same token, recapitulation - in Haeckel's understanding - and recollection - in the Platonic meaning - can be brought together. In Plato's *Meno*, Socrates's slave boy was made to believe, that in the solution to the question asked he had discovered something completely new - at least to him - although the solution was actually the recollection of something age-old or eternal. In the essay on *Industrial Exhibitions* in which Geddes developed for the first time the concept of an index-museum, he also had made the deeply conservative statement, that nothing new could ever be found as everything believed to be new was only a development of something which had once already existed.\(^{100}\) The same applied to City Design. As soon as a City Designer embarked on his work, he worked within a historical framework, there was no other base available for his work than history and historic cities.

Hence each page of history is a palimpsest. *Hence our modern town, even when yesterday but prairie, was no mere vacant site, but was at once enriched and encumbered by the surviving traditions of the past*, so that even its new buildings are for the most part but vacant shells of past art, of which now only the students cares to trace the objective annals, much less penetrate to the inner history.\(^{101}\)

The best solution would be if each historical period were represented by buildings referring to all four social types. But Westminster Abbey precinct had a lack of medieval buildings, for example of a town hall (Chiefs) and a cathedral

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\(^{99}\) See above chapter 4, p. 160.
\(^{100}\) See above chapter 4, p. 164, footnote 117.
Both symbolic buildings were provided only generations later with the Middlesex Guildhall and Westminster Cathedral.

But it [the Guildhall] will help to restore the medieval conception of the City, as being, like the Roman Civitas, something that includes the adjacent countryside as integral to civic life, and vice versa. For a Cathedral, as civic complement to the medieval Abbey, Westminster had to wait till our own day.¹⁰²

A City Designer could complete, or restore to completeness each circle of a city’s life at any moment. Geddes’s work in Edinburgh provides a good example how that could be achieved.

¹⁰² Geddes, Branford, Social Inheritance, p. 278, (my emphasis except for the Latin word).
"Here, then, we have a new principle and method of town planning - and, indeed, of city design. It is the combination, in each city, of its antiquarian piety, and its conservative artistic purpose, with architectural ability and business management: this towards a twofold purpose - on the one side that of collegiate efficiency; on the other, that of civic betterment."


The decline of Edinburgh as a seat of political power after the Union of Parliaments between Scotland and England in 1707 led to the rise of the Enlightened Edinburgh. The extent to which the earlier caused the later is arguable, but a relation between both events can be taken for granted. David Daiches confined the Scottish Enlightenment in a narrow sense to the period between 1760 and 1790, but a larger frame would cover the period between 1707 and 1832, the year of the death of Walter Scott.¹ A principle characteristic of the Scottish Enlightenment was the awareness of history and change rooted in attempts to understand the status of the Scottish nation since the Union of Crowns in 1603. This developed into a strong sense for a "relationship between law, history and society", an immediate expression of the objective of the Enlightenment in Scotland that "human progress was to be encouraged by an appropriate environment" created by men.²

Inventing Historical Edinburgh

For Edinburgh, the Union of 1707 had political-cultural and economic consequences. The loss of the title of 'Capital of Scotland' stood for the general decline of image, prestige, and political power. With the dissolution of the city's major national institution, the Parliament located at Parliament Square behind St. Giles

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Cathedral, the members of Parliament left for London. Within the vacuum the departing Parliament left in the city, the importance of other national and official bodies located in Edinburgh rose. The Treaty of Union guaranteed the independence of the Scottish legal system and the Scottish Church. They, in turn, acquired an important role in defining a Scottish identity within Great Britain. The move of various law courts and related facilities into the old premises of the Parliament symbolised this shift. Similarly, the importance of learned societies, like the Royal College of Physicians, increased. The growing number of such societies after the Union, for example the foundation of the Society of Antiquaries in 1780, indicated where Edinburgh looked for its new self-identity: in the fields of knowledge and learning.3

The economic consequences of the Union for Edinburgh are far more difficult to assess. Youngson argued in The Making of Classical Edinburgh that the immediate result after 1707 was a decline of the economic power due to the shake-up of Edinburgh as a capital city. In the long run, however, he saw the Union with England more positively and rejected the notion of Edinburgh's "Dark Age".4 Although streets like the Canongate suffered a physical decline due to the nobility's lack of interest in further maintaining their houses, elsewhere in Edinburgh significant private and public building activities took place between 1707 and the middle of the century.5 However, Edinburgh's economic situation had changed, the secured leading position within the Scottish nation due to its capital status was lost.

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5 Youngson referred particularly to the following activities, often connected with erecting new premises: 1700-1715 rebuilding of Parliament Square; 1727 building of James Court; 1729 foundation of the Infirmary, which became in 1739 Royal Infirmary; 1733 Orphan Hospital; 1738 George Watson's Hospital; 1727 foundation of the Royal Bank of Scotland. (Youngson, Classical Edinburgh, p. 24); In opposition to Youngson, McKean called this period a time of "civic inactivity". (McKean, Edinburgh, p. 114).
Towards the New Town

The famous Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh, published in 1752, were an initiative to ensure Edinburgh's future position, even to restore some of the lost importance. The Proposals expressed a clear economic intention, viz. to foster and strengthen Edinburgh's position as the "chief city of North Britain." This aim demanded hygienic conditions for living, special areas in the city dedicated to trade and commerce, particularly for the food trade, and a set of representative public buildings. At this time Edinburgh either lacked these qualities entirely, or the respective buildings and places were squeezed into the densely congested space of the Old Town. A strong sense of a new beginning characterised the Proposals. The Old Town was considered more or less as a single ruin; the consequence of the collapse of a tenement building on the north side of the High Street in 1751; the superficial reason for publishing the Proposals. In the following years several of the suggested building works were realised, among them the Exchange on the site of the collapsed tenement house in the Old Town, and the first New Town north of the old city from 1766 onwards.

This New Town was the physical expression of the Scottish Enlightenment's ideas about an improved environment of man as the basis of his and society's betterment. The neo-classical architecture and town planning principles indicated where the future lay: in an enlightened, rationally organised society. But the New Town was only a belated realisation of the Enlightenment's ideas about man's

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7 Proposals for carrying on certain public works in the city of Edinburgh (1752), quoted from Youngson, Classical Edinburgh, p. 5.
8 The Exchange accommodates today the City Chambers. The building was designed in 1752 by John and Robert Adam, modified in 1753 by John Fergus and completed in 1761.
9 The New Town competition was held in 1766 and James Craig was the winner. Building works of the New Town began immediately and lasted till the end of the century with the exception of Charlotte Square which was only finished later. Youngson's The Making of the Classical Edinburgh is still the best account of both the general improvement work in Edinburgh subsequent to the Proposals, and the planning and building of the New Town.
environment, which arose from the specific condition of the Old Town. Furthermore, the New Town was not such a radical new beginning when compared to the Earl of Mar's proposal of 1722, which suggested that the old city should be abandoned in favour of a new settlement erected somewhere on a plane site.¹⁰

Edinburgh's New Town caused a spatial and social differentiation within a city which up to then had been very compact. The perception of Old and New Town, although parts of the same city, gave the impression of two different cities, as was explained in 1833:

"Edinburgh is in fact two towns more ways than one. It contains an upper and an under town - the one a sort of thoroughfare for the children of business and fashion, the other a den of retreat for the poor, the diseased and the ignorant."¹¹

Nevertheless, the New Town was, despite its name, neither a new town nor a simple extension of the old one. The New Town was a deliberate continuation of the old city, but based on different principles and realised in different forms.

The first building erected beyond the North Loch was Register House, which accommodated the "Public Records of Scotland".¹² With this public endeavour the city fathers hoped to foster the development of the New Town. Beside the economic aspect, the building embodied an idea of continuity. The city moved, so to speak, to a new location, but not without its history in the form of records and documents. The Old Town, which had accommodated the city for centuries, was left behind as a shell, no longer of any purpose. The main physical connection between Old and New Town was the South Bridge - North Bridge axis, at the end of which stood Register House.

¹⁰ McKean, Edinburgh, p. 139.
¹² Register House was designed by Robert Adam, begun in 1774, and completed in 1834. A useful account of the design and building process in Youngson, Classical Edinburgh, pp. 65-68.
This line of communication consisted significantly of bridges, spanning over the Old Town and the slums of the abandoned city, and running straight into the then still open countryside south of Edinburgh. There smaller developments like George Square just begun to extend the area of the city.

The Return of the Old Town

With the move to the New Town the perception of the Old Town changed. The permanent backward look from the distance of the New Town towards the silhouette of the Old Town between Castle Rock and Arthur's seat fostered an awareness of the beauty of Edinburgh's old quarters. A "perception of scenic beauty does not creep into the descriptions of Edinburgh until about the middle of the eighteenth century", but would from then onwards never disappear again. In 1760 a visitor to Edinburgh described primarily the view from the Old Town into the landscape, but only eleven years later another description had the view on the Old Town at its centre:

A City that possess a boldness and grandeur of situation beyond any that I have ever seen. ... The view of the houses at a distance strikes the traveller with wonder; their old loftiness, improved by their almost aerial situation, gives them a look of magnificence not to be found in any other part of Great Britain.

The actual appearance of the Old Town would decline over the next decades until it became one the worst slums in Europe, but the romantic appreciation of its picturesqueness became a constant point of reference for both visitors and inhabitants of Edinburgh. Robert Murdie, a journalist following King George IV on a private sightseeing tour to Scotland in 1822, dismissed the eighteenth-century New Town

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14 Thomas Pennant, Tour in Scotland (1771), quoted from Masson, Praise of Edinburgh, pp. 142-143. The visitor from 1760 was Richard Pococke, the Bishop of Meath. (Masson, Praise of Edinburgh, pp. 130-131).
simply as "dull". He noticed the dirtiness of the Old Town, yet admired its situation and appearance. Edinburgh, seen as a romantic city, was able to provide what the New Town had never achieved: an ideal for both the city's self-perception and an image to attract outsiders.

The notion of Edinburgh's beauty rested on two pillars. One was the exceptional physical location of the Old Town, a natural advantage of the city. The quality of the architecture of the Old Town became increasingly important as the second pillar. Although the combination of the urban fabric with the natural environment had already been noticed in 1771, it was only during the nineteenth century that both factors become fully appreciated. Lord Cockburn's famous open letter On the best ways of spoiling the beauties of Edinburgh stated, for example, that Edinburgh was nothing except for its beauty. This beauty, which Cockburn pleaded to preserve and develop, was a composition of the "irregularity of the surface", of "internal features and scenery" of the city, and of the "distant prospects". It was, according to Cockburn, the task of art and architecture to emphasise and improve Edinburgh's most important quality.

Cockburn was mainly concerned with aesthetic questions. Emphasising Edinburgh's beauty meant for him to break "heavy uniform lines ... into variety" so as to achieve an even stronger notion of picturesqueness, or to beautify streets with "ornamental buildings". He wished to initiate a process of improving the Old Town in a similar way as the "old loathsome town churchyards" changed into "spacious, pure

15 Robert Murdie, Modern Athens: A dissection and demonstration of men and things in the Scotch capital. By a modern Greek (London: Forknight and Lacey, 1825), p. 151; McKean described this event as the beginning of "Edinburgh's new industry: romantic tourism" (McKean, Edinburgh, p. 179).

16 Later stages of the New Town developments like the northern New Town or the Moray Estate, attempted a more picturesque image with the introduction of curved streets and crescents, and a richer architectural detailing of the houses, but they still follow mainly the principles of the first New Town.

and breezy cemeteries". New buildings should underline the natural features and at the same time open up the congested Old Town.

A good indicator by which to follow the growing aesthetic appreciation of the Old Town’s architecture is given by the various Edinburgh improvement schemes. One particular project Cockburn referred to briefly was the Mound improvement. The Mound, an artificial earthen slope, was the second communication between the old and new part of Edinburgh beside the Bridges. Originally, it was a straight dam running down the rock of the Old Town, crossing the valley and meeting the First New Town roughly opposite Hanover Street. Plans to improve this situation reached back to the early nineteenth century, when the Bank of Scotland erected its new headquarters on the top of the Mound in 1806, followed at the opposite, lower end by the Royal Institution, built to the design of William Playfair in 1822-26.

The Mound was subject to a variety of planning schemes. Common to most schemes was a grand approach to the improvement of the communication between New and Old Town; the latter, despite its symbolic abandonment as an appropriate place to live in, was still the political and business centre of Edinburgh. Most authors attempted to introduce into the skyline of the Old Town, together with new streets, neo-classical architecture. Burn and Hamilton, who designed the earliest scheme in

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19 Among the buildings Cockburn mentioned were Thomas Hamilton’s High School on Calton Hill (1829), the portico of the Commercial Bank on the High Street by James Gillespie Graham (1813-14), and also Regent Terrace or Royal Terrace by William Playfair (1829).
22 Improvement schemes were designed, for example, by William Burn and Thomas Hamilton (1824), Alexander Trotter and Archibald Elliot II (1829), William Playfair (1831), Alexander Nasmyth, and Robert Fleming Gourlay (1850). See Youngson, *Classical Edinburgh*, pp. 169-174; McKean, *Edinburgh, Architectural Guide*, pp. 82-83.
1824, directed a road up the Mound in a curved line roughly as it exists today. Yet at the same time, the main feature of the plan was an axial street running straight up the hill and breaking through the houses on the northern side of Lawnmarket. Terraces of buildings on both sides of the axis framed a Gothic styled church on the site of today's Tolbooth St. John's Church.\textsuperscript{23} Burn and Hamilton's scheme was realised but with one significant exception. The axial new street up the Mound was never built. The perception of the Old Town was one major obstacle, together with property questions and constructional difficulties, to the envisaged neo-classical beautification of this part of Edinburgh.

Schemes for an improved western and southern access to the Old Town took from the beginning its peculiar appearance into account. A proposal for a new approach from the West, put forward in 1826, promised not to disturb "the characteristic features of the ancient ridge on which the Old Town is built" and suggested the replacement of wooden tenement houses on the North side of Castlehill with structures "in the old Flemish style".\textsuperscript{24} A year later, in 1827, the proposal was included into an Improvement Bill and became object of fierce criticism, as the intended demolition of "our ancient and venerable city", which was "to give place to a heterogeneous mixture of modern buildings, in the Flemish style."\textsuperscript{25}

The 1867 Improvement Act demanded that the replacements for demolished slum tenements should be built in Scots Baronial as to guarantee "harmony with these fine specimens of national architecture in many of the neglected and overcrowded areas".\textsuperscript{26} This improvement scheme was initiated by Edinburgh's Lord Provost William Chambers. The driving idea behind the scheme was civic pride, and the

\textsuperscript{23} Built by James Gillespie Graham and A. W. N. Pugin in 1839-1844.
\textsuperscript{24} Statement relative to the Improvements on the City of Edinburgh by a New Approach from the West (Edinburgh, 1826), quoted from Youngson, Classical Edinburgh, pp. 174-175.
\textsuperscript{25} Youngson, Classical Edinburgh, p. 178.
appropriate place to develop this was the Old Town:

The slums had to be redeveloped because they were a disgrace to a city of Edinburgh's stature, at once undermining its contemporary reputation and its symbolic value as the repository of 800 years of Scottish history.27

The awareness of the built historical heritage of Edinburgh grew in parallel with the notion of the city's beauty.28 For example, Thomas Hamilton surveyed in 1830 the old West Port buildings prior to their demolition according to the 1827 Improvement Bill. The Edinburgh Association for Illustrating Local Antiquities, founded in 1841, had a similar aim of recording historic buildings but on a broader basis.29 Likewise, the National Art Survey of Scotland, initiated by the Edinburgh architect Rowand Anderson probably as early as 1866, contributed to the concern about historic architecture, although on a national level.30 The Old Town acquired an official acknowledgement as the representative part of Edinburgh during the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art, Edinburgh (IEE) in 1886.31 (Figure 6.1)

27 Smith, Environmental Improvement, p. 113.
28 See Miles Horsey, 'The utopia of heritage: a history of architectural preservation in Scotland (part 1), in Journal and Annual Report of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland 14 (1987), 31-41, (hereafter Utopia of Heritage). Horsey identified two eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ideas as the basis of the concept of preservation. 'Firstly, the Picturesque, a visual doctrine under which old buildings became admired for their irregular appearance and patina of age (both in their own right and as inspiration for new buildings and styles); secondly, the idealistic search for social and historical 'context', in which such buildings were increasingly seen as symbols of a past wholeness to contrast with the chaos and 'alienation' of the modern world.' (pp. 31-32).
29 Horsey, Utopia of Heritage, p. 33.
30 Ian Gow, 'Sir Rowand Anderson's National Art Survey of Scotland', in Architectural History (27) 1984, 543-554 (p. 544). Officially the National Art Survey was launched in connection with the foundation of the Edinburgh School of Applied Art in 1892-93.
This exhibition displayed in a purpose-designed temporary building on the Meadows, south of the Old Town, the latest international achievements in science, industry and art. Although it might be seen as just another international exhibition of the late nineteenth century, its main significance lay at the local level. Intended to boost the local and Scottish economy, the exhibition also put forward a specific view of Edinburgh. At the end of the long, axially planned main building stood a replica of an "Old Edinburgh Street", a "Full-sized Model of a Street, illustrating exact facsimiles of Luckenbooths, West Port, Lawnmarket, West Bow, and other Old Historical Buildings of Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries."³² (Figure 6.2)

The Edinburgh Architect Sydney Mitchell designed the Old Edinburgh Street as a fictitious image of a long gone Old Town of Edinburgh. (Figure 6.3) The Netherbow Gate once again was the entrance to the City of Edinburgh with the Mercat Cross at its centre, right next to the Tolbooth. The guiding interest in the Mitchell design was the balance between the "picturesqueness of architectural effect"³³ and the historical correctness of the copies. (Figure 6.4) The imitation was complete, exhibitor's staff in this section had to wear old guild dresses, and the shops in the imitated buildings sold, in principle, only old crafts goods.

The organiser stressed in the Official Guide to the exhibition, that the IEE had been located "almost on the edge of old ancient Borough Muir".³⁴ Nearly a hundred years earlier, at a time when Edinburgh expanded into the New Towns, Robert Barker invented in Edinburgh in 1788 the panorama as a new instrument to present visual images. The first panorama was located on the Mound, the border between the Old and the First New Town. The first picture on display was a commanding view over

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³² Official Catalogue IEE 1886, p. 23.  
³⁴ Official Guide IEE 1886, p. 47.
the New Town into the landscape around Edinburgh.35 The image captured the optimistic view of the future the founder of the New Town had. Whereas in 1866, when Edinburgh hosted the IEE as an attempt to emphasise the city as a place for new and progressive business, the only image the city could offer its guest as the climax of the exhibition was the replica of an idealised Old Edinburgh Street. With this renewed appreciation Edinburgh came, so to speak, home again. The experiment of the New Towns had been abolished for good, Edinburgh's future lay in the historic Old Town. One of the three million visitors attending the exhibition took this idea literally. In the same year as the IEE Patrick Geddes moved from the New Town into the Old Town to begin his improvement work.

Geddes emphasised the educational value of the Old Edinburgh Street by writing that this section of the IEE belonged to the "more useful" exhibits, because it was "at once stimulating and popularising the historic spirit, and helping to the recovery of the fallen, yet highest, art of civilised production of permanent wealth - that of rational, fitting, and beautiful architecture, civic and domestic."36 But his main interest was to direct activities towards the real Old Town rather than short lived copies of old houses. Seen from this point of view, Sydney Mitchell's design for the Old Edinburgh Street was a "suggestion of what may be done in some of our old quarters in permanent form."37

36 Geddes, Industrial Exhibitions, p. 9. The only exhibit Geddes placed even higher were modern working class dwellings: "Best of all were the typical workmen's dwellings, slums no longer, but genuinely human homes, spacious and lightsome, with flower-filled windows, and built with honest old-fashioned mason's marks." (p. 9).
Geddes's View of the Old Town

In his 'Civic Survey of Edinburgh' Geddes identified two ways of looking at old Edinburgh.38 Focusing on Edinburgh the slum, responses like clearance schemes, for example those initiated by William Chambers, or philanthropic initiatives like ragged schools arose. Geddes's involvement in founding the Edinburgh Social Union in 1885, a typical nineteenth-century middle class philanthropic association, belonged to these initiatives.39 But Geddes's interest went beyond good will activities of direct relief in slums. His intention was the combination of these initiatives with the long term goal of fostering and strengthening the romantic aspect of Edinburgh.

This was for Geddes more than an aesthetic appreciation of an unusually located city with stimulating romantic architecture as captured in the drawings of historical Edinburgh houses Geddes commissioned from Bruce J. Home.40 Romantic Edinburgh related immediately back, as Geddes continued, to Walter Scott's writing, and to the time before the full impact of the industrial revolution on the appearance of Edinburgh. This impact was relatively small in Edinburgh in terms of new building types, but significant in the realm of housing as a result of the population growth. Geddes, however, had something different in mind; to revive Scott's "spirit in presence of the broken survivals of his picturesque environment before the inroad of the railway and full onset of the industrial and financial age" was the long-term goal of Geddes.41 This meant a revival of Edinburgh as a learned university city in a picturesque, romantic urban environment, which had only recently been lost.

In a short, unpublished essay with the title 'Sunrise in Edinburgh' Geddes

38 Geddes, Civic Survey Edinburgh, p. 565.
39 Philip Boardman gives a useful account of the Edinburgh Social Union, see Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 73-74.
confirmed his fascination with the romantic Old Town. In a symbolist language Geddes described how the rising sun behind the silhouette of the Old Town, seen from the window of his house in Princes Street, guided his thought back into the past, not only of Edinburgh, but of humanity.

Today we looked forth from our window, at the dawn: and watched it together. We saw the City standing in dark and broken masses against hills well-nigh as dark - the night clouds rolled over the whole - but a faint rosy light came into the East - then we saw the world - and the vision of the world in one - for the great world lay asleep among its hills like man returned for his last rest to the arms of Nature, neither light nor footstep of the present was yet awakened: we were alone with the past. And the whole world's dim, dark past was there - we saw it from the earliest day, the heavy colonnades and sphinxes of a Graeco-Egyptian temple, fit repository alike for ancient history and science even of our day, beyond it the lighter walls of a Graeco-Roman treasurehouse. - On the cliffs to the right lay the grey mediaeval citadel, the stranded residues of the feudal past, of which memories rule us still. Farther down the street rising high above the classic world stood the domes and pinnacles of the modern citadel - the house of Wealth; The enthroned powers of capital had chosen their place fitly, and enshrined the Ark of their Covenant in a palace more gorgeous than any of these, adorned with the traces of classic luxury, heaped into the ignoblest Renaissance. Farther down the hill dwarfed beside this one could descry the dull prison-like Town house for the citizens. But beyond and above all rose from the deepest valley a vast pillar into the sky, pouring forth its cloud of fetid blackness - literal darkness that might be felt - against the rosy East, like the powers of evil seeking to extinguish even the faint glimpse of light and beauty which flickered on the horizon - for it was the power of modern Industry, stronger than any ancient Church or State which has enslaved nature and man alike - and the whistles sounded and the pinched workers crept forth to their toil, for they could not but obey. 42

In Geddes's vision any redemption from the plights of the industrial city was achievable only if the Old Town of Edinburgh became recognised as the place to begin the improvement of city, society and life. But the Old Town was only a symbol for the whole history of mankind from Egypt - the oldest period in the Tree of Eternity - to the industrial age. This was the opposite position to the contemporary tendency to seek solutions for the problems of industrialised cities by abandoning the dilapidated

centres. This trend had begun with Ebenezer Howard's garden city movement and Bruno Taut captured it nearly three decades later with the slogan *The Dissolution of the Cities*.\(^{43}\) Geddes instead argued for a return to the origin of the city, in the case of Edinburgh for the return into the Old Town.

This idea combined in Geddes's thoughts easily with the biological or organic understanding of a city. Viewed from the Outlook Tower, the ancient urban core between "the historic Castle and Old Town remain as a central head and backbone of the irregularly spread modern growth"\(^{44}\) Edinburgh had developed into. Around the Castle Rock the city of Edinburgh had developed, and only from there could the renewal begin.

Here indeed, I submit, is an answer to those town planners who design a shell, and then pack their snail of a would-be progressive city into it, not discerning that the only real and well-fitting shell is that which the creature at its growing periods throws out from its own life. This is no doctrine of laissez-faire; it is simply the recognition that each generation, and in this each essential type and group of it, must express its own life, and thus make its contribution to its city in its own characteristic way.\(^{45}\)

The Old Town had been, and still was, the *germ cell* of Edinburgh. Applying Haeckel's fundamental biogenetic law that the ontogeny of the individual organism recapitulates the phylogeny of the species, Geddes's activities in the Old Town of Edinburgh can be understood as the recapitulation of Edinburgh's history as to prepare and allow for another stage of growth of the organism of the city. What follows is not a detailed reconstruction of Geddes's activities in Edinburgh, but an interpretative, retrospective account of his work in the Old Town based on the argument that Geddes as a City Designer was guided by the idea to make the history of his city, and its country, available to the citizens for the reasons proposed above.\(^{46}\)

\(^{43}\) Bruno Taut, *Die Auflösung der Städte* (Hagen, 1920).
\(^{46}\) To relieve the appalling living conditions was another major reason for Geddes to begin
As the object of a survey, Edinburgh offered two advantages beside the fact that Geddes was living in this city. Despite the changes due to the recent industrial development Edinburgh still displayed a rich and varied architectural heritage.\textsuperscript{47} But Edinburgh was also characterised by a dichotomy of two different concepts of town planning and architecture which Geddes names as the picturesque and as the utilitarian attitude.

...the strange yet constant alternations of our Edinburgh architecture - here of picturesqueness, there of utilitarian plainness - thus appear as the natural and necessary expressions in architecture of the contrasted social types. Architecture and town planning in such a city, we thus plainly see, are not the mere products of the quiet drawing-office somewhere would have them [sic!]; they are the expressions of the local history, the civic and national changes of mood and contrasts of mind.\textsuperscript{48}

Architecture and town planning were the expression of local history only because the "mental attitude of a generation and its expression in material and literary art are normally at one."\textsuperscript{49} The relation between the psychological side of the people and their material environment was reciprocal. Tracing the material expression allowed one to understand the people and their mental attitudes. This, reciprocally, would further the understanding of the material remnants of these particular people. Based on this assumption, an analysis of the utilitarian and picturesque attitudes in architecture and town planning would allow one to establish where and when the relation between the four social types was well balanced, or disturbed respectively.

The deliberate introduction of historical knowledge into the city of Edinburgh

\textsuperscript{47} "Here [in Edinburgh] the narrow ridge crowded into a single street all the essential organs of a capital, and still presents with the rarest completeness of concentration a conspectus of modern civic life and development; and this alike as regards both spiritual and temporal powers, using these terms in their broadest sense as the respective expressions of the material order and its immaterial counterparts." (Geddes, \textit{Civics I}, in Meller, \textit{The Ideal City}, p. 81).


\textsuperscript{49} Geddes, \textit{Beginnings Survey of Edinburgh}, p. 293.
worked on at least three levels. There was the long-term project of the survey of Edinburgh, part of it the historical survey. The next level was Geddes's building activity, both the restoration and renovation of old structures and the erection of new buildings in the Old Town. These interventions into the urban fabric were complemented by a program of decoration in the form of mural paintings within buildings, and statues, monuments and commemorative friezes in public spaces.

The Historical Survey of Edinburgh

The broadest approach towards awakening of the historical consciousness of the citizens of Edinburgh was the historical survey. The Edinburgh room of the Outlook Tower accommodated the material Geddes and his supporters collected. (Figure 6.5) In 1910 Geddes presented for the first time a summary of the survey to the Town Planning Conference, which was subsequently published in the proceedings of the conference, and re-published twice thereafter in 1911 and 1919.50

The published versions of the survey of Edinburgh make clear that despite all historical facts gathered in these essays, the survey was a selective endeavour. The main aim was to prove that there were elements in the geographical and built structure of Edinburgh that had continuously served subsequent generations of citizens although for various purposes. For example, on Arthur's Seat and on the southern slope of the Castle Rock and Hill, ancient cultivation terraces were still discernible from the time when Britain belonged to the Roman Empire. (Figure 6.6) Later, during and after the reformation, these terraces were used as foundations for the city walls; a necessary defence system in an unstable period of Scottish history. According to Geddes, this indicated not merely a continuity in the use of human made work, but a different

mental attitude on the part of the citizens. The terraces were "taken away from their immemorial peaceful use to afford the lines and bases for successive city walls".\textsuperscript{51} (Figure 6.7)

Geddes established open spaces on some of these terraces in the Old Town, for example the garden at Johnston Terrace. (Figure 6.8) Gardens in such locations marked a return to the original purpose of cultivation terraces for planting and gardening.

This is but a small example, yet a vital one, of the renewing modern life and use of even what may have been a forgotten past: in this case, the longest forgotten.\textsuperscript{52}

By reintroducing such spaces dedicated again to the activity of gardening Geddes hoped to stimulate a return of the corresponding mental attitude in the citizens. Yet this "immemorial peaceful use" and the related attitude were nothing new, but the evocation of a forgotten knowledge, which the survey could help to recollect.

Other remnants of this very early period of Edinburgh were the basic system of paths and roads between the settlements near Castle Rock and Arthur's Seat and other places in the environs. This ancient network still determined the road system of contemporary Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{53} Furthermore, there were two ancient, sacred wells of St. Margaret and St. Triduana in the immediate vicinity to the later Abbey of Holyrood.

The next period the survey dealt with was Edinburgh during the Middle Ages. This was the most important period for Geddes because it provided the best example of the division of the city in the four social types. Additionally, Edinburgh

\begin{footnotes}
\item[53] Mears, 'Primitive Edinburgh', \textit{Scottish Geographical Magazine} 35 (1919), 298-315, (hereafter \textit{Primitive Edinburgh}).
\end{footnotes}
offered an exceptionally clear spatial distribution of the buildings corresponding with the social types, emphasised by the town's geographical structure.

Geddes traced back the basic urban structure of contemporary Edinburgh to the eleventh century. At that point, the castle rock was occupied by a fort or castle with an open space in front of it, "the military zone of a bow-shot distance". On the west side, but still on Castle Rock, was a small suburb. (Figures 6.9, 6.10) Another suburb, Castlehill, emerged east of the open space. From there a steep path, Castlewynd, lead down to the Grassmarket, which was the traditional "agricultural import centre of the city".54 In the area of Holyrood Palace an abbey existed, together with the beginnings of the suburb of Canongate.55

This urban pattern developed further during the next two centuries. The Lawnmarket and the High Street were laid out in the twelfth century as a new town; characterised by a spacious central area, the High Street, and small narrow plots running down on both sides of the rock. Buildings were confined to the margins of the central open space and the remaining land of the plots was used for gardens. This was the ideal Medieval Edinburgh Geddes had in mind by writing, that beyond Edinburgh "... probably no city ... more conspicuously illustrates all these essentials elements". 56

The essential elements were the Castle representing the Chiefs, and the Lawnmarket and the two suburbs of Castlehill and Canongate, accommodating the People. The Intellectuals were in Holyrood Abbey, and the Emotionals in St. Giles Cathedral. Edinburgh was the most "convenient general diagram and key to study

55 Mears dated to the same period the beginnings of Dean Village (Mears, Primitive Edinburgh, p. 312).
56 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 23.
medieval cities in general."57 Mears did exactly this and came to the conclusion that the spatial structure of Edinburgh was not a singular event, but a typical example of a widespread type of new towns founded during these two centuries.58 (Figure 6.11) Furthermore, this structure of Edinburgh was not only the model for other medieval towns, but for all subsequent periods of the city's history. (Figure 6.12)

Two further points have to be mentioned about the medieval Edinburgh.
First, the architecture of the city at that time. Geddes himself referred to it only briefly by mentioning the arcades of the houses framing the central space.59 Mears expanded on this point:

The houses were framed in wood, probably carved and painted in the manner which survives in gypsy vans today - the only stone building being the church of St. Giles ...60

The most prominent surviving examples of this type of building were John Knox's house, Moubray House and Gladstone's Land.61 (Figure 6.13)

The second important feature about the medieval city were the abbeys founded by the Black and Grey Friars south of the town. (Figure 6.14) They represented further examples of the Spiritual Powers. But beyond this, the friars established with their buildings the tradition of Edinburgh as a learned city.62 Again, medieval Edinburgh acquired a model function which went beyond the immediate local

57 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 23.
58 Frank C. Mears, 'The Planning of Mediaeval Cities', Transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, 9 (1928), 81-90. He ends this essay with the remark that Ebenzer Howard's To-morrow appears to him as a the only useful book to understand the medieval town planning system. "Yet the lost handbook, which may have led to the great twelfth-century regional town planning period, can hardly have set up an ideal very different in its essentials." (p. 90).
60 Mears, Growth of Edinburgh, p. 38.
61 Mears, Growth of Edinburgh, p. 39.
62 "Note .. how it is in this very area we trace the beginnings and still possess of the development of the University, of hospitals, and great schools." The same Geddes observes in Oxford, where "colleges arose in the exactly corresponding sites vacated by the Friars outside the walls." (Geddes, Civic Survey Edinburgh, p. 555).
importance.

Without the friaries, both grey and black, no Town Planner can understand the lay-out of modern Florence or Oxford, of Perth or Edinburgh ...63

Knowing where the monasteries once were in a city, meant that one knew where and why later cultural institutions occupied certain areas in any town. In Edinburgh the sites of the monasteries and the surrounding ground became used during the following centuries, in particular after the Reformation, for all sorts of cultural institutions, for example, the Infirmary (1745), the Town College (1581), the later University of Edinburgh, or Heriot's Hospital (1628) as indicated in Figure 6.15.64

Whereas the tradition of Edinburgh as a learned city continued once established, the garden city quality of the medieval Edinburgh had disappeared during the centuries of prevailing inner Scottish struggles and conflicts with England. This period began, according to Geddes, in the fourteenth century and lasted well into the eighteenth, where it came to an end after the two Jacobite Rebellions of 1715 and 1745.65 During this time the physical appearance of Edinburgh changed significantly.

The encircling of the city by the city walls resulted in two changes. The walls, like the King's Wall erected between c. 1450 and 1475, cut off the city from the sites of the friars and their monasteries.66 Confined within these walls, the congestion began to develop which made Edinburgh so famous in the nineteenth century. The

64 Mears spoke even of a "Cultural Mile" beside the "Historic [Royal] Mile" (Mears, Growth of Edinburgh, p. 39) and made this analysis to the basis of a development plan for Edinburgh in 1931, by locating further University buildings in the area roughly between the Infirmary and Surgeons Hall including George Square. [Frank C. Mears, Preliminary Suggestions prepared for Consideration by the representative Committee in regard to the Development and Re-Planning of the Central Area of the City in Relation to Public Buildings (Edinburgh: n. pub., 1931)].
open gardens behind the houses along the Lawnmarket and High Street were built over and the typical Edinburgh Close emerged - a small, narrow path running down the rock and giving access to the buildings at the rear of the plots. While Edinburgh kept its basic form and area, the urban fabric during this time changed significantly.

The beginning of the "Utilitarian and Industrial" period was dated by Geddes at the Revolution of 1688. It created the Edinburgh as it more or less still existed in Geddes's own time. Speculative buildings like Mylne's Court (1690) or James Court (1729) were both expressions of increasing wealth but also of the final onslaught on the medieval character, as far as it was still visible.67 Some decades later the various phases of the New Town were created from 1766 onwards. Geddes admitted that it was a "period of town-planning and of architectural execution surpassing even the lessons of London" but it failed due to three reasons. The planners ignored the "adequate consideration of relief and contour", which meant their schemes broke down as soon as the ground did not allow for the straight and rectangular street lines. The second reason was the lack of consideration of the social aspect of town planning in the New Towns.

These plans show plainly that the designers - clients and corporations alike - assumed a practically indefinitely increasing population of the well-to-do ... they forgot entirely .. to provide for cheaper burgher dwellings, much less for workmen's homes.68

Finally, the third reason was the monofunctional character of the New Town plans. The lack of adequate spaces for workshops and small scale industrial production resulted in the erection of all sort of work spaces cramped in the backyards of the terraces; the intended beauty of the schemes was destroyed. (Figure 6.16)

Geddes concluded the historic survey of Edinburgh with the beginning of the

68 Geddes, Beginnings Survey of Edinburgh, p. 287.
railway age. The nineteenth century continued the mistakes of the centuries before. Again, a lack of social and topographical considerations led both to the disastrous separation of social classes and to the negative impact the various competing railway companies had on the city. They occupied the valley below the Old Town - one of the best open spaces in Edinburgh - and in doing so destroyed the view onto the Old Town and other qualities of that inner city open space.69

The Ideal Edinburgh

A brief outline of Geddes's ideal Edinburgh as the goal of his engagement in City Design is necessary, before the building activities, decorative schemes and similar can be considered. A small drawing summarises Geddes's perception of the contemporary city. (Figure 6.17) Geddes sketched a section of the Royal Mile as an assembly of buildings, representing the main activities in the city. Beginning on the left, he started with Journalism, followed by the University, the Cathedral, the Bank, the Factory, the Proletarian Houses, the Theological College and the Castle as a synonym for war. Underneath the drawing Geddes noted: "[The] Problem of revital[isatio]n of Cities: ... requires Estab[lishmen]t of [unreadable] and intell[ectual] centres..."70

Applying the Town-City formula, Geddes's aim was to establish a new Cloister in Edinburgh, which would give birth to new ideas for the city and the society. Only if there was a new mental attitude could the town as the material expression of ideas about society be renewed. Geddes did not return to the traditional places and areas for intellectual-cultural institutions in Edinburgh, originally established by the friars centuries ago south of the Cowgate, most likely for three

70 From a folder endorsed by Patrick Geddes "Univ.Hall.Symbious.", containing sheets with manuscript notes and sketches, (SUA, T-GED 12/1/358).
reasons. First, these places were occupied by long established institutions, which had a tendency to ossify and to lose the power of developing new ideas. Geddes's neglect of institutions like Edinburgh University might have been a personal reaction against them, due to Geddes's continuous negative experience since he had been a student of the University himself. Third, Geddes wished to improve the living conditions in the Old Town. This required the resuscitation of Edinburgh's old quarters with new activities, economical and intellectual, as a precondition for any long-term improvement.

Geddes located his Cloister project between the Theological College and the Castle. There, on the site of the ancient Castlehill suburb - one of the two most ancient settlements within the area of contemporary Edinburgh - Geddes planned to establish his new centre of learning and thinking. This was a very well chosen location as the oldest site on which citizens, as opposed to the Chiefs and Intellectuals and Emotionals, had settled within Edinburgh. It was a location in the centre of the Old Town, the germ cell of Edinburgh, from whence the new shell for the city should emerge.

A small plan of the area shows Geddes's idea in more detail. (Figure 6.18) According to this sketch, the Cloister would consist of University Halls of residence, and studios and workshops for creative and crafts activities. A Museum of Cultural History would offer facilities for comparative studies of other human societies, as would the Outlook Tower as a type museum. The latter would also foster the study of Edinburgh and its region. An Alpinum, presumably a rock-garden, provided the experience of the life of nature.

71 See chapter 2, p. 76.
72 Nevertheless Geddes relied on the University of Edinburgh, for his Student's Hall was intended to accommodate students of Edinburgh University.
73 The other ancient suburb of Edinburgh, the Canongate, became the second main centre of Geddes's activities.
The complex contained all elements Geddes was to list latter in the centre of the Notation of Life in the central quadrant "Thought" as possible Cloisters: Hermitage, Cloister, University, and Studio. (Figure 2.1). The "Hermitage" was composed of the Thinking Cell in the Outlook Tower,74 and the private rooms at the University Halls. The "Cloister" was the whole complex; but also the built form Geddes choose for the complex followed the pattern of a medieval cloister. The "University" was represented by the variety of courses at the Outlook Tower, the Summer Schools and other extra-mural activities of Geddes. The arts and craftsmen studios formed the "Studio".

This culturally self-contained community came very close to similar ideas prevalent in the Arts and Crafts Movement.75 But Geddes, in opposition to Ashbee, for example, wanted his community to be established in the city centre and not in the countryside. This was based on Geddes's underlying biological-organic understanding of cities. Only from the centre, the germ cell, could come the renewal, after the citizen had learned about the history of his city, and thereby recapitulated its life and growth.

Not only the location, but also the concept of an intellectual Cloister was deliberately chosen. It was a return to the successful tradition of similar centres of intellectual thought and learning in Edinburgh since the time of the monasteries. Geddes made it clear with this decision that he wished not to follow Edinburgh's tradition of "utilitarian and industrial" town planning, but to revive an even older tradition. Accordingly, the architectural forms and language for this new Cloister

74 See below chapter 8, pp. 320-323.
referred to the building traditions of the Medieval times. Intellectually and aesthetically, Geddes's building activities were an attempt to regain some of the qualities characteristic of Edinburgh during the Middle Ages, when the city was a medieval garden city.

**Geddes's Building Activities**

In contrast to the historic survey, which required to be read or to participate in the survey activities, Geddes's building activity represent the visible introduction of history into the life of the citizens. The main area Geddes was concerned with was the Royal Mile. The idea was to begin the necessary renewal of the Old Town at both ends of the Royal Mile, which meant around Castlehill and around Watergate near to Holyrood Palace. The Lawnmarket, and the areas around both Huntly House and Moray House became other foci of Geddes.

Geddes's activities can usefully be divided into two main groups, the renovation and restoration of existing structures, and the commissioning of new buildings. In some projects both kinds of building work mingle. The renovation of buildings has to be considered as the attempt to make through them different stages of

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76 "As a further example may be taken the Canongate approach to Holyrood Palace, passing Whitehorse Close, Watergate, and Abbey Sanctuary. Here only two or three acquisitions remain to be made to complete a plan of restoration and conservative reconstruction comparable to that of the Castlehill; and again large areas of dilapidated slum are giving place to courts in which sanitary and picturesque conditions are combined. In one of these twenty-five workmen's dwellings have already been built, and nineteen thoroughly reconstructed. Yet, in course of this scheme important sites have been (directly or indirectly) preserved with their old buildings or as open spaces ... The Old Town is thus fairly grasped at both ends, and a 'Holyrood Hall' may ere long balance University Hall: in any case, the access to the Castle and Holyrood are in process of continued improvement. The civic and even national utility of these undertakings thus become more apparent." [Patrick Geddes, 'Town and Gown Undertakings', in *Prospectus of the Town and Gown Association* (Edinburgh: n. d. [after 1895]), pp. 2-3, (SUA, T-GED 12/2/82), (hereafter *Town and Gown Undertakings*).]

77 In the following I will concentrate on Ramsay Garden and Castlehill to explain my argument of re-introducing history into the city. It is beyond the scope of my thesis to reconstruct all of Geddes's activities in Edinburgh, of which no account exists. A list of works with which Geddes was involved in Edinburgh that I have begun to compile comprises to date more than fifty projects - realised and unrealised - ranging from new buildings and restoration to small scale decorative proposals.
the history of the city available for the citizens. Only if a building had survived physically, could the citizen read the architecture and come to an understanding of the past generations and their way of life. Geddes's activities in this field covered a variety of old structures, among them the wing of the early eighteenth-century house James Court (1725-5), where he himself lived, Whitehorse Close, allegedly from 1523, Bailie McMorran's house (1590) within Riddle's Close, or Lady Stair's House.

Lady Stair's House off the Lawnmarket, for example, caught Geddes's interest because it was "the last surviving and representative mansion of baronial, as Riddle's Court is of the Burgher type." Consequently, Geddes initiated renovation work on both sites. Lady Stair's House was acquired by Lord Rosebery and refurbished as an intended city museum in 1897. The architect, George Shaw Aitken went beyond any kind of restoration or renovation and the building was re-modelled as a fantasy medieval building both inside and outside, influenced by an Arts and Crafts architecture language. (Figure 6.19) Within Riddle's Court Geddes restored Bailie McMorran's house (1590) for further student accommodation.

The main centre of Geddes's activities, however, was the Castlehill area at the top of the Royal Mile. The whole area was intended to become the new Cloister, and the project extended far beyond the realised parts of Ramsay Garden and the Outlook Tower. There the re-introduction of a past architectural style in combination with a specific cultural aim can best be studied.

An undated plan shows the extent of Geddes's initiative. (Figure 6.20)

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78 Patrick Geddes, [The Aims of the Proposed Town and Gown Association], (annotated typescript, n.d.), p. 6, (my emphasis), (hereafter Proposed Town and Gown Association), (SUA, T-GED 12/1/37).

79 The plan might date from 1892. The first part of Ramsay Garden, 13-16 Ramsay Garden by Henbest Capper, adjacent to Castle Esplanade, is indicated as 'built or in progress'. The second part, 11-12 Ramsay Garden also designed by Capper, is indicated as 'To be built'. As this part was constructed during 1893, the plan obviously shows the state of affairs before the erection of this block. (Plan of Castle Hill showing property around Ramsay Garden (anonymous, n. d.),
Around Ramsay Lodge, the plan indicates the development of what is today known as Ramsay Garden. Ramsay Garden was intended for private flats, Geddes himself lived in No. 14. The former house of the poet Allan Ramsay, Ramsay Lodge, was completely rebuilt including a further storey. It was earmarked for students residences together with the adjacent buildings. The three existing houses to the east of the southern range of buildings were dedicated to artists and craftsmen. (Figure 6.21) A range of studios, to be built on the sloping southern ground below the complex would have offered working spaces for them. (Figure 6.22) A garden in front of the studios, the *Alpinum*, would form the southern border of the complex.

The development was intended to be continued beyond Ramsay Lane into the ground west of the Free College, today New College. There, Geddes wanted to create a University Hall Quadrangle, a reference to traditional medieval colleges in Cambridge or Oxford, organised around court quadrangles. The beginnings of the Quadrangle, as of the whole Cloister, was the University Hall that Geddes had opened in 1887 in Mound Place 2, west of the New College. This building and the two neighbouring houses to the West - one of them accommodating a Soldiers's and Sailors's Home - would have been refurbished and given a new North facade, as indicated on Aitken's drawing of the view from the North. (Figure 6.22) A new building on the east side of Ramsay Lane would have closed the Quadrangle on that side. (Figure 6.23) To complete the quadrangle on the southern side, Geddes planned another new building along Castlehill east of the Outlook Tower. New College was incorporated in the plan as the east wing of the courtyard.

The main feature, however, of the Cloister was a tower block spanning over Ramsay Lane in line with the three existing houses next to Allan Ramsay's lodge. This tower block, which can be seen on figures 6.22 and 6.23, was a copy of the

(SUA, T-GED 12/4/14). See also the plan of the estate in Margo Johnston, 'Ramsay Garden, Edinburgh', in *Journal of the Architectural Heritage Society of Scotland* 16 (1989), 3-19 (p. 9). This essay is the best account on the history of the development of Ramsay Garden.
Netherbow Port, the former city gate below John Knox's house on the High Street. This feature had probably led Geddes to change his architect. While the first sections of Ramsay Garden were conceived in collaboration with Henbest Capper, the architects for all following parts were Sydney Mitchell and George Wilson. Nearly seven years earlier, Mitchell had been the architect of the copy of the Netherbow Port during the IEE in 1886. It is probable that he still owned the reconstruction drawings, which would have made it easier to build another copy, although the illustrations show a tower block which resembles more the tower of Glasgow University rather than the Netherbow Port.

Apart from Ramsay Garden nothing of this grand scheme was ever realised, although Rainy Hall, the new dining room of the New College on the southern side of Geddes's envisaged quadrangle, might have been a belated response to Geddes's initial idea. (Figure 6.24) This is even more plausible as the architects of Rainy Hall were Mitchell and Wilson, who erected the structure in 1899-1900. However, Geddes summarised his intentions for the Cloister with the following words:

Plans have been drawn and estimates made for ... architectural improvement of the block still occupied by the Soldiers' and Sailors' Home and of the original University Hall Building at 2 Mound Place. The dilapidated one-storey buildings in Ramsay Lane will also ... be replaced by a new block which will span Ramsay Lane with an archway and tower. This will give unity to the otherwise separate and disproportioned buildings by combining them into a single facade, extending a hundred and twenty yards west from the Free Church College. It will also compensate in a great degree for the loss of those most picturesque features, the Netherbow and other 'Ports' of the ancient City.80

Behind the decision to built Ramsay Garden and the unrealised copy of the Netherbow Port was a desire to compensate for the loss of the visual features and buildings of medieval Edinburgh. This project represents the combination of Geddes's analysis and appreciation of medieval Edinburgh with his idea for a new Cloister in the

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Old Town. In 1886 Geddes had identified the Old Edinburgh Street at the IEE as an example of what should be done in the Old Town, and in 1892-93 he began to realise this idea on the top of the Mound. Nearly every example of medieval building in Edinburgh had been lost over the past centuries. By recreating some of them, Geddes hoped to raise the awareness among Edinburgh's citizens about the medieval past of their city, whose advantages Geddes had analysed in the historic survey. Furthermore, to compensate for lost medieval buildings meant to complete the medieval cycle of Edinburgh's life once again, similar to the effect Westminster Cathedral had for Westminster's medieval cycle of life.

The architectural language of the Cloister was determined by this idea of creating a medieval pastiche. Ramsay Garden shows a heavily irregular skyline composed from gables, turrets and staircase towers. It reminds one strongly of John Knox's House, the most prominent surviving medieval building in Edinburgh. Furthermore, the harling of the whole complex also referred to the medieval period in Edinburgh's architectural history, when this treatment of surfaces of buildings was common.

The architectural treatment of the existing houses along the south side of Ramsay Garden was different. There the facades displayed bare stone walls, and Mitchell and Wilson decided to overlay this surface with singular elements as references to the medieval tradition. (Figure 6.21) As one's eye moves from the building the farthest East towards the new building on both sides of Ramsay Lodge, an increased use of medieval building features is noticeable, for example harled areas of the facade or bay windows. But the most significant change the architects had made were the three gables unifying the three houses into one. They were references to the gables of old Edinburgh houses, as Mears for example had reconstructed them in the drawing shown in figure 6.13, or as still to be seen in Huntly House in the
These three gables were the most significant feature of many new buildings commissioned by Geddes. They appear at Blackie House on Bank Street, east of New College, a building refurbished by Henbest Capper in 1894 during the clearance work Geddes had initiated in Wardrop's Court behind Blackie House. The north facade of Blackie Houses was significantly altered, again with harled gables and bay windows, to match the development on the west side of New College. Blackie House was the only realised part of the proposed redevelopment of this part of Bank Street.

The same three harled gables and bay windows were the main features of the facade of the new building closing Wardrop's Court on the south side towards the Royal Mile. This was another design drawn by Henbest Capper for Geddes. From the appearance of the same features in buildings by different architects it can be assumed, that these elements were a wish of Geddes. But they were not necessarily his invention. A sketch of the eastern part of the Mound development makes this clear. The essential buildings of the complex are there, but drawn in an amateurish manner. Any architectural detailing like the three gables is missing, which makes it highly possible that this drawing represents Geddes's initial idea for the Cloister. (Figure 6.25)

The Decorative and Monument Schemes in Edinburgh

Whereas Geddes's new buildings were concerned with references to the medieval history of Edinburgh, the decorative scheme covered earlier periods of Scottish history, the framework for Edinburgh's history. It also covered the more recent periods of history and Geddes's philosophical thinking, for example the valley section or the Tree of Eternity, both themes of stained glass windows in the Outlook Tower. Scenes from Edinburgh's history were topics of a series of murals in the
Edinburgh Room of the Outlook Tower painted by James Cadenhead.81 The mural decorations of many of Geddes's buildings were complemented by the idea to erect statues and monuments commemorating important Scotsmen in public spaces throughout the Old Town.

Geddes's decorative scheme was firmly embedded in the Edinburgh Arts and Crafts Movement. The Edinburgh Social Union (ESU) had begun mural decorative schemes for public buildings in 1885, among them for example the Dispensary in Fountainbridge, and the Robertson Memorial Grassmarket Mission Hall.82 One of the most famous examples of the Arts and Crafts approach to unite life and art, although not commissioned by the ESU, was the mural decoration of the Edinburgh Hospital for Sick Children by Phoebe Traquair, painted between 1884 and 1886.83

Geddes's own Old Edinburgh School of Art, founded in 1892 and located partly in the buildings of Ramsay Garden, also aimed at the improvement of life through art. Geddes was able to ensure the co-operation of the Scottish symbolist painter John Duncan for the directorship of the school.84 Other artists involved in the school were William Gordon Burn Murdoch, Charles Mackie, Helen Hay and Helen Baxter.85 Some of them were asked by Geddes to paint murals and decorations for his various buildings.

One theme Geddes chose as appropriate for mural decorations was the most ancient period of Scottish, or Celtic, history; the time only captured in myths and

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81 Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 149.
82 Elizabeth S. Cumming, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, p. 2, gives a list of buildings decorated by the initiative of the Edinburgh Social Union.
83 For this scheme in particular and on Phoebe Anne Traquair and her work in Edinburgh in general see Elizabeth Cumming, Phoebe Anne Traquair (Edinburgh: Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1993).
84 For Duncan see John Kemplay, The Paintings of John Duncan. A Scottish Symbolist (San Francisco: Pomegranate Artbooks, 1994).
85 See Cumming, Arts and Crafts in Edinburgh, p. 4.
legends. The intention was to stimulate imagination and fantasy, both, as Geddes explained, integral parts of man's relation to nature and life.

But what if they [the murals] be but dreams? 'We are such stuff as dreams are made of.' What if they be magic and romance? These things are not ancient and dead, but modern and increasing. For wherever man learns power over Nature, there is magic, wherever he carries out an ideal into Life there is Romance.86

Some of the decorations in Ramsay Lodge, for example, belonged to this group. John Duncan painted murals for the common room depicting themes like 'The Awakening of Cuchullin', the 'Combat of Fionu', or the 'Taking of Excalibur'. Additional Celtic patterns were painted by Helen Hay, Helen Baxter and Marion Mason.87

The cast iron dragons decorating the entrance to Wardrop's Court, and a corner of the student's hall within the southern range of buildings of Ramsay Garden, are also references to the mythical heritage of Scottish history. In his description of the paintings of the common room in Ramsay Lodge, Geddes told the story of the two dragons "sleeping deeply buried in a cave" somewhere on Arthur's Seat. He continued, that "Arthur opened the cave, the dragons fought with each other, the red won over the white and both sank down again. On the next morrow the red dragon rose again from the loch below (Duddingston) in the form of a sword: Excalibur."88

Elsewhere the intention to educate about local history was more obvious. Geddes proposed to decorate some of the buildings around Watergate and Holyrood, with a "bas-relief of King David's Vision of the Cross-bearing heart which led to the foundation of the Abbey, with another expressing the essential idea of the Abbey Sanctuary - the Abbot giving sanctuary to the fugitive; and finally with a bas-relief of

87 Patrick Geddes, Pictures in the Common Room, p. 16; Boardman reported that St. Giles' House had paintings with similar topics (Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 149).
88 Geddes, Pictures in the Common Room, p. 5.
Queen Mary."89 While the artist John Duncan was working on these reliefs, Geddes had commissioned from William Gordon Burn Murdoch another relief to decorate the facade of the Castlehill Water reservoir. The topic of this piece was "a procession of the historical personages of Scotland from 1000 to 1745".90 (Figure 6.26) The idea was somewhat similar to the procession of famous persons from Scottish history in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery carried out by William Hole.91 Geddes's scheme would have offered the advantage of not being confined in the space of a museum, but of being visible within the public space of the Old Town, where most of the Scottish History, as far as Edinburgh was concerned, actually had happened.

Intervention in the public realm was not confined to buildings. Geddes furthermore intended to erect several statues within Edinburgh's Old Town. He suggested in connection with his Mound improvement scheme three sculptures of John Knox, Wallace and Bruce. Additionally, Geddes proposed a Thomas Carlyle Memorial Bust on the northern facade of the tower block.92 Another idea Geddes pursued was a statue dedicated to St. Columba, which he wished to stand in front of the Toolboth Church at the intersection of Lawnmarket, Castlehill Street and the Upper Bow.93 A design was conceived by Percy Pourtsmouth, Professor at the Edinburgh

89 Geddes, Proposed Town and Gown Association, p. 3, (SUA, T-GED 12/1/37). Geddes continued: "Another artist has prepared the sketches for a proposed series of cartons, illustrative of the history of the Abbey." (p. 3) I was unable to specify this information.
90 Geddes, Proposed Town and Gown Association, p. 3, (SUA, T-GED 12/1/37); see William Gordon Burn Murdoch, A procession of the Kings of Scotland from Duncan and Macbeth to George II and Prince Charles Stewart with the Principal Historical Characters in their proper Arms and Costumes Designed and published by W.G. Burn Murdoch, at his Studio, Ramsay Garden (Edinburgh: Patrick Geddes and Colleagues, 1902); William Gordon Burn Murdoch, Description of a Procession of Scottish History showing the succession of Scottish Kings and the principal figures of their reigns, from the time of Duncan and Macbeth, in their proper arms and costumes (Edinburgh: n. pub., 1917); furthermore "A Procession of Scottish History" Extract from "The Publishers' Circular.", (prospectus with illustrations, n.d.), (SUA, T-GED 12/2418).
92 Patrick Geddes, John Marshall (Honorary Secretaries of the Old Edinburgh Art School), Knox Statue and Associated Improvements (Edinburgh, 1894). The prospectus gives no names of artists for the four sculptures. The idea for a Knox statue was not Geddes's invention. Already in 1893 a group of subscribers had planned such a statue at the crossing of Lawnmarket with Bank Street and George IV Bridge (Anonymous, 'The Site of the Knox Statue', The Scotsman, 21 August 1893, p. 6).
93 Again, Geddes's idea might have been a reaction to the "handsome figure of St Columba [which]
College of Art, which survives as the title illustration of Victor Branford's small book about St. Columba. For Geddes, the St. Columba statue was both a reminiscence of early Scottish history, and a reminder of the spiritual aspect of life. This determined the location of the statue at the meeting point of "four assemblies, other churches and centres of goodwill." The St. Columba statue was of utmost importance to Geddes. He presented the design at the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition and mentioned the statue in the Masque of Learning.

The Antiquarian Historian

This overview of Geddes's attempts to introduce history as a constant and visible topic into the urban fabric of Edinburgh, makes clear that Geddes went beyond the Arts and Crafts fascination with local and regional history as a theme for artistic expression. Geddes wanted to make it possible for citizens to learn about their city's history. This, as explained earlier, served two purposes. The city considered as an organism had to recapitulate the history of the species as embodied in its own life so as to achieve another stage of its growth. Similarly, the citizens had to recollect the earlier stages of the life of their city, if they wanted to participate in creating the new phase of city growth.

Geddes introduced history as a significant dimension into town planning. Without looking back City Design was impossible. The constant view backwards into the past was characteristic for the kind of history Friedrich Nietzsche named antiquarian history. Its representative, the antiquarian historian, looked back thankfully, for his roots lay in the past, and cared for everything old, because his

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95 Branford, St. Columba, p. 5.
96 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 60; Geddes, Masque of Learning, p. 36.
concern was to conserve these things for the benefit of the coming generations.

Nietzsche continued:

The history of his town becomes the history of himself; he looks on the walls, the turreted gate, the town council, the fair, as an illustrated diary of his youth, and sees himself in it all ... And so, with his "we," he surveys the marvellous individual life of the past and identifies himself with the spirit of the house, the family and the city. He greets the soul of his people from afar as his own, across the dim and troubled centuries: his gifts and his virtues lie in such power of feeling and divination, ... his instinctive correctness in reading the scribbled past, and understanding at once its palimpsests - nay, its polysestas.97

The identification between the T, the soul of the individual, and the 'We', the soul of the people, happened according to Nietzsche because the individual's soul transmigrated into the things old and turned them into its habitat. Geddes's obsession with historic buildings and their meaning points towards something similar. Although, to root the city firmly in history, and vice versa, was no guarantee that the identification between the contemporary I and the historical We, between the citizen and the city, would be successful. The historic survey required participation, the historic buildings had to be read. To finally achieve an identity between the I and the We, it was necessary to make the spirit of a city to the real centre of the contemporary city. This refers to what Geddes called the spiritual aspect of cities, the topic of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER 7  EXCURSUS: THE METAPHYSICAL IMPERATIVE IN URBAN DESIGN AROUND 1900

"City Designs, each a New Jerusalem ... depend for their character not upon mere breadth of road, but rather upon direction, and not upon the mere magnitude and material purpose of edifices, but upon their ideals."

Patrick Geddes, *Women, the Census, and the Possibilities of the Future*, 1921, p. 10

One characteristic of fin-de-siècle cultures was their deep concern with religiosity and spirituality, which formed a remarkable contrast to the economic and scientific progress that dominated late nineteenth-century society. The interest in something other than a seemingly straightforward materialistic life was a Europe-wide phenomenon. Artists and architects stood very much at the forefront of the interest in religiosity and spirituality.¹ Patrick Geddes, despite living at the northern fringe of Europe, was not isolated from contemporary European thought. His contacts and friendships with numerous French, German, Belgian or other Continental artists, natural scientists and similar guaranteed that Geddes was not cut off from the current debates. As pointed out in the introduction, Geddes’s involvement with avant-garde thought increased once he made London to his primary place of residence after 1900.²

The following excursus attempts to offer some insight into the turn of the century’s fascination with spirituality, especially with regard to cities and urban design. This is the necessary background to the analysis of Geddes’s contribution to this debate, which follows in chapter 8.

The historians of art and literature Richard Hamann and Jost Hermand have argued in their analysis of German culture around 1900 that during the last decades of

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¹ For an account of this phenomenon across Europe see for example *Okkultismus und Avantgarde. Von Munch bis Mondrian 1900-1915*, exh. cat., (Frankfurt a./M.: Schirn Kunsthalle, 1995), (hereafter *Okkultismus and Avantgarde*).

² See above chapter 1, pp. 30-31.
the past century Idealism became an important element of the intellectual debate. Idealism replaced more and more the immediate predecessors of Naturalism and Impressionism. Taking the general concept of humankind as an example, the authors pointed out that Naturalism ultimately had considered man as a question of matter and milieu. Impressionism had favoured an idea of the human being as an assembly of subjective and personal, unrelated impressions. In opposition to these ways of thinking Idealism embedded human beings firmly in a structure of moral and ethical values.

This increasing Idealism was a reaction against the contemporary capitalist society perceived as being materialistic, positivist and fostering all sorts of relativistic tendencies. The idealistic approach provided a priori concepts for both the perception of present reality and future developments. Idealism determined, according to Hamann and Hermand, the general debate about values in society or the renewed interest in Plato. In science the appreciation of synthesising approaches versus specialised studies expressed the same. Other examples include the interest in educational theories applied to school and university reforms, or attempts, in history, to describe re-occurring or eternal phenomena instead of singular historical events. The aim was to provide concepts of the world and life, ethical and moral guidelines for subjective actions and thoughts.

Similar phenomena flourished all over Europe around 1900. Notions of a people, nations, race, culture, traditions or myths, for example, were popular ideas among those tendencies in art and society which can be combined under the term life-reform. The growing interest in all sorts of spiritual and religious ideas can be counted to the same tendency. Although traditional beliefs like Catholicism or Protestantism

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4 For the importance of Idealism and the forms it took in various fields see especially chapter 4 "Idealism statt Materialismus" in Hamann, Hermand, Stilkunst, pp. 77-101.
faced a steady crisis of legitimacy, the interest in religious experiences did not decline in parallel. Just the opposite, Theosophy, Anthroposophy, Buddhism, Spiritualism, Monism, Mythology, Tolstoyan Christianity, and other forms of religion or pseudo-religion found supporters and followers. But as diversified as the societies, against which the idealistic approaches were directed, as different were the suggested means of betterment. Hamann and Hermand summarised all attempts to provide new concepts of life with the words "with a real 'idealistic' boldness private ideas about values became presented as ideals which ought to be realised".5

Community or Society?

The concept of community was such an idea. Across all differences in political conviction, national boundaries, and belief, the concept of the community caught the imagination as a countermodel against society as embodied in contemporary states or cities.6 Community or Society were the poles between which the criticism of contemporary societies moved during the last decades of the nineteenth century. This confrontation of the two terms goes back to the German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies who had published in 1887 his famous book Community and Society.7

Tönnies dealt with social relations between human beings, and their changes during history. He distinguished two basic types of human associations: Community and Society. A Community was "a social entity for its own sake", whereas a Society

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5 "in echt 'idealisterischer' Vermessenheit [wurden] die eigenen Wertvorstellungen zu seinsollenden Idealen erhoben" [Hamann, Hermand, Stilkunst, p. 93, (my translation)].
6 On the development of the meaning of both terms see Raymond Williams, Keywords. A vocabulary of culture and society (London: Fontana, 1988).
was an entity existing "because of an end, or purpose, which is extraneous to it." In a Society human beings were "essentially strange to each other but meet in their wishes and interests and enter into an exchange relationship for mutual advantage". In a Community, on the contrary, the members had something "in common to begin with from which mutual services result as a consequence". Tönnies made a similar distinction regarding social values. Both types of association were based on shared values, but in a Community "sacred values ... exist and persist independently from the evaluating participant", whereas in a Society values were "caused by the individuals who severally recognize and posit" them.

Tönnies wanted to provide "concepts or 'ideal-typical' constructs" for a theory of social change from Community towards Society, without strictly juxtaposing the two types of associations. Instead, the two terms became popular catchphrases and were taken as "classifications of factual realities", or as circumscribing a "typology of forms of settlement". The latter was possible because Tönnies had located the Community as a historical phenomenon in historic villages or small towns, whereas the modern city was an example of a human association of the type Society. For Tönnies this reference to the past merely indicated the starting point of a historical development, for others it became both a reference to a better past, and a model for the future. In particular, the emphasis Tönnies had put on values or ideas as an a priori condition for the existence of any community invited idealistic adaptations of his concept.

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9 Tönnies, Concept of Gemeinschaft, p. 64.


Ideas or a priori concepts around which communitarian visions evolved were religious and sectarian beliefs, economic theories suggesting solutions to the town and country conflict, and philanthropic endeavours to bridge the class conflict. Similar, wishes to return to nature and a simpler life, and to renew lost physical features of the life of earlier generations like villages or smaller towns gave birth to communitarian ideas. On a more abstract, sociological level the recovery of the family, and the re-definition of town inhabitants as burghers comparable to medieval towns, or as citizens as in a Greek polis, were foci of communitarian thoughts.

Among newly founded communities were such diverse examples as Charles Robert Ashbee's Arts and Crafts workshops in the village of Chipping Campden, or the Neue Gemeinschaft, a group of artists, anarchists and literati searching a simpler life in a suburb of Berlin.12 The most famous community was probably Monte Verità in Ascona, Switzerland. Since the last third of the nineteenth century a colourful mixture of anarchists, vegetarians, spiritualists, theosophist, and followers of other reform ideas had settled around Monte Verità and nearby Locarno, attracted by the allegedly particular spiritual atmosphere of the site.13 Common features of many community concepts were ideas of equality, real or assumed, of the community members, and unity centred around a shared idea of life.


13 Among the more famous residents and visitors were the anarchists Michail Bakunin, Elisée Reclus and Peter Alexandrovitch Kropotkin; the philosophers Gustav Landauer, Martin Buber, and Erich Mühsam; the authors and writers D. H. Lawrence, Stefan George, and Emil Szittya; the psychoanalyst Carl Gustav Jung and Otto Grosse. For a history of Monte Verità and a comprehensive list of residents and visitors see Harald Szcemann (ed.), Monte Verità. Berg der Wahrheit. Lokale Anthropologie als Beitrag zur Wiederentdeckung einer neuzeitlichen sakralen Topographie (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1980), (hereafter Monte Verità).
Building the Ideal Community

Both the growing idealism and the increasing interest in community ideas were reflected in art and architecture. Hamann and Hermand referred to the search for "Stilkunst" in the German speaking countries as the equivalent in art to the prevailing idealism. The attempt to achieve an all-embracing style began around the middle of the nineteenth century. Already the earlier nineteenth-century historicist architecture had been concerned with the question of style. But the question then was "What historic style for which building task and type?" The notion of style changed towards the end of the century, when it became considered as expressing an attitude to life. Peter Behrens explained the different meaning in his pamphlet *Feste des Lebens und der Kunst*.

But the style is the symbol of the entire condition, the whole attitude to life of a time, and unveils itself in the universe of all the arts.

This development was not confined to Germany. The British Arts and Crafts Movement was the first of a series of movements in European art insisting on the artists' responsibility for all aspects of life. The artistic results of this holistic attitude, in turn, should improve the quality of life and give it a new direction. Similarly, Art Noveau in the French speaking countries, Sezession in Austria-Hungary, Jugendstil and, later, the Bauhaus in Germany were, despite differences in artistic means, comparable in their comprehensive claim of providing a style for life.

Different areas of life were gradually enclosed in ever widening circles of artistic interventions. Herman Muthesius paraphrased this tendency with the words

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14 Wolfgang Herrmann, *In what style should we build? The German Debate on Architectural Style* (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1992).
"from sofa-cushion to town planning",16 thereby referring to the trend to proceed "from singular crafts objects to architectural comprehensive schemes".17 What had begun in two-dimensional art forms like drawings or paintings found its continuation in the designs of basic commodities, interiors of rooms, plans for houses, suburbs and colonies, and led, finally, to schemes for whole cities.18 The Austrian architect Joseph Maria Olbrich had formulated this aim already in 1898 on the occasion of the opening of the first Secession exhibition at Vienna:

We must build a city, a whole city. Anything less would be pointless. ... we shall create a world. ... From the overall design down to the last detail, all governed by the same spirit, the streets and the gardens and the palaces and the cottages and the tables and the armchairs and the lamps and the spoons, all expressions of the same sensibility, and in the middle, like a temple in a sacred grove, a house of labor, both artists' studio and craftsmen's workshop, where the artist will always have the reassuring and ordering crafts, and the craftsman the liberating and purifying arts about him, until the two finally merge, as it were, into a single person. 19

Architectural schemes for communities and ideal cities were often mergers of the sociological concept of Community with the claim that a comprehensively designed environment would bring change about in a society. According to Helen Rosenau, the ideal city represented "a religious vision, or a secular view, in which social consciousness of the need of the population is allied with a harmonious conception of artistic unity". Ideal cities were characterised by "emphasising not only personal

16 "Vom Sophakissen zum Städtebau", quoted from Hamann, Hermann, Stilkunst, p. 219, (my translation).
17 "... vom kunstgewerblich Vereinzelten zum architektonisch Umfassenden...", quoted from Hamann, Hermann, Stilkunst, p. 219), (my translation).
18 According to Hamann and Hermand the following events indicated this trend in Germany: In 1895 and 1896 two new journals, Pan and Jugend, marked the beginning of Jugendstil. Their main concern was paintings, drawings and prints. The 1897 Münchner Kleinkunstausstellung dealt with crafts objects; a year later the exhibition included interior decoration schemes for single rooms. The Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt, an early example of a comprehensively designed environment, was begun in 1899. Garden cities like Hellerau (1907) near Dresden followed shortly after. The Werkbundausstellung at Cologne (1914) represented the most comprehensive approach of artist to design all aspect of life (Hamann, Hermann, Stilkunst, p. 219).
happiness, but the overriding significance of the communal or community factors, for
their own as well as for the individual's sake".20

Some communities never attempted to build their own physical environment. Economic
restraints forced many groups to make use of existing buildings. Their short
existence prevented other groups from any building work. Occasionally, communities
existed without an ideal plan as a unifying feature. In Monte Verità the mixture of
different groups, often hostile to each other, prevented any attempt to conceive and
implement a coherent plan for the whole area. This does not mean that the question of
the physical environment and the architecture of the housing was neglected. The hut
- a symbol of a simple life close to nature - became the ideal dwelling for members of
the Monte Verità community.21

However, for other community ideas it was important to express the social
vision in an architectural plan. Architectural designs could function as an incentive to
gather support, idealistic and financial, for the realisation of the schemes. Images of
James Silk Buckingham's city 'Victoria' (1849) or Robert Owen's 'Villages of Unity
and Mutual Co-operation' (1817) were visual promises of the immediate betterment of
the life for the members of the group. Still, reality was different. Owen's village of
New Lanark in Scotland did not resemble the ideal scheme, and Buckingham's
Victoria remained a mere dream.

The Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt was one of the rare examples where the idea
became reality. Joseph Maria Olbrich was invited by the Grand Duke of Hesse in
Germany, Ernst Ludwig, to design this artists colony in 1899, only a year after he had

20 Helen Rosenau, The Ideal City in its Architectural Evolution (London: Routledge and Kegan
Paul, 1959), pp. 4-5. See also Neuer Berliner Kunstverein (ed.), Stadt und Utopie. Modelle
idealer Gemeinschaften (Berlin: Frölich & Kaufmann, 1982).
declared to build a new city as his final aim. The intention was to renew with the colony the arts, and to give a fresh impulse to trade and commerce.\textsuperscript{22} Between 1899 and 1901 Olbrich designed houses for six artists; a seventh member of the group, Peter Behrens, was responsible for his own house. The centre of the colony was the Ernst Ludwig House, likewise designed by Olbrich, which accommodated the artists' studios.\textsuperscript{23} (Figure 7.1) This building was the 'temple of creation', where arts and crafts became re-united as Olbrich had described it in the opening ceremony of the Secession building in Vienna. (Figure 7.2)

The building of the first garden city Letchworth in England from 1903 onwards was one of the most ambitious attempts to create a community based on a unifying idea. Ebenezer Howard's original garden city scheme from 1898 was characterised by strong idealistic elements like the pursuit of co-operation and the return to a closer contact with nature.\textsuperscript{24} The winners of the 1903 competition for Letchworth, the architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin, mixed Howard's concept with other ideas. They introduced into Howard's scheme "the fear of the great city and its social turmoil" and "the desire to discard the burdens of progress and return to the simple life."\textsuperscript{25} Finally, Unwin and Parker gave the garden city its definitive aesthetic and architectural image.

The housing in Letchworth was either organised along irregular streets or around green spaces, which recalled the common village green at the centre of

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{22} Ernst Ludwig was inspired by the British Arts and Crafts Movement. Already in 1897 Charles Robert Ashbee and Hugh M. Baille Scott designed furniture and decorations for various rooms in the Neues Palais in Darmstadt. (See Krimmel, In the Matter of J.M. Olbrich, p. 13; Hugh M. Baille Scott, 'Decoration and Furniture for the New Palais, Darmstadt', The Studio 1901, 107-115).
\item\textsuperscript{23} For the designs and history of the individual buildings and the temporary structures erected for the First Artists Colony Exhibition see Renate Ulmer, 'Catalogue of Works', in Joseph Maria Olbrich, pp. 23-30.
\item\textsuperscript{24} Ebenezer Howard, To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898).
\end{itemize}
medieval English villages. The suggested low density housing was influenced by Arts and Crafts aesthetics, domestic revival and English vernacular architecture.

Letchworth never achieved the intended aesthetic coherence due to financial and organisational difficulties beyond the responsibility of the architects. The same reasons prevented the realisation of the grand civic centre Unwin and Parker had designed for Letchworth. Nevertheless, Letchworth became the model for garden cities, although missing the community centre, one of the most important features for both Howard’s and many other ideal community plans.26

Architectural unity could be of advantage for an ideal community or city scheme, but absolutely necessary was an ideational, and eventually geographical, centre. In New Lanark the 'New Institution for the Formation of Character' (1809-1813) provided this centre. In Darmstadt, the Ernst Ludwig House was the temple of the Mathildenhöhe. Ebenezer Howard insisted on a central park as a symbol for a closer contact with nature; the public buildings in this park embodied additionally ideas of co-operation and mutual aid. A building or a group of buildings as a metaphysical centre allowed one to define a community visually, even if the actual settlement lacked aesthetic unity. The centre as a place for group activities of any kind made the participating individual experience himself as a member of this group.

Ideal community schemes tended to abandon existing cities in favour of locations in the countryside or at least at the fringe of cities. But the emphasis these schemes placed on the metaphysical centre also opened a way to redirect reform ideas into existing cities. The sheer size of many cities was a serious obstacle to their remodelling along lines comparable to the Mathildenhöhe or Letchworth.27 Existing

26 More successful regarding a coherent architectural style and a community centre was Welwyn Garden City, the second garden city initiated by Howard, which was built by the architect Louis de Soissons in a formal, neo-Georgian style from 1919 onwards.

27 The City Beautiful Movement, or competitions for metropolitan cities like the Greater Berlin Competition from 1910 can be considered as attempts to such a rebuilding. A further investigation of this tendency is beyond the scope of this chapter and my thesis.
cities appeared to have neither a real nor an ideal order, but as the British Arts and Crafts architect William Richard Lethaby still insisted as late as 1920: "A civilized life cannot be lived in undisciplined towns." If the urban environment could not be civilised, which meant to be totally rebuilt in an architecturally unified manner, then the implementation of a metaphysical centre could at least provide an idea of what the city should be. In the following I will call Temple and temple-like all buildings, structures and spaces dedicated to this purpose.

Temple Ideas around 1900

The consideration of a building as a metaphysical centre of a community or ideal city required an understanding of architecture as being capable of expressing an idea or having a meaning. William Richard Lethaby's book *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* was "the first to try to substantiate the then novel idea that the actual form and decorations of buildings expressed philosophical and psychological ideas." Lethaby's concern was to go beyond current ideology which equated architecture with questions of style or aesthetics. This was a reaction against the prevalent historicism of the nineteenth century. What Lethaby aimed at was "the purposes behind structure and form which may be called the esoteric principles of architecture." Such esoteric principles were the dividing line between mere buildings and architecture proper:

"... the building [is nothing] but the vehicle of architecture, which is the thought behind the form, embodied and realised for the purpose of its manifestation and transmission. Architecture, then interpenetrates building, not for satisfaction of the simple needs of the body, but the

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29 This does not refer necessarily to a temple in a strict religious meaning, but does not exclude them either.
complex ones of the intellect.33

Next to the needs of men, and the necessities arising from structure and material, nature, according to Lethaby, determined the form of architecture. The term "nature" referred to "the known and imagined facts of the universe". Declaring all artistic form as imitations of nature, respectively the universe, "the connection between the world as structure, and the building, not of the mere details of nature and the ornaments of architecture, but of the whole" was the topic of Lethaby's book.34 In particular one type of building caught Lethaby's interest:

... and we shall find that the intention of the temple (speaking of the temple idea, as we understand it) was to set up a local reduplication of the temple not made with hands, the World Temple itself, a sort of model to scale...35

The temple as a built expression of man's understanding of the universe was for Lethaby not simply a historic phenomenon. Although he analysed historic buildings and myths, his concern was future art and architecture. Towards the end of the introduction Lethaby stated that architecture, if it wanted to "excite an interest, real and general, ... must have a symbolism, immediately comprehensible by the great majority of spectators."36 But this symbolism could no longer be based on mystery or terror as in historic temples.

33 Lethaby, Architecture, Mysticism, p. 1.
34 Lethaby, Architecture, Mysticism, p. 3.
35 Lethaby, Architecture, Mysticism, p. 5.
36 Lethaby, Architecture, Mysticism, p. 7. I disagree with the conclusion Rubens drew from the introduction that Lethaby's call for a "comprehensible, rational and egalitarian" symbolism meant that "there could be nothing esoteric about modernity." Having said so, Rubens was at odds with the symbolism in several of Lethaby's works, for example the Eagle Insurance Company building (1899-1902) in Birmingham. Unable to reconcile his earlier statement with the symbolism of the building's facade - Rubens pointed out that the decoration with sun discs and an eagle was derived from ancient models Lethaby described in Architecture, Mysticism and Myth - Rubens declared that Lethaby's writings and buildings were contradictory, and that Lethaby's modernity looked "Janus-like, two ways at once." (Rubens, William Richard Lethaby, p. 82, pp. 165-168). This is true, Lethaby's modernity was looking two ways - into the future and back into history - but in a complementary rather than contradictory way. His modernity attempted to accommodate both modern forms derived from materials, construction methods and functions, and an awareness of a historic continuity. If Lethaby's symbolism was successful as an "immediate comprehensible" symbolism is another question.
The message will still be of nature and man, or order and beauty, but all will be sweetness, simplicity, freedom, confidence, and light; the other is past, and well is it, for its aim was to crush life; the new, the future, is to aid life and train it, 'so that beauty may flow into the soul like a breeze'.

The appeal to beauty as a means of improving life was rooted in Lethaby's identification with the Arts and Crafts ideology. But to insist on a new symbolism as a means to regain for architecture a leading position in society emphasised a distinctive idealistic-metaphysical aspect, additional to the Arts and Crafts ideology. The reception of Lethaby's book showed that it responded to a widespread concern among artists and architects. The attempt to underline with a theoretical-historical analysis the consistent need of men to express his understanding of the macrocosm in the microcosm of a temple contributed partly to Lethaby's success. More important was that Lethaby's book allowed the idealistic conclusion that a new symbolism, and eventually new temple buildings, could bring about a reform of life and society by providing new ideals. This reversion of the relation between a materialistic basis of a society and its idealistic expression in a temple, church or similar made *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* so appealing to Lethaby's contemporaries.

Temples and cult buildings were re-occurring themes during the nineteenth century. The art historian Antje von Gravenitz dated the emergence of the temple as a topic in the second half of the eighteenth century, when the temple became popular as the "mystical pendant to the Enlightenment". The most distinctive attempt up to the nineteenth century to achieve a new society, the French Revolution, was celebrated in

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38 A second edition followed already in 1892, the same year as the first edition.
39 Lethaby's biographer Godfrey Rubens expressed doubts about the scientific value of the book. He described the book as having contributed little to the objective study of symbolism, and characterised it as being a 'rag-bag of first and second hand authorities". (Rubens, *William Richard Lethaby*, p. 83).
temple like buildings and structures. In the aftermath of the establishment of the French Republic everywhere in France holy mountains, occasionally placed in churches, trees of freedom and parks of virtues were dedicated to both the threefold aims of the Revolution and to a reconciliation with nature.41 (Figure 7.3) In 1900 the German art historian Cornelius Gurlitt compiled a list of the most important temple projects of the nineteenth century comprising Karl Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum (1830) in Berlin, the national monument Walhalla (1830-1842) in southern Germany and the Befreiungshalle (1842-1863) in Kelheim both by Leo von Klenze, Richard Wagner's Festspielhaus (1872-1875) in Bayreuth, Otto Wagner's plans for an academy of art (Artibus project, 1880), and, finally, Olbrich's House for the Secession in Vienna (1899).42

But there is an important difference between the earlier and the later temple ideas. Many of the eighteenth-century projects were artistic reactions to a change in society or to important discoveries in science. Architects dedicated buildings to the new ideologies and ideas ruling and influencing life and society. Such projects can be considered as cultural responses to preceding social and scientific changes in a society. The later ideas, on the contrary, are illustrations of the idealistic reversion between the materialistic basis and idealistic expression of a society: change, it was thought, could be brought about by purely cultural means. Otto Wagner's or Olbrich's projects were not so much artistic responses but artistic anticipation of an ideal future condition.

Their, and their contemporaries', criticism of architecture, art and society led to a variety of temple projects, and community ideas, as vehicles to achieve a renewal of art and society. Accordingly, the architect acquired the role of an instigator of this

42 Cornelius Gurlitt, Die deutsche Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1900), quoted from Graevenitz, Hütten und Tempel, p. 91. The Bayreuth Festspielhaus was designed by Richard Wagner in co-operation with Otto Brueckwald.
change. His position in society became perceived as similar to that of a priest as the Dutch architect K.P.C. de Bazel explained in his essay 'Bouwkunst' published in 1898. The task of the architect-priest was, de Bazel wrote, "to present the divine order, to form a relation between earth and heaven, between the materialistic nature of man and his spiritualistic being". To achieve this it was necessary to erect "a temple, in which the lost son can find again his spiritual father, a house to consummate the marriage between the soul and its heavenly bridegroom".

Against the background of the shift from a cultural response to an anticipation and the new priest-like role of the architect the wave of temple projects becomes understandable, which began in the late nineteenth century and lasted well into the second decade of the twentieth. These temple designs no longer embodied a current ideal of a society but a wide spectrum of potential ideals. This variety, in turn, presented both individual beliefs held by single architects, or small groups of adepts of various convictions, and the almost desperate search for any faith. The smallest denominator of all ideas was a dream of a different and better life, although the best way to achieve this depended on the individual architect or artist. Regardless of this variety in form and content, it is possible to distinguish broad themes giving rise to temple designs.

Among the many schemes, of which Table 7.1 gives a selective overview, one finds, for example, a Monument for Nietzsche (1900), based on an archaic circular temple (Figure 7.4), and a Temple of the Holy Grail (1900), both designed by the German architect Fritz Schumacher.44 Whereas the earlier project expressed the widespread interest of Schumacher's generation in Nietzsche's philosophy and cultural criticism, the latter was important for its reference to the motif of the search for the Holy Grail, particularly popular in the aftermath of Richard Wagner's opera *Parsifal* (1882). (Figure 7.5) The monumental architectural style of the sketches Schumacher later applied to his buildings, among them the crematorium in Dresden-Tolkewitz from 1908-1911. (Figure 7.6) The crematorium - a temple of death - was the counterpart to the Monument for Nietzsche - a temple of life. Both together celebrated the cycle of life and the immortality of all matter. To resolve the dichotomy of life and death with interchangeable temple projects was a constant feature of many similar designs by other architects.

The variety of temples designed by Fidus from 1892 onwards illustrate another popular theme. Even if the actual purpose of the projects like Temples of the Earth (Figure 7.7), Theosophy, Nudism, Great Unity, Dance, Fire and Music was left ill defined, they all propagated an archaic veneration of Mother Earth and Nature.45 From there it was only a small step, at least for Fidus, to become a staunch supporter of the German National Socialist blood and soil ideology.

44 Fritz Schumacher published in 1900 a collection of imaginative charcoal sketches with the title "Studien". These illustrations were a selection from a larger series comprising about fifty imaginative and fantastic architectural studies which Schumacher produced during the second half of 1898 (Fritz Schumacher, *Studien. 20 Kohlezeichnungen von Fritz Schumacher* (Leipzig 1900). For Schumacher see Hartmut Frank (ed.), *Fritz Schumacher. Reformkultur und Moderne* (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1994), (hereafter Fritz Schumacher).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Project/Architect/Location/Year Built</th>
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<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>Richard Wagner: Festspielhaus Bayreuth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Obrist: Vision of an ideal city in the mountains with Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-93</td>
<td>Horne: Chapel of Ascension London, built</td>
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<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>Townsend: Bishopsgate Institute London, built</td>
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<tr>
<td>1895, 1901</td>
<td>Fidus: Temple of the Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Obrist: Sculptures and monuments on mountain tips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Lethaby: scheme for central London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Townsend: Whitechapel Gallery, London, 1st design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Olbrich: House for the Secession Vienna (built), fantasy architecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899</td>
<td>Schumacher: Studien incl. Temple for Nietzsche, Holy Grail, department store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-1901</td>
<td>Townsend: Whitechapel Gallery, London, built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Olbrich: Ernst Ludwig house Darmstadt, built</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Bastl: Palace for Occult Sciences</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Behrens: &quot;Hamburger Vorhalle&quot; in International Exhibition Turin, built</td>
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<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Hablik: Temple on mountain tips</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Fidus: Temple for Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Hablik: Kristallschloß</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Garas: Temple a la Vie, Temple a la Mort, Temple a la Pensée</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907-1908</td>
<td>Berlage: Beethovenhaus at Bloomendaal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-1911</td>
<td>Schumacher: Crematorium Dresden-Tolkwitz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>Townsend: Horniman Museum, London, extension, built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Steiner: Johannesbau Munich-Schwabing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>Lutyens: Theosophy Society Headquarters London</td>
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<tr>
<td>1913-14</td>
<td>Steiner: Goethenaeum I Dornach, built</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Hablik: Schautempel als Denkmal einer Stadt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Obrist: Model of a Mountain Church</td>
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<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Taut: Glasshouse at Werkbund exhibition Cologne, built</td>
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<td>1915</td>
<td>Berlage: Pantheon of Humanity</td>
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<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Henry Wilson: City Temple in Arts and Crafts Exhibition, built</td>
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<td>1917</td>
<td>Ashbee: Arts and Crafts centre for a city</td>
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<td>1919</td>
<td>Feininger: Cathedral on first Bauhaus manifesto</td>
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<td>1919</td>
<td>Luckhardt Brothers: Monument an die Freude</td>
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<td>1919</td>
<td>Poelzig: Große Schaupielhaus Salzburg</td>
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<td>1919</td>
<td>Scharoun: Volkshaus</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Taut: Die Stadtkrone, Alpine Architektur</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919-1920</td>
<td>Taut: Folkwang Schule</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Competition Hygiene Museum Dresden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Goesch: Paraphrase of Berlin Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Frederick van Eeden: City of Light with a temple at the centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Steiner: Goetheanum II Dornach, built</td>
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Cult buildings were also an important theme for Viennese architects around 1900. They elaborated particularly the Temple of the Arts - most notably the exhibition...
building for the Secession in Vienna by Joseph Maria Olbrich (Figure 7.8). This design - a cube crowned by a dome - provided a general model also for projects dedicated to both traditional religion and a vague notion of religiosity. Otto Wagner's *Kirche am Steinhof* (1902-04) derived from Olbrich's model as did projects by some of Wagner's pupils, for example, Otto Schöntal's Project for a Cemetery Church (1901). (Figure 7.9) Alois Bastl, a less well known student of Wagner, transferred the motif into a Palace of Occult Sciences (1902) (Figure 7.10), thereby making a connection between the Viennese projects and their more spiritually oriented counterparts like Fidus.46

Representative of another strand of temple is a tripartite temple scheme by the French architect François Garas.47 It represents an example of what can be called temples of synthesis; uniting several ideas into a group of buildings. Furthermore, it is of particular interest because Patrick Geddes mentioned it in *Cities in Evolution*.48 Garas's tripartite scheme consisted of a *Temple à la Vie*, a *Temple à la Mort*, and a *Temple à la Pensée*.49 The author's intention was to overcome the finite nature of human life confined between birth and death, by transcending the idea of life onto a level of eternal thought.

*Life, Death, Thought. Aren't they, indeed, the whole eternal mystery which accompanies all our deeds, all our thoughts. All our joy chants Life. All our sorrow chants Death. And above them the plane of eternal*

47 François J. M. Garas (1866-?) was a French architect. He had studied at the École des Beaux-Arts under Blondel. Garas was a member of the Société National at whose salons he exhibited since 1894 schemes for countryhouses and "Temples pour les Religion futures". (See Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (ed.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künste von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols (Leipzig: Engelmann, E. A. Seemann, 1907-50), XIII (1920), 166, (hereafter Thieme-Becker).
48 "Similarly for such creations as the *Temple de [sic] la Pensée* of M[onsieur] Garas, in whom architect, poet, and philosopher combine." (Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*, p. 278).
49 Garas published in 1907 a booklet with the title "*Mes Temples*", which contained extracts of an intended larger publication with the same title [F. Garas, *Mes Temples* (Paris: Michalon, 1907)]. The table of contents of the larger volume, reprinted on page 2 of the booklet, included three more temples dedicated to Industry, Music and Theatre. The book was obviously never published, the following account relies on the booklet.
harmony which manifests itself in Thought.\textsuperscript{50}

This aim embraced both the traditional Christian concept of a transcendent, eternal life after death and a more secular philosophical understanding of an eternal Idea. Garas claimed that he had conceived intuitively the temple idea due to an inspiration while listening on his own to the complete oeuvre of Beethoven; therefore he dedicated the temple to the composer. Although, his temple was, as Garas explained, not a transformation of Beethoven's music into architecture, but a parallel concept of the eternal idea only triggered by the music.\textsuperscript{51} Accordingly, Garas's temple should instigate similar experiences in other people.

Whereas the \textit{Temple à la Vie} and \textit{Temple à la Mort} were only described vaguely, Garra published a detailed description of the \textit{Temple à la Pensée},\textsuperscript{52} of which he also produced a model. (Figure 7.11) The model shows a central domed temple surrounded by smaller domes and an adjacent tower located on a mountain top; the complex actually grows out of the rock. The basic composition reminds one of traditional churches consisting of a nave with an adjacent tower. The upward shooting tower was Garas's visualisation of a sudden thought. The approach to the temple (Figure 7.12) symbolised the evolution of this thought. A visitor to the temple, who climbed the steps leading to the entrance, had to pass several faceless sphinx statues and to face threatening sculptures supporting the entrance arch. This composition expressed the anxiety and doubts overwhelming the visitors who confronted infinity. The shape of the dome was an anthropomorphic form modelled on a human skull and stood for the acceptance of doubts and fears in calm meditation. The sphinx figures on the supporting buttresses symbolised the quiet contemplation over the riddles of the

\textsuperscript{50} "La Vie, la Mort, la Pensée. N'est-ce pas là, en effet, tout la mystère éternel qui accompagne chacun de nos actes, chacune de nos pensées. Toutes nos joies chantent la Vie. Toutes nos tristesses chantent la Mort. Et au-dessus d'elles plane l'éternelle harmonie qui se manifeste par la Pensée" [Garas, \textit{Mes Temples}, p. 5, (my translation)].

\textsuperscript{51} Garas, \textit{Mes Temples}, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{52} Garas, \textit{Mes Temples}, pp. 17-21. The following summary is based on these pages.
world and the universe.

The interior, in particular, emphasises the characterisation of the building as a temple of synthesis. (Figure 7.13) It was dominated by eight columns, each with sculptural decoration showing typical situations of human life. The columns were also reminders of the first eight symphonies by Beethoven; the column for the ninth symphony was at the same time a monument to the composer himself. The capital of each column repeated the theme in an allegoric figure. Above the capitals, Garas suggested mosaics depicting geographic zones of the earth, mixed with images of the four seasons and the cycle of the birth and death of cities; a decorative scheme which certainly found Geddes's approval. Even higher, a series of figures in mosaic symbolised music as giving birth to human dreams. Finally, the climax was an ancient Buddha whose facial expression of eternal calmness embraced all philosophies and religions. The little Swiss chalet below the temple on the rock corresponded to the final section of Garas's booklet with the title *Ma petit Maison*. In this section Garas attempted to reconcile the grand idea of the temple with the individual life, which should consider itself as lucky to be allowed to take part in building the temple.

Despite the doubtful architectural and artistic merits, Garas's scheme is typical of many temple ideas in its combination of characteristic architectural and intellectual features. Among them are an initiation route as the approach to the temple with subsequent redemption on entering the sanctuary, but also the combination of

53 The columns were dedicated to war, pastoral life, industry, religion, philosophy, science, birth and death.
54 Garas described the monument as a bust depicting the composer in a thoughtful mood. The bust should rise out of a simple block. In front of this block Garas envisaged a group of people leaning towards Beethoven while chanting the "Hymn of Joy". (Garas, *Mes Temples*, p. 19).
56 The small chapels between the buttresses Garas intended to decorate with murals telling about the stages of the development of humanity.
references to different religions and philosophies, occasionally including modern natural sciences, in both the built form and the decoration scheme. Furthermore, the perception of the temple, despite their often monumental seize, as an introverted space, a cave the adept had to enter in his quest for truth, knowledge or his inner self. This was accompanied by a tower symbolising overview, elevation and separation, but also closeness to the truth.58

Garas's scheme is also typical in choosing the seclusion of mountain tops and peaks as the location of his temple. Architects often designed their temples for similar locations, underlining intentions comparable to the motif of the tower. The solitary location away from civilisation and mankind reflects the architect's perception of their separation from society both due to their disgust with contemporary society, and the exclusiveness of their ideas compared to mainstream thought. Similar to Nietzsche's Zarathustra, who went into the mountains to meditate and find the truth, architects designed temples on mountain peaks, where those who wished, might find a new ideal for their life. Furthermore, the isolation of the temple in the mountains is also a reference to the Romantic notion of the sublime encapsulated in nature.

Iain Boyd Whyte pointed out in an essay on the Expressionist sublime, that to "the Romantic mind nature in her most extreme manifestation offered moral and metaphysical insights into the human spirit" and allowed one "to link the individual soul and the universal spirit."59 Often nineteenth-century romantic paintings included

58 The popularity of cave like spaces in continental Jugendstil and latter Expressionist architecture has recently been related to contemporary psychological thought, especially to Sigmund Freud's and C.G. Jung's understanding of psychoanalysis as comparable to the work of an archaeologist. Similar to the archaeologist, who had to dig deeper and deeper into the layers of the soil for finding historic remnants, a visitor of a temple had to explore the hidden layers of his personality and belief for gaining a deeper insight into nature and the cosmos. According to this interpretation, the combination of cave and tower had sexual overtones - the cave as the vagina and the tower as the penis. See Wolfgang Pehnt, 'Turm und Höhle', in Moderne Architektur in Deutschland 1900-1950. Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit, exh. cat., ed. by Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani and Romana Schneider (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1994), pp. 51-67, (the essay hereafter Turm und Höhle; the book hereafter Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit).

59 Iain Boyd Whyte, 'The Expressionist Sublime', in Expressionist Utopias. Paradise, Metropolis,
man made objects like factories, bridges or churches into the presentation of dramatic natural scenes, for example Karl Friedrich Schinkel's paintings of Gothic Cathedrals hidden in the woods, or the water-colour 'The Rock and Castle of Seclusion' by the English painter Richard Dadd from 1861 (Figure 7.14). A comparison of the latter with a painting by Caspar David Friedrich from 1808 with the title 'A Cross in the Mountains' is revealing. The Christian symbol of the crucified Jesus Christ was for Friedrich still the perfect expression of the highest man can attain, although he already placed the cross into a challenging natural scene. Dadd, on the contrary, replaced the Christian symbol by an awesome building towering on a rock high above a city. This indicates more than illustrating the loss in Christian faith, because the cross was not simply replaced by a new religious symbol, but a man made object substituted for it. A building in an extreme natural location became a means to gain insight into metaphysical principles and ideas.

The combination of buildings and ideal natural scenes was not a confrontation of nature and artefact, but a creation of something third, which has occasionally been called a "artificial-natural double-being", with an inherent mutually beneficial relation working in two directions. The temple on the mountain peak makes this two way relation explicit. Man was able to erect great buildings on nearly inaccessible sites, but the temple once built also participated in the sublime qualities already inherent in the mountains. The way the rock of the mountain and the stone of Garas's temple merged into one another, expressed this relation. Yet it also expressed an identity between the natural rock and the stone of the man-made building; both were only different states of the same matter. This identity was almost certainly influenced


Although Whyte's essay deals exclusively with the relation between the Romantic and the Expressionist sublime, a similar relation can be made between the Romantic period and Temple projects around 1900. The latter, despite a different architectural language, appear often to be forerunners to many Expressionist ideas.

60 "künstlich-naturliches Doppelwesen" [Sternberger, Panorama, p. 35, (my translation)].
by Ernst Haeckel's Monism, a popular philosophy around 1900. Monism assumed that there existed a single law or idea unifying all matter, thoughts and beliefs. Truth, according to Haeckel, could be found nearly everywhere, or as he wrote "The Goddess of truth dwells in the temple of nature, in the green woods, on the blue sea, on the snowy mountain summit."61

Nietzsche's Zarathustra realised after ten years that meditation and the accumulation of knowledge was one thing, but that making use of the wisdom for the benefit of the people living in the plains was another. Accordingly, he left his seclusion in favour of teaching among the people in the city. The idealistic temple schemes took a similar path.62 Often perceived as an attempt to instigate reform by cultural and architectural means, the sublime isolation away from the city, the focus of the problems, could not satisfy. Furthermore, if man could gain insight into the universe through the experience of the macrocosm of nature, which in turn was, according to Lethaby, embodied in the microcosm of the temple, the exclusive location of cult and temple buildings on sublime natural sites was unnecessary. Architects, artists and social reformer could bring with a temple nature, the universe, and any other idea into the heart of an ideal community or existing city.

The Temple and the City

From the outset schemes for new cult building or temples, even in secluded ideal natural environments, were designed with the city in mind.63 The architect


62 This might imply a chronological order in which temple projects were first located in the mountains (or a natural environment) and only later in cities. I choose this order for the clarity of my argument. The seclusion of temples on mountains and suggestions for similar buildings in cities happened more or less in parallel.

63 Already Richard Dadd's watercolour 'The Rock and Castle of Seclusion' made a connection
Herman Obrist, one of the founders of Jugendstil in Munich, claimed that his fantastic architectural designs derived from a series of visions he experienced during the 1880s. Significantly, the earliest vision was an image of an ideal city somewhere in a mountain range. Obrist, referring to himself in the third person wrote about his vision:

... what he saw ... was a clear vision of a strange unknown city with towers, temple-like buildings and structures that he had never seen anywhere, not even till today, neither in reality nor in illustrations.

Based on this and other visions, Obrist designed a variety of fantastic buildings and structures, for example a 'Design for a Monument'. (Figure 7.15) The monument shows human beings climbing upwards on a spiral which is twisted around an elongated, inclined cone. The angel, as a symbol of transcendental life, bends towards them in a redeeming gesture. Obrist never attempted to design a city similar to the one described in the notes of his visions. Instead, he developed his fantastic structures into a variety of grave and tomb designs, but also models for a chapel (before 1914) and a Bergkirche (1914).

While Obrist was still attracted by traditional Christian symbolism and building types, the German painter and etcher Wenzel Hablik devised unique ideas for temples. Even more, it was Hablik who actually transferred temple schemes from extreme natural locations into the city, thereby transforming them from unspecified...
cult buildings to temples of art and culture. Similar to Obrist, visions were the starting point for Hablik. In 1902 Hablik recorded in his notebook a dream during which he saw "castles towering above clouds: ... castles where others see mountains or rocks". This dream evolved over the following years into a variety of temple-like buildings in crystalline shapes mostly located on mountains or other natural scenes. (Figure 7.16) The crystal was for Hablik, as for many contemporary artists, a symbol of a unifying principle inherent in the inorganic, but also organic world.

In 1914 Hablik produced a drawing entitled 'Sketch for a Display Temple as a Monument of a City'. The sketch shows a raised central building with a crystal shaped dome. The interior consists of a range of galleries leading to the top of the dome. (Figure 7.17) These galleries displayed art works and accommodated reading areas. The display temple was a place within a city to gain insight into the higher ideals Hablik had found in nature, especially inorganic nature, and embodied in his etchings and paintings. The exceptionally clear aesthetic and idealistic relation between Hablik's secluded temples and the display temple of a city makes his work, although only designed in 1914, one of the best examples for urban temples of art and culture. Chronologically, however, similar schemes had already been suggested and built in Great Britain since the 1890s.

67 Quoted from Anthony Tischhauser, 'Introduction', in Architectural Association, Hablik, pp. 7-14 (p. 9).
68 For the crystal and its symbolic meaning see Regine Prange, 'Das kristalline Sinnbild', in Lampugnani, Schneider, Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit, pp. 69-97.
69 "Skizze für einen Schautempel als Denkmal einer Stadt" The title of the drawing of the interior as given by Hablik at the bottom of the drawing reads: "Orig.[mal] Skizze des Inneren eines Schautempels, gedacht als Symbol und Kunstwerk im Sinne des Denkmals." ["original sketch of the interior of a display temple, thought of as a symbol and piece of art in the sense of a monument", (my translation)].
70 According to the sketch the first gallery should display prints and paintings, the second sculptures, the third crafts objects, and the fourth was a reading area. For the final three galleries no information is given.
71 See Anthony Tischhauser, 'Introduction', in Architectural Association, Hablik, pp. 7-14 (p. 11). Tischhauser described as the sole purpose of the building to display oil paintings. He did not mention the galleries for sculpture, crafts objects and the reading zone.
The English architect Charles Harrison Townsend is today best known for three buildings he designed and realised between 1891 and 1910 in London. From 1892 to 1894 Townsend worked on the Bishopsgate Institute, from 1895 to 1901 he built the Whitechapel Art Gallery, and, finally, from 1896 to 1901 he was responsible for the erection of the Horniman Museum. All three institutions are comparable as they were cultural institutions intended to contribute to the renewal of city life by providing a wide range of educational and cultural facilities.


73 The Bishopsgate Institute was founded in 1891 to provide a lending and reference library and a hall for meetings, concerts and picture exhibitions for the parish of St. Botolph in Bishopsgate. Townsend won a limited competition in 1892 and two years later, on the 24th of November 1894 the building was opened by Lord Rosebery. (See Anonymous, 'New Institute, Bishopsgate', in The Builder 67 (1894), 374-75, after page 384 two illustrations; Service, Townsend, pp. 168-170).

74 The Whitechapel Art Gallery in the East End of London goes back to an initiative of the Church of England vicar of St. Jude's in Whitechapel, Samuel Augustus Barnett, who had assembled around him since the early 1880s a group of young graduates from Oxford University. Barnett's aim was to overcome the division of society in social classes by facilitating the contacts between them. In 1884 he established with Toynbee Hall a university settlement in the parish, which accommodated graduates from Oxford. It was hoped that contact and mutual initiatives between these graduates and the slum inhabitants would positively influence the latter's life. For this end Barnett and his students, among them C.R. Ashbee, organised social and educational events like lecture series, evening classes, and art exhibitions. For the latter Barnett commissioned in 1895 a design for a art gallery from Townsend. The first design by Townsend was dated 1896, but financial difficulties required him to submit a second smaller version in 1899. The gallery was opened in 1901. For a useful account of Barnett's work in the East End see Crawford, C.R. Ashbee, pp. 23-30. See also Meller, The Ideal City, especially introduction (pp. 9-39) and the reprint of Barnett's pamphlet 'The ideal city' from about 1893-94 (pp. 55-66). For the history of the designs and the building see Service, Townsend, pp. 172-173, p. 175. Service pointed out that Townsend's sister was one of the trustees for the Whitechapel Art Gallery.

75 The Horniman Museum and Gardens goes back to the private initiative of F. J. Horniman MP (1835-1906), a tea merchant who had built up a private anthropological collection. In 1890 Horniman decided in a typical philanthropic endeavour to his share his collection with the public and opened his house to visitors. This proved to be very successful and in 1896 Horniman asked Townsend to submit a design for a Museum in Forest Hill in south London on the site of his private house. Subsequently, Horniman's house was demolished in 1898 and after the opening of the Museum in 1901 Horniman presented the new building and the collection to the London County Council. In 1910 Townsend was working at the Horniman Museum again. This time he extended the building with a lecture hall and a library. For a brief account of the history of the Horniman collection see Service, Townsend, p. 173. See also Horniman Museum, An Account of the Horniman Free Museum and the Recreation Grounds Forest Hill (London: Horniman Museum, 1901).
Townsend was a "zealous member of the Arts and Crafts movement and the Art's Workers Guild", joining the latter in 1888.76 The commissions for the three cultural institutions presented Townsend with an opportunity to achieve buildings expressing both the Arts and Crafts ideals, and the character of the new institutions as foci and places of learning and education aimed towards the higher goal of the renewal of life in cities. It has been observed that all three of Townsend's buildings were characterised by a dichotomy between a "surging organic exterior and the contrasting rational interiors".77 Townsend employed two features for the facades of all three designs. Towers announced that there was an important public building and Romanesque arches emphasised the entrances with an inviting gesture. But towers and arches were also typical features of church buildings, and it is astonishing to observe how Townsend's facades more and more took on the impression of sacral buildings or temples.

The first design for the Whitechapel Art Gallery (Figure 7.18) from 1896 was based on the earlier Bishopsgate Institute from 1892,78 but developed in a particular direction. The building site was again elongated although wider. A tower at either side framed the broader facade. The smaller entrance arch was less dominating, but still inviting. The upper part showed a row of Romanesque arched windows and a mosaic by Walter Crane, which in turn was covered by a huge pitched roof. The elements of both designs were the same, but Townsend gave the later building a sacral impression. The facade could have well been that of an unconventional church with a nave under the pitched roof flanked by two towers. This impression was not only an invention of the architect, but rooted in Barnett's understanding of the function of art within his

76 Service, Townsend, p. 168.
77 Service, Townsend, p. 163.
78 Service related the Bishopsgate Institute facade to the entrance into the Elizabethan mansion of Brereton in Cheshire, where Townsend was born. Townsend wrote an introduction of a 1906 edition of The mansions of England in Olden Time by John Nash (London 1894), which included an illustration of Brereton house (Service, Townsend, p. 170).
social reform work. Barnett, the founder of the gallery, once wrote that "the Gospel of the higher life ... now reaches men through the thousand influences of literature, art, society, which have been touched by the spirit of Christ." To art touched by the spirit of Christ as a means to improve society, Townsend responded with a church-like art gallery.

The Horniman Museum design developed the theme of a sacral building further. (Figure 7.19) Townsend employed again the features of tower and arch, but in a new manner. A single tower is placed beside the building and connected with it through the entrance formed by a Romanesque arch. Two battered pylons each ending in a cupola frame the main facade of the museum. They are reminiscent of the towers of the Whitechapel Art Gallery, but in the case of the Horniman Museum crowned by an arched tympanum. The main feature of the wall, however, is a mosaic created by Robert Anning Bell. It depicts various arts and virtues offering presents to the god of humanity. If the overall impression of the building played again on associations with a church - a nave with a tower on a little hill among detached houses - the mosaic removed any doubt about the character of the building. It was a temple for the arts.

The entrance approach, designed as a way of initiation, underlines this idea. Visitors are directed towards the mosaic announcing what place they were about to enter. But before they can worship the god of humanity they have to pass through the dark entrance arch with the tower above. The similarity to the cave and tower motif is obvious.

80 The realised second design for a narrower site meant an improvement of the architectural qualities of the earlier design - the entrance arch shifted to the left thereby breaking the symmetry, which Townsend only regained in the upper half of the building - but also a loss of the sacral aura.
81 "[A visitor] is led up steps towards a blank wall, turned right towards a mighty voussoired Romanesque doorway ... under the tower, turned left into the building, and then back almost to where he started before he finds the first exhibits. It is a masterly spatial sequence." (Service, *Townsend*, p. 173).
Townsend seems not have elaborated his designs into a theoretical position about cultural institutions within cities. This is different in the case of Charles Robert Ashbee. Ashbee's interest in cities and their improvement through arts and crafts workshops began in Barnett's Toynbee Hall in the East End of London. Ashbee not only lived there from 1886 to 1889, but established in connection with the university settlement in 1888 his Guild of Handicraft. In 1902 Ashbee moved the Guild out of London to the small village of Chipping Campden, where the Guild existed for another six years until it finally collapsed in 1908.

In 1917 Ashbee published Where the Great City stands. A Study in the New Civics, his major book on cities and their renewal. The book was a return from a theoretical point of view to the experience of living and working in the East End of London twenty years earlier. What had begun there on a small scale basis, Ashbee now presented as the palliative for contemporary cities. The final chapters of the book deal with Ashbee's idea of a "Crafts Museum" or "Art Institute" in combination with a "Creative Guild". (Figure 7.20) Ashbee's concern was to implement "new groups - live organizations in each city or in suitable country districts - of individuals engaged in the Arts." These groups should fill the "empty shells" of the cities with "live creative enterprise" because "unless in every city there are men inventing, dreaming, finding the city its soul" every attempt to reform cities and life in them would be in vain.

The art institute was a place of production. The Guild members were to come from various crafts and their main task was to produce craftwork to set an example of

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82 For Ashbee see Crawford, C.R. Ashbee.
83 The original scheme included a School of Handicraft from which Ashbee disassociated himself in 1890. For a useful account of Ashbee's life and work in the East End of London see chapter two 'East London 1886-1891' in Crawford, C.R. Ashbee, pp. 23-43).
85 See chapters 14 - 16 in Ashbee, Great City, pp. 113-122.
86 Ashbee, Great City, p. 113.
what could be done without the help of modern machinery and its related modes of production. The institute was organised into four groups of workshops focusing on "the beauty of the home", "the person", "the book", and "life, manner and deportment". Each of the groups was given a gallery in which to exhibit its products. In addition, a central gallery accommodated permanent and loan collections, "and objects of art and craft given to the city." The institute was a "little University of the Arts in every city" and its object was "to 'democratize' the arts, to make them wanted in the city."89

The emphasis Ashbee placed on the relation between the city and the institute marks the difference between his earlier East End experience and the later plan. While the Guild of Handicrafts was essentially a private initiative which wanted to set an example, Ashbee now suggested that the institute should be regarded as the central function of a city. The city should endow the centre in order to guarantee its financial independence and proper functioning. In return, the art institute would serve the city, which meant "to bring the Humanities into life again".

We need the Humanities as a check to mechanism, but the way to safeguard them is through the Arts, co-ordinated and applied to the needs of the City.90

The diagrammatic plan underlines the central function and position of the institute in a city. Ashbee suggested a cruciform plan for the central gallery, which would house a power station in the basement, administration and meeting rooms above and exhibition rooms on the upper floor. Covered walkways lead to the three smaller galleries and the theatre, which are connected by the circular arrangement of single storey workshops. Ashbee stressed that the cruciform of the central gallery was

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87 Ashbee, Great City, p. 115.
88 Ashbee, Great City, p. 119.
89 Ashbee, Great City, p. 121, 120.
90 Ashbee, Great City, p. 123.
not necessary, alternatively it could have been seven-sided. Ashbee insisted on a centralised arrangement for the whole complex, because the institute "must radiate outwards from the power centre". The institute was intended to be an Arts and Crafts temple supported by a city and serving it.

Ashbee presented his return into the city as the final stage of the evolution of the Arts and Crafts Movement. In 1916 he explained that thirty years ago the original task was "to free the artist craftsman, ... make him independent of the trade and the factory". The second stage was characterised by a want for a "greater regard for tradition." This meant to emphasise beyond the individual the workshop as a larger unit containing traditions, and passing them on to the individual members. The third stage was to incorporate "the body of skill, enthusiasm, invention" of this unit into an even larger unit, which was "the point where we touch the wider issue of the city".

By touching the city at selective points with the art institute Ashbee attempted to reform the city into an ideal community.

The final development of the idealistic approach towards cities was marked by proposals to consider the city itself as the new idea. Significantly, it was Lethaby whose analysis of the temple as the embodiment of the macrocosm had contributed so much to the idealistic approach towards cities, who presented also an early scheme with the city as the ideal.

91 Ashbee, Great City, p.
92 Ashbee, Great City, p. 119-120.
93 Charles Robert Ashbee, 'What the City might do for the Craftsman', Sociological Review 9 (1916), 52-54.
Temples of the City

In 1897 Lethaby proposed to resuscitate London with a new ideational order, because "before it can thought of as a whole - a city - there must be some sort of more or less actual, or sentimental, order and unity given to it." Lethaby wanted to build an avenue from Waterloo Bridge to the British Museum; this "would alone almost give an organic system to London". (Figure 7.21) The new street divided the hypotenuse of an imaginary triangle with a church or temple of contemplation - St Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey - at either end of its basis line, and the British Museum and Library - a temple of knowledge and tradition, appropriately designed with a Greek portico and a domed central reading room - at the triangle's apex. Lethaby described the new avenue to be a "Sacred Way, a place of fountains and trees, where statues might be erected to the 'Fortune of the City', and to the city fathers." An omphalos placed at the crossing of the Sacred Way with The Strand underlined the temple-like character of the triangle and the avenue: the macrocosm could either be the British Empire with London at its centre, or the city of London itself.

The climax, and conceptual end, of endeavours to reform cities with cultural means and temples was the 1916 exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. That year the event was for the first time held at Burlington House, the

94 William Richard Lethaby, 'Of Beautiful Cities', in Art and Life, and the Building and Decoration of Cities: A Series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896 (London: Percival, 1897), pp. 45-110 (p. 104), (the essay hereafter Of Beautiful Cities, the book hereafter Art and Life). For cities in general Lethaby suggested "to begin on the humblest plane by sweeping streets better, washing and white-washing the houses, and taking care that such railings and lamp-posts as are required are good lamp-posts and railings, the work of the best artists attainable" (Lethaby, Of Beautiful Cities, pp. 103-104). This confinement to very basic measurements illustrates the assumption I made earlier, that a metaphysical centre for a city became more important than the improvement of the material basis of cities. (see above page 251).


building of the Royal Academy in London. On this occasion the architect Henry Wilson, the president of the society from 1915 to 1922, took it in his hands to design the exhibition along conceptual lines. The underlying theme was the city.

The main part of the exhibition was a series of thematic rooms all relating to the issue of the city. Two rooms entitled Domus displayed decoration schemes for private homes, thereby declaring the idea of a totally designed environment or the "House Beautiful as ... necessary element[s] in the life of the city." A University Room with murals contrasting "the vivid and picturesque survivals of university robes and processions" with "the dullness and drabness of the modern townspeople" emphasised the necessity to bridge the gap between town and gown.

But the heart of the exhibition was comprised of three other rooms. The first was the Municipal Hall with a mural entitled 'The Arts' by Maurice Greiffenhagen as the main exhibit. (Figure 7.22) In the centre of the painting a female figure, the city, sits underneath a baldachin and is approached from both sides by the different arts. The City is placed on a plinth with two putti on either side of her feet, the one holding a Greek temple and the other a model of the Santa Sophia. A Gothic church spire forms the background for the city. The second room was named 'Ecclesiastic'. There, a series of altars in apsidal chapels expressed "all the religious groups that manifest the fullness of civic life and guide its course." The culmination of the show was the 'Central Hall of Heroes' (Figure 7.23) with the motto "Usui civium decori urbis". The key exhibit was a "central painting in the semi-dome of Humanity, - the Mother and Child" painted by Reginald Hallward. The room was dedicated to the victims of

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98 S. Branford, What the Craftsman can do for the City, p. 50. Branford's essay was published together with Ashbee's paper on the craftsman and the city (see footnote 92) under the heading 'The Arts and Crafts Exhibition: Its Civic and Educational Aspects'.
99 S. Branford, What the Craftsman can do for the City, p. 50, (all quotation in this paragraph from the same source). The Latin quote reads in English as "The Civic Service is a City's Grace".
the First World War, accordingly the other exhibits illustrated the human suffering and solidarity. Most notably among them was a model of a *Campo Santo* building based on the Santa Sophia, which stood in the centre of the hall.""\textsuperscript{100}"

Through its symbolism, the exhibition acquired a meaning beyond being a display of the latest products of the Arts and Crafts Movement. The rooms *Domus* presented the city as a coherently designed environment; as Olbrich and other architects had attempted earlier. The University Room underlined the City as a place of knowledge, learning and education; similar to initiatives like Barnett's university settlement. The Municipal Room was a temple of a city; comparable to Lethaby's London scheme. Although the mural showed the arts and crafts contributing to the city, the attributes of the city - the Greek temple, the Santa Sophia, and the Gothic spire - revealed her as an object of religious origin and quasi-religious veneration. The same idea was again presented in the room 'Ecclesiastic', which was, due to its church-like character, also a temple of contemplation. The 'Hall of Heroes', apart from being a response to the most serious attempt to date of German imperialism to gain a more important position among the nation states, was a temple of life. The two key exhibits - the mother with the child and the *Campo Santo* - could not make sense of the death of the soldiers. But taken the two symbols of the veneration of life and death together, the hall became a place for the veneration of the cycle of life; comparable to the interchangeable temples dedicated to life and death Schumacher had designed.

The symbolism indicated something else. Every theme dealt with, every exhibit presented, was turned into an object of higher meaning with quasi-religious overtones requiring veneration and worship. To elevate the city, whose miserable state was the origin of reform initiatives, into the very idea guiding possible interventions,

\textsuperscript{100} I have found no information about the architect of the *Campo Santo*. 

274
was a circular argument and led the idealistic approach towards cities into an conceptual cul-de-sac.\textsuperscript{101} Under the dome of a temple of the city everything and nothing could be assembled. What had begun in opposition to traditional religious concepts of seeking the New Jerusalem in the afterlife, had finally become a quasi-religion itself. Similar to ancient Greece, the city was an object of worship. In 1924 another temple scheme, a 'Hall of Vision', which was very similar to the 1916 exhibition, was presented during a 'Conference of the Living Religions within the Empire' in London. That project, prepared by Victor Branford, was the culmination of all the temple ideas of Patrick Geddes.

\textsuperscript{101} This does not mean that the idea as such had come to an end. In the Germany of the aftermath of the lost First World War the idealistic approach towards cities witnessed another climax in the Stadtkronen (city crowns) and Volkshäuser (peoples houses) of the Expressionist architects. Comparable to time lapse photography Bruno Taut, Wenzel Hablik and their colleagues repeated what I have analysed in this chapter. The appalling state of German nineteenth century cities like Berlin, worsened through the impact of the lost war, led to ideas of the \textit{Dissolution of the City} - so the title of Taut's book from 1919 - in favour of ideal communities around temple structures in the country side. It followed the return into the city as Taut envisaged in his book \textit{Stadtkrone} from 1919. Finally the Volkshaus ideas or Taut's design for the Folkwang Museum in Hagen presented cultural temples as a palliative for the cities. The idea of temple buildings lingered on till well into the Third Reich, when single Expressionist architects revived occasionally earlier schemes (for Taut see Whyte, \textit{Bruno Taut}; for Expressionism in German architecture see Benson, \textit{Expressionist Utopias}; Lampugnani, Schneider, \textit{Expressionismus und Neue Sachlichkeit}).
"Life individual, associated, collective; Love, through all passions, simplest to highest; Death too, in all its mysteries, its fears, its hopes; ... Religious emotions and aspirations, ideas and doctrines, ... they find expression in new imagery, in fresh symbolism; and thus at length in Temples, to house and synthesise them, each and all."  

Like many of his contemporaries, some of them discussed in the preceding chapter, Geddes recognised the need for a metaphysical city centre. Yet apart from that Geddes differed from his contemporaries regarding the variety and number of temple schemes. Ashbee, for example, had elaborated on one particular idea, the Arts Institute as the core of urban renewal. Geddes, on the contrary, conceived many temple schemes, including buildings fully designed in collaboration with architects, reinterpretations of existing historic structures, and symbolic forms and spaces to be included in exhibitions or proposed in City Design reports. This variety, of which the following analysis presents only an exemplary selection, might appear confusing today, yet for Geddes it was not. The large number of schemes was part of Geddes’s methodological approach to City Design:

Let us then go on with our comprehensive designing of the Culture-Institutes of the Future. Such designs have their educative value -- & thus they tend to reach execution some day. The social & political reformer has always to state and re-state his ideas, long before he forms that resolute minority, which by and by -- by restating these ideas more widely still -- persuades a sufficient majority to adapt [sic] them ...  

The repetitive contents of many of Geddes’s temple ideas allows one to order them roughly into two groups. One comprises temple schemes evolving around the theme of knowledge and its synthesis, the other temples of life. Furthermore, the two groups follow each other chronologically. In the years up to 1900 Geddes was  

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1 Letter by Patrick Geddes to Frank C. Mears, 18 September 1922, (NLS, MS 10573, f. 134).
2 Although due to the nature of the sources there remains often an element of doubt regarding the
primarily concerned with temples of knowledge. While he was never to give up to pursue this idea he concentrated latter increasingly on temples of life. This marks a significant shift in Geddes’s intellectual development as it expresses a step away from the primarily scientific analysis of life towards a quasi-religious veneration of the phenomena of life in its material and metaphysical totality.

There is, however, one group of temple schemes which is considered outside the above two groups and the chronology. Temples and temple-like structures dedicated to the City are treated separately, even if many of them were conceived at the same time as the earlier examples. But they are temples of a higher order as they incorporate many elements from the schemes for temples of knowledge and temples of life for the benefit of the City. Thus, once more the City, its benefit and future, emerges as the point of reference of Geddes’s ideas and initiatives.

The Temple of Geography

Two-dimensional representations of the earth’s surface have a long tradition in cartography. Three-dimensional representations became especially popular after the invention of the panorama by Robert Barker in Edinburgh in 1788. This device spread rapidly through Europe and was complemented in 1822 with the first diorama, invented by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in 1822. From a much earlier date globes existed showing the known geography of the earth; but panorama and diorama marked a significant change in the method of representation. Both devices depicted reality, for example a cityscape, a natural or historical scenes in a way that a visitor gained the impression to participate in the scenes. Artists painting a panorama often made use of natural components like pieces of wood or stones arranged in the foreground of the image. The intention was to enhance the realistic effect by creating a

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3 See above chapter 6, p. 215.
smoother transition between the visitor and the painting. The aim of the panorama was not so much, as Markus explained, to "deceive observers into believing that they were in the presence of the authentic", rather to present a recreated, man-made nature. The panorama was another "natural-artificial double-being" comparable to temples on mountain tips, where nature and artefacts became one. The panorama was a device to understand the event or scene depicted.

A kind of panorama of the earth was opened by the map publisher James Wyld in London in 1851. This panorama consisted of a globe, 60 feet in diameter, with a relief representation of the earth's surface on its inner side. (Figure 8.1) Four platforms allowed visitors to view the earth from various levels. Maps, astronomic and other exhibits turned the 'Monster Globe' into a centre for geography, which was originally conceived for the World Exhibition in London in 1851, but built at Leicester Square. While Wyld's globe, despite its scientific accuracy, could easily be perceived as a tourist attraction, this was not possible in the case of Robert Pemberton's Happy Colony from 1854, a scheme for an ideal settlement in New Zealand. The centre of the colony consisted of four colleges surrounding a park with a small farm, representations of the muses, and models of geometrical forms. (Figure 8.2) Furthermore, two terrestrial and two celestial maps put the universe and the earth at the feet of the colonists for educational purposes. Wyld's globe and Pemberton's maps were incentives to consider universe and earth as open to human inquiry and, regarding the latter, to intervention.

Geddes's friend, the anarchist-geographer Elisée Reclus pursued similar

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5 Markus, Building & Power, p. 214, (my emphasis).
6 The panorama was "eine Kunst der Mischung und Zusammensetzung von natürlichen und künstlichen Elementen - und ihr Ziel ist nicht wiederum Kunst oder gar Schönheit, sondern eine neue, andere, eben vom Menschen hergestellte Natur." (Sternberger, Panorama, p. 17).
7 Markus, Building & Power, p. 219.
8 Pemberton, Happy Colony; see chapter 1, p. 12; see Markus, Buildings & Power, p. 292.
intentions with his *Great Globe* from 1895. Reclus intended to exhibit the globe during the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900. The French architect Louis Bonnier conceived a design for an egg-shaped construction accommodating the globe, documentation centre, library, and a collection of dioramas. (Figure 8.3) As a scientist, Reclus’s main concern was the inaccuracy of two-dimensional maps representing three-dimensional sections of the earth. This difficulty he wished to overcome with the globe on a large scale, accompanied by models on an even larger scale for individual sections of the earth. Another aim was to make the earth and scientific information about its surface available to those scientists, who did not have the opportunities to personally explore unknown territories. The third aim was to provide for the public "a model of the Earth, under the shape of a globe, ... where every man will find himself at home, and even will learn to know his own country better than before". The globe was a device to root man and the masses again in a world steadily becoming larger and larger due to increasing scientific knowledge, but whose lucidity did not grow in parallel. To achieve this the synthesis of the specialised knowledge into an idea of the Earth was necessary. "Now Globes must be temples themselves" Reclus insisted on, referring to size, workmanship and scientific representations, but in particular to the globe's idealistic and quasi-religious function.

In sight of such constructions, people must feel grave and respectful, not only because those monuments consecrated to science will partake of its majesty, but also because they will belong to all men, without any privilege for race or nationality, and will help to strengthen within us

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11 In the published version of his paper Reclus referred to a scale of 1:100,000 (c. 1.6 miles to an inch) as sufficient to represent even hills only 150 feet high. The final dimension of the project for Paris were a scale of 1:500,000 (5000 m to 1 cm), a diameter of 26 m, whereas the construction by Bonnier was 60 m high and had a diameter of 46 m. (Marrey, *Bonnier*, p. 48).

12 "... we cannot all perambulate the surface of our planet, but we may still be very useful in a secondary way. ... The chosen few will make discoveries; the others, less fortunate, but happy still, will follow in the track opened to them" on the globe. (Reclus, *Great Globe*, pp. 401-402).

the feeling that we are one and the same family.\textsuperscript{14}

With this final paragraph of his paper Reclus presented the Globe as an instrument of knowledge and as an idealistic temple idea. Geddes picked up the project on exactly these two notions. Immediately responding to Reclus's lecture, Geddes stressed the scientific value of the project and demanded action.\textsuperscript{15} Later, after Reclus's death in 1905, Geddes underlined in his obituary the temple character of the Globe. Comparable to Lethaby's temple definition, Geddes began to describe the globe as the "microcosm of the macrocosm itself", then as "the image, and shrine, and temple of the Earth-Mother", and finally as expressing "the unity of the world" as "the basis and symbol of the brotherhood of man".\textsuperscript{16} Geddes's and Reclus's idealism was firmly rooted in an enlightened pursuit of knowledge. They wished the temple to be a Temple of the Brotherhood of Man, but is was first of all a Temple of Knowledge. As such Geddes incorporated Reclus's globe in his own scheme for a Temple of Geography.\textsuperscript{17}

With the support of the Edinburgh map-publisher and cartographer John George Bartholomew, Geddes presented to the public in 1902 a project for a National Institute of Geography to be established in Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{14} Reclus, \textit{Great Globe}, p. 406.
\textsuperscript{16} "Instead of a book, were it the best, the latest, here was now the most monumental of museums, the most simple of observatories, the microcosm of the macrocosm itself. Again the description went on, but now this was no mere scientific model in its institute, but the image, and shrine, and temple of the Earth-Mother, and its expositor no longer a modern professor in his chair, but an arch-Druid at sacrifice within his circle of mighty stones, an Eastern Mage, initiator to cosmic mysteries. Yet once more, with even nobler look and deepening word, the scene passed anew into the future of its accomplishment, but with an interest no longer solely cosmic, but henceforth primarily human - the unity of the world now the basis and symbol of the brotherhood of man upon it; sciences and arts, geography and labour uniting into a reign of peace and goodwill. With not only intellect but imagination and feeling thus fully aroused, the geographic vision thus rose into the poetic - indeed in no mean measure became the prophetic also." (Geddes, \textit{Great Geographer}, pp. 549-550).
\textsuperscript{17} In January 1902 Geddes wrote two pages of notes with the heading "Notes towards 'Temple of Geography'" (SUA, T-GED 13/1/3).
The project consisted of three elements. There was Reclus's globe on a reduced scale, surrounded by maps, reliefs and other geographical illustrations. Geddes complemented the representation of the earth with an image of the universe in the form of a celestial globe designed by the French architect Paul Louis Albert Galeron.\(^\text{19}\) Galeron had already built a celestial globe for the International Exhibition in Paris in 1900, where Geddes might have met the architect. (Figure 8.4) Geddes intended to make the celestial globe to the centre of "astronomical collections, together with photographs, star maps, models, and so on."\(^\text{20}\) An Outlook Tower was the third element of the institute.

The design for the building Geddes developed together with Galeron, who produced a first sketch in 1901.\(^\text{21}\) (Figure 8.5) The drawing shows an Outlook Tower with receding storeys ending in a wider platform with a turret on top. The turret was obviously derived from the existing Outlook Tower in Edinburgh and would probably have accommodated another Camera Obscura. Two identical halls with stepped roofs connected by an entrance hall with an Egyptian gateway accommodate the globes of Reclus and Galeron. Around the globes smaller cubicles offer space for reliefs and other exhibits.

The final published design (Figure 8.6) follows closely the organisation of the 1901 plan, although the neo-Egyptian entrance has disappeared. Likewise, the two stepped roofs were replaced by two domes, underneath which half-circular windows

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\(^{19}\) Paul Louis Albert Galeron (1846-?) studied architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts under Vaudoyer and Coquert. In 1883 he was appointed architect for the public works department in Bucharest. He returned to Paris in 1894, where he was involved in the preparations of the International Exhibition of 1900. (Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise, ed. by M. Prevost et. al. (ed.), (Paris: Libraire Letouzey et Auë, 1933- ), XV (1982), 159; Thieme-Becker, XIII, 94).

\(^{20}\) Geddes, Draft Plan Institute of Geography, p. 143.

\(^{21}\) The sketch of the institute is dated Glasgow 23 June (or July) 1901, but drawn on letterpaper of Galeron with his Paris address. It is very likely that Geddes met Galeron (again) during the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901. Geddes had staged at the Glasgow exhibition an international summerschool similar to the one organised at the Paris World Exhibition from 1900. (Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, pp. 178-191).
allowed visitors glimpses on the globes. Furthermore, both halls are enlarged at the
outer ends by half-circular rooms offering exhibition space and a lecture room in the
form of an amphitheatre. This apparently straightforward addition of two similar
shaped rooms results, however, in a significant change in the footprint of the building.
Once the two half circles were added, the plan of the National Institute of Geography
can be read as a direct reference to a sixteenth century astronomical laboratory, of
which Geddes obviously wished his institute to be a direct descendent.

The Danish astrologer Tycho Brahe was awarded in 1576 by Frederick II
with the island of Hveen near Copenhagen.22 Frederick II also provided Brahe with
funding allowing the astronomer to erect in the following years what was to become
the forerunner of modern observatories. From 1576 onwards Brahe built on Hveen
the unique castle of Uraniborg combining private and student accommodation with
laboratories and study rooms housing astronomic and other scientific equipment. The
ground plan of Uraniborg (Figure 8.7) shows a quadrangular building divided
crosswise by two corridors, and enlarged by half circular rooms on two opposing
sides of the square. One of these rooms accommodated the kitchen of Uraniborg, the
other Brahe's library and a globe.

Uraniborg became famous soon after completion. It was one of the very few
places, which although not a city, were included by Georg Braun and Frans
Hogenberg in their five volume opus Civitatis Orbis Terrarum published from 1588
onwards.23 Brahe and Uraniborg attracted again attention when in 1890 a biography

22 Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) was a Danish astronomer, who became well known for discovering a
"new star" in Cassiopeia. He lived and worked on Hveen till 1596, when he lost his royal
pension after Frederick II had died. Brahe moved subsequently to Prague, where Johannes Kepler
came his student until Brahe's death in 1601. One of the main interest of Brahe, beside
astronomy, was the project of a large brass globe of the earth. [See Victor E. Thoren, The Lord of
Uraniborg A Biography of Tycho Brahe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)].

23 George Braun, Frans Hogenberg, Civitatis Orbis Terrarum (Cologne, 1586 and later), part IV,
Latin edition, plate 27. (The bibliographical information from Cornelis Koeman, Atlantes
Neerlandici. Bibliography of terrestrial, maritime and celestial Atlases and Pilot Books published
in the Netherlands up to 1880, 5 vols (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1969-71), II, 20).
of the scientist by John Louis Emil Dreyer was published in Edinburgh by the company of Adam and Charles Black.\(^{24}\) It is very likely that Geddes had read the book. Furthermore, the fact that Geddes acquired at some point in his life an impression of the engraving from Braun’s and Hogenberg’s *Civitatis Orbis Terrarum*, of which Figure 8.7 shows a detail, emphasises even stronger his fascination with Uraniborg.\(^{25}\)

Uraniborg was very likely a model for Geddes’s geographical institute. Both institutions had a similar ground plan, and both were considered by their creators as the most advanced scientific institutes of their time. Uraniborg emphasised the Renaissance fascination with scientific enquiry which should aid the rational organisation of the world; the position of Uraniborg at the centre of a formally designed quadrangular garden, which, in turn, was the heart of the small island of Hveen, underlined this intention. Similarly, Geddes’ geographical institute as a centre of rational cognition should have become the focus of an ordered environment. The aim was to provide information and study facilities for scientists, practical information about foreign countries for manufacturers and politicians, and educational services to laymen.\(^{26}\) The insights gained should subsequently be applied to the City, the Region-City and, finally, to the world. But beyond this, Geddes aimed at a "cosmic presentment of Universal geography".\(^{27}\) The geographical institute should have offered a new cosmography, comparable in its intention to the philosophy of Reclus’s Globe, but leaving it behind by including the Universe. The institute was "a Temple of

\(^{24}\) John Louis Emil Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe A Picture of scientific life and work in the sixteenth century* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1890); Dreyer was a Danish Astronomer, who lived in Britain and Ireland, and became director of the observatory in Arran, Ireland, in 1882.

\(^{25}\) The engraving is today in SUA, T-GED 25/1/651. It is not known when and where Geddes acquired it. He did however own other engravings from Braun’s and Hogenberg’s volumes, mainly images of cities in Belgium and elsewhere in Europe.

\(^{26}\) Especially Bartholomew stressed this practical use of the Institute for the British economy and politics. (See Bartholomew, *National Institute of Geography*).

\(^{27}\) Geddes, *Draft Plan Institute of Geography*, p. 143.
Geography, devoted to the Universe in general and the Earth in particular.\textsuperscript{28}

Reclus did not suggest a particular connection between his globe and a city.\textsuperscript{29} The National Institute of Geography was conceived for the city of Edinburgh.\textsuperscript{30} Despite some initial support the project was not realised, and Geddes never returned to it.\textsuperscript{31} But he continued pursuing the idea of presenting his cosmography in Temples of Geography - either in the form of larger geographical institutes or as Outlook Towers.\textsuperscript{32} Two years after the plan for the Edinburgh Institute, Geddes suggested a similar structure in his report for Pittencrief Park in Dunfermline, this time in collaboration with architect George Shaw Aitken.

The 'Nature Palace', as Geddes called the Temple of Geography in Dunfermline, continued the concept developed for its Edinburgh predecessor, but the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} Bartholomew, \textit{National Institute of Geography}, p. 146.
\item \textsuperscript{29} "Globes of large proportions are very cumbrous objects, and in our crowded cities, where space is so expensive, it is very difficult to find place for these scientific guests." (Reclus, \textit{Great Globe}, p. 403).
\item \textsuperscript{30} The National Institute of Geography would have complemented the already existing Outlook Tower, which would have become solely dedicated to the study of Edinburgh (Mellor, \textit{Patrick Geddes}, p. 123). I was unable to establish the exact location of the National Institute in Edinburgh, if it was designed with a specific site in mind at all. The architectural style makes it conceivable that the intention might have been to build the institute somewhere near to the University of Edinburgh's Medical School, McEwan Hall and Reid Music School at the southern side of the old town. All three buildings were designed in Italian Renaissance styles although by different architects. A location near to these university institutions would have certainly found Geddes's approval.
\item \textsuperscript{31} For initial reactions to the proposal see Anonymous, 'Proposed National Institute of Geography', \textit{Scottish Geographical Magazine} 18 (1902), 217-220.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Larger and complex geographical institutions Geddes suggested for Indore and Lucknow. As part of the University of Indore, Geddes planned a regional museum which should present regional nature together with a type collection of nature world-wide. An Outlook Tower would have crowned the university complex. The tower ended in a series of arcades (See the design for the National Institute of Geography) symbolising the unity of science. The purpose of the tower was to give a "geographical and cosmological outlook over the country, the historical and esthetic [sic] outlook over the town ... and outlook of Rural Development and City Renewal" (p. 40). (Geddes, \textit{University for Central India}, pp. 23-25, pp. 28-32, pp. 34-35, pp. 41-42.) In Lucknow Geddes turned the Zoo into a Temple of Geography. He suggested adding on an existing building an Outlook Tower complete with Camera Obscura, geographical orientation marks on the parapet and a city map painted on the floor. Part of the Zoo was what Geddes called a "Geography garden". This was a relief-map of the world, decorated with models of animals and human beings placed on their appropriate region of the earth. Furthermore a relief model of India and a geological section of Lucknow district were among the ideas for the garden. (Geddes, \textit{Lucknow Zoo report}, pp. 13, 53-55).
\end{itemize}
contents was broadened by including biology and anthropology in addition to astronomy, geology and geography. The building was designed on a traditional Latin cross plan of a church - this was intended to be a two storey high perambulation area covered by a steel-glass roof - with an additional rectangular structure at the northern end, accommodating a library and a lecture theatre. (Figure 8.8) Four quadrangular towers with a dome, each two storeys high, stood in the angles of the cross. An outlook tower was provided by Geddes elsewhere in Pittencrief Park.33

A visitor would have ideally entered the Nature Palace from the north and proceeded first to the basement with an installation of about a hundred panoramas of three different sizes representing various continents, countries, and geographical zones. Having passed this imaginary travel, during which a visitor would have made the world his own,34 the upper two storeys offered more specialised studies. In three of the four towers index museums for anthropology, geology, biology would have offered scientific knowledge. The fourth tower accommodated an index museum for astronomy including a small copy of Galeron's celestial globe. A reduced version of Reclus's globe of the earth stood in the centre of the Latin cross as the main feature of the hall.

The intention was again to present a unified cosmography based on the synthesis of specialised scientific studies. The cosmographic aspect of the Nature Palace was emphasised by Geddes with a reference to biblical cosmology. Geddes suggested four fountains in the outer ends of the cross, although they are omitted in the plan. They were dedicated to the main human types represented by "ethnological sculptures".35 Beside the racial symbolism, these fountains were a reference to the

33 For a detailed description see Geddes, Dunfermline report, pp. 109-120. The Outlook Tower was part of the history museum.
34 Geddes described the benefit of the display for a visitor as "to enlarge his whole resultant image of the world", to see "the larger world of Nature and Humanity". (Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 116).
35 The northern fountain was devoted to the Scandinavian, Celtic and Mediterranean types, the
Garden of Eden in the Genesis, where four rivers originated from one spring. Dunfermline's Nature Palace was an image of both Garden of Eden lost and regained. The latter was achievable through the synthesis of science in a new cosmography as the guiding principle of human activities, aiming at the renewal of life.36

The City and Eugenics

The improvement of human life was discussed in a new light with Darwin's theory of Evolution, which secured man a place within the sequence of organic life. However, the question remained: How were the characteristics of organic life, in particular of human beings, transmitted to the next generation? Speaking in biological terms, two schools of thought - neo-Lamarckism and neo-Darwinism - confronted each other during the decades preceding the turn of the century. Neo-Lamarckists believed that characteristics, acquired in one generation by adaptation to

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36 Part of Geddes' cosmography was the valley section as the principle division of the earth, and the basic human habitat. The valley section, although extensively covered already in the Outlook Tower and index museum, became additionally introduced into at least two cities in the form of Zoological Gardens. In Edinburgh Geddes and Frank Mears worked on the Zoological Garden on Corstophine Hill from 1912 onwards. On the top of the sloping hill animals living in mountains and rocky areas like wild sheep and wolves were accommodated. The middle zone housed animals living in the plains like giraffes and zebras. Towards the southern end animals who need water as a feature for their life were placed. [For the history of Edinburgh Zoo see The Zoological Society of Scotland, An Appeal for a Scottish Zoological Garden (n. pl. [Edinburgh], n. pub., n. d [c. 1912]); The Zoological Society of Scotland, The Scottish Zoological Park (Edinburgh: Mercat Press, n. d.).] In Patiala Geddes designed in 1922 another Zoo. He wrote: "In short these Zoo yards will now range in vegetation from the drylands of the Punjab and Rajputana to the wet delta of Bengal." (Geddes, Patiala report, p. 30-31). Furthermore Geddes was involved in Zoo ideas for Balrampur in 1917 (Geddes, Balrampur report, p. 22), in Baroda in 1916 (Geddes, Baroda report, p. 39), in Indore in 1918 (Geddes, University for Central India, p. 63), and in Lucknow, where he wrote a report only for the Zoo (Geddes, Lucknow Zoo report).

the environment, became inherited qualities in the following. According to them "heredity could partly be controlled (how much was hotly debated) by the environment." This popular idea became shattered only with increasing insights into the biological processes of heredity, which gave rise to neo-Darwinism.

Neo-Darwinists assumed that characteristics of organic life were fixed and inherited by subsequent generations. The idea that characteristics were not acquired, had existed already when Darwin put forward his theory of evolution, but had suffered to date the disadvantage of a lack of knowledge about the exact working of the hereditary process. This changed at the beginnings of the 1890s, when the German biologist August Weismann announced his germ-plasm theory, a direct attack on the belief in the inheritability of acquired characteristics. The discussion in evolutionary biology moved during the second half of the nineteenth century between neo-Lamarckism and neo-Darwinism, and, according to the historian Farrall, both ideas were still influential in the early twentieth century.

The debate between both schools of thought was not confined to biologists, but was also of interest to social theoreticians and reformers. Their most pressing issue was the steady growth of towns and cities with bad living conditions. Slum restoration, charitable, philanthropic and educational efforts had so far not led to a lasting improvement of urban conditions of life, to a better health and moral of town inhabitants, especially the working class. The theory of evolution had not only described the evolution of organic life towards higher stages, but also the possibility of a species declining and finally disappearing. This idea was reflected in the thinking

38 Farrall, *English Eugenics Movement*, p. 30. See above chapter 4, p. 147, footnote 64.
39 Weismann claimed that germ cells in a body have to be distinguished from body cells. Whereas the latter can change due to adaptation to the environment, they do not affect the germ-cells, which were solely responsible for the transmission of inherited characteristics. For Weismann see August Weismann, *Essays upon Heredity*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon, 1891); and Geoffrey Russell Searle, *Eugenics and Politics in Britain 1900-1914* (Leyden: Noordhoff International Publishing, 1976), pp. 6-7, (hereafter *Eugenics and Politics*).
of social reformers. Towns and urban life became considered as a possible expression of a degeneration of human beings or the human race.\textsuperscript{41} Already in 1866, John Edward Morgan published, for example, a booklet about \textit{The Danger of Deterioration of Race from the too Rapid Increase of Great Cities}.\textsuperscript{42} The same idea was still prevalent towards the end of the century, most notably in the famous book \textit{Degeneration} by the doctor and man of letters Max Nordau. Nordau subsumed "residence in large towns" among the "noxious influences" of modern life and society like tobacco, alcohol and drugs.\textsuperscript{43}

Within this context eugenics emerged. It was based on the assumption that an increasing knowledge of heredity would allow human beings to control their reproduction by artificial selection. Thus mankind could be led on to a higher stage within the evolution of organic life. The term eugenic was coined by Francis Galton in 1886 who suggested it as a name for "the science of improving stock, which is by no means confined to questions of judicious mating, but which, especially in the case of man, takes cognizance of all influences that tend in however remote a degree to give to the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable than they otherwise would have had."\textsuperscript{44} Eugenics offered a new, scientific approach to dealing with all kinds of social problems through the control of marriages, birth control, sterilisation, and the education of women towards a more

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{41} See Searle, \textit{Eugenics and Politics}, pp. 20-33.
\item \textsuperscript{42} John Edward Morgan, \textit{The Danger of Deterioration of Race from the too Rapid Increase of Great Cities} (Paper read at the Social Science Congress, Sheffield, Tuesday, October 10, 1865) (London: Longmann, Green and Co., 1866).
\item \textsuperscript{43} Max Nordau, \textit{Degeneration} (London: William Heinemann, 1895), p. 35. Nordau (1849 -1923) is today often credited with introducing the term degeneration into social theory. Accordingly, he is occasionally placed among the predecessors of National Socialist ideology in Germany. But his book criticised many fin-de-siècle phenomena - among them mysticism, symbolism, Tolstoyism, Richard-Wagner Cult, Decadents, Ibsenism, Realism, Nietzsche - some of which were of utmost importance for the ideological background of German National Socialism. Nordau was among the leading Zionists and a promoter of garden city ideas. (For the general use of the term degeneration see Shearer West, \textit{Fin de Siècle} (London: Bloomsbury, 1993), pp. 16-32).
\item \textsuperscript{44} Francis Galton, \textit{Inquiries into Human Faculty} (London: Macmillan, 1883), pp. 24-25, quoted from Farrall, \textit{English Eugenics Movement}, p. 55.
\end{itemize}
responsible selection of their husbands.\textsuperscript{45} By 1890 the idea of Eugenics was well established in both scientific circles and among the educated public,\textsuperscript{46} but became especially popular in the years after the turn of the century, when the drafting for the Boer War highlighted again the allegedly bad stock of the population in the larger British towns.\textsuperscript{47}

The idea of fixed characteristics meant that environmental reforms would not only be powerless to effect the future improvement of human race, but probably do active harm, especially in an urban environment. According to this assumption cities were considered as a natural habitat in which differences regarding health, wealth, social and moral life were not the results of the prevailing socio-economic order but expressions of the biological fitness of the inhabitants. Existing cities appeared to "select stocks" of inhabitants "with qualities to which civilized societies attached little value";\textsuperscript{48} mere physical improvements of the cities would foster this tendency while ignoring the real problem: the fixed characteristics of the citizen.\textsuperscript{49}

At its extreme, this argument could be extended to show that the slums were themselves biological phenomena; they were created by a distinctive biological type, the 'chronic slum dweller', and only when this undesirable type had been bred out of the race would it be possible to effect lasting improvement in housing conditions.\textsuperscript{50}

Galton described in a utopian novel the ideal state and city of 'Kantsaywhere'

\textsuperscript{46} Farrall, \textit{English Eugenics Movement}, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{47} For a discussion of the fear about national decline raised by the drafting of soldiers for the Boer War and the flaws inherent in this argument see Searle, \textit{Eugenics and Politics}, pp. 20-33.
\textsuperscript{48} Searle, \textit{Eugenics and Politics}, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{49} Searle, \textit{Eugenics and Politics}, pp. 45-66. On a larger, national level a similar phenomenon can be observed already earlier. The differences in the appearance of human beings were no longer perceived as varieties of the same species but distinguished in to races of various values. (See Nancy Stepan, \textit{The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain 1800-1960} (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), especially pp. 29-46, (hereafter \textit{Idea of Race}).
\textsuperscript{50} Searle, \textit{Eugenics and Politics}, p. 48. This argument represents less an extreme rather than the logical result of applying biological classifications to town inhabitants. Any evolutionary progress was based on the assumption that organic lives differentiate and specialise, or as the geneticist William Bateson put it in 1914: "As the biologist knows, differentiation is indispensable to progress. If the population were homogenous civilisation would stop." (William Bateson quoted from Searle, \textit{Eugenics and Politics}, p. 50).
organised around the ideals of eugenics. His novel, of which only fragments survived, gives a good impression of how little value eugenicist dedicated to the environment. The centre of 'Kantsaywhere' was the Eugenic College. Its task was to examine the citizens with the aim to "weed out" any unfit inhabitants who were "undesirable as individuals, and dangerous to the community". Only towards the end of the surviving part of the novel Galton briefly mentioned the environmental aspect of life in 'Kantsaywhere', roughly along garden city ideas. While for Galton the environment supported only the inherited qualities of life, it had the opposite function for Geddes. The qualities of organic life were determined through the interaction with the environment, and from this basic assumption Geddes, as a biologist, derived the concept of life he wished to embody in a Temple of Life.

Life between Anabolism and Katabolism

In 1886 Geddes summarised in 'A Synthetic Outline of the History of Biology' the development of biology as a process of "increasingly exhaustive analysis of detail[s]" of organic life. The two main branches of biology - morphology and physiology - had arrived finally both at the level of protoplasm, the ultimate substance of which body cells and all organic life were made of. Accordingly, Geddes

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52 Pearson, Francis Galton, p. 418.

53 Pearson, Francis Galton, p. 420.

54 "The houses near the town are practically villas, for the use of town-dwellers, each with a small garden for flowers, vegetables and fruits. The extent of garden and agricultural land is about twenty square miles. There are about 500 holdings in all ... A country life is considered to be so highly conducive to the health and size of families that a large part of the wealth of Kantsaywhere is gladly allotted to its encouragement." (Pearson, Francis Galton, p. 424). For an examination of the relation between Eugenics and the garden city movement with references to the example of Germany see Wolfgang Voigt, 'Die Gartenstadt als eugenisches Utopia', in Im Grünen wohnen-im Blauen planen, ed. by F. Bollerery et. al. (Hamburg: Christians, 1990), pp. 301-314.


56 Protoplasm is the "granular material comprising the living contents of a cell ... It consists of a nucleus embedded in a jelly-like cytoplasm" (A Concise Dictionary of Biology, ed. by Elizabeth Martin (Oxford: University Press, 1990), p. 204).
suggested that all phenomena of organic life should be interpreted through protoplasmic analysis and declared that life was the "fundamental conception of protoplasm". Analysing protoplasm would unlock the "fundamental secret, that of constructive and destructive metabolism - anabolism and katabolism".

Metabolism meant the intake of nutritious substances by a cell and the excretion of waste products. The early period of a cell's life cycle was the anabolic phase, characterised by growth and nutrition, the latter phase was katabolic, because the waste and excretion products took overhand. From Herbert Spencer's observation that a body's "mass increases as the cube of the dimensions", but "the surface only as the square" Geddes concluded that "in the growing cell the nutritive necessities of the increasing mass are ever less adequately supplied by the less rapidly increasing absorbing surface." The ability of a cell to interact according to its needs with the environment controlled the succession of the two phases. The changing relation between mass and surface could have three consequences for a cell, either a temporary balance between anabolism and katabolism with no further growth, or death of the cell due to increasing waste products, or, the usual case, a division of the cell.

This dichotomy of anabolism and katabolism was for Geddes the paradigm in biology, which was responsible for form and functions of cells, tissue, organs, and the appearance of, and differences between, the male and female sex. The male sex was katabolic, accordingly male beings were active, creative and competitive. The female sex was anabolistic, therefore females were constructive, nourishing, and passive. Which sex developed from an embryo depended on the environmental

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61 The "conception of protoplasmic metabolism" allows one to deduce "from this the form and essential functions of the reproductive cells, tissues, and organs, and even the external characters and temperaments of the sexes." (Geddes, *History of Biology*, p. 911).
conditions. A lack of food, light, moisture and high temperature resulted in a male being and the opposite conditions in a female being.62 This was not only the case in plants and animals, but also in human beings.63

The continuity of organic life relied on both metabolistic phases. Within single-cell organisms the point of reversal between anabolism and katabolism led to reproduction by division. In forms of life with distinctive male and female beings both sexes had to complement each other for reproducing life. Geddes summarised this idea in a diagram of a 'Genealogical Tree'. (Figure 8.9) The stem of the tree stands for the continuity of life in the form of protoplasm. The leaves symbolise the life cycle of individuals, who became more and more specialised throughout evolution as expressed in the growing leaves. At the bottom of the tree, where reproduction meant the death of the cell, one finds the single-cell organism. Higher up, the points of contact between the leaves and the stem signify the moments of reproduction due to the unification of male and female.64

The balance between anabolism and katabolism, between male and female, was "the ideal of all organic life".65 Elsewhere, Geddes defined as "the quest of life" the "ideal of love ... which our fathers called romantic, which we now call eugenic".66 Like the eugenicists, Geddes looked at society and the city from a biological point of view. Ultimately, human society was rooted in "that complex and sympathetic cooperation between the differentiated sexes in and around which all progress, past or

63 In the essay Theory of Growth Geddes indicated the application of the anabolism/katabolism dichotomy to human beings. He latter developed this application more fully together with J. Arthur Thomson in the book The Evolution of Sex (London: Scott, 1889). For a discussion of this book see Reilly, Early Social Thought, pp. 164-196. For a criticism of this concept focusing on the conservative attitude towards women see Helen Meller, 'Planning Theory and Women's Role in the City', Urban History Yearbook 17 (1990), 85-98.
64 Geddes, Theory of Growth, pp. 929-930. Geddes drew only one side of the tree but stated that it had to be mirrored along the vertical axis to arrive at the full picture.
65 Geddes, Theory of Growth, p. 926.
future, must depend ... the social order will clear itself as it comes more in touch with biology." Geddes reinterpreted the term eugenics in his own way, stressing the importance of the environment and its improvement as the main field of human intervention.

The Genealogical Tree reminds one strongly of the Tree of Eternity (Figure 4.1). Both diagrams emphasise Geddes's belief in everlasting evolution. In the 'Synthetic Outline of the History of Biology' Geddes had referred to morphology and physiology as the two main branches of biology. The relatively new discipline of evolution, however, was not classifiable within morphology and physiology, but


69 Geddes acknowledged the growing knowledge of the hereditary of human biological characteristics during his life. But he never completely gave up the neo-Lamarckian position that the environment was influential and that acquired characteristics could potentially be transmitted into the next generation. In the Theory of Growth Geddes referred to Weismann's germplasm theory and to the neo-Lamarckian approach as two hypothesis of equal importance (Geddes, Theory of Growth, pp. 928-929); Evolution of Sex described Weismann's theory as "strictly an hypothesis" (Geddes, Thomson, Evolution of Sex, p. 240, quoted from Reilly, Early Social Thought, p. 192). In Evolution from 1911 it was admitted that acquired characteristics may be "non-heritable". Geddes reconciled both approaches with the words that "the modifications of the individual in response to environment, to use and disuse ... may yet serve as the nurse and shield and selective vantage-ground for germ-variations". (Geddes, Thomson, Evolution, p. 108). A similar position Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson formulated in their last book Life (pp. 981-993). Considering Geddes as an biologist this loyalty acquires a different meaning. Even if acquired characteristics were not inheritable, the environment, especially the built one, was still of utmost importance. As already described above in chapter 4 (see pp. 146-147) Geddes had developed the concept of social heritage which embodied man's past cultural development. The social heritage was a crucial component of Geddes's application of Haeckel's biogenetic basic law to the development of cities and their future progress (see above chapter 5, pp. 200-205). In the end, it did not matter to Geddes if acquired characteristics were not transmittable through genetic mechanisms, because the social heritage allowed human beings to inherit the results of man's interaction with the environment, independently from their genetic make-up. (On the importance of Lamarck and neo-Lamarckism for Geddes see Reilly, Early Social Thought, pp. 192-196).
represented rather the higher, unifying aim of life. Geddes explained that "evolution considers form and function no longer statically, but in movement."70 The analysis of the two main branches provided all the facts of life, to be arranged - as Geddes did in the paper - in a rectangular two-dimensional table.71 Evolution then "lies in a third plane, and must be traced through the pile of accumulated concrete facts at right angles."72

Comparable to the Tree of Eternity, which stood vertically in every city and region, the Genealogical Tree arose vertically out of the morphological and physiological facts of life.73 What the Tree of Eternity represented for a city as an organism, the Genealogical Tree represented for the individual citizen. The idea of life was for Geddes the idea of permanent evolution, achievable through the complementary relationship, or love, between male and female sex as the expression of katabolism and anabolism. It was this rather complex construct of ideas that Geddes attempted to symbolise in his Temple of Life.

The Temple of Life

In 1908 Geddes received an invitation to give a lecture to the biology group of the Fabian Society. David Montague Eder, the representative of the group, asked Geddes to talk on eugenics.74 Geddes lectured sometime in December 1908,75 and he presented life as a process of individual evolution spanning the period between birth and death. Regarding plants, Geddes summarised their life cycle in seven phases, beginning with "Swelling and Budding", "Shooting and Leafing", "Flowering", "

70 Geddes, History of Biology, p. 910.
71 Geddes, History of Biology, p. 908.
72 Geddes, History of Biology, p. 910.
73 See above chapter 4, p. 172, footnote 144.
75 The lecture notes - 13 small cards with notes and diagrams - are to be found in SUA, T-GED 8/3/7, (hereafter Eugenics Lecture 1908).
"Greening", "Fruiting and Seeding", "Drying", and, finally, "Resting or Dying". He suggested analogue periods for human life which was divided into the three phases of youth or rise, maturity and decline. Each phase was divided again, so that Geddes finally arrived at seven phases for a human life. (Figure 8.10) Geddes visualised these periods in a half circle accompanied by the question "What is the ideal time of Life?" The answer was that there was not a single ideal time of life rather than "the optimum development of the optimum quality of life at each stage of life history (ontogeny)."

Geddes continued assuming that if human beings had ever achieved perfect expression of the male and female life cycles as ideal illustrations of life in evolution they must have expressed it artistically or culturally as a historic fact.

Yet in history and literature there are great and gifted people who have done this. Who are they? The Greeks. They expressed the ideals of humanity as gods! ... Here we have an indefinite Pantheon which literature has never yet unified.

Geddes resorted again to the ancient Greek culture, "the most marvellous period of human evolution, both civic and individual". The *polis* had influenced Geddes's idea of a Region-City, and the Greek gods should become the ideal for the

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77 Taking male life as an example Geddes divided youth into the time at school and adolescence, which begins at fifteen. This is followed by the learning a profession (15-30), practising the profession (30-45), and the time of maturity proper (45-48). Then comes the time of experience (48-60), the period of wisdom (60-75/80) and finally old age and decay (75/80-?). (Geddes, *Eugenics Lecture 1908*, card 4) Amelia Defries quoted a slightly different periodisation: Youth consisted of "infancy and early youth", maturity of "adolescence, maturity proper, and sex fully realized through offspring", and "Age has its earlier and later phases." (Defries, *The Interpreter*, p. 112).
79 "This [the optimum development] becomes historic when expressed. Has it been expressed? Not in recent literature, but in the Renaissance and Mediaeval literature as the ambition of individual attainment..." (Geddes, *Eugenics Lecture 1908*, card 5, (SUA, T-GED 8/3/7)).
life in that City. Geddes reinterpreted the gods as being "the ideal, or supernorm, of a phase of life. ... Each goddess, each god, is the essential and characteristic, the logical and necessary, expression of the corresponding life-phase of Woman and Man."\textsuperscript{82} Artistic representations of the gods and buildings associated with them, had been essential components of Greek and other ancient cities.\textsuperscript{83} Accordingly, Geddes insisted on the "return of the Olympians" into the City, "for the Greeks there developed what for us is again dawning in our ideals of eugenics and of education".\textsuperscript{84}

Already in the lecture to the Fabian society Geddes had presented a small sketch of a Temple of Life, in this case called "sacred grove". (Figure 8.11) The sketch shows the male and female curve of life as opposing crescents; the resulting circle symbolised the complementary relation between both sexes. Geddes allocated to each phase in a human life a Greek god or goddess as shown already in Figure 8.10. The crescents and the gods were also the centre pieces of a later, fully developed design of the temple.\textsuperscript{85} (Figure 8.12) Again, the male and female curves face each other, this time within an oval structure. Reading the diagram as an architectural plan, each curve comprised four receding platforms. On either end of the platforms Geddes placed a sculpture of the god or goddess as seen in Figure 8.13. The curves of life would have risen towards Apollo on the one, and towards Pallas on the other side; and then declined towards the exit. The sculptures represented the ideal of human life in its

\textsuperscript{82} Geddes, \textit{Mythology and Life}, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{83} "... the town-plans of ancient and sacred cities were determined by their temples, as institutes of ideal expression and of human development ..." (Geddes, \textit{Mythology and Life}, p. 58).
\textsuperscript{84} Geddes, \textit{Mythology and Life}, p. 57.
\textsuperscript{85} The idea for a Temple of Life can be safely dated as developed from 1907 onwards. Geddes wrote in 1907: "... my diagrams have been working out now into the very map of Parnassus with the Muses, and again of Olympus with the Gods". [Geddes to Smeaton [?], 20 April 1907, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 23)]. It follows chronologically the lecture to the Fabians with the first sketch of the Temple, after which the Greek gods were a constant feature in Geddes's writings see: Geddes, \textit{Evolution in Life}; Geddes, \textit{Mythology and Life}; Patrick Geddes, \textit{A Notation of Life and an Interpretation of Parnassus}, Abstract of a paper read before the Sociological Society 12 January 1914 (SUA, T-GED 8/3/12); Patrick Geddes, \textit{Returning Gods}; Geddes, Thomson, \textit{Life}, p. 1335. Sometime towards the end of the 1920's Geddes intended to publish a book on Olympus with Yale University Press (see Defries, \textit{The Interpreter}, pp. 121-122; Boardman, \textit{Worlds of Patrick Geddes}, p. 397, p. 410). Parts of the typescript exist today in SUA, T-GED 8/3/2, 8/3/3 and 8/3/10.
individual phases, and the rising and declining curves symbolised the ideal course of that life. Yet the representation of life in the temple attempted to include also the less ideal reality of human life.

The contrasts so manifest in human life of rises and falls still lack explanation; but the life-cycle of each sex offers indication of this. Take woman's. ... [We are] compelled by observation in life to admit that she does not always fully occupy the pedestal of Pallas ... For Aphrodite's life-urge ... chariots [sic] her ... towards the realisation of her sex; but for this there are two ways, one within the Olympian circle, the other without. That is in plain terms, though normally this life passage is to wife and mother, it may also "fall, even to courtesan and prostitute.

Real life showed many deviations from the ideal course either towards what Geddes considered to be the normal human life, or towards a sub-normal level. Within the Temple of Life the inner steps symbolised the earlier and the outer steps the latter deviations. The dotted lines of the design indicate possibilities to by-pass the ideal line of individual evolution. If, as Geddes explained, a woman did not "effectivate her sex" she would "thus pass from girlhood phase of Artemis to the grey hairs of Demeter. Hence again her way divides: at best to sisterhood and vice-motherhood", or without "psychic compensations and consolation" for the lost sex, she would turn into an "old Maid". Similar deviations were identifiable in man's life as indicated in the diagram. (Figure 8.12)

Geddes traced the social diversity of urban life back to biological principles, although he did not arrive at the same conclusions as the eugenicists. Geddes's
concept rooted social differences in the co-operation between both sexes, considered as expressions of the two metabolistic principles of an organism's interaction with the environment. But despite Geddes's belief in biological principles as representing the truth - or, as Reilly writes, "biological categories are natural" and "universal in their application while both being simple and convenient to use" - Geddes's concept did not offer an explanation of human life, urban or otherwise. What it offered instead, was an accommodation of all phenomena of a city and life in it into a meaningful picture. The guiding interest was the creation of an image of co-operation, which focused on the relation between the two sexes. This is comparable to the concepts of the natural occupations in the valley region and the four social types in the City. In all three cases, Geddes's scientific or historical analyses resulted in models which explained little of contemporary society but evoked the potential for co-operation between individual, classes and occupations for the benefit of both the individual and society.

Historically, the ancient Greek city had embodied and perfected the ideal life based on biological principles. Beside this historic example, Geddes considered once again medieval cities as another perfect example of his theoretical ideas.

In the medieval city there were on the woman's side the homes and the sisterhoods; on the man's side the workshops of crafts and arts, the cloistered study and scriptorium; and for both and all, the Cathedral and the Town-House.

In the gender specific division of work in a medieval city Geddes found the complimentary relation between both sexes; reinterpreted in terms of anabolism - the woman working in the home - and katabolism - the man acting out his energy in the Arts and Crafts workshop. Furthermore, Geddes connected this assumption with the

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89 Reilly, Early Social Thought, p. 91, p. 92.
90 Patrick Geddes, Women, the Census, and the Possibilities of the Future (Edinburgh: Outlook Tower, 1921), p. 9, (hereafter Women, the Census).
four social types. The housewife and the craftsman were the People in the Town. On the level of the Intellectuals in the Cloister, he established the same dichotomy. Women served in sisterhoods, whereas men were occupied with activities of studies and writing. Only on the level of the City both sexes became united in the Cathedral and Town-House; the co-operation of both sexes resulted in a new City.

But as the evolution of species embraced the idea of degeneration, so did Geddes's idea of analysing cities in biological terms. Greek and medieval cities were prototypes of evolution towards the ideal course of life, contemporary cities were the opposite.

Hence the slum, the ghetto; hence our squalor of factory and mine; our garish centres of debasing pleasures. Each is an inverted temple-precinct, and all are the nemesis of our lack of worthier ones.91

Geddes's Temple of Life was an attempt to provide a temple worthy for a City. Although, the description of slums as "inverted temple-precincts" allows one to argue that ultimately Geddes wanted to turn the whole city into a Temple of Life comparable to the medieval city. There each sex lived and worked in the best suited environment during the various phases of life. This analysis transferred into the contemporary city, meant to create again an appropriate urban environment fostering the phases of life each citizen had to pass through.92 However, except for a minor scheme of a temple of the Greek Gods Geddes had embarked on in the garden of the Scots College at Montpellier, this most ambitious of Geddes's temple projects was never realised.93

91 Geddes, Women, the Census, p. 9, (my emphasis).
92 That Geddes never clearly related the Olympian gods as a symbol for the perfect life to the creation of an appropriate urban environment was Lewis Mumford's main criticism of Geddes's fascination with the Olympus idea. See Lewis Mumford, 'The Geddesian Gambit', in Lewis Mumford and Patrick Geddes. The Correspondence, ed. by Frank G. Novak, Jr. (London: Routledge, 1995), pp. 353-372 (pp. 370-371), (hereafter Mumford-Geddes Correspondence).
93 "A small level space near the entrance gate contained a square made up of nine cement blocks, and two opposing semi-circles of seven blocks each. The ... fourteen blocks were intended for the Greek Gods and Goddesses of Olympus." (Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 396). In his report for Indore Geddes suggested in connection with the Outlook Tower and the museums complex to erect a statue of Pallas Athena, the goddess of the city of Athens. But in this context Pallas Athena was more a general reference to the Greek culture and a symbol of general wisdom.
The curve of life led finally to death. As already shown above, the Genealogical Tree emphasised the idea of the continuity of life in the form of protoplasm, and similarly, the Tree of Eternity embodied the idea of the eternal existence of a City and of history. Fritz Schumacher, as seen earlier in chapter 7, established a idealistic relation between his Temple of Life for Nietzsche and the Dresden crematorium as a Temple of Death by designing both in a similar architectural language. A comparable emphasis was put on the eternity of life beyond birth and death by displaying a *Campo Santo* in the Hall of Heroes at the Arts and Crafts exhibition from 1916. Likewise, Geddes attempted a similar sublimation of the individual death into the idea of eternity. He complemented his Temple of Life with a Temple of Death. (Figure 8.14) Geddes's *Campo Santo* was based on the same oval shape as the Temple of Life, but with an adjoining structure for a "Crem[atorium]" (Figure 8.15), occupying the space where the exit in the Temple of Life was located. The oval of the main building became a "Col[umbarium]" to keep urns with the ashes of cremated bodies.94

**The Garden of the Nine Greek Muses - Life in Action**

The final project of Geddes to be discussed in the group of Temples of Life is the Garden for the Nine Greek Muses. Geddes developed this type of garden parallel to the Temple of the Greek Gods around 1907.95 Both reinterpretations of Greek mythology were conceptually linked. In 1909 Geddes could report in a letter that Frank C. Mears had designed "a Parnassolympus of the most extraordinary complexity - to [?] each God nine gardens".96

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94 Although Geddes referred to the goddess as having brought to Athens's men the olive tree - agriculture - and to women the art of weaving. This can be understood as a reference to the metabolistic differences between the two sexes. (Geddes, *University for Central India*, p. 15, p. 39). A bust of Pallas Athena also stood in the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh (see Defries, *The Interpreter*, p. 95).
95 Apart from these two sketches I was unable to find any further information on Geddes's *Campo Santo*. For a philosophical discussion of death see Geddes, Thomson, *Life*, pp. 1375-1376.
96 Letter by Geddes to Adrian Berrington, 22 September 1909, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 225). So far I
Even if Mears's design is lost to date, the theoretical concept can be analysed. The gods symbolised again the phases of human life. To understand the function of the nine gardens one has to resort to the Notation of Life. (Figure 2.1) The final quarter of the diagram signified the transfer of ideas from the Cloister into the City, and from Dreams into Deeds. City and Deed were the outward oriented, highest stages of communal and individual life which would express itself in those artistic and cultural activities Geddes had noted in the fourth quarter of the diagram. Furthermore, Geddes has ascribed to each of the activities one of the nine Greek muses, the goddesses of poetry, arts and sciences.97

The nine gardens to each god in Mears's design for a Parnassolympus were obviously visualisations of the symbolic role Geddes had reserved for the muses in the last quarter of the Notation of Life.

For they are demonstrably the (nine) possible modes and alternatives of that action of the psychic life upon its environment, which is life indeed, the 'good life' of the Greek aspiration - transcending mere vegetative continuance ...98

The nine muses and the related activities symbolised the means to realise the good life as embodied in the Greek gods. Geddes's idea of a Garden of the Muses was thus complimentary to the Temple of the Greek Gods.

The analysis of Geddes's interest in the muses has to go further than mere references to the analogy between their symbolism and the final activities in the

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97 Geddes, Masque of Learning, p. 18. According to Geddes Urania was the muse of astronomy and architecture, Terpsichore of dance, Erato of lyric of love, Euterpe of lyric of patriotism, Calliope of epic, Polyymnia of wisdom, Thalia of comedy, Melpomene of tragedy, and Clio of history. The earliest published source in which Geddes referred to the symbolic function of the muses are the lectures on Evolution in Life, pp. 15-19, (see furthermore Geddes, Returning Gods, paragraph IV; Defries, The Interpreter, pp. 142-143; Patrick Geddes, Mapping of Life, p. 202; Geddes, Charting of Life, p. 62). Regarding difficulties with the ascription Geddes recommended that they "can easily be cleared by a little psychological and social reflection." (Defries, The Interpreter, p. 143).

98 Geddes, Masque of Learning, p. 18.
Notation of Life. The poet Hesiod wrote the classic account about the origin of the muses in his poem *Theogony* telling the origin of the earth and the gods.\(^9^9\) The muses were born in Pieria at the bottom of Mount Parnassus as the daughters of *Mnemosyne* (memory) and *Zeus*. Beside Mount Parnassus also Mount Helicon, where the muses lived, was sacred to them.\(^1^0^0\) The muses had taught Hesiod to sing because they "breathed a sacred voice into my mouth / with which to celebrate the things to come / And things which were before". The muses also sang for "father Zeus / Within Olympus, telling of things that are, / That will be, and that were".\(^1^0^1\)

Geddes referred to Hesiod's account of the birth of the muses in the section on Ancient history in his *Masque of Learning*. Describing that the perfection of Greek life was accompanied by a "more ideal perfection" he continued:

Hence after their common mother, *Mnemosyne* (Memory) the Muses appear, each with her activity or symbol ... They are here presented as recovered in terms of science, as again becoming manifest through the study of life and mind in evolution.\(^1^0^2\)

Geddes's historical survey dealt with the past and present of a region and city for the benefit of the future. This future was incipient because it was already embodied in the past and present. To discover the future meant recapitulating history by reading historic artefacts in the urban structure or in a museum. Comparing this methodology with the muses allows one to understand Geddes's fascination with them. The mother of the muses was Memory; but memory - remembering the history of a city - was also the first step towards the city's future. The recapitulation of history relied on surviving cultural and artistic human artefacts; but they, in turn, were products of the muses, the goddesses of the arts and sciences. And as the muses had sung about past, present and

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\(^1^0^0\) Hesiod, *Theogony*, pp. 23-25.

\(^1^0^1\) Hesiod, *Theogony*, p. 24.

\(^1^0^2\) Geddes, *Masque of Learning*, p. 18.
future; these artefacts would tell about the same. Each human generation that was inspired by the muses left a layer of artefacts in a City or Region-City, which would tell the next generation about their predecessors. The City as a museum of historical remnants was a place of the muses; the word museum derives etymologically from *Museion*, a hill in Athens facing the Acropolis and sacred to the muses. A City Designer could renew the dedication of a City to the muses by "designing, for the bettering cities of the opening future, their veritable 'Museion,' sometimes even with all its nine Muse-gardens, and their fitting palaces." 103

As with the Temple for the Greek gods, Geddes never had an opportunity to actually built a garden for the muses. 104 Two undated sketches by Geddes give a rough idea of such a garden's design. 105 (Figures 8.16, 8.17) The garden was a square divided into nine smaller gardens, each dedicated to one of the muses. The central garden of history belonged to Clio. She occupied the centre because as the muse of history she symbolised continuity comparable to the stems of the Genealogical Tree and the Tree of Eternity. Clio was surrounded by the gardens for the remaining muses representing other cultural and artistic activities and artefacts. Each garden was to contain an architectural feature, among them an amphitheatre, a stone circle, a labyrinth, a city square with a statue, circular stages and "cells for study". The whole garden was enclosed by an ambulatory and outside of it Geddes placed statues for Apollo the heroic, the dionysiac, the lyric and the wise, the last in combination with a statue for Pallas. 106 In addition, one sketch (Figure 8.17) shows a

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104 The Scots College in Montpellier was again the exception. Boardman refers to nine cement blocks intended to be pedestals for statues of the muses. The muses obviously should be placed next to the oval structure for the Greek gods. (Boardman, *Worlds of Patrick Geddes*, p. 396).
105 At least one of the sketches was made for a specific location because steps between the three rows of gardens indicate different levels of ground. In SUA, T-GED 3/9/2 a third sketch exists. In this version Geddes sketched the oval of the Olympus temple in the garden of love. But to make the matter even more complicated he also switched the position of other muses, for example Urania suddenly was symbolised by the pattern indicating in the other examples the quarter of Euterpe.
106 In Greek mythology Apollo, the god of the lyre, was occasionally seen as the leader of the choir of the muses. (William Smith, *A Smaller Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology and Geography*, 14th ed (London: John Murray, 1872), p. 275, (hereafter *Smaller Classical*).
tower for regional history in the top right corner, and a tower of regional science at the opposite end.

Whereas these drawings are only idea sketches, the City Design report by Geddes for Patiala State and City from 1922 contains a detailed description of a Garden for the Nine Greek Muses. In Pinjaur, a small town with a royal palace and garden in Patiala State, Geddes re-interpreted a classical Indian Mughal garden into both a Garden of the Notation of Life and a Garden for the Nine Muses. The seventeenth-century enclosed garden was arranged in terraces. Two channels divided the garden into four quadrangles, each of them, in turn, was further divided by walkways into four smaller squares.

The geometrical plan was the starting point of Geddes's re-interpretation. (Figure 8.18) Geddes proposed to conserve some of the still existing original planting, but otherwise to renew it. The main quadrangles Geddes ascribed to the four social types as indicated in Figure 8.18. Within each quadrangle Geddes suggested a particular type of garden for the three outer squares, while he reserved the remaining inner square for the four social types in particular. Thus the garden

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108 The garden was built in the seventeenth century by Fadai Khan during the reign of the Mughal Aurungzeb (1658-1707), and consisted of an upper and a lower garden separated by a palace. (See Constance Mary Villiers-Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1913), pp. 199-228).
109 Geddes, Patiala report, pp. 9-18; Villiers-Stuart, Gardens of the Great Mughals, pp. 224-228. All details in the following, unless otherwise noted, are from Geddes's description.
110 "Thus in the upper squares [1,2,12], the gardening of the people, and of domestic needs for the palace; in those three lower ones [3,4,5], the more advanced scientific cultures those for science and medicine, of fruit growing and forestry. What now of ... those to south-west? [6,7,8]... here in the forest has ever been the retreat of the religious and meditative spirit ... the more recent quest of science, eager to learn the ways of nature ... Here too the poet has refreshed his inspiration by return to nature ...". The three squares of the south-east angle [9,10,11] Geddes "interpreted as for Etho-polity, Wisdom-organisation, and Achievement" (Geddes, Patiala report, p. 13, p. 16).
111 "First [13] for horticulture with the People; then [14] for botany, fruit growing and forestry with their skilled and working Chiefs, next [15] for religion, science and poetry with the Intellectuals; and now [16] finally for Etho-polity, wisdom organisation, and achievement, as the culminating series, for the Expressionals [= Emotional] - and these, in India of all countries, have ever been Princes and Rulers at their best." (Geddes, Patiala report, p. 15).
expressed for Geddes the "microcosm of the great world". This temple-like aspect, as understood by Lethaby, was additionally emphasised by the junction of the two water channels; it was a "central and cosmic crossing" from which the "four Rivers of Paradise" originated, similar to the paradise rivers in the Nature Palace at Dunfermline. Finally, Geddes dedicated the garden to the Greek muses. At the centre one finds again Clio, "the Muse of history, by whom the songs and stories of the past are kept in memory, and who thus is ever gathering the new", while statues of the other muses were placed on the smaller crossing of the walkways.

The Temple as the Union between Science and Religion

Ordering in their chronological sequence those of Geddes's temple projects and related ideas that are datable, reveals an increasing sense of religiosity in Geddes's schemes. (Table 8.1) More and more Geddes incorporated cosmosgraphic and mythological ideas. One of Geddes's earliest spatial designs was a botanic garden at Grange School in Edinburgh (1883) which primarily visualised the development of plants. A botanic garden at University College Dundee only five years later had already an additional, different meaning. Taking into account that in the meantime Geddes had elaborated the idea about the continuity of anabolic and katabolic forms of life in evolution, the botanic garden in Dundee was an attempt not only to explain the development of plants, but beyond this to turn attention to the phenomenon of life itself. The National Institute of Geography (1902) emphasised this larger interest even stronger by focusing on the earth and the cosmos as the environment for anabolic and katabolic forms of life.

With Geddes's growing interest in the Greek gods and muses the focus of his temple projects changed again in two respects. First, the interpretation of life acquired

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113 Geddes, Patiala report, pp. 17-18 (p. 18).
Table 8.1 Projects and schemes by Patrick Geddes for Temples and temple-like structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Project Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Botanic Garden Grange House School Edinburgh (Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>Begin of Cultural Acropolis in Edinburgh (Temple of City)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>Botanic Garden University College Dundee (Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Arbor Saeculorum (symbolic Temple of Life), Outlook Tower (Temple of Geography)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>National Institute of Geography Edinburgh (Temple of Geography)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Botanic Garden Horniman Museum London (Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Nature Palace Dunfermline (Temple of Geography)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Temple of the Greek Gods (Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Garden of the Nine Greek Muses (Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Campo Santo (Temple of Death/Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Chapel of the City, Edinburgh (Temple of the City)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Gardens of the Phases of Life and of Evolution in Indore (Temples of Life and Garden of the Muses)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Great Hall Hebrew University Jerusalem (Temple of Life and Synthesis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Garden of the Notation of Life and for the Nine Greek Muses in Pinjaur, Patiala, India (Temple of Life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Bahai Temple at Allahabad, India (Temple of Life and Synthesis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>A Hall of Vision (Temple of Life and Synthesis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Cultural Acropolis for the City of Tel Aviv (Temple of the City)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A different meaning with the concept of the Temple of the Greek Gods and its counterpart, the Campo Santo. The mere scientific analysis of life according to Geddes's theory of metabolism gave way to a presentation in the temple of an ideal course of life as a teleological aim. A similar shift can be observed regarding the Temple of Geography and the Garden of the Muses. The earlier, although already incorporating religious references to the Garden of Eden, was a call for action to make use of the earth for mankind's benefit. The latter was characterised by presenting human activities teleologically; the muses were a religiously inspired glorification of human activities and their cultural and artistic results.

For Geddes the ideas behind all his schemes might not necessarily have been different. But this was not obvious for any outsider. While Geddes's thought about life and human activities grew more and more complex, his means to represent them took the reverse direction: they appeared to become ever simpler. The development
from the geographical institute - a machinery of knowledge - to the statues for the muses might have been a small step for Geddes; it was however a large step for anybody else. The earlier expected from a visitor to immerse himself into the knowledge to gain an understanding, the latter asked to believe what Geddes thought the muses stood for.

Comparable to many Victorians, Geddes had lost his belief in traditional religions sometime during youth and early adulthood. But he never lost, as Helen Meller wrote, the conviction that there was "a need for a religious dimension" in human life. The basis for Geddes's religiosity was biology as the science of life. Geddes as a biologist understood life, as explained earlier, as the eternal existence of protoplasm, and its anabolic and katabolic interactions with the environment. But the ideas of protoplasm and metabolism as the "common denominator" of life were not an explanation for life as such. Metabolism was a mechanism and a "mechanism does not explain anything!" Accordingly, life was more, but this more Geddes was unable to explain. He rejected notions of a life-force, but admitted at the same time that something similar was necessary to understand life. Geddes wrote in 1904:

... while modern biology no longer postulates a 'vital force,' that is, a 'hyper-mechanical' factor, a mystical power, a non-material agent, presiding over the activities of the body, it admits, ... that the phenomena distinctive of life cannot at present be restated in the language of chemistry and physics.

For Geddes this "intellectual conflict which he was never to resolve" was

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116 "Despite the fact that as yet no vitalist writer has succeeded in making himself and his nomenclature really intelligible to any other, and that the frequent gibes at vitalistic metaphysics and mysticism remain largely justified, we confess that the modern movement of vitalism has our increasing sympathy." (Geddes, Thomson, *Evolution*, pp. 202-203).
more than a dispute between modern biology and traditional religious beliefs. It was a conflict with immediate consequences for the conduct and development of human life, individual and communal in the city. It was important "to realise the need of religion to men as they are", even more, religion's value was "both historically and experimentally demonstrable." This value lay in the fact that, historically, religion had often provided the Spiritual Powers of Intellectuals and Cloister, and of Emotionals and Cathedral. Even if the gap between biology and religion could, at least for the time being, not be closed; the function and importance of religiosity was beyond question. The task was to reconcile both immediately for the benefit of the City, and the appropriate space to achieve this was the temple.

In 1905 the philosopher John Alexander Stewart published The Myths of Plato, a study of the function of myths in Plato's dialogues. Stewart argued that Plato had engaged myths to deal with "a priori conditions of conduct and knowledge". Platonic myths should appeal "to that major part of man's nature which is not articulate and logical, but feels, and wills, and acts - to that part which cannot explain what a thing is, or how it happens, but feels that the thing is good or bad". The purpose was to introduce man into the secret of "Universal nature" and to the "Value of Life itself", both being beyond the level of thinking where man was "in a conceptual world of his own making". A myth was successful if the listeners believed what the story said, it was a "deliberate make-believe".

It is in the spirit of this serious make-believe that ... we ... make pilgrimages to places associated with the events of great fiction. ... The topography of the Inferno and that of the Roman Forum are approached in much the same spirit by the interested student in each case.

119 Thomson, Geddes, Biological Approach, p. 55.
121 Stewart, Myths, p. 74, p. 44, (my emphasis).
122 Stewart, Myths, p. 45.
123 Stewart, Myths, p. 30.
Likewise, Geddes's temples were such places of make-believe, putting forward his thoughts about life and its improvement. The increasing religiosity in Geddes's temples schemes found a fitting climax in a scheme for a Bahai temple in Allahabad from 1922. The plan by Mears shows nine "cloisters", each focusing on a pool with a fountain, and accommodating a "cell of meditation". All nine cloisters were grouped in a circle around a "pillar of unity". (Figures 8.19, 8.20, 8.21) The individual cloisters were dedicated to different religions, symbolising one principle of the Bahai faith, which claimed to unite all religions. Furthermore, Geddes proposed to complement the temple with libraries, a school of comparative religions, and museums.

In the context of Geddes's theory of City Design this scheme is important for two reasons. First, in a twenty-four page long explanatory letter to Mears, Geddes placed the Bahai temple at the end of a list of similar schemes. This list comprised Reclus's and Galeron's globes, Geddes's Edinburgh Outlook Tower, the temples of Garas, but also Rudolf Steiner's Goetheaneum in Dornach, Switzerland, and similar

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124 The religious movement of Bahaisnsm developed in the 1860s from a Persian Islamic sect called the Babi movement. The founder of Bahaisnsm was Bahaullah (1817-1892) who declared himself after a mystical experience to an incarnation of God as forecasted by the Babi movement. Bahaisnism teaches the unity of all religions, the existence of a unified mankind, universal education, and a coming world government resulting in the elimination of poverty and the erection of eternal universal peace. Bahaualla's son, 'Abdu'l-Bahá (1844-1921), travelled extensively in an attempt to spread the movement beyond Persia. The universality of Bahaisnism attracted numerous supporters in particular in Western countries around 1900. In 1913 'Abdu'l-Bahá visited Edinburgh, where Patrick Geddes, one of his hosts, showed him through the Outlook Tower. It can be assumed that Geddes was fascinated by the aspects of universalism and synthesis in the teachings of Bahaisnism. Subsequently, when Geddes worked on the behalf of the Zionist organisation in Palestine in 1919 and 1920 he was in touch again with 'Abdu'l-Bahá, who lived then in Haifa, the world centre of the Bahai movement. The Geddes and Mears scheme for a Bahai Temple was probably instigated by a Bahai Convention in Bombay in late December 1920 discussing the erection of such a building. Geddes worked at that time in India. The history of Geddes's and Mears's design after they had produced the scheme is unknown. The first Bahai temple, however, was built in Ishqabad in Russian Turkistan in 1928, followed by another temple completed according to a design by Louis Bourgeois in Wilmette, Illinois, USA, in 1953. The latter temple was begun in 1912, and Geddes owned an illustrated flyer, asking for subscription for this project (SUA, T-GED 25/3/2). [For the Bahaisnism see The Wordsworth Dictionary of Beliefs & Religions, ed. by Rosemary Goring (Ware: Wordsworth, 1995); for Geddes and his connections with Bahaisnism see Anjan Khursheed, The Seven Candles of Unity. The Story of 'Abdu'l-Bahá in Edinburgh (London: Bahai Publishing Trust, 1991), pp. 63-71, pp. 85-99, pp. 185-199.]

125 Letter by Geddes to Frank C. Mears, 18 September 1922, [NLS MS 10573, ff. 111-135 (f. 128)].
other buildings and schemes. Geddes thus confirms his intention to unite in one temple science - represented by the globes or the Outlook Tower - and religion - represented by the Bahai temple and Steiner's building. Second, Geddes declared towards the end of the letter, that the design of such Temples of Life was a task for a City Designer.

... comprehensive planning such as that of the temple is plainly with our own task as planner. Our communities are rarely advanced enough as yet to imagine much less to commission these; ... the execution of our designs will be slow for obvious material reasons. Yet also for reasons more serious though immaterial, and from oppositions more severe: but that from prevalent (Post War) discouragement ... to the fuller & larger interests of life of which a would-be utilitarian world has starved itself ... 126

A Hall of Vision

Another contemporary place of make-believe was a Hall of Vision at the 'Conference of Living Religions within the Empire' in London in 1924, a joint event of the School of Oriental Studies and the Sociological Society.127 The Hall of Vision was a temporary exhibition providing the setting for a series of papers read by members of the Geddes circle in London.128 The task was, in the words of Branford,

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126 Letter by Geddes to Frank C. Mears, 18 September 1922, [NLS MS 10573, ff. 111-135 (f. 134), (Geddes's addition), (my emphasis)].

127 The conference began on the 23 September and lasted to the 3 October 1924. Its purpose was - as the imperialist turned mystic Francis Younghusband remarked in the opening speech - to emphasise "that the ultimate basis upon which the British Empire should stand must be religion, not political constitutions nor economic agreements." Religion meant for Younghusband "love of the whole great world in which every nation and all creation were included." (Francis Younghusband, quoted from 'London Conference opened', The Times, 23 September 1924, p. 14). The venue was the Upper West Gallery in the Imperial Institute in London. The first eight days were organised by the SOS and dealt mainly with Eastern and Nature religions. (See 'London Conference opened', The Times, 23 September, p. 14; and daily reports on the conference in The Times, 24 September - 30 September. For the conference proceedings see Religions of the Empire: A Conference on some Living Religions within the Empire ed. by William Loftus Hare (London: Duckworth, 1925), (hereafter Religions of the Empire)).

128 The final two days were organised by the Sociological Society. The society developed remarkable publication initiatives around the event. Preliminary studies were published in advance of the conference. (See collection of essays in Sociological Review 16 (1924), 90-116, 187-215, 285-294, 300-316; amongst the essays Patrick Geddes, 'The Mapping of Life', pp. 193-203. The papers read during the two days were published in the conference proceedings (see Hare, Religions of the Empire, pp. 401-508, amongst them Patrick Geddes, 'Religion on the Chart of Life', pp. 486-509). More papers related to the event were published under the collective title 'Living Religions and their Life-Emphasis' in Sociological Review, 17 (1925), 255-293. Among these
the "better ordering of our civilisation" by addressing the "question of collaboration between science and religion".\textsuperscript{129} The gap between both was the same as Geddes had defined it in 1904 between religion and biology in particular. The solution was to be derived from the historic function of religion: the provision of Cloister, Cathedral, Intellectuals and Emotionals. Branford explained:

The historic religions presented for their times a compelling vision of life-fulfilment. This vision has ... lost its appeal to large numbers of people. Yet modern Culture, both humanist and scientific, has so far failed to yield a verifiable vision of life-fulfilment.\textsuperscript{130}

The Hall of Vision proposed a new vision by assembling drawings and sketches illustrating Geddes's ideas about life, cities and temples.\textsuperscript{131} It was a belated realisation of Geddes's call for a "house of synthesis for our own times", his description about twenty years earlier of Reclus's Temple of Geography.\textsuperscript{132} The first
section dealt with Geddes's cosmography by showing maps of the world, of the heavens and a drawing of a sunburst on a valley section (Figure 8.22). The intention was to evoke "a sense of a spectacular and mysterious Cosmodrama." The idea of life in evolution was captured in a sketch of a many breasted Life-Mother sitting on a pyramid of substance with ancient Pan and Darwin, Pan's modern re-incarnation, at her feet. (Figure 8.23). This section depicted "the drama of human development as arising out, but ever in association with, the mystery of life-in-evolution" within the communal drama of Place, Work and Folk.

The exhibition continued with a section on ancient Greece. Greek culture was singled out for its ability to weld together Man and Nature, Town and Country, and Landscape and Architecture; "paired things which ... can be brought intimately together in the religious life and in no other way." A fourth pair was male and female life united in the gods of the Olympic Pantheon. (Figure 8.13)

But life-fulfilment required the interaction between individual and communal life. The classical means for this end was religion, leading to "a perfect adjustment of the outer world to the purified and perfected inner vision" expressed in the "Sacred City". The Sacred City was usually dominated by an important public building or space like the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the Piazza del Popolo in Rome, the Acropolis in Athens, or Westminster's civic buildings from Big Ben to Westminster Cathedral. (Figure 8.24). Finally, all sections of the exhibition amounted to a religious approach towards Civics.

Now the Ideal, when really incarnated in Man, impels him to the building and maintenance of cities made to a pattern revealed on the consecrate Mount of Vision. But that is an affair at once communal and

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136 "But that endeavour is traditional quest of religion, indeed the supreme one, as many believe." Branford, *Hall of Vision II*, p. xvi.
person. It implies the attunement and unison of all those preceding dramas of World, of Life and Labour, of Politics and History, of Art and Morals ... Here in this concerted play of the high unity, is our sacred Civic drama. ... The approach to religion from Civics comes therefore very near to theology.\textsuperscript{137}

The unity underlying Civics was visualised in a sketch by Philip Mairet with the title 'The Classico-Christian Ideal'. (Figure 8.25) The theme of the illustration is an image of the natural life in the countryside, symbolised by Maria and the child Jesus together with the Trees of Knowledge and of Life, and an ox and donkey. Yet this rural life was not self-fulfilling, but gave access to the highest life-fulfilment, the life in a City. A road leads from the Tree of Knowledge to a triumphal arch in front of a neo-classical building, a government palace dominating a Town. To arrive at a City, however, the path originating at the Tree of Life had to be taken. It winds through a stylised valley section towards the Hagia Sophia, a symbol for religion dominating the City.\textsuperscript{138}

The Hall of Vision was a super-temple uniting the earlier temple projects by Geddes in two ways. With respect to the Town-City formula, the hall was a Cloister of the Intellectuals and a Cathedral of the Emotionals in one. Regarding its content, the Hall of Vision was the climax of Geddes's attempts to provide a new idea for life and cities. The exhibits brought together the idea of the region and geography, the importance of history and natural sciences, and the evolution of cities and individual life. The Hall of Vision was a built embodiment of Geddes's envisaged synthesis of all branches of knowledge, which meant the unification of all individual sciences into a vision of life. Geddes anticipated that the future development of sciences would

\textsuperscript{137} Branford, \textit{Hall of Vision II}, p. xvii.
\textsuperscript{138} Mairet's drawing was somewhat similar to Greiffenhagen's mural \textit{The Arts} in the Municipal Hall of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition from 1916. (Figure 7.22) Both images presented the Hagia Sophia and a Greek building in connection with a female figure. But whereas the female in the mural from 1916 represented the City served by the arts, Maria in the rural scene emphasised the roots of cities in the country. Greiffenhagen's Greek building referred to an idealised \textit{polis}, whereas Mairet's neo-classical building symbolised governmental power ruling a city without a spiritual idea.
continuously disclose more and more of this "highest conception of full Unity, in the cosmic and human order alike". At the same time, this unity was of a religious character, it had been "nobly anticipated by the three great monotheistic faiths, and ... is fundamental even in the apparent polytheism of India." Accordingly, the gap between sciences and religion could be closed by uniting sciences and religion into a religious science - or a scientific religion - of Life. The Hall of Vision was an anticipation of this merger and thus a modern version of an ancient religious temple.

The 1916 Arts and Crafts exhibition had led the metaphysical approach towards cities into a conceptual cul-de-sac by turning the city itself into an object of veneration. The Hall of Vision indicates a similar development of Geddes's theory of City Design. The valley section, the concept of life in Evolution and all other Geddesian concepts were turned into ideas to be venerated in a temple. The exhibition was merely a preliminary step "towards the furnishing and equipment of a Hall of Vision", but every city needed such a Hall. Temporarily it had been installed in London; ideally it would be a permanent feature everywhere. Necessary was a "Hall of Modern Vision fit to stand alongside the Temples of Ancient Faith."

Regardless of the emphasis Geddes put on sciences like biology and geography as the basis of his considerations, the future that the Hall of Vision depicted was a deliberate composition of its creator, and not a logical and necessary consequence of the sciences united. Synthesis and unity were created consciously, or as Branford wrote, were composed from the facts.

We have multiplied knowledge and amassed treasures of art. Yet these products of the modern mind, because they lack unity, fail to compose

140 Branford, Hall of Vision II, p. vi.
141 Branford, Hall of Vision II, p. viii.
into anything resembling a drama of civilisation and a vision of life.\textsuperscript{142}

Comparable to the temple schemes of turn-of-the-century architects and artists as discussed in chapter 7, which idealised their inventor's ideas, Geddes's temples expressed his own anticipation of an ideal future condition. This was in accordance with the idealistic emphasis Geddes had put on Cloisters as the places for, and Intellectuals as the inventors of guiding ideas.

The Temple of the City

Despite the intention to see a Hall of Vision in every city, these were more likely to be dominated by a traditional religious building, in the cases of European cities normally a church or cathedral. As already referred to several times, Geddes appreciated medieval cities as the most perfect expression of a City built by the four social types. Within this structure Geddes had identified the Cathedral as the building associated with the Emotionals, responsible for transferring the idea of a City from the Cloister into the City.\textsuperscript{143} Consequently, Geddes reinterpreted existing cathedrals as temple structures that expressed civic virtues and venerated the city itself. The cathedral was for Geddes a Temple of the City.

The cathedral which, in former times, gave civic status was no mere building or even passive place of worship. It was the living and throbbing organ of social life which gathered into itself, and re-expressed as corporate individuality, the finer aspiration of citizen and rustic alike. To its building, maintenance and functioning were given the best services of the workshop and of its craftsmen, because it afforded an abiding opportunity of expressing through the medium of their craft, at once their own personality and ideas, and those of their city and region.\textsuperscript{144}

The reference to the craftsmen expressing himself individually by working at the

\textsuperscript{142} Branford, Hall of Vision II, p. vii.
\textsuperscript{143} See above chapter 4, p. 143.
\textsuperscript{144} Branford, Geddes, \textit{Coming Polity, 1917}, pp. 133-134.
cathedral goes back to Ruskin's analysis of Gothic architecture as only being achievable due to the individual freedom of the artist. But to consider the cathedral as the expression of a city and region comes closer to Goethe's veneration of Strasbourg cathedral. There the expression of truth and beauty was derived from the feelings of the soul of the German people.

For Geddes the cathedral was the incorporation of the soul or the spirit of a City, because it was "the highest agency of the times towards bringing to bear upon the community the best cultural resources, the synthesis of ideals and knowledge, ... the orchestration of all the arts-painting, sculpture, and architecture, music and symbol-drama." It presented in stone the results of those activities the Garden of the Muses intended to celebrate. Furthermore, the cathedral included "chapels and their altars", dedicated to "the various ideals to which individuals and classes are devoted". It unified different groups of citizens comparable to the unification of all religions in the temple for the Bahai faith. Finally, the cathedral was a "veritable popular encyclopaedia", because its decoration depicted astronomic symbolism, the story of creation and fall of man, national and civic history. Thus it incorporated Temples of Knowledge like the Geographical Institute, but also all history as embodied in the Tree of Eternity.

145 "And, ... go forth again to gaze upon the old cathedral front, ... examine once more those ugly goblins, and formless monsters, and stern statues, anatomiless and rigid; but do not mock at them, for they are signs of the life and liberty of every workman who struck the stone; a freedom of thought, and rank in scale of being, such as no law, no charters, no charities can secure" (John Ruskin, The Stones of Venice, The Works of John Ruskin, ed. by Edward Tyas Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols (London: Allen, 1904), X, 180-269 (193)).
147 Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 220.
149 Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 220. To consider a cathedral, a temple building, as an encyclopaedia Geddes might have derived from Lethaby, who described a temple as "a sort of model to scale, its form governed by the science of the time; it was a heaven, an observatory, and an almanack." (Lethaby, Architecture, Mysticism, p. 5).
All these qualities were the product of the Town-City formula’s final two stages, the Cloister and the City in Deed. The Cathedral was the City in condensed form. From it ultimately the City would emerge,\textsuperscript{150} because the Cathedral’s “marvellous art of synthesis”\textsuperscript{151} would radiate into the existing town and country and thus guarantee that the whole city, or in the case of Dunfermline the whole park, would become “the cathedral of the People and of the opening time”.\textsuperscript{152}

An even more condensed symbol of a City than the cathedral was the hexagon. Among Geddes’s papers are many cards and scrap-papers on which he scribbled hexagonal forms one of them is shown in Figure 8.26.\textsuperscript{153} Each side was dedicated to an aspect of human life. Beginning at the upper right hand side one reads “Current events/Ethicdrama” with a symbol for the Tree of Eternity, then follow “autodrama”, “technodrama” with a sketch of a valley section, “cosmodrama”, “aesthetodrama” and, finally, ”chronodrama”. At the bottom right corner Geddes noted ”Apply to city +”; this is to be read as ”Apply to City Cross”. On another card the hexagon is identified as a city cross (Figure 8.27). In this case Geddes noted on the six sides ”Ethic, Ed[ucation]n, Art, Industry, Health”, and, finally, ”Pol-Corporation [?]”. The hexagon expressed graphically the unity and synthesis of all

\textsuperscript{150}The best example Geddes could find of a city emerging from a religious building was the town of Sriringam in southern India from which he reported in a letter in 1915: “But- Sriringam ... - that is ... the masterpiece indeed of all planning I have seen, whether religious or lay, and here both are together. Imagine the succession, here seven fold! of temple-court outside temple-court, all in ’concentric rectangles’ ... First the small ancient shrine, now the Sanctum Sanctorum - built they tell us long before Christ, then this as altarspace hence forward widenend and lengthened by a fore-temple of no mean dimensions, and around this a cloister, and a wall with its four oriented gateways ... Then beyond this the piety of the later age creates a new court, and new gateways: and so again and again each a new ring of the tree of evolution! and like many a tree growing best towards sun and south. Realise too that in the great outer court there grows up the City. First the priests and the levites - then their overflow, with the patricians, the other high castes, then in the larger outer city the lower ones - outside all alas, ’the untouchables’, the pariashs.” [Letter by Patrick Geddes to anonymous, 7 January 1915, (NLS, MS 10515, ff. 3-4)]. (See also Patrick Geddes, ‘The Temple Cities’, The Modern Review, 25 (1919), 213-222, reprinted in The Outlook Tower. Essays on Urbanization in memory of Patrick Geddes, ed. by J.V. Ferreira, S.S. Jha (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1976), pp. 461-475).

\textsuperscript{151}Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 220.


\textsuperscript{153}For example SUA, T-GED 3/4/14, 3/7/36, 3/10/7, 4/1/33, 4/4/1, 7/5/7, 8/3/1, 14/1/37.
human activities; it was "the six-sided crystal of life." This symbol of unity was exhibited in the Hall of Vision (Figure 8.28), but already in 1910 a hexagon had been displayed at the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition at Chelsea referring to the "city as organic unity". (Figure 5.7) In 1918 it also figured prominently on the comprehensive plan accompanying Geddes's report for the City of Indore. Furthermore, Geddes did not confine himself to use the hexagon as a theoretical symbol, but attempted on several occasions to implement it into the urban fabric of cities in the form of either a city cross, a 'Chapel of the City', or a public square.

Historically, the cathedral had expressed the unity of human activities towards the good of the community. A city cross, the traditional structure for official announcements or the centre of festive activities, could potentially achieve the same as indicated on the card notes referred to above. It was for Geddes a "peculiarly fitting symbol not only of Citizenship, but of Civic Revivance".

The many-sided activities of a great city, spiritual and social, educational and hygienic, architectural and industrial - or most simply ideal and material - all these may be fitly symbolised upon the many sides of this characteristic building, as aspects of a real and living unity..."

It was this re-interpretation of a historic civic monument, which made Geddes to suggest in his City Design report for Dunfermline to place the old city cross on the new Carnegie Place above the new city hall.

The synthesis expressed in the hexagon was also the guiding idea for a 'Chapel of the City' Geddes temporarily installed in one of the octagons in the Royal

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154 Defries, The Interpreter, p. 71.
155 Patrick Geddes, Townplanning towards City Development. A Report to the Durbar of Indore 2 vols (Indore: Holkar State Press, 1918), plan X "Outline Plan of the Main City, embodying improvements and extension within its area."
156 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, p. 60.
157 Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 190-192, including a plan of the exact location. That the cross was actually an eight-sided, similar to the Mercat Cross in Edinburgh, did not harm its character of being a symbol of synthesis for the good of a City.
Scottish Academy during the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1911. Inside the chapel, six tables formed the hexagon. Each table represented a branch of knowledge and human activities like morals, economics, education, hygiene, art and industry. A central table inside the hexagon symbolised the sought for co-operation. Two paintings, one of the maid of Edinburgh and one of the Castle with Ramsay Garden and the adjacent projected buildings, completed the chapel as expressions of the incipient future of Edinburgh. Both Geddes's Chapel of the City from 1911 and the Temple of the City at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition in 1916 were dedicated to the City, but Geddes's installation contained a strong call for action by all citizens towards creating a City.

Finally, in his City Design report for the extension of Tel Aviv from 1925 Geddes conceived the only proposed larger public square for the new city as a hexagon. (Figure 8.30) The square's form and its symbolic location on the border between the existing and the future Tel Aviv emphasised the need to unite both parts of the city into a larger whole. Geddes structured the extension of Tel Aviv with a series of north-south streets. Along these streets he planned blocks of housing, each with a garden at its centre. Yet all streets focused on the hexagon square, thus binding the smaller groups of houses into the large whole of the City.

Hardly any other plan by Geddes illustrates better his idea of "comprehensive planning" regarding temple-like structures as mentioned in the letter to Mears explaining the Bahai temple. But the Tel Aviv plan also highlights the problem inherent in "comprehensive planning" by emphasising once more the gap between a

158 Geddes, Mears, Exhibition Edinburgh, pp. 63-64. For Dunfermline Geddes suggested a similar room in the old mansion house at the centre of Pittencrieff Park. Although that room was rectangular Geddes intended the same arrangement with individual desks and a central table. The Dunfermline city chapel was intended to be room of study equipped with books etc. (Geddes, Dunfermline report, pp. 208-209).
159 I did not investigate the influence Geddes's conception had on the 1916 exhibition and its makers.
160 Geddes, Tel Aviv report, (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum).
161 See above page 309.
highly developed structure of thought and a very simple symbolic form. The shape of the hexagon contained all of Geddes's complex ideas about the City, but that was only obvious to him and to those already initiated into his thoughts. To an outsider, nothing suggested that this form should actually transmit an idea from the City Designer to the citizens. The final Tel Aviv report gave only the slightest hint regarding the choice of the hexagon and the importance of the square for the City. Geddes proposed to erect in the centre of the square a bandstand to be enjoyed on Sabbath evenings. Architecturally, he wished the hexagon to be surrounded with four storey buildings, ideally designed by a single architect because "only in this way can this Central City feature be made really and permanently effective." That the expression "Central City feature" meant more than a reference to the location of the hexagon - approximately in the geographical centre of Tel Aviv - Geddes, however, did not disclose. Consequently, the hexagon was of no great concern to the architect Genia Averbouch, who won in 1935 the competition for today's Dizengoff Square. Her winning design substituted a circular space surrounded by streamline shaped buildings for Geddes's envisaged symbol of unity. (Figure 8.31)

The Thinking Cell - The Temple of Inlook

Geddes's temples were spaces where a city as a community should gain insights into his vision of life. Geddes complemented these communal spaces with 'Thinking Cells', secluded spaces for individual meditation and thought. This dichotomy in the urban fabric between communal and individual spaces dedicated to metaphysical ideas reflected the dual structure of the Notation of Life, which had analysed Cities as emerging from the relation between community and individual.

Geddes provided in the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh a Thinking Cell on the

162 Geddes, Geddes, Tel Aviv report, p. 23, (my emphasis), (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum).
top floor together with the Camera Obscera. The location of the cell above the city was a deliberate choice recalling the temple schemes on mountain peaks. After the outlook on the region and world a visitor should enter the small room for “turning over in memory the outlook and its mirrored reflection, and the particular studies of these.” It was “the place where one’s picture is conceived - not copied - from Nature. It is the room of the Weaving of Dreams.” Nothing in the cell disturbed the inner visions. The Outlook Tower cell contained only a chair. Similarly, the proposed thinking cell in Dunfermline should have been “a bare, whitewashed cell of retirement”, adjacent to the room of synthesis.

The renunciation of any decoration indicates the degree of temporary isolation in the Thinking Cell from the contemporary and historic urban environment, especially in comparison with the decorative schemes Geddes pursued regarding buildings and

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163 "... lofty outlooks, each with its vivid intellectual stimuli, its notable objective aid at once to the informing and the inspiring, the calming and the broadening of the inner vision. This secret of education, literally upon heights, the old world knew well, with its sacred mounts of meditation or vision, to the "high places" of old paganism, or from our fire-crowned hill-tops to our church and castle towers. Everywhere and at all times the governing spirits, spiritual and temporal, in peace as in war, have climbed the heights and raised themselves towers." (Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 208).

164 Defries, The Interpreter, p. 95; see Boardman, Worlds of Patrick Geddes, p. 141; The best description of the function of a thinking cell has been left by Victor Branford. He wrote that after participating for example in a survey a student should enter the thinking cell. Branford continued: "He takes with him a carefully built up store of mental imagery - definite mental pictures detailed and concrete, yet general and synthetic - of the given city and its inhabitants, as evolving towards definite ideals or degenerating towards their negation ... Thus entering his solitary cell - like a good monk, on an empty stomach, a full, clear, and active head, and an overflowing heart - the student of sociology re-emerges into the world a civic statesman. The time for survey is over, the time for service has begun. The observer has had his turn. The man of action is getting ready, with a programme and a policy." (Victor Branford, Interpretations and Forecasts: A Study of Survivals and Tendencies in Contemporary Society (London: Duckworth, 1914), p. 396, (hereafter Interpretations and Forecasts).

165 Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 209. The room of synthesis and the cell were both in the upper floor of the old mansion house in Pittencrief Park (see above p. 319, footnote 158). Elsewhere Geddes suggested that the cell should have “plain walls” (Geddes, Charting of Life, p. 51). In his criticism of the International Exhibition in Edinburgh (1886) Geddes had suggested as an improvement to install a small room with book shelves and tables for separated individual studies. This can be seen as an early predecessor of the later Thinking Cells (Geddes, Industrial Exhibitions, p. 33). In the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition in Dublin a cell was located between the surveys of Edinburgh and Ireland (Letter Mears to Geddes, 15 May 1911, (NLS, MS 10573, f. 18)). In the report for Indore Geddes planned a Thinking Cell in combination with an Outlook Tower. (Geddes, University for Central India, p. 36). The Bahai temple from 1922 included “meditation Cells” in the individual “cloisters” (See above p. 309). Furthermore, the undated sketch for the Garden of the Muses contained “Cells for Study” (Figure 8.16).
public spaces in a City. The isolation had to be total; Geddes insisted on a space offering time, peace and quietness within the restless urban life.¹⁶⁶ This reminds one of Nietzsche who had written in The Joyful Wisdom under the heading "Architecture for Thinkers":

An insight is needed (and that probably very soon) as to what is specially lacking in our great cities - namely, quiet, spacious, and widely extended places for reflection, ... where no noise ... would penetrate ... buildings and situations which as a whole would express the sublimity of self-communion and seclusion from the world ...

Rejecting religious buildings as adequate spaces for a vita contemplativa Nietzsche concluded with the words "We want to have ourselves translated into stone and plant, we want to go for a walk in ourselves when we wander in these halls and gardens."¹⁶⁷ To enter Nietzsche's hall of contemplation was to affirm the identity between all matter of stone, plants and man; an identity evoking an image of eternity similar to the later Monism of Haeckel. While Nietzsche's Zarathustra instigated many temple schemes in sublime, natural locations, Nietzsche's "Architecture for Thinkers" can be seen as a model for introspective temples within cities.

One of the earliest examples of an urban space for a vita contemplativa within a city was the Chapel of the Ascension (1890-1893) built by the architect Herbert P. Horne in London.¹⁶⁸ Walter Crane characterised the building as "a chapel which is intended, not for service, but simply as a quiet place for meditation, for any one weary of the rush and roar of London streets."¹⁶⁹ Although the chapel was a religious

¹⁶⁶ "And we need time - and so, above all, peace and quietness - for this [meditation]. That is the very meaning of the cell, the hermitage, the cloister, the study, the laboratory, and so on through ages." (Defries, The Interpreter, p. 55).
¹⁶⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche, The Joyful Wisdom, trans. by Thomas Common (Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1910), p. 217. "Thinkers" in the title of these section does not really render the meaning of Erkennen. The verb erkennen has a more passive meaning. It means less to think than to realise, to have an insight, or experience a disclosure.
¹⁶⁸ The Chapel of the Ascension in Bayswater Road, Paddington, was designed and built by Herbert P. Horne between 1890-1893. The building was damaged during the Second World War, later restored, but finally demolished after 1950. (See Pevsner, London I, p. 297; Cherry, Pevsner (ed.), London 3, p. 673 footnote).
¹⁶⁹ Walter Crane, 'Of the Decoration of Public Buildings', in Art and Life, and the Building and
building, it was also a meditation space in Nietzsche’s definition. Churches were places where, according to Branford and Geddes, the *genius loci* was conceivable by a single visitor after a walk through a city dedicated to reading its history. The Thinking Cell provided another such space within a City. Although not derived from religious building itself, its function - the internalisation of the macrocosm into the microcosm of the individual - made it to a temple-like structure. The *vita contemplativa* was an important preparation for the *vita activa* of citizens and City Designer, aiming at the City in Deed.

The principle thus emerges that Town Planning is the product of Town Thinking, Town Feeling, and is no mere material resultant of geographical situation and occupation, of government or defence.

Celebrating the City

Geddes did not confine himself merely to implementing spatially and symbolically the reciprocal relationship between individual and community by creating a Thinking Cell and a Temple. The elevation of a Town to a City required not only individual experiences of "Town Thinking" and "Town Feeling" in the Thinking Cell, but had to be complemented with a comparable communal experience of City. Consequently, Geddes developed as an element of City Design the public ritual he had experienced on the occasion of the public funeral of his acquaintance John Blackie Stuart in Edinburgh in 1895.

Blackie was Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University and a well known public advocate of Scottish home-rule and nationalism. When he died Geddes paid tribute to him in his essay ‘The Scots Renascence’ beginning emphatically with the words: "Blackie was buried yesterday." Geddes continued:

*Decoration of Cities: A Series of Lectures by Members of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society, delivered at the Fifth Exhibition of the Society in 1896* (London: Rivington, Percival, 1897), pp. 111-166 (p. 149).

170 See above chapter 5, page 185, footnote 42.
At the High Kirk, ... his old friend and comrade Walter Smith shared the service with Cameron Lees, Flint and the Moderator: - Free Kirk and Auld Kirk uniting in the historic Kirk, as this merged into that communion of multitudinous sorrow, that reverent throng amid which the broad Cathedral was but the sounding chancel, the square and street the silent transept and nave. Psalm and prayer, choir and organ rolled their deepest, yet the service had a climax beyond the Hallelujah ... In front went a long procession of Societies headed by kilt and plaid; behind came the mourning kinsmen, with the Advocates, the Senate, the Students, and the Town Council, in their varied robes; then the interminable carriages of personal friends. But the better in all these, the Town itself was out; the working people in their thousands and tens of thousands lined the Way from St. Giles' to the Dean; the very windows and balconies were white with faces.  

With the exception of very few names, the inhabitants of Edinburgh are seen as an anonymous mass of citizens. They are divided only into the four social types of Intellectuals, Chiefs and People, with an unknown moderator, probably Geddes himself, and three other men conducting "this Pageant of Edinburgh" as the Emotionals. Edinburgh was mourning the death of one of its Intellectuals, yet at the same time celebrating itself by turning the city temporarily into a Cathedral - one of Geddes's symbols of the City. In all of Geddes's writing there is hardly a better description of the city as a community and living organism, to be experienced in a public celebration.  

That Blackie's funeral was a celebration of the City as a community was very much Geddes's perception of the event. But what he had experienced then, more or less accidentally, others initiated elsewhere deliberately. In 1899, for example, Fritz Schumacher had written a dialogue between Faust and Mephisto, in which Mephisto permanently interrupted the conversation for showing tableaux vivants. A number of artists had been involved in the designing of the costumes for about two hundred lay actors performing the living pictures. Schumacher wrote in a letter to his brother: "I am currently plagued with a pack of 200 Ladies and Gentlemen. ... The whole city is

172 Geddes, Scots Renascence, pp. 131-132), (my emphasis).
173 Geddes, Scots Renascence, p. 132.
in a pandemonium." The year before the theatre play Schumacher had begun working on his temples for cities and sublime locations. Both activities can be considered as being related. The temples were built focuses providing new ideas for a society or city; the theatre play attempted to evoke a sense of community by engaging a large number of citizens as participants. Two years later in 1901 the Ernst-Ludwig House at the Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt became as a Temple of Creation the focus of a festive ceremony on the occasion of its opening. Conceived by Peter Behrens, the ceremony celebrated a crystal as a sign of the coming redemption through the unison of art and life. Beyond this, the event intended to emphasise the sense of a small, close-knitted community unified by a common aim.

Geddes was engaged in similar activities similar, although on a smaller scale. The completion of the first part of Ramsay Gardens in 1894 was celebrated with a "really magnificent opening of Ramsay Lodge by Professor Blackie, with the 'Gentle Shepherd', the ceremonial of the torch, & c." The "ceremonial of the torch" was a symbolic presentation of a torch by the youngest resident of the Hall, Geddes's daughter Norah, to the oldest participant in the event, Emeritus Professor Blackie. He in turn passed the torch on to the youngest member of the hall, who placed it above the courtyard of Ramsay Garden, thus ending the symbolic circle of life from young to old to young. Geddes not only lit a torch for a single house but also for a city, for example during the final scene of his Masque of Learning performed in Edinburgh for the first time in 1912.

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175 See above chapter 7, page 248-249.
176 Letter by Geddes to the Directors of Town & Gown Association, 26.08.1909, (NLS, MS 10512, f. 205). 'The Gentle Shepherd' refers to a poem by Allan Ramsay whose house, Ramsay Lodge, was incorporated into Ramsay Gardens.
177 Anonymous, 'Edinburgh University Hall. Re-Opening of Ramsay Lodge', Scottish Leader, 14 April 1894.
178 The Masque of Learning was a pageant through the history of civilisation and education. It was
effect on the participants:

Thus, later, in the closing scene of the masque, we passed the Torch of Civilization on from one to another, onwards from past ages and into the coming generation; and there came to us some understanding, some realization, of the past - and the pricelessness of modern culture; some perception of our responsibility, to keep alight this divine fire ... What indeed is the Divine Adventure if not the quest for Life and Truth? Is this not, in fact, the quest of the Holy Grail?179

The torch of civilisation symbolised Geddes's idea of the continuity of Life in Evolution. Within the framework of the Masque, this idea was presented by focusing on knowledge and its universal transmission from one culture to the other through past, present and future. Accordingly, the Tree of Eternity was a permanent feature in the background of the stage where the Masque was performed, in the case of Edinburgh the Assembly Hall on the Royal Mile adjacent to the Outlook Tower.180

However, the Masque did not present merely a general vision of life, but this in relation to citizen and city.181 The final picture of the Masque of Learning presented an outlook into the future. (Figure 8.32) At the centre of this living picture two women - Alma Mater and Edina, Mater Civitatis - were sitting on a small pedestal. They were served from both sides by graduates from various university faculties and by different city institutions.182 The unison of city and university, of life and learning for it, was

written by Geddes on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his student's halls of residence around Ramsay Garden, although Geddes had already initiated dramatisations of history during the Outlook Tower summer schools in the 1890's. The masque began with a schoolboy who opened his school-bag in the presence of a university professor. The boy finds history books - representing various periods in human history - an apple and a ball. The former Geddes interpreted as the apple of knowledge for training the mind and the ball as an incentive to train the body. The professor told the boy that if he does both he will realise that he is an heir to all past periods of mankind. Then the Masque began presenting characteristic scenes from the history and mythology of different times and cultures. The sequence of the pictures was as follows: Primitive, Egyptian, Hebrew, Chinese, Buddhist, Parsis and Persians, Greek, Roman, Celtic, Medieval, Renaissance, Encyclopedists, and Present and Future. (See Geddes, Masque of Learning).

179 Defries, The Interpreter, pp. 46-47.
181 "The distinction of the Edinburgh Masque is to have used ... resources both of historic evocation and of contemporary arousal towards shaping in some measure the opening future, alike in the personal growth of the citizen and in the development of his city." (Branford, Interpretations and Forecasts, p. 178).
182 Among them the various colleges and universities of Edinburgh, the Outlook Tower, university
the ultimate aim the Masque venerated, and every citizen had to serve this aim.

The Masque was complementary to the Thinking Cell. In the latter the individual would internalise the vision of life and its forms he had learned about in the Outlook Tower, Geddes's temples, and the Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. The Masque could achieve the same for all citizens as a community. By participating in its performance, citizens could re-enact and recapitulate the history of human civilisation and thereby making it their own. The Masque provided a universal outlook on history and life complementing the local history to be read from historic buildings in a City.

The Masque, Blackie's funeral and the festivities around the opening of Ramsay Gardens were events evoking a sense of City through communal participation. For Geddes they were not an end in itself, but important means towards the renewal of citizenship and the city.\textsuperscript{183} Even more, they were the resuscitation of a traditional means of City building. The Greek and the Medieval civilisations provided Geddes again with suitable models.

The stories, legends and myths, the ballads and epics which constituted the essential tradition of a Hellenic city, were the heritage of all its children. From Temples and statues, its festivals and games, and not least from the theatre, its population, from earliest youth to maturest age, went on acquiring a conception of this social heritage, historic and poetic, local and regional, Hellenic, even human. ... Again in later days the Miracle-Plays and Mysteries - so often devised in the Monasteries, so commonly acted by fraternities and gilds for their fellow-citizens - helped no little to create the spiritual atmosphere characteristic of the Middle Ages at their best ... Such simple and convincing transmission of sacred legend and saintly lore, contributed not a little to form that unison of high tradition and beliefs ... which ... gave birth to the characteristic expressions and the spiritual achievement of the medieval City - its Great Place and Belfry Tower, its Town-House and its halls, printers, housecraft, the school of music, and future itself. (Geddes, \textit{Masque of Learning}, p. xxiii-xxix).

\textsuperscript{183} "Another expression of this citizenship let me draw attention to the splendid development now in progress through English cities of pageants which are being found to bring together all sorts and conditions, all parties, both sexes, in a co-operation which leaves people with a sense of their being citizens of no mean city, and perhaps having a future worthy of their past, - less woeful therefore than their present." [Letter by Geddes to James Thomson, n. d. [1907?], (NLS, MS 10512, f. 43)].
The City at the centre of myths and legends refers back to the religious veneration of the Greek polis. Religion in the polis meant to foster the relation between the polis, the citizen and their city gods rather than redeeming individuals from sin as in Christian religions. The polis was dominated by temples, sanctuaries and other sacred places both interspersed in the urban and rural areas of a polis, and concentrated in certain places like the Acropolis and the Agora in Athens. The life of the citizens and other inhabitants was structured by religious celebrations. Religion as a public and civic matter expressed itself in sacrifices and festivities, often preceded by a procession through the city, as a "symbolic reappropriation of the city's space by the community." Part of the religious activities were furthermore athletic and dramatic competitions for which the polis provided appropriate spaces like gymnasions for training, stadions and theatres. Winning a competition brought honour to both the athlete and his city, and "even though the characters of the dramas were gods, heroes or mythical figures ... the questions raised by the plots were central to political debate in democratic Athens" or any other polis.

The elevation of a city into an object of veneration as in Geddes's Masque of Learning allows for a comparison with the religion in the Greek polis. The Greek gods in the Temple of Life were intended to bring Geddes's idea of life into a city. To transfer this symbolic representation into reality meant to transform a Town into a City as the highest expression of life. This required to instigate ordinary citizens to transform themselves and their successors into images of the gods, or at least to

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185 In the following I rely strongly on Louise Brui Zaidman and Pauline Schmitt Pantel, *Religion in the ancient Greek City*, transl. by Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), (hereafter *Ancient Greek City*).
attempt to come as close as possible to the ideal course of life. The Masque was an intermediate, incentive step towards this aim. It brought temporarily to life again past embodiments of the gods at various historic periods in different cultures; comparable to the Greek drama which brought the gods to the citizens of a polis. Branford elaborated this understanding:

Thus viewing Greek drama as a social process towards a goal foreshadowed but never reached, we may picture something of that goal by selecting certain tendencies of the process and following them to their logical or rather sociological developments.\textsuperscript{188}

Based on the understanding of the Greek drama as serving life and the City, Geddes borrowed from the polis the amphitheatre as an appropriate space in which to perform masques, the descendants of ancient drama. Regarding a proposed amphitheatre in Indore Geddes declared:

For why not here the Theatre again - as it began, alike in ancient Greece and in India, or as it renewed itself at each great period of European and Indian culture - as living theatre, setting forth by turns the main elements of that heritage of legend and myth, of dream and tragedy, which is the glory of every language, and the main treasure of every university.\textsuperscript{189}

Amphitheatres, open-air stages, and performance spaces in theatres and public halls became a standard feature in many of Geddes's City Design reports. He suggested an amphitheatre as early as 1904 in his report for Dunfermline, (Figure 8.33) and he proposed it again in his last report from 1925 for Tel Aviv.\textsuperscript{190} Without

\textsuperscript{188} Branford, \textit{Interpretations and Forecasts}, p. 184.
\textsuperscript{189} Geddes, \textit{University for Central India}, p. 34. Geddes proposed to combine the theatre with a gymnasium and a wrestling pit.
\textsuperscript{190} Amphitheatres or stages within larger halls Geddes proposed in Dunfermline in 1904 (Geddes, \textit{Dunfermline report}, pp. 181-189), in Baroda in 1916 (Geddes, \textit{Baroda report}, p. 30); in Birlampur in 1917, where the stage was located adjacent to a rose garden symbolising the ideal course of life (Geddes, \textit{Birlampur report}, p. 13); in Patiala in 1922 (Geddes, \textit{Patiala report}, p. 71); in Jerusalem the Great Hall of the Hebrew University would have offered space for the performances of masques, although later an amphitheatre was actually built within the grounds belonging to the university. (Patrick Geddes, \textit{The proposed Hebrew University of Jerusalem: preliminary Report on University Design} (typescript, 1919), (CZA, L12/75); and in Tel Aviv, again in combination with a sportsground [Geddes, \textit{Tel Aviv report}, pp. 33-34, (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum)]. In Edinburgh Geddes seemed never to have planned an amphitheatre. He did however
an amphitheatre a City was not complete. As Branford explained:

... no city-plan is adequate to future requirement which fails to find a
place for the Civic Theatre, and for one designed on large and generous
proportions: a spacious portico for pageant, masque and processional, a
great central auditorium for historic and romantic drama ...¹⁹¹

The sense of City Geddes recognised in the funeral ceremony for Blackie had
not only relied on the masses of citizens participating, but also on their movement
through the urban space. Subsequently, Geddes attempted on various occasions to
provide for such expressions of civic spirit an appropriate route and space in the form
of a via sacra, modelled on sacred ways through a polis, like a connecting road
between rural sanctuaries and a city, or a fixed procession route for religious festivals.
In 1900 Geddes proposed the transformation of the Rue des Nations at the
International Exhibition at Paris into a "'Sacred Way' that would transform Paris into
a new Delphi".¹⁹²

In the Dunfermline report Geddes elaborated the concept of a via sacra in
more detail. He proposed to transform Pittencrieff Park into an assembly of cultural
and museological institutions comprising the Nature Palace, theme and botanic
gardens, a zoological garden, numerous in and outdoor exhibition areas presenting the
history of labour and of arts and crafts development, a library, public meeting halls, an
amphitheatre, and similar places and institutions.¹⁹³ As already mentioned above, he
also planned to transform the park into a Cathedral.

For as the modern park is becoming the Cathedral of the People, it must
express, as this did in its various chapels and their altars, the various
ideals to which individuals and classes are devoted ...¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Branford, Interpretations and Forecasts, p. 366.
¹⁹² Ponte, The Thinking Machines, p. 51.
¹⁹³ See Geddes, Dunfermline report.
Geddes's plan for Pittencrief Park (Figure 8.34) combined the understanding of the Cathedral as a building of synthesis with the image of a community of citizens moving through the building. Like a religious procession which moves through a church or a city and pauses at different monuments for worship, walking through Pittencrief Park became a sacred act. To interpret the cultural institutions in the park as chapels meant to offer places to venerate past generations, their history, work and spirit. Accordingly, Geddes considered the roads and paths through Pittencrief Park as "the processional routes of future festivals - the *Via Sacra* and *Via Triumphalis* of Labour." Geddes envisaged "crafts processions" moving on those routes and celebrating the development of labour and art from "ceremonies of initiations" to "graduation days of mastership", thereby recalling everything which was necessary for City building.\(^\text{195}\)

What Cathedral and Pittencrief Park offered in symbolic form Geddes ultimately intended to transfer into reality everywhere in a City. A City composed of historic buildings and embellished with sculptures and symbolic decorations would have allowed citizens to keep permanently in touch with the past and the *genius loci*. Each street would have become a *via sacra* of the City. Geddes declared once that regardless of practical considerations, the design and planning of roads should be suggestive and educative, "individually emotional" for citizens and "collectively dramatic" for the community.

...it rises to the designing and the stations of the individual meditative pilgrimage, and even beyond this to the renewal of that greatest and noblest of all features of an ancient city - its routes of symbol, festival, and triumph, its Processional Road, its Sacred Way.\(^\text{196}\)

The final project briefly to be discussed in this chapter, Geddes's and Mears's design for the Great Hall of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem from 1919,

\(^{195}\) Geddes, *Dunfermline report*, p. 203.
combines Geddes's idea of a *via sacra* with a Temple of Life. For the university the Great Hall was intended to be a space for graduations and other large scale events. Beyond this, Geddes conceived the hall as a Temple of Life. Connecting the edges of the Zionist symbol of the Star of David resulted in a hexagon, Geddes's symbol for unity in Life and the City. Consequently Mears's interior design shows a hall covered with Stars of David alternating with hexagons. (Figure 8.35)

Yet the temple character of the building becomes particularly clear if one considers the approach to the building, located on Mount Scopus just outside the old town of Jerusalem. One of Mears's perspectives of the project shows a road winding up the mount like a procession way. Halfway up the hill, the road enters the university area through a gate in the wall encircling the complex (Figure 8.36). Another perspective shows students close to entering the hall (Figure 8.37). They are following a banner displaying the Star of David. But it remains vague if they are students on their way to the graduation ceremony, for their folded hands and the knowledge that the Star of David was for Geddes a symbol of his hexagon symbol, allows one to conclude that they might be worshippers of life approaching their temple.

Victor Branford once elucidated Geddes's concept of City Design which required the unification of city and university with the help of an "Institute of Synthesis". This institute built would raise "Town Plans into City Design."

The Town Plan presents a topographical analysis of Site and Structures; the City Design tells of Sacred Ways, of Towers, and of Temples. It thus imports a sense of spiritual direction, it awakens to clear vision, and stirs to creative realization. The Town Plan is the guide of the city's external and secular existence; the City Design is the dream of its inner and sacred life.198

197 In 1923 Geddes wrote that he had remembered his design for a Temple of Life when being approached as designer for the Hebrew University and the Great Hall. [Patrick Geddes, 'A Note of Graphic Methods', *Sociological Review* 15 (1923), 227-235 (pp. 230-231)].

The Great Hall was such an "Institute of Synthesis", but despite the imaginative perspectives illustrating the wish of Geddes to evoke a spiritual feeling, the contents and form the spirituality should take among the citizens was left ill defined. Victor Branford at least gave a hint of the kind of civic ceremony the temple should accommodate. He described the dome of the hall as "crowning the mount of view and vision, (which is the very meaning of the name Scopas [sic])". He continued explaining that two ambulatories ran beneath the dome. The upper one was for "outlook upon city and country" and, furthermore, for "processionals chant of those psalms which proclaim an indissoluble unity of the moral and the cosmic order."\(^{199}\)

What had begun with Geddes's Outlook Tower and the National Institute of Geography as a call for the synthesis of knowledge and sciences for the benefit of cities and citizens, finally ended in the chanting of psalms while circling around the Great Hall of the Hebrew University as an Institute of Synthesis. The Temple as the climax of the City as a form of life - equally rooted in sciences and religion - became the centre of ecstatic and joyful celebrations. These celebrations were not confined to the temple as Sybella Branford, Victor Branford's wife, with respect to Richmond garden city, near London, explained. She insisted on Richmond as a culture city in the pursuit of beauty and celebrating permanent festivities.

The culture city is a city of men and women who are craftsmen, musicians and artists, thinkers and poets, dramatists and psychologists, sociologists and students ... its policy should be the development of all cultural and health-giving opportunities and of education towards their sharing and enjoyment. Such cultural activities range from dancing on the green to writing a poem; from acting a play or taking part in a pageant, to composing an opera.\(^{200}\)

The paleotechnic town had forced its inhabitants into a society of shared suffering and a passive life; the neotechnic City would unite its citizens into a community of

\(^{199}\) Branford, *Living Religions*, p. 233.
It is, however, significant that Geddes's otherwise vivid imagination remained silent regarding any idea what actually should have happened around the Temple or in the City its centre it was. The arousal of feeling a community had worked in the relatively small community of Ramsay Garden, but City Design failed to transpose this idea successfully into the larger City. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, Geddes had interpreted the large number of his temple schemes as an educational means, yet in retrospective they appear to have been optimistic - but at the same time desperate - attempts to realise at least once, somewhere, a built manifestation of an idea of life Geddes had conceived, but not the contemporary society he believed to think and work for.
"Labour in Nature again renews Arcadia. Our town becomes a City indeed, with Acropolis and Temple, Academe and Forum, Stadium and Theatre."

In his dialogue *Laws* Plato made a distinction between towns as mere "dwelling places" or as "true cities", "polities", while telling the Myth of the Golden Age of Chronos.

[Athenian:] The City whereof we just now spoke are not *polities*, or true cities, but mere dwelling-places, the inhabitants whereof are slaves in subjection unto certain ones among themselves; and each one of these dwelling-places is called 'the government of such and such', after them that be masters therein: but, if it is meet that a city should be called after her masters, the True city will be called after God, who verily ruleth over men of understanding. [Cleinias:] And who is this God? [Athenian:] I must ... use Fable for the more convenient answering of thy inquiry ... Chronus, saith the Tale, knowing that Human Nature could in no wise be left with sole authority in the administration of all things human ... took thought of the matter, and set over our cities, to be kings and ruler thereof not men, but those of a more divine and excellent sort, to wit, Daemons ...

A true city was ruled by God, whose rulership was mediated by Daemons. These divine powers, which were neither gods nor human beings, could interfere with human affairs for both good and evil. A true city was characterised by a hierarchical order with God at the climax, followed by the Daemons who in turn were "set over our cities", meaning over ordinary man. Accordingly, the source of the guidance of a city’s affairs was located outside the historical, in the eternal realm of God and Ideas.

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1 Quoted from Stewart, *Myths*, p. 190.
2 "Alongside the gods, the Greeks recognized the existence of mysterious forms of divine power, both beneficent and maleficent, with the capacity to intervene in human affairs. ... Sometimes, *daimones* were regarded as forming a category of divine beings intermediate between gods and men, but Plato several times conjoined gods, *daimones*, heroes and the dead, on the one hand, in order to oppose them categorically to mankind, on the other." (Brui Zaidman, Schmitt Pantel *Religion in the Ancient Greek City*, p. 178).
The City Crown

The Platonic distinction between dwelling-place and true city was one source for Geddes’s dichotomy of Town and City. The underlined parts of the quoted passage indicate those sentences Geddes considered worthwhile noting.3

Furthermore, in Cities in Evolution Geddes recalled Plato’s distinction by writing:

The great city is not that which shows the palace of government at the origin and climax of every radiating avenue: the true city - small or great, whatever its style of architecture or plan, be this like Rothenburg or Florence - is that of a burgher people, governing themselves from their own townhall and yet expressing also the spiritual ideals which govern their lives, as once in ancient acropolis or again in medieval church or cathedral ... 4

Geddes’s City was not ruled by God but by the eternal Idea of Life symbolised in the Temple of the Greek Gods.5 (Figure 9.1) The mediator between the ruling Idea and the citizens were the Intellectuals and Emotionals. Due to an insight into the synthesis of sciences and synergy of the arts far deeper than that of the People, the Intellectuals and Emotionals can be compared with Plato’s Daemons, which were “of a more divine and excellent sort than men.”

Intellectuals and Emotionals were the two social types related to the stages of Cloister and City in Deed in the Notation of Life. (Figure 2.1) To the generic term Cloister Geddes subsumed in the diagram institutions like universities, artist’s studios, monasteries, and hermitages, places of retreat like the thinking cells. Historic Cloisters were Plato’s Academe, and Aristotle’s Lyceum, and as contemporary equivalents

4 Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 254.
5 The sketch is taken from a series of glass slide in the papers of Jacqueline Tyrwhitt (SUA, T-TYR (Acc. 224), box 1, slide no. 28). The provenance of the slides is unknown, they are stored in an old wooden box with inscriptions on the margin referring to Olympus, the garden of the nine Greek muses etc. The lantern slides have certainly been used to illustrate lectures on Geddes’s Olympus idea, if by Geddes himself or by Jacqueline Tyrwhitt I was unable to establish.
Geddes identified for example science laboratories and research institutes.⁶

Dream and Deed - the development of ideas in the Cloister and their subsequent application to reality - Geddes once explained, "interact with religion and polity, with thought and action, art and drama; these create Acropolis, Temple, Academe and Theatre."⁷ The last four words Geddes used as generic terms. Temples, as analysed in the preceding two chapters, were spiritual, religious or quasi-religious places implementing a metaphysical idea into a City. Under Academe Geddes's interest in educational initiatives and institutions like index museums, Outlook Towers and universities can be grouped. The Theatre, again already referred to, was a place for performing masques and celebrating the City with festive events. With the word Acropolis Geddes referred to both an assembly of Temple, Academe and Theatre, and to its physical location within the urban fabric. This leads back to the quoted passage from Plato's Laws.

Geddes had not only paraphrased Plato in Cities in Evolution, but transformed Plato's hierarchy of Gods, Daemons and man into a spatial order. Taking Plato's expression of Daemons set over a city literally, Geddes aimed at a visual domination of a City by the Intellectuals and Emotionals by reserving the highest available locations within the urban topography for buildings and institutions related to these two social types.

Every city of the past which has adequately risen to the conception of the Culture-Institutions seen and felt appropriate to the expression of its ideals, and of its developing civilisation (civicisation, as that is) has chosen for these purposes the very noblest site within its area. Hence the sublime situation of the Temple of Jerusalem; and so too of every Acropolis throughout the Hellenic world; and so again for the Cathedrals of the Middle Ages, their Town Houses and civic Belfries as well. Such location was not merely matter of architecture or esthetics [sic]; it carried with it a full yet ever deepening civic sense, an extending and enduring influence throughout the city; and thus in time

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⁶ Geddes, Civics II, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 151.
⁷ Geddes, Returning Gods, p. 3.
became its main glory; and this alike for its people and even for humanity beyond - as witness the Temple, and the Acropolis or Cathedral once more.8

In Athens the sublime location above the city was occupied by the temples and other buildings on the Acropolis. (Figure 9.2) Medieval cities were visually dominated by the Cathedral, whose tall tower or spire compensated for the lack of a sublime location as it was not necessarily the norm that a cathedral was erected on a naturally raised plot of land.

In order to become a City, a Town needed a Cloister, wherever possible located on ground raised above the town. To have been built too low, viz. on the same level as the town, was a criticism Geddes had raised against Dundee University in the 1880s.9 While Dundee had only achieved a, so to speak, negative Acropolis, Edinburgh's natural topography favoured the development of the Old Town’s rock as the City's sublime location. In Indore in 1918, Geddes proposed to locate a variety of cultural and university institutions, among them a central library, museums and an open-air theatre, on the "high point of the Ghatio peninsula". (Figure 9.3) He explained:

For this is the highest and the most striking site the entire city affords; and a well designed mass of buildings upon this picturesquely wooden shore ... will here show to the very best advantage. ... But it is the purpose and use of any such improvement, that is the main thing, its significance in City-Design ... For this monumental group is to embody the intellectual centre and crossing-point of the City, and to be its educational focus and centre as well. For the buildings desired are those of Library, Museum, and Theatre, the centres of literature and learning, of the sciences and the arts, and thus appropriately beside the Temples and Ghat of the elder idealisation of life.10

Similarly, the land on Mount Scopus which the Zionist movement had

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8 Geddes, Tel Aviv report, pp. 56-57, (my emphasis), (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum).
9 "... for this university college, instead of being an Acropolis upon our hill up there, has been planted too low and right in the town." (Defries, The Interpreter, p. 169).
10 Geddes, University for Central India, pp. 19-20.
earmarked for the future Hebrew University in Jerusalem supported Geddes's idea of a sublime location.11 Located outside, on the edge of Jerusalem's Old Town, the site guaranteed Geddes's and Mears's design of the Hebrew University would dominate the city below. (Figure 9.4) And, to give a final example, in Tel Aviv Geddes planned to concentrate workmen's and women's colleges, museums, a theatre, an Outlook Tower within a water tower, and further cultural and educational institutions on the highest available ground within the otherwise relatively flat and even urban topography.12 (Figure 8.30)

Apart from their sublime locations, most of these proposals shared a second characteristic feature. All the proposals attempted to concentrate a variety of cultural institutions in the immediate vicinity of each other. This was not a consequence of a lack of spacious sites in existing cities to accommodate a large City Crown. Rather, it was an expression of Geddes's idea to re-unite all branches of human knowledge and activities. Co-operation between various disciplines required first of all a spatial concentration and architectural unity in closely related buildings. In the Dunfermline report from 1904 Geddes explained the assembly of the large number of cultural buildings in Pittencrief Park (Figure 8.34) as the result "of designing ... a unified group of institutions capable of assuring a real and substantial culture development to the city."13

11 The land was acquired by Chaim Weizmann as the head of the Zionist Commission in 1913 long before Geddes and Mears became involved in the project. (For the early history and development of the Hebrew University see Arthur A. Goren, 'The View from Scopus: Judah L. Magnes and the Early Years of the Hebrew University', Judaism. A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life & Thought, 45 (1996), 203-223).
12 In Tel Aviv Geddes choose a location in the South east of the new city. Today this part of Tel Aviv is occupied by the Habima Theatre, the Helena Rubinstein Pavilion, a dependance of the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, and other cultural institutions [Geddes, Tel Aviv report, pp. 51-60, (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum)]. Additionally, Geddes proposed an open air theatre, a nature reserve and a sanatorium on another likewise raised location in the north of the city's extension, where today's Hilton hotel is located. [Geddes, Tel Aviv report, pp. 30-33, (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum)].
13 Geddes, Dunfermline report, p. 18.
The lack of exactly this spatial and architectural unity was a reason, according to Geddes, why for example in London the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Economic Society did not co-operate in their work, research and other endeavours. This alleged shortcoming was caused and expressed by the spatial separation of the three societies' headquarters. Any other consideration than this spatial - for example long established institutional traditions and structures hindering any co-operation, or the possibility of an informal exchange of research between members of the societies through private contacts, on conferences, in publications and similar - Geddes did not mention. For him, the visual separation on the map pointed towards an institutional separation; accordingly, this graphically diagnosed problem could be solved by resorting to another graphic, the diagram of the Notation of Life.

The Notation of Life (Figure 2.1) was based on the triad of Place, Work and Folk on the level of the Town; reflected on the level of Schools by geography, economics, and anthropology. If Place, Work and Folk should become united again in, and for the process of creating a City, the respective institutions of the Intellectuals and Emotionals on the third and fourth level of the diagram had to be unified in the first instance. The Notation of Life was an elaboration of the thinking-machines Geddes had conceived during his temporary blindness while in Mexico in the 1880s. What had been then an aide-mémoire to overcome the inability to support thinking by seeing, Geddes developed later - in the form of the Notation of Life - into a widely applicable tool. Among other purposes it was an instrument to diagnose towns and to plan their development towards a City.

Many pages of further and fuller elaboration are needed for the exposition of the concrete applicability of this fuller schema, with [Acts/Facts [sic] in due association. ...If the reader be interested in

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Town-study and planning, he may use this (even for zoning).\textsuperscript{15}

Geddes's City Design plans were concrete visualisations of the Notation of Life, which in turn was an abstract visualisation of a complex structure of thought. As the four quarters of the Notation of Life centred around the crossing of the Celtic swastika, where the Town-City formula as the essence of the whole diagram was noted, the City Crown in Geddes's City Design proposals was the most important component. A new circle of a City's life had to be designed around the City Crown, from where the new Idea of Life, and thus the City, would emerge.

To renew Towns as Cities, and to establish new Cities, required "not only new dwellings for the people, but new houses of a new spirit." Geddes emphasised that these demands were "two associated and simultaneous tasks, not separate and distinct ones, as utilitarian and idealist go on believing."\textsuperscript{16} But both tasks were not of the same importance, because a true City depended first of all on a new spirit, subsequently leading to "new dwellings for the people". When Geddes defined in \textit{Cities in Evolution} the true City by paraphrasing Plato, the decisive characteristic was not that the citizens themselves, and no longer a government, constituted the Temporal Power, but that they in turn were ruled by a spiritual idea. Of similar importance, however, is that this definition did not include any references to housing or a city's material and technical infrastructure. Geddes did not ignore these questions as the discussion of housing in separate chapters in \textit{Cities in Evolution}, and of infrastructure problems in his City Design reports, shows. But his main concern was a different one.

A city was for Geddes not simply an accumulation of buildings, of space, or of people. It was a "community as an integrate, with material and immaterial structures

\textsuperscript{15} Geddes, \textit{Co-ordination of the Social Sciences}, p. 55.
\textsuperscript{16} Geddes, \textit{Civic Education}, p. 422.
and functions". Geddes's primary interest was to improve on these immaterial structures and functions. Only when this superstructure had been provided with a City Crown, could the improvement of the material basis of a City commence. The material expression of a City had to derive, and relate to the City's metaphysical centre, or as Geddes insisted "unless the ideal build the house - and with it the city also - they labour in vain that build it".

A simple and rather naive sketch by Geddes for an extension of the Indian town of Conjeevaram (Kanchipuram) is probably the best illustration of the importance of the metaphysical City centre. (Figure 9.6) A square, coloured yellow and marked "Temple building", is surrounded by sketchy rectangular forms representing a proposal for a "Village of 200 houses". In its simplicity this sketch might easily be overlooked, or even dismissed, as an example of City Design, but it does summarise in exemplary form Geddes's earlier quoted remark of new houses for People and spirit. The extension of Conjeevaram without the temple would have simply been a dwelling-place or Town. Yet the temple without the surrounding settlement would have been more than merely a religious building; it was the beginning of a small City.

The importance of the temple can be gathered from the whole map of Conjeevaram, which does not show any other planning proposal than the small extension to the north. However, on the map every existing temple in the town had been coloured in yellow. Furthermore, many streets surrounding and approaching these temples are highlighted in red. Conjeevaram was made up of small Cities, or

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17 Geddes, Civic I, in Meller, The Ideal City, p. 76.
18 Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 300. Geddes continued a few sentences further on the same page: "... unless the ideal keep the city, its police, army, dreadnoughts, and watchmen generally, watch in vain." This is a paraphrase of the first verse of Psalm 127 which reads: "Unless the LORD builds the house, its builders labor in vain on it; / unless the LORD watches over the city, the watchman keeps vigil in vain." (Tanakh A new Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985), p. 1264).
19 Printed map of Conjeevaram, India, (annotated by Patrick Geddes), (SUA, T-GED 25/1/208).
communities, each focusing on a temple as a house of the spirit, with streets and roads relating to the building and of possible use as via sacra for celebrating the City. Geddes adopted this analysis not only as the basis for proposing the extension at Conjeevaram, but, on a more general level, it can also be found again in his plan for Tel Aviv. (Figure 8.30)

The extension of Tel Aviv to the north comprised a number of blocks, defined by surrounding larger streets. Open spaces formed the centre of the majority of these blocks, and served the inhabitants of the two rows of houses along the borders of the blocks as a small park. This can be analysed as the adaptation by Geddes of garden city and garden suburb planning principles in an attempt to provide housing with immediate access to nature. Yet the underlying idea appears to be a different one. The plan of the extension of Tel Aviv resembles the analysis of the older town of Conjeevaram. In both cases, the City was formed by a number of smaller communities. These focused in Conjeevaram on traditional temples, whereas in Tel Aviv gardens substituted for the religious buildings. The symbolic hexagon square linked the group of new communities with the older part of Tel Aviv. Old and new Tel Aviv together were dominated by the City Crown, the cultural and educational centre of the new City. Beyond the local level, Tel Aviv was part of the larger region of Palestine; this relation found its expression in the dominating location of the Hebrew University in the Region-City of Palestine.

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20 In the two page report for the town of Tiruvattiswaranpet in India Geddes wrote: "No feature of the planning of Indian towns is more characteristic than the square of car street around a temple. It is an essential feature and character of this planning that this square is made and kept unbroken ... Only on grounds of real and urgent necessity of communication should such a square have a new street opened into any one of its sides. In India it is of course double important not to do this. For the square is doubly injured, first in its ritual sanctity, and also as a Brahman residential area. Every Indian knows these things; and the responsible European also realises the undesirability of making such infraction of an enclosure sacred to his fellow-citizens generally. ... Peculiarly, he will admit, does this conservatism apply to the quarters inhabited by Brahmins or by Moslems, since these have each their ancient and spiritual sanctions, above and beyond their social exclusiveness." [Patrick Geddes, Tiruvattiswaranpet (Madras) Proposed Street from Suparigunta Paracheri to West Car Street of Temple Square (typescript, n. d.), p. 97, according to the page numbers this two page typescript must have been part of a larger, unidentified report, (SUA, T-GED 25/1/229)].
To identify the location and composition of the City Crown is an important key to Geddes's City Design proposals. The educational, cultural and spiritual institutions and spaces were often complemented by sport facilities; another element of a City Crown Geddes borrowed from ancient Greece, especially from the city of Epidaurus in Argolis which worshipped Asclepius, the god of health. In Epidaurus a "gymnasium" a sportground, was located in the immediate vicinity of an open-air theatre and a temple dedicated to Asclepius (Figure 9.7); thus body, mind and soul could be tuned towards City building in parallel. The size, form and elements of a City Crown were variable, ranging from the large Pittencrieff Park in Dunfermline to a single temple in an urban quarter, or a simple house in village or country town. Regarding the latter Geddes suggested "the acquirement of some fine old country-house or chateau for its culture centre". Geddes's own work in Edinburgh provides a good example what form a City Crown could take.

21 Geddes wrote in his report for Tel Aviv that in Epidaurus in Argolis "besides (sic) the 'Gymnasia' for the body, with their duly graduated exercises, their careful dieting etc. there was on of the noblest of all Greek Theatres ... Within the temple of the healing god himself, which so often completed the cure." [Geddes, Tel Aviv report, p. 32, (Tel Aviv-Yafo history museum)].

22 Apart from the city crown projects mentioned in the main text, Geddes proposed further similar centres in other City Design reports. For Balrampur he suggested an educational quarter with a public library, boys and girls schools, and sport facilities in the immediate vicinity to a small open-air stage. (Geddes, Balrampur report, pp. 12-13, p. 18, p. 44); in Baroda Geddes planned a civic centre with educational facilities including schools, library and a theatre (Geddes, Baroda report, p. 30); in Indore Geddes not only planned the university mentioned above, but also an Outlook Tower, open-air theatre in combination with "an open air Gymnasium, and a couple of Wrestling Pits for youths and men." (Geddes, University for Central India, pp. 19, p. 34, p. 39); in Lahore Geddes intended to create a green space with playgrounds crowned by a temple on a hill in the park, thus dominating the city (Geddes, Lahore report, 1917), p. 22); the preliminary report for Nagpur contained a brief section of a possible university in the city (Patrick Geddes, Town Planning in Nagpur. A Report to the Municipal Council (Nagpur: Municipal Press, 1917), p. 12); in his report on Patiala state and city Geddes dealt with new student's and professor's accommodation at the Mohindra College, an open-air theatre within a new "municipal flower garden", and the already discussed palace garden re-interpreted as a garden for the Greek gods and muses (Geddes, Patiala report, pp. 17-18, pp. 25-29, p. 62).


24 The following account adopts a retrospective point of view and rests on two assumption. First, it has been assumed that Geddes's activities and proposals were conceived from the very beginning with the concept of a City Crown in mind. Second, it pretends that all of his to date known proposals for Edinburgh had been realised.
Edinburgh's Old Town - A Cultural Acropolis for the Athens of the North

At the Town Planning Conference in London in 1910 Edinburgh was compared to the Greek city of Pergamum. In his paper on 'The Planning of Hellenistic Cities' the British archaeologist Percy Gardner defined Greek cities as comprising always four elements: defence arrangements, an Acropolis as the seat of the kings, or tyrants, city deities and other gods, an agora or market place surrounded by public buildings, and, finally, the houses of the citizens and inhabitants. To illustrate the spatial distribution of these elements within a Greek city, Gardner examined the City of Pergamum excavated since 1876 by the German archaeologist Alexander Conze.

Pergamum was dominated by the kings palace on the highest site of the Acropolis. This Acropolis was formed by a rock with steep slopes covered with terrace structures as the foundations for the buildings. (Figure 9.8) Below the palace stood a library building - unique to Pergamum - which also housed a collection of sculptures. Next to the library followed the Athena Temple, a building dedicated to Athena Polias, the original city goddess. Beside this temple an amphitheatre with a long colonnaded hall at the far end was carved out of the steepest side of the rock. The terrace below accommodated the Zeus Altar; the famous Pergamum Altar, which the German archaeologist transferred to Berlin. (Figure 9.9) On the next terrace lay the agora with the old town adjacent to it. Finally, in the plain at the foot of the rock were the rectangular pattern of the streets of the Hellenistic and Roman Pergamum. Gardner continued:

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26 Alexander Christian Leopold Conze (1831-1914), archaeologist, was director of the Berliner Antikensammlung, and a member, from 1881 onwards the head, of the central board of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. In the latter function he was in charge of the excavations at Pergamum from 1876-1886, and again from 1900-1912.
Dr. Conze has made an interesting parallel between the plan of Pergamon [sic] and that of Edinburgh. To the Acropolis corresponds the Castle Hill, though the library and the splendid temple of Athena have no parallel on the Scottish rock. To the Agora corresponds the open place at the foot of Castle Hill. Old Edinburgh, with its narrow and dirty streets and its squallid houses, and new Edinburgh, with straight and broad ways, flanked by buildings of pretentious architecture, correspond to the two parts of the city of Pergamon, the pre-Alexandrine and the post-Alexandrine.27

To Geddes, who had attended the conference, this paper must have been a welcomed confirmation of his own intentions regarding Edinburgh's Old Town. He himself had presented to the conference a comparison between Edinburgh and Athens, focusing on the spatial relation between city, harbour town, and environs.28 (Figure 3.6) Both, the Acropolis of Athens and the Castle Rock in Edinburgh were included in this comparison only as part of the larger pattern; significantly, the illustrations Geddes had presented depicted rather distant views of the silhouettes of Athens and Edinburgh.29 Conze's comparison, on the contrary, looked closer at important institutions in both cities, and their location within the urban space. Retrospectively, the latter comparison can be employed as the basis for an analysis of Geddes's interventions in Edinburgh's Old Town aiming at the creation of a cultural Acropolis.30 (Figure 9.10)

28 There existed a long tradition of comparing Edinburgh with Athens, mainly due to Edinburgh's neo-classical architecture, but also on its educational merits. Both points for example were mentioned by the Reclus brothers, friends of Geddes. They wrote: "Edimbourg avait pris au sérieux le surnome de Nouvelle-Athènes que lui avaient valu ses bibliothèques et ses écoles célèbres; cette appellation elle voulait mériter par des monuments d'ordre ionique ou dorique." [Elie and Elisée Reclus, Renouveau d'une cité. (On the social work of Patrick Geddes at Edinburgh) (n. pl.: n. pub., 1896)]. The geographical comparison between both cities was also not unusual for example in 1907 a survey of both city's rock regarding physical seize and location of the buildings was published. (C.G. Cash, 'The Acropolis of Athens, and the Castle Rock of Edinburgh', reprinted from The Edinburgh Academy Journal, June 1907, no pagination). Geddes owned an offprint of this essay (SUA, T-GED 7/5/36). The rectangular street pattern of the first New Town became also focus of a comparison between Edinburgh and similarly planned Greek cities, see G. Baldwin Brown, 'The New Town of Edinburgh', Transactions of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, 1 (1890), 90-101.
29 The illustration of Edinburgh was an engraving after Alexander Nasmyth's painting 'Edinburgh from the West' (S&D 1821). (See Peter Johnson and Erin le Money, The Nasmyth Family of Painters (Leight-on-Sea: F. Lewis, 1977), no pagination). I was unable to identify the painter of the view of Athens.
30 The map which illustrates the following account of Geddes's work and proposals for the Old
The new central focus of the Old Town was the Ramsay Garden complex with the adjacent Outlook Tower. There Geddes created a community of academics, artists and students. They were the new Intellectuals, living and working in the Cloister of Ramsay Garden, from which new ideas for the incipient City of Edinburgh should emerge. The location of the Cloister was well chosen for, as already explained, historical, but also visual reasons. Ramsay Garden dominated the skyline of the Old Town, in particular if seen from the south (Figure 9.11), and formed a strong contrast to the dark masses of the castle. In the terms of Geddes's adaptation of the Platonic dichotomy of dwelling-place and city, the castle was an example of a palace of government ruling a dwelling-place, whereas Ramsay Garden announced an idea set over a true City. The unrealised tower block bridging Ramsay Lane would have strengthened visually this claim for intellectual leadership, as would have the high rise Outlook Tower of the National Institute of Geography, envisaged for an unknown site somewhere nearby. If built, the Geographical Institute would have presented the idea of a regional geography as part of Geddes's cosmography. The Institute as a Temple of Geography would have complemented Ramsay Garden as the Cloister.

From the Cloister the Intellectuals disseminated their ideas through educational initiatives like summer schools, the Old Edinburgh Art School, extra mural courses and exhibitions at the Outlook Tower, and artistic and architectural interventions in the urban fabric. The latter activities were concentrated around Ramsay Garden, but spread from there into selected other areas of the Old Town, and occasionally beyond. Back into the 1880s Geddes began to establish University Halls of Residence, initially with three flats in a building at Ramsay Lane, close to the site of the future Ramsay Garden. Further student residences followed nearby, and in the latter 1890s Geddes proposed to expand the student and academic population to the

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Town of Edinburgh presents a retrospective view assuming that everything Geddes had suggested was not only realised but furthermore conceived from the very beginning with the idea of the creation of a cultural acropolis in mind.
eastern end of the Royal Mile. Somewhere near Holyrood Palace Geddes envisaged the construction of a "Holyrood Hall" (Figure 9.12) roughly along the line of Ramsay Garden. About 1913 Frank C. Mears developed the idea of student accommodation even further by earmarking for this purpose the whole of George Square, immediately to the south of the Old Town. Thus the Old Town became symbolically enclosed by the Cloister and its dependances, and the Intellectuals were not only set over the City but embraced it.

A similar pattern of concentration around Ramsay Garden can be observed when considering the decorative and monument scheme. The majority of decorations was to be found in those buildings and flats Geddes succeeded in completing and restoring around Ramsay Garden. More significant are the proposals for monuments and artistic decorations to be installed visibly in the public space. The ideas for the Castlehill reservoir frieze, the statues of St. Columba, John Knox, Robert Bruce and William Wallace, the bust of Thomas Carlyle and the realised decorations and monuments like the portrait medallion of Blackie, the witches well, the cast iron dragons, and the various stone carvings at Ramsay Garden, they all were proposed for, or realised in the small area of the upper end of the Royal Mile. There were only very few ideas by Geddes and his supporters for monuments and decorations elsewhere along the Royal Mile or even beyond the Old Town.

For "Holyrood Hall" near Holyrood Palace and Abbey Geddes commissioned John Duncan to design "a bas-relief of King David's Vision of the

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31 The illustration from an undated prospectus of the Town and Gown Association is signed with "Smith & [?]", [Geddes, Town and Gown Undertakings, (SUA, T-GED 12/2/82)]. Apart from the drawing nothing is known about this project to date.

32 Frank Charles Mears, "City of Edinburgh University Centre", c. 1913 (Whiteprint of a plan of the Royal Mile and the area south of it showing all existing educational, cultural and religious institutions, other public buildings, and a few proposals for new similar institutions and buildings. The plan is signed with F. C. Mears, and dated, although by a different MS, "c. 1913". The purpose of this drawing is not known (Edinburgh Central Library, Edinburgh Room, fY DA 1828.913, G20 200).
Cross-bearing hart which led to the foundation of the Abbey".33 When in 1930 Geddes's friend, the poetess and collector of traditional Scottish songs Marjory Kennedy-Fraser died, Geddes initiated a memorial committee. The aim was to commemorate Kennedy-Fraser with a medallion to be added to the Scottish Singers Monument at the bottom of Calton Hill steps.34

Of greater interest is, however, a proposal regarding the addition of a sculpture gallery adjacent to the Scottish National Gallery and the Royal Scottish Academy at the bottom of the Mound. Geddes had collaborated on various occasions with the architect George Shaw Aitken, most notably on the Dunfermline project in 1904. In the same year Aitken tried to gain Geddes's support for the idea of a new art gallery on Calton Hill near the High School building.35 Geddes's reply to this idea is not known, but he kept among his collection of architectural projects another not dated proposal by Aitken for an 'Edinburgh Forum' at the bottom of the Mound.36 (Figures 9.13, 9.14)

Aitken planned a new sculpture gallery opposite the southern end of the existing National Gallery building. A tunnel underneath the street leading up the Mound connected the new building with two further galleries to be erected on the slope of the Mound below New College and Ramsay Garden. A comparison of this scheme with Aitken's earlier perspective of Geddes's ideas for the development of the

34 Standardised letter by Patrick Geddes to newspaper editors, 27 November 1930, (typescript), (SUA, T-GED 9/1717); the Scottish Singers Monument already included a plaque commemorating Kennedy-Fraser's father, David Kennedy. The medallion of Marjory Kennedy-Fraser was to be cast in bronze after a design by the sculptor J. Carrick.
35 See various letters by George Shaw Aitken to Geddes (SUA, T-GED 9/554, 556, 562, 565-66, 629).
36 Perspective and site plan for sculpture gallery adjacent to National Gallery in Edinburgh by George Shaw Aitken, (water-colour, ink and pencil on paper, n. d.), (SUA, T-GED 25/1/ 584; 25/2/20). The proposal was exhibited at the Edinburgh Cities and Town Planning Exhibition in 1911. (See Ramsay Traquair, Frank Charles Mears, 'Public Monuments', The Blue Blanket. An Edinburgh Civic Review, January 1912, No. 1, 68-80 (pp. 77-78), (hereafter Public Monuments).
top of the Mound (Figure 6.22) shows that the uppermost of the new galleries
occupied roughly the space Geddes had earmarked for future artist studios to the north
of Ramsay Garden. The intention was to connect the two cultural institutions built just
outside the Old Town with the Cloister Ramsay Garden. This symbolised, however,
not an expansion of the cultural Acropolis towards the New Town, but an attempt to
bring the National Gallery and the Royal Scottish Academy under the influence of the
Old Town.

The idea of incorporating an existing, important site into the transformation of
the Old Town also guided a 'Scheme to complete the National Monument on the
Calton Hill' by Ramsay Traquair and Frank Charles Mears from early 1912.37 (Figure
9.15) The existing monument was originally designed and built in 1829 by Charles
Robert Cockerell and William Playfair as a monument to the fallen soldiers of the
Napoleonic War. In 1912, however, a proposal to complete the temple folly stimulated
Traquair and Mears to produce their own design. They re-interpreted the site as a
monument to Scottish "men of distinctively modern activities. Its association are with
astronomy, philosophy and political freedom."38 This re-interpretation derived from
the characterisation of Calton Hill as an a-historical site which "was not originally a
part of Edinburgh."39 The hill could not be "a suitable place for a National
Monument",40 which, however, existed already elsewhere in the form of Edinburgh
Castle. The foundation of Traquair's and Mears's argument was a division of

37 'A Scheme to complete the National Monument on the Calton Hill', bird's eye view (water-
colour), signed in bottom right corner "R.T F. C.M. 1912". I would like to thank Mr. Hugh
Crawford for allowing access to his Frank Charles Mears archive, where he found the drawing.
The drawing carries the initials of both architects, who furthermore are named as joint authors
of the scheme underneath the title inscriptions. However, it appears to be likely that the drawing
was done by Traquair. Apart from differences in the drawing style when compared with drawings
by Mears, it is significant that the drawing carries initials; Mears normally signed with his
name, while Traquair often signed his drawings with his initials. For Traquair see Irena
Murray (ed.), Ramsay Traquair and his successors. Guide to the Archive 2 vols (Montreal:
38 Traquair, Mears, Public Monuments, p. 77.
39 Traquair, Mears, Public Monuments, p. 73.
40 Traquair, Mears, Public Monuments, p. 77.
Edinburgh into several memorial zones, clearly derived from Geddes's division of a City's population into the four social types.41

The actual design was soaked with Geddes's thinking. A wall composed of apses and small pavilions created a rectangular enclosed space. The new space was divided in three zones with the Past furthest to the East, the Present in the middle, and the Future to the West incorporating the Doric columns. The individual apses in each zone were dedicated to types of men.42 The Past comprised a small appendix accommodating a seated figure of Caledonia, whose chair was to be decorated on the reverse with Geddes's arbor saeculorum. To her left stood a statue of St. Columba, a copy of Percy Pourtsmouth's design for the west Bow in the Old Town. (Figure 6.27)

The centrepiece of the memorial was the section dedicated to the Future. It was a highly symbolic composition. Two groups of an adult with children symbolised the values of the Family, a frieze of groups of human beings holding each other by the hands that of the Community. Two sphinxes placed on either end of the architrave stood for the riddle of the time and history, while two figures at the entrance steps into this section evoked the proper religious mood in a visitor. One figure was given a devoted posture, the other holds up his arms in ecstasy.

Most important was, however, the central sculpture displaying a keel of a ship carrying a winged figure with a lyre eastwards. The sides of the keel were decorated with a flying figure; somewhat similar to the central figure in Pittendrigh

41 Traquair and Mears reserved Edinburgh Castle, Castle Esplanade, and Holyrood Palace for historic, patriotic, military and royal monuments of national importance. Grassmarket they proposed to use for monuments commemorating "democratic activities"; Parliament Square was given over to monuments celebrating lawyers, judges, and Lord provosts. These two sites can be interpreted as monuments for the People and Chiefs. The Intellectuals were commemorated in several areas, amongst them sculptures of artists and men of letters to be erected near the National Gallery and Royal Institution, Calton Hill for scientists, and McEwan Hall for university rectors. The Emotionals were remembered with sculptures of "celebrated divines" near to the New College. (Traquair, Mears, Public Monuments, pp. 75-79).

42 The classification comprised according to the drawing "Religion", "Athletic & Exploration", "War-like", "Philosophie", "Industrial", and "Arts".
Macgillivray's drawing 'Der Zeitgeist', which Geddes had published in the autumn issue of *The Evergreen* in 1895.43 The earlier spring issue of that journal had contained a woodcut after a drawing by John Duncan with the title 'Out-Faring'. It showed a ship on whose keel a winged youth was leaning, who looked into the distance.44 This drawing might well have been the source for the sculpture in Traquair's and Mears's design. The lyre of the figure, however, allows one to identify the youth as a personification of Apollo, leader of the muses and patron of the foundation of colonies and towns in ancient Greece.45 Twelve years later Geddes displayed a large scale copy of Duncan's drawing in the Hall of Vision at London. Branford described the copy as depicting "the life-sciences, organic, psychic and social, rising together in a common approach towards religion";46 based on this understanding Traquair's and Mears's monument to men of science on Calton Hill can be considered as a Temple of Science for Edinburgh.

Geddes not only intended to incorporate existing institutions in his cultural Acropolis, but also to create new ones, for example a National Library of Scotland at the heart of the Old Town. Ideas to establish such a library existed since the early years of the twentieth century, when the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland proposed a national library comparable to those in Wales and Ireland.47 Geddes seized this project as an opportunity to develop his own idea how a future National Library of Scotland could contribute to the cultural Acropolis of Edinburgh. Based on his understanding that institutional co-operation was ideally expressed in spatial and architectural unity, Geddes's proposal drew advantage from the fact that in Edinburgh

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43 See *The Evergreen*, autumn 1895, p. 149.
44 See *The Evergreen*, spring 1895, p. 53.
several libraries - amongst them the Advocate's Library, the Signet Library, the Free or Central Library of the City of Edinburgh - were located to both sides of George IV Bridge. Geddes proposed to combine them with other, smaller libraries nearby into the new national institution.48 (Figure 9.16) The necessary spatial unity which was given already in theory was achievable in practise by using the arches underneath George IV Bridge as book storage spaces, and by adding bridges and covered walkways between some of the existing buildings. The only new building necessary was a main entrance and reading room area on the site between the existing Advocate's Library and the bridge.

A scheme by Frank Mears from 1919 for a 'Scottish National Memorial to Scots who Fell in the Great War' would have nearly completed Edinburgh's Acropolis.49 (Figure 9.17) Mears conceived the memorial as a "Via Sacra" following the course of Johnston Terrace on the southern side of Castle Rock. This street was to be narrowed as to free its southern edge for the Via Sacra which began at King's Bridge. From there steps and terraces lead to a "Garden of Peace in Victory" followed by a "Shrine of the Ideals".50 The shrine was the main proposed built structure,

48 See Geddes, National Library of Scotland, (SUA T-GED 12/1/374). The latest date for this proposal was the beginning of the 1912, because in February 1912 Lord Pentland, a friend of Geddes, submitted a copy of Geddes's typescript to a member of a commission engaged in negotiating with the Scottish Office the transfer of the Advocate's Library into a National Library of Scotland. Pentland wrote: "In the meantime you may like to see this extract, which comes from another friend to the idea - who knows nothing from me, let me say, of what you are doing. The extract shows how other minds are working on the same idea." However, in March 1912 the Committee on the Library rejected Geddes's proposal. (NLS Archive, WKD files, "Transfer to Nation", 1901-12) The author of the sketch is not known. The sketch is today in SUA, T-GED 25/1/599.

49 Frank C. Mears, Scheme for a "Via Sacra" Leading up to Edinburgh Castle, to Form a National Memorial to Scots who Fell in the Great War, (typescript, 1919), (Edinburgh Central Library, Edinburgh Room, 9yD639 V59 B10271), (hereafter Via Sacra).

50 The individual elements of the memorial were "The Call", a statue of Caledonia, and "The Danger", a relief carved in the rock and depicting the threatening invasion. It followed a "Court of Dedication" and a "Gate of Parting". Next came a sequence of five terraces dedicated to the main regions of Scotland (first terrace: ports, navy, seagoing Scots, second: West of Scotland, third: East of Scotland, fourth: Borders, fifth: Highlands and Islands). Intermediate smaller terraces reminded of the auxiliary war services like nurses and women's hospitals, Churches and similar. A sixth terraces, "The Sacrifice", was decorated with a High Cross and Great Stone along the line of British War Cemeteries. The next element was the "Garden of Peace in Victory", followed finally by "The Shrine of Ideals". The whole memorial was conceived as a sacred space. Mears explained: "The scheme is thought of as depending as little as possible on hard architectural forms and
whose interior should express "by means of wall painting and stained glass ... the hopes and ideals which have carried us through the War to dream of a brighter future." 51

Mears's Memorial scheme was firmly rooted in Geddes's ideas about cities in general. The terraces leading to the shrine were dedicated to the main Scottish regions and their soldiers. Furthermore, Mears related each region with one of Geddes's basic occupations. 52 Beyond these references to the valley region, Mears envisaged the memorial as an essential part of Geddes's transformation of the Old Town. The "Garden of Peace in Victory" was located partially on the site occupied by the Married Soldiers Old Quarter on Johnston Terrace. 53 Below and east of this building Geddes and his circle had already established open green spaces (Figure 6.8), which Mears combined with the Garden of Peace into a single park. This not only restored the use of the ancient cultivation terraces for peaceful purposes but created also a link between the memorial, Grassmarket and beyond. 54

From the Shrine of Ideals a "short Terraced Stairway" would run towards Castle Esplanade and the Royal Mile, linking the memorial with the West Bow, Ramsay Lane, and the Mound. 55 Mears identified the West Bow as "the ideal position for a memorial to mark the reunion of the Scottish churches". 56 He continued

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51 Mears, Via Sacra, p. 4.
52 See Mears, Via Sacra, p. 3. The first terrace symbolised the fishermen and seafaring related occupations, the second the Miners, the third the peasants and gardeners, the fourth the shepherds, and the fifth the hunter and forester or wood men.
53 Today Castlecliff workshops, 73 Johnston Terrace. Mears obviously intended to demolish this building. He wrote: "The Garden of Peace in Victory occupies part of the level site of the Married Soldiers old Quarters." (Mears, Via Sacra, p. 4).
54 "The space between the Grassmarket and Garden of Peace would require a little attention. Part of this ground has already been turned into children's gardens. If a few ruined walls were removed, opportunity would be given for a large and appropriate extension of these gardens, and the ancient cultivation terraces would at last be restored to use." (Mears, Via Sacra, pp. 4-5).
55 Mears, Via Sacra, p. 1
56 Mears, Via Sacra, p. 5.
proposing that Ramsay Lane and the Mound should be "slightly modified to afford sites for sculpture". The Mound thus decorated lead to Princes Street whose western end was likewise connected to the Via Sacra by a "Memorial Way" through Castle Terrace Garden to King's Bridge.

There could thus be completed a circle, having the Castle at its centre, which would form a Memorial Mile unsurpassable in variety of views and dignity of association anywhere in the world.

Mears’s Scottish National War Memorial created a Via Sacra around Edinburgh Castle incorporating earlier ideas by Geddes, amongst them the statues of St. Columba at the top of West Bow, and of Bruce and Wallace on Ramsay Lane. Likewise, Ramsay Garden was part of the Memorial Mile. The Shrine of Ideals was placed almost opposite Ramsay Garden, thus the Cloister of Life was juxtaposed with the Temple of Death, where the dream of a brighter future and life should compensate for the death of the soldiers. Yet Mears’s dedication of the terraces of the memorial to soldiers and natural occupations alike, transformed these dreams also into ideals for the renewed life.

The Royal Mile and the Castle Esplanade, the agora in Conze’s and Gardner’s comparison of Edinburgh and Pergamum, cut through this circular Via Sacra. The agora of Geddes’s scheme was the Royal Mile framed by the two Cloisters Ramsay Garden at the western and Holyrood Hall at the eastern end. Along its course important buildings were lined up like the City Chambers, St. Giles Cathedral, and the Mercart Cross. Geddes added further cultural, educational and spiritual institutions

57 Mears, Via Sacra, p. 5.
58 "It is recognised that this Via Sacra as described should be connected more definitely with Princes Street. This can be attained by the planning of a Memorial Way, easily constructed, and carried out by degrees to connect King's Bridge by way of Castle Terrace Gardens with the West End of Princes Street." (Mears, Via Sacra, p. 5).
59 Mears, Via Sacra, p. 5.
and spaces, for example the Castlehill reservoir transformed into a meeting and performance hall as Edinburgh's substitute for an amphitheatre, Lady Stair’s House and Huntley House as the city's history museums, and open spaces interspersed in the historic urban fabric. These additions were not isolated but interrelated interventions, as Geddes explained regarding a municipal history museum.

Broadly speaking there should be a group of houses, each with its different characteristic elements, and into these the appropriate exhibits of the Municipal Museum should be distributed, so that they would ... be understood as a series.

Furthermore, these additions attempted to achieve a fusion between the historic and contemporary city. Geddes's proposals did not aim at a mere renewal of Edinburgh’s Old Town but at its transformation into a cultural Acropolis. The city centre thus rebuilt would become the focal point of the Region-City of Edinburgh, and announce symbolically that the citizens had created once more a true City with a true plan.

But the true town plan, the only one worth having, is the outcome and flower of the whole civilisation of a community and of an age. While starting from its fundamentals, of port and roads, of market and depot; and from its essentials, too, of family dwellings worthy to be permanent and hereditary homes, it develops onwards to the supreme organs of the city's life - its acropolis and forum, its cloister and cathedral.

62 Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 211.
PRIMARY AND ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, Dunfermline
Central Zionist Archives (CZA), Jerusalem
Edinburgh Central Library, Edinburgh Room
Edinburgh University
   Patrick Geddes Centre for Planning Studies
   Edinburgh University Library, Special Collection
Sir Frank Mears Archive, Edinburgh
National Library of Scotland (NLS),
   Manuscript collection
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Strathclyde University Archive (SUA), Glasgow
   Papers of Sir Patrick Geddes (T-GED)
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